TRANSACTIONS

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WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON" "HOPE EVER"

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An appreciation of Jim and Muriel Tonkin

Jim and Muriel at their celebratory lunch at the Bishop's Palace in Hereford, 22 July 2009

In 2009, Jim and Muriel Tonkin celebrated forty-five years of membership of the Woolhope Club. For various periods during forty-three of those years, they held between them the major Club offices of Secretary, Editor, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer. In addition, each of them was President three times. As will be seen from the Proceedings, they retired from the last of these posts only in April, 2009.

Professor Ron Brunskill, Guest Lecturer

Roz Lowe, Editor and President 2009

David Whitehead, Secretary and President 1994, 2008

A celebratory lunch was held for Jim and Muriel at the Bishop's Palace on 22 July, 2009, where the guest speaker was Professor Ron Brunskill, an old friend who gave a talk on the farm buildings of Breconshire, which have many similarities with those of Herefordshire.

Past Presidents who attended the lunch at the Bishop's Palace

George Charnock: 1987, 2007

John Eisel: 1993, 2002, 2006

Beryl Harding: 1997

Joe Hillaby: 1969, 1986, 2003

Jean O'Donnell: 1970, 1996

Paul Olver: 2004, 2005

Gwillym Rees: 1992

Rosamund Skelton: 2000

Brian Smith: 2001

The President's tribute to Jim and Muriel:

'Today, the Woolhope Club is celebrating the dedicated service that Jim and Muriel Tonkin have given to us for more than forty years. We are here to honour them and all they have done for the Club since they made Herefordshire their home.

As well as our celebration today, the Club is planning to record Jim and Muriel's achievements in a more permanent way. We will be publishing a *Festschrift* in their honour - a volume of essays about Herefordshire's people and their buildings. This will give us the opportunity to enlarge on their lives, their work and their service to the history of Cornwall and Herefordshire.

We must count ourselves fortunate that Jim and Muriel chose to come to live here, as both of them are Cornish. Jim was born in Newlyn and Muriel (née Davey) was born in Gulval. I am reliably informed that although they both attended Penzance Grammar School they did not meet there.

Jim's education was interrupted by war service in Burma, but he returned to Cornwall to start his career as a teacher, a career which was to lead to his appointment as headmaster of the new secondary school at Wigmore in Herefordshire.

Jim and Muriel were married on 12 August, 1949 - which means that in 3 weeks time they will be celebrating their Diamond Wedding Anniversary. I'm sure we would all like to offer them our heartiest congratulations.

It must have been hard for them to tear themselves away from their home county, because already they had begun to study the history of Cornwall and its houses. They were each honoured by the Cornish Gorsedd: Jim was installed as a bard in 1959, with the title of 'Whyler Chyow' or 'Seeker of Houses', and Muriel in 1962 with the title of 'Whylores Breyon' or 'Seeker of Fragments'. This information has solved a mystery for me - I now realise that Jim and Muriel's house name, 'Chy-an-Whyloryon', means 'Seekers' House' - *seeker* is so much more evocative than 'researcher'. Before leaving Cornwall their research had already led to the publication of a parish history, and Jim's interest in houses led in time to his presidency of the Vernacular Architecture Group. .

Fortunately they joined the Woolhope Club shortly after arriving in Herefordshire in 1963, and soon began to serve as officers. They relinquished the last of their posts at the beginning of April this year. Muriel was Assistant Secretary from 1966 and Assistant Treasurer from 1984, with much of the day-to-day administration in her hands. Jim was Editor from 1966 until 2005, and Secretary from 1986. Each has been President of the Club three times. It is an extraordinary record of dedication, and I would like us all to salute their achievement.

Luckily the administrative work of the Club did not occupy all their free time. We are fortunate that they have published a number of papers in the Club's Transactions, and Jim's Buildings reports appeared every year - a total of 64 articles - and other papers have been published in national journals. Their pictures in the programme today were taken from the flyleaf of their book on the history of Hereford, which was published in 1975.

I haven't spoken much about Jim's field research. There are many Club members like myself who have happy memories of following Jim and Muriel about Herefordshire, often in a convoy of cars along very narrow lanes. Householders were sometimes startled when we asked to see their bedrooms and lofts, but they usually obliged, even when they'd forgotten to make the beds.

Jim always had his camera at the ready, and his archive is now a most valuable record of Herefordshire's oldest houses, some of which have disappeared.

I'm a relative newcomer to the Woolhope Club - older members will have many more stories to tell about Jim and Muriel's activities. I can only say that it has been a privilege to know them, and I know that I speak for all members of the Woolhope Club when I say that we are most grateful for all that they have done for us.

Jim and Muriel, please accept our very best wishes for the future, and we look forward to more fruits of the labours of those in 'Seekers' House'.'

Jim Tonkin 1921 - 2010

As many members will already know, Jim did not live to see the volume of essays in his and Muriel's honour. He became unwell towards the end of 2009, and died on 22 April, 2010. We can only be glad that he knew how much the Club appreciated all that he had done for it. A full obituary will appear in the 2010 *Transactions.*

Roz Lowe, Editor

Proceedings, 2009

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 10 January 2009: Mr D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.
Dr George Peterken, OBE, gave an illustrated talk on 'The natural history of the Wye Valley.'

He said that it was privilege to talk to the Woolhope Club as it has had such an input into the study of the natural history of the area. His talk concentrated on the Lower Wye Valley, below Hereford.

The focus of the area is the river, and his recent book for the Collins New Naturalist series covers the region through which the river flows, including other areas of interest. He said that many natural features are associated with the drainage pattern. The characteristics include swallowholes, where water disappears to reappear elsewhere. One peculiar feature is that dissolved lime is redeposited as travertine or tufa—there is a tufa cliff at the Dropping Well below Symond's Yat. There are also tufa dams in the Slade Brook, which are the longest series in Britain.

It is supposed that the original environment was natural woodland. Similar woodland is now regenerating at Lady Park Wood near Hadnock, which has not been managed for 140 years. There were some gaps in the orignal woodland where rocky outcrops occurred and a rock tower on the Wye gorge was illustrated where there was a natural rock garden.

There were people in the Wye Valley in Palaeolithic times. One dramatic slide showed footprints in the mud by the Severn. dating from Mesolithic times. These were of two women and two or three children.

The original environment was altered by the clearance of woodland, of which there is about 30-40% surviving mainly because it was used for coppicing. However, this form of management has now vanished almost completely, and many mature trees have been replaced by conifers. Grassland on the site of cleared woodland, with its varied plants, has now changed, but there is some left. Traditional management still survives locally on the Lugg Meadows. The change from woodland was illustrated by tithe maps, where analysis of land use showed that cultivated land dominated in the area of study. Marshland had been drained, with loss of habitat.

Now there is a mixed landscape, a patchwork. Some things survive from the original post-glacial environment, such as large-leaved lime. Various trees such as small-leaved lime and wild service trees are indicators of ancient woodland, and can be identified at certain times of year from their colour in the tree canopy.

Butterflies used to thrive as open spaces in the woods were created when the trees were coppiced but have now declined. Meadow species are now going through the same process. Evidence such as the surviving green-winged orchid suggests that the primordial woodland had open spaces. Some species. such as the Purple Emperor and the Map butterflies have been lost. The polecat has come back, but deer are a great scourge from the damage that they do in preventing natural regeneration.

SECOND MEETING: 5 February 2009: Mr D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.
The speaker at this meeting was Mr P. Haley MRA FRAS, who gave an illustrated talk on 'The Reverend Henry Cooper Key: the mid-19th century scientific pioneer.' He explained that 2009 was the International Year of Astronomy, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Galileo's first

glimpses through a telescope and the start of modern astronomy. Local astronomers have received a Heritage Lottery grant of nearly £50,000 to research and celebrate the work of three 19th-century Herefordshire astronomers: Thomas Webb (1806-85), George Henry With (1827-1904) and Henry Cooper Key (1819-79).

Henry Cooper Key was rector of Stretton Sugwas for 33 years, from 1846 to 1879. His wife was a daughter of Sir Aston Cooper, a surgeon. The rectory is now the Priory Hotel. As he died on Christmas Day 1879, he lived to see the old wooden church replaced earlier in that year. In the church are two stained glass windows in his memory, designed by his wife.

He kept a notebook of his astronomical observations, made through a 30-inch focal length telescope with an achromatic lens. They included the belts of Jupiter and the rings of Saturn. He became a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1860. From 1859 to 1860, he made a number of 12½-inch silvered glass mirrors, one of which survives in Athens University. He also installed an 18-inch reflector telescope in Romsey observatory.

He founded the Herefordshire Philharmonic Society where he played the viola and his wife the oboe. She was interested in mushrooms and kept records of Crookes experiments and details of early lectures at the Green Dragon in Hereford.

Cooper Key was president of the Club in 1870, his Presidential Address being on the subject of the *Aurorae*.

THIRD MEETING: 7 March 2009: Mr D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.
Professor H. S. Torrens gave a talk on 'English County Natural History Societies, Museums and Field Clubs 1830 to 1850s.' He said that a number of Literary and Philosophical Societies had been formed by the 1830s, but he would concentrate on those in Worcestershire, Shropshire and Herefordshire and their early members. These included Edwin Lees of the Worcester Natural History Society and Sir Charles Hastings MD of the Worcester Society. In Shropshire there was the Medical Topographer of Shrewsbury, Thomas Dugard MD and others concerned with mental health. In 1836 the Hereford Literary and Philosophical Society was formed and in 1851 the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club. By 1849 interests were widening to include geology. Dr Thomas Lloyd of Ludlow was 'Curator of the Bone Bed.' Murchison and Rev. T. T. Lewis of Aymestry later became involved.

Prof. Torrens illustrated his talk with the front covers of the publications of the various societies. There followed a showing of the DVD of the Club's re-enactment of a geological field meeting *c.*1856, with Prof. Torrens as Murchison and Dr Olver as Rev. T. T. Lewis.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING:
4 April 2009: Mr D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.
The assistant secretary reported that the club now had 752 members, a loss of 21 over the year. The president, Mr Whitehead, thanked the officers and committee, the librarians, the field secretary, the lanternists and other Club members who generously give their time in support of the Club.

He gave his address 'Some Picturesque Influences upon the study of Natural History in 19th century Herefordshire' which is printed in these *Transactions*.

He installed Mrs R. A. Lowe, B.Sc., as president for 2009-10, who thanked members for the honour of being elected, and Mr Whitehead for his work as president. The president's first action was to pay tribute to Jim and Muriel Tonkin for their years of dedication to the Club as editor, secretary, assistant-secretary and treasurer. In honour of this service a lunch was to be

held in the Bishop's Palace on 22 July 2009 at which the guest speaker would be Professor Ron Brunskill. It was also intended to publish a *Festschrift* or volume of essays in their honour.

She said that she proposed to use her term as president to institute a review of the Club's organisation, activities and status in the county, in view of the changes in family life and leisure activities in the past twenty years.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 12 May 2009: BATH area

This meeting was cancelled due to lack of support.

SECOND MEETING: 25 June 2009: ALCESTER and COUGHTON COURT

On a very warm day a party of 34 (3 down at the last moment) led by the President, Mrs Lowe, and John and Margaret Eisel, had a very enjoyable day in the Alcester area. Coffee at the Hiller Garden Centre at Dunnington, south of Alcester, proved to be a good choice, with very large cups of tea or coffee. Not only that, but the roses in the display garden were at their peak, and one or two members were tempted to buy plants for their own gardens. Lunchtime was in Alcester, and members could either picnic there, or take advantage of the many eating establishments, as well as a stroll round this very pretty and historic town. Most members found Malt Mill Lane, with well restored timbered and other buildings now used for sheltered housing, with gardens accessible to the public. Being built on the site of a Roman settlement and fort, it is not surprising that there is a small Roman museum here, well visited by members, but I don't know how many were tempted to use the costumes on display and dress up as a Roman citizen!

Fears that the 2¾ hours allowed to spend at Coughton Court might be too much were soon allayed on arrival, with so much to see, and the weather being too warm to hurry. Coughton Court came into the ownership of the Throckmorton family in 1409, and members are still in residence. Dominant in the centre is the gatehouse, built *c.*1530, with timbered Elizabethan wings projecting behind to form an open courtyard. After an exhaustive introductory talk, members could then browse as they wished, and time went only too quickly. With such an historic house, beautifully laid out grounds, a mediaeval church, and an amazing walled garden, it proved a popular choice. To break the journey on the way home, there was a half hour stop arranged to visit a moated site near the church in Inkberrow, and see the associated ridge and furrow – mostly hidden under the long grass – and fish ponds. This very peaceful spot has been utilised as a Millennium Green, and the visit gave time to relax before facing the motorway on the way back to Ledbury and Hereford.

THIRD MEETING: 23 July 2009: ABERYSTWYTH

The president, Mrs R. A. Lowe, led the field meeting of her choice to Aberystwyth. The primary objective was the National Library of Wales. It holds many Herefordshire records, and has recently been completely renovated.

After stopping for coffee at the Red Lion Inn at Llanvihangel Nant Melan, members made their first stop in Aberystwyth to admire the inside of Old College, an extravagant Gothic building on the sea front, opposite the remains of the pier and not far from the parish church and site of the castle. Aberystwyth was originally a busy port, but in the late 18th century it started to develop as a seaside resort. In 1864 the railway opened, and Old College was originally designed by J. P. Seddon as a hotel to serve the expected rush of visitors. This

enterprise failed, and the building was taken over by the newly-founded University of Wales which opened there in 1872, admitting full-time female students in 1884. It survived a disastrous fire in 1885, and had remained a university building until recently, when its future seemed uncertain.

Fortunately, the sun shone for our next destination, the railway to the top of the cliff overlooking the town, where we took our picnic lunch. Members were at liberty to visit the *camera obscura*, which gives a fine view of Cardigan Bay. The railway was opened in 1896, and operated on a water-balance system until 1921, when it was converted to electricity. It had remained largely unchanged until our visit, but there are plans to apply for a large grant for re-furbishment, so again we were lucky to see it before alteration.

After lunch, members went to the National Library of Wales, perched on a hill above the town. The library's charter was granted in 1906, and the foundation stone for the present building was laid in 1911. It wasn't completed until 1955, and has been extended and modified ever since. Members were shown around the search rooms, exhibition spaces and some of the storage areas, and watched a film about the history of the building. Some took the opportunity to obtain reader's tickets and order documents.

After tea in the restaurant, members left Aberystwyth at 5.00 pm. On the way home Mrs M. Jenkins gave us information on the geology of the area, and Mr D. Whitehead on the local personalities of the Picturesque movement and their houses. Hereford was reached at 7.45 pm.

FOURTH MEETING: 18 August 2009: CHURCHES of SOUTH SHROPSHIRE

In a very variable summer, this field meeting on Tuesday 18 August to South Shropshire churches enjoyed plenty of welcome sunshine. It was led by Dr P. A. Olver, and the day was focused on the wide variety of building stones used in the four selected churches and how that reflected the local geology of the area. Essentially, Shropshire's geology gets younger as you travel south-east from Church Stretton, set within its enclosing Precambrian hills, towards Wenlock Edge and Corvedale where Silurian and Devonian strata outcrop.

St Lawrence's at Church Stretton was our first stop, where the original rubble-built walls of the Norman nave and tower were examined. A wide range of local Precambrian rocks were seen mixed in with occasional glacial erratics. Red sandstones from the Upper Carboniferous Keele Beds were noted around the doorways, often replaced by light red Grinshill Sandstone (Triassic) currently extracted in north Shropshire. Younger transept aisles added in the 1860s featured banded Soudley Sandstone of Ordovician age and popular with Victorian builders.

The village of Cardington, set in rolling Cambro-Ordovician country to the east of Church Stretton, was our next stop. St James's church faithfully reflects its local geology with local rock types set in both rubble and ashlar style walls including Cheney Longville Flags, Hoar Edge Grit and occasional Uriconian volcanics. After a pleasant lunch at the Royal Oak, Cardington, St Peter's at Rushbury provided a wonderful contrast with its extensive use of blue-grey fossiliferous limestones mainly drawn from the nearby Silurian scarplands of Wenlock Edge.

The coach then ascended the escarpment of Wenlock Edge and dropped down to the village of Diddlebury and its church of St Peter. Devonian Old Red Sandstone dominates both the ancient Norman tower and the rebuilt south wall while its Saxon-style herringbone stone work, on the interior only, drew admiration and some debate as to its correct age.

Afternoon tea was taken at the Craven Arms Hotel as we completed our circular tour of churches in their geological settings.

FIFTH MEETING: 12 September 2009: MILLS of NORTH HEREFORDSHIRE

This field meeting was led by member Mr Alan Stoyel, following his paper on Herefordshire mills given to the Club the previous November.

Members travelled by coach, leaving Leominster just after 10.00am. for Mortimer's Cross Mill, Lucton. This mill is owned by Mr Chris. Partington and is under a management agreement with English Heritage. The mill was rebuilt on an ancient site in about 1750, with a paper mill alongside. About a hundred and twenty years later the waterwheel and wooden machinery of the corn mill were replaced in iron, with three pairs of millstones, by which time the paper mill had long disappeared. Despite being a scheduled monument, the mill is maintained in working condition, and Alan was able to grind a sack of corn by water power so members could appreciate the sights and sounds of a hard-working mill. It is a fascinating place, packed with machinery and equipment, and showing evidence of how it has evolved. There was no problem with the building being so small, as coffee and biscuits were provided outside in the sunshine.

The second stop was very brief, looking at a detached iron waterwheel at Leen Farm, Pembridge, which used to drive machinery in an old barn. An unusual survival, the wheel has become rather dilapidated, despite having been restored to workable condition just over 20 years ago.

Staunton Mill, Staunton on Arrow was next, where Ann Brisbane made everyone welcome. This mill was built in about 1665 on a new site, combining milling with a huge acreage of water meadow irrigation. About a hundred years later it was rebuilt in its present form, with two overshot waterwheels and four pairs of millstones. Here, too, iron replaced much of the wood-work in the mid 19th century, but part of one of the sets of wooden gear survived. Essentially complete, this is a fine example of a mill with a remarkable beginning.

Our fourth stop was at Court of Noke, close by, but in the parish of Pembridge, the home of Edward and Emma Bulmer. Dating from about 1700, the house with its contemporaneous water gardens is a unique survival. Members were able to walk freely around the grounds, and appreciate this wonderful setting as picnic lunches were enjoyed in the brilliant weather. The water gardens fed the mill, which is complete but awaits repair, forming part of the adjacent farm buildings. The mill dates from the mid 19th century, as does its waterwheel, machinery and single pair of stones. It was constructed specifically to provide feed for the herd of prize Herefordshire cattle.

There was then a call at Kington Foundry, which John Meredith set up in 1820, in association with the newly-arrived horse-drawn tramway alongside. A waterwheel once provided the blast for the furnace and power for the machine shops, and cast-iron products from this foundry grace many properties in the Kington area. Now converted into small commercial and industrial units, the gutted building, with its associated weir, forms an attractive feature of the town.

At Hergest Mill, Kington the party was greeted by David and Alison Woodnutt, who have been working hard on the conservation of their interesting mill. Despite having lost its two overshot waterwheels and their water supply, the 18th-century building retains much of its iron machinery and fascinating evidence of its complex history. In particular, the two sets of machinery, in line down one side of the ground floor, is impressive, and several phases of development were demonstrated here.

Leaving the best till last, the final stop was at Arrow Mill, Kingsland, the property of Richard and Annabel Hall. This is a very fine, large 17th-century timber-framed building,

incorporating a hop kiln, in a beautiful setting. The waterwheel was turning gently and the sun was still shining, and this was the perfect venue for the excellent tea and cakes which were on hand. Not only is the machinery here complete, but it includes a clover mill – for separating the seeds from the clover. Such machines were once found in a number of Herefordshire mills, although this is now the only surviving example. Another rare survival is the beaten-earth ground floor of the mill.

The coincidence of what turned out to be about the best weather of the Summer, with a full and interesting programme, made for a very successful day, finishing at Leominster just after 5.20pm.

Note. There were some errors in the report in the 2008 *Transactions* of Alan's talk to the Club on 29 November 2008, for which we apologise. Please correct as follows:

- The oldest mill to have survived is certainly not at Eastnor. There are several mills in the county which are considerably older. It is merely the waterwheel which is the earliest known dated one in Herefordshire.

- Mortimer's Cross Mill was not constructed by Miles, the Leominster millwright. He merely updated the machinery in the 18th-century mill in about 1870.

- Clodock Mill was similarly not built by Miles of Leominster. He merely updated the machinery in the ancient mill in 1868. It does not have an undershot waterwheel. The waterwheel is breast-shot, with the water here entering buckets close to wheel-shaft level. This is quite distinct from an undershot wheel, where the water strikes floats at the bottom of the wheel.

- Hergest Mill at Kington does not have two wheels. They were removed for scrap over 60 years ago.

- Fruitwood was never used for waterwheels, it was generally only used for making cogs.

- It is stated that iron replaced wood from 1870 onwards. In fact, iron started to be used in mills from the last years of the 18th century. I even showed the example of Clencher's Mill at Eastnor where the iron waterwheel is dated 1820.

- The millstones did not need to be replaced frequently - they would normally last at least a generation.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 3 October 2009: Mrs R. A. Lowe, president, in the chair.

Mr John Edmonds, the author of *The History of the Rotherwas Munitions Factory, Hereford* (2004) spoke to the Club on the subject of his book. He began his story in 1916 when the Ministry of Munitions purchased 545 acres of the Rotherwas estate, which for many centuries had been in the hands of the Bodenham family.

The rapid building programme was described and the zoning of the special factories, which for safety reasons had to be kept separate. Working conditions in the factories were discussed along with the many social issues raised by the employment of large numbers of single women. Later in the war he described how the factory was used for charging gas shells, which, notwithstanding the banning of the use of gas by the Geneva Protocol in 1925, probably continued in the interwar years. The re-commissioning of the factory during the Second World War was fully explored and eventually Rotherwas became the largest munitions factory in Britain. Throughout the lecture, material from government sources provided the evidence, which included many revealing early RAF air photographs.

SECOND MEETING: 24 October 2009: Mr David Whitehead, secretary, in the chair.
Mr Joe Hillaby gave an illustrated talk on 'St Katherine's, Ledbury: Master's House and Bishop's Palace.' The Hospital was founded by Bishop Hugh Foliot *c*.1230 for the support of the 'poor and infirm' of the locality. Foliot's motives were not merely charitable, for he established a chaplaincy to offer up prayers for the repose of his soul. Others followed; by 1364 there were at least five chaplains.

St Katherine's is of national importance for three reasons: first, the wealth of documentation in the archives of the dean and chapter of Hereford Cathedral, who as guardians had oversight and made annual inspections; secondly the stained glass in the east window, gift of William Grandison of Ashperton d.1335 and the remarkably preserved Caninges-type tiles in the chapel; thirdly, a report by Richard Morriss to Herefordshire Council, 2002, concluded that the Master's House is 'an extremely rare building, possibly the only known surviving example of a purpose-built master's house left in the country.' Earlier in the year the SPAB drew attention to its condition. As a result English Heritage placed it on the 'Buildings At Risk' register.

The site of the nearly 2-acre precinct is also highly significant in terms of the evolution of the borough's ground plan. It dominated more than half the west side of the market-place! The gap in the street frontage was ultimately overcome by building the free-standing Butchers Row. The site of the pre-1230 bishop's palace was then considered in some detail.

THIRD MEETING: 14 November 2008: Mrs R. A. Lowe, president, in the chair.
This was the 47th F. C. Morgan lecture, given by Dr Julia Barrow of the University of Nottingham, on 'The Wicked Bishop? Peter of Aigueblanche and the diocese of Hereford 1240-1268.'

Of all the medieval bishops of Hereford Peter of Aigueblanche (1240-68) has attracted most opprobrium, both in his own lifetime and since. In his own lifetime his activities were consistently criticised by the St Albans chronicler Matthew Paris and much of the treatment he has received at the hands of historians studying the reign of Henry III has been hostile or dismissive.

This talk, based on a recent re-evaluation of Peter's work for Henry III and his activities as diocesan undertaken as part of *English Episcopal Acta*, 35: *Hereford 1234-1275* (forthcoming from Oxford University Press) began by tracing Peter's origins in Savoy and the start of his career as an employee of Eleanor of Provence's uncle, and then of Eleanor herself and her husband Henry III. Peter combined loyal service to Eleanor and Henry with close and long-lasting links to members of the House of Savoy, especially Count Amadeus IV and Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury. He was chiefly active in Henry III's diplomatic service, spending about thirteen years of his pontificate overseas. But his high-level diplomatic work did not make him neglectful of his diocesan responsibilities, and his pontificate saw new statutes for Hereford cathedral and some development of diocesan organisation to cope with his frequent absences. He also created close links with some local monastic houses, chiefly Abbey Dore, to help him in his long-distance financial dealings.

He brought a number of Savoyards to Hereford, some of whom may have descendants among present-day Herefordians.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 28 November 2009: Mrs R. A. Lowe, president, in the chair. Mrs Heather Hurley gave an illustrated presentation on 'The Wharves of the Wye from Hereford to Ross.'

The presentation started with a quote from the Woolhope Club Transactions of 1955 that '*every Wyeside village had its quay and barge'* and an image showing a wharf at Hereford in 1830 and the Dock at Ross in 1820. Because of continual conflict between mill and fishery owners and those seeking trade on the river, a number of surveys were undertaken and acts passed to resolve the situation. These had been adequately covered in various publications but the location of the numerous wharves linked with documentary sources had not previously been recorded.

The earliest known wharves between Hereford and Ross were at King's Caple soon after 1696, at Holme Lacy in 1698 and the coal wharf at Fownhope in 1763. The 'Landscape Origins of the Wye Valley' project identified previously unknown wharf sites. From these large quantities of wheat, barley, bark, lime, poles, hoops, seeds, timber, cheese, beer, cider, flax, paper and many other items including household furniture were transported down to Wilton, Monmouth, Chepstow, Bristol and even to Stourport. Coal, bricks, rags and junk (old ropes), and wine were conveyed upstream.

Images were shown of flat-bottomed sloops and trows known as barges which had a hauling rope attached to the mast, a tarpaulin for keeping the cargo dry, an anchor and a single square sail hung on a cross yard on the mast. As it was not always possible to use this method of propulsion teams of men hauled the barges until the opening of the Horse Towing Path in 1809. A common barge in 1763 was 18 to 20 tons, 50 feet long and 11 feet wide, but larger barges were recorded.

A selection of wharf sites were illustrated, including several at Fownhope and Hoarwithy; others at Capler, Fawley, Foy, How Caple, Backney, Bridstow and Ross together with images of barge accounts, maps and plans. The most memorable included a boat at Fawley in 1721, the bark, timber and poles shipped from Backney to Chepstow in 1809 and a photograph of the last barge at Ross in the 1850s. The Wye navigation rapidly declined. on this stretch of the river, in 1855 when the Hereford, Ross and Gloucester railway opened.

Note: The 2009 Accounts following were approved at the 2010 Spring Annual Meeting.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
for the year ended 31st December

2008				2009	
		RECEIPTS			
1010		Interest on investments	Subs Reserve	27	
2966			GW Smith Reserve	3	
			Charity Bond	6128	
			National Savings	259	
			Worcs C.C	10	
			War Stock	33	
	3976				6460
7930		General Subscriptions		8080	
104		Sale of Publications (inc Hereford Taxes £48)		894	
95		ARS Insurance Refund		109	
		Lottery Bid Balance		979	
		Grants, Donations & Legacies		769	
		Gift Aid Tax Reclaim (Net)		4969	
					21960
50		Sundries			
		Archaeological Research	Net Surplus	306	
399		Geology Section	Net Surplus	554	
	8578				860
	12554				22820
		PAYMENTS			
853		Insurance		928	
7113		Stationery, Printing & Binding		6110	
		Meeting Expenses		339	
1374		Postage & Telephone		888	
183		Subscriptions & Donations		171	
226		Repairs & Renewals		63	
100		Honoraria		350	
		Grants		2000	
1448		Miscellaneous		469	
					11318
628		Archaeological Research	Net Deficit		
4		Natural History Section	Net Deficit	81	
172		Field Meetings	Net Deficit	56	
		Lottery Bid	Net Deficit	979	
512		Herefordshire Taxes			
					1116
	12613				12434
Deficit	-59		Surplus		10386

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER

2008			2009	
		ASSETS		
	1040	Herefordshire County Loan		1040
	57468	National Savings Investments		57726
	115000	Charity Bond		118000
		Bank accounts:		
5000		GW Smith Reserve Account	5000	
31719		Business Reserve	31747	
2282		General	356	
6726		Subscriptions	14829	
310		Natural History Section	229	
1682		Archaeological Research Section	1988	
1141		Field Meetings	1085	
967		Geology Section	1521	
1371		Herefordshire Taxes (now GW Smith Account)	2550	
	51198			59305
	224706	Sub Total		236071
		Restricted Accounts		
	979	ARS Heritage Lottery Fund (now closed)	0	
	225685			236071

Note that the following assets of fluctuation or indeterminate value are not included in this balance sheet:
£933 3.5% War Loan current value approximately £693
The contents of the library and stock of publications
Photographic and computer equipment etc.

		CAPITAL		
		General Funds		
102186		Balance brought forward	224706	
-1069	101117	Add surplus in year	11365	236071
	123589	Add Transfer from Capital Reserve		
	224706			236071
		Designated Funds		
122579		Capital Reserve		
1010		Add surplus for year		
123589		Deduct transfer to new accounts		
0				
		Restricted Funds		
979	979	ARS Heritage Lottery Fund	979	
		Deduct deficit for year	979	0
	225685			236071

Biographical Details of Contributors

Details for John C. Eisel and Paul Olver appeared in the 2005 *Transactions* and for David Whitehead and Duncan James in the 2008 *Transactions*.

Bruce Coplestone Crow

Bruce Coplestone Crow has been researching the medieval history of South Wales and the border for over forty years. He is the author of *Herefordshire Place-Names* (2009) and is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and of the Royal Historical Society. He lives in Birmingham.

Ann Malpas

Ann Malpas moved to Herefordshire in 1976. She studied Animal Physiology at St Anne's College, Oxford and completed a doctorate in Pharmacology while carrying out research at the London Hospital Medical College.

In Herefordshire she has interested herself in the history of the area where she lives and in relating this to the wider context of national and social history. As a member of a local publishing group she has written and edited a number of books on the history of Leominster and the parish of Kimbolton.

Presidential Address 2009
Some Picturesque influences upon the study of natural history in 19th-century Herefordshire

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

During the autumn and winter of my year as President of the Club I sat through a programme of excellent papers, three of which celebrated the work of the early scientists and naturalists who founded the Club. This emphasis upon early science seemed very appropriate for 2009, which was the 150th anniversary of the publication of On the Origin of Species, *when the media were busy celebrating Darwin's achievement. Dr Peterken emphasised in his lecture on the natural history of the Wye Valley, the value of the notices published by the Club's founders in its early Transactions and develops this point in his book on the natural history of the Wye Valley, published in the Collins New Naturalist Library. Just a few weeks later, Mr Haley explored the early astronomical work of the Rev. Henry Cooper Key (President, 1870), and finally Professor Torrens introduced members to the work of the early natural history societies in the period just before the founding of the Woolhope Club in 1851.*

The message was clear. The Club can be very proud of the part it played in the English enlightenment, which underpinned the scientific and industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries. The achievement rests heavily upon the shoulders of the new provincial middle classes, who devoured the specialist print culture of the era and had a compulsive desire to set up societies and clubs to pursue the new sciences in their own regions.[1] Very soon they were compiling sites of geological interest, ticking off lists of plants classified by Linneaus and, more slowly, spotting rather than shooting and trapping, small birds and animals. As we can read in the early *Transactions*, a dialogue developed between the amateurs and the professionals, as notable specialists are found attending field meetings, enabling local observations to be fed into the broader picture. Occasionally decisive interventions were recorded, as when the Rev. T. T. Lewis introduced Sir Roderick Murchison to the Aymestry limestone, long before the latter had formulated the Silurian system.[2] These were heady days, when the observations of a few professional men who had a little time on their hands to explore a remote county like Herefordshire with its diverse environment could produce new and exciting results.

SCIENTISTS WITH SENSIBILITY

However, the English enlightenment, as several recent writers have pointed out, was a very complex affair. If the elevation of reason gave credibility to the endeavours of the natural scientists of the Woolhope Club, it is also important to remember that this took place within the *milieu* of late romanticism.[3] Whilst it is convenient to represent these early natural scientists as men of reason and good sense, they had also been taught and indeed encouraged, to deploy sensibility. Thus it seems that we ignore a key point if we place these men on a trajectory into the modern world as 'pioneers' of modern science. Most of the mature members of the Club,

active in the mid-to late 19th century were born in the Regency, in the age of Romanticism, which produced a flowering of imaginative and subjective art and literature. Our founders were eager to express their feelings and this is apparent as soon as you read the reports of the early field meetings. It appears that something more than rational curiosity was sending them into the countryside. They were, it seems, engaging in a cathartic activity, which refreshed the spirit as well as the mind and there was a much sensibility deployed as sense. Indeed, in many respects the former was the driving force.[4]

My suspicion that many of our founders were latter-day romantics was raised several years ago when I read closely the accounts of the visits to Brampton Bryan Park in 1870 and 1882.[5] Henry Graves Bull may well have written both accounts, although most of the early field meetings were recorded without attribution to an individual. The second account, in particular, is heavily embellished with quotes from pastoral and romantic poets including Abraham Cowley (1618-67), the royalist pastoral poet, George Crabbe (1754-83), a key promoter of the 18th-century pastoral and William Cowper (1731-1800), famed for his sympathetic feelings towards nature and very much the father figure of English romanticism. He gets three quotes during the meeting at Brampton Bryan. Other observers have noticed that Bull's writings in the *Transactions* are 'full of literary references, evidence of his omnivorous reading' but since the rediscovery of Bull in the mid 20th century, it has been his scientific interests that have preoccupied modern scholars. His literary meanderings, like those of his near contemporary, Francis Kilvert, have been dismissed as rather quaint and irrelevant.[6]

Figure 1. Edwin Lees

There seems, however, to be a strong connection between Bull's romanticism and his putative steps towards modern science. Indeed, without the former the latter would not have happened and it is clear that the whole pantheon of mid 19th-century local naturalists and proto-scientists were imbued with the same tendency—a dichotomy between their emotional sensibilities and their reason. It is as if they yearned, as Keats said, 'for a life of sensations rather than thoughts.' This seems to be especially applicable to Edwin Lees (1800-87), the Worcestershire naturalist and early confidante of Bull who regularly made decisive contributions to the early field meetings of the Club.[7] Bull collected most of Lees's publications and his daughter Maude gave them to the Club library. Among the books given to the Club is a copy, dedicated by the author to Bull, of *Scenery and Thought in Poetical Pictures of various Landscape Scenes and Incidents* (1880) which has a late photograph of Edwin Lees inserted into it. (Fig. 1).

This is a purifying volume written at various times in the author's life, but assembled to ameliorate the pain caused by the recent death of his wife. Much of it is well written and for the local topographer and naturalist, its litany of West Midland locations, together with an overtly nostalgic tone for the countryside before industrialisation, makes it captivating reading. The reader is struck immediately by the thought that Lees was a fellow traveller with Thomson, Cowper and Wordsworth, and the wider fraternity of late 18th-century writers who espoused a romantic and unchanging countryside. This also included, it turns out, the early naturalists and geologists of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

Before the mid 18th century nature was viewed with hostility but also as a resource, given by God to man for his exploitation. However, the scientific revolution of the late 17th century had detached nature from man, making it less threatening but more intriguing and in need of ordering and classifying. At the same time, life became increasingly urbanised and the countryside became firmly rooted in the national imagination, expressing a variety of Arcadian and Edenic values. Poets, prose writers and painters eulogised the countryside and encouraged tourists to go in search of their images. Hence, the fashion for writing and illustrating journals, enhanced with corresponding and complementary quotes from the very writers who sent them into the countryside. In this respect too, Bull and his contemporaries were part of a long tradition.[8]

The development of a language to describe the countryside was one of the greatest creative achievements of the 18th century. Whereas the architectural connoisseur, before embarking upon the Grand Tour, had a learned language to describe the buildings he might see, the indigenous traveller had little expressive language to describe his own countryside. The pastoral poets of the early Georgian era began to fill that gap and in 1751 two contrasting landscape forms were given definition by Edmund Burke. These were the 'beautiful' or 'pastoral', found in smooth and gentle lowland river valleys and the 'sublime' or 'awesome' likely to be encountered in more powerful mountainous countryside or close to the vastness of the sea.[9] Employing the language of the sublime was especially the preserve of the early Woolhope geologists, like the Rev. W. S. Symonds of Pendock, who in 1866 enthralled the Club's members with a dramatic evocation of the volcanic activity and cataclysmic upheavals of the Lower Silurian period which had created the various rocks around Builth Wells in Powys. Thomas Curley, Hereford's City Surveyor and an early member of the Club, also knew how to deploy the language of the sublime to explain the 'theatre of volcanic action' that created the landscape around Llandrindod, urging his audience to wonder at the 'magnitude and incalculable power' of the 'molten igneous rock' which 'shook and separated' the earlier stratified rocks and evaporated oceans to create 'the vast emporium of salt', which produced the saline springs. Sometime earlier Bull called upon the same vocabulary to describe the Trap Dyke at Hagley, close to Lugwardine. Members descended into a 'very striking chasm – solemn in its stillness, the lofty walls of the rock at the sides and the thick coppice at the foot, shutting out all the outer world save the soft blue of the sky overhead.'[10]

Figure 2. David Cox *A Herefordshire Lane.* An early impression of the romantic scenery around Hereford, where Cox lived from 1815-27. (©Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery)

PICTURESQUE INFLUENCE

However, it was the arrival of the picturesque—an intermediate category between the sublime and beautiful—developed and refined in the last decades of the 18th century, that provided the wandering naturalists of the mid-19th century with a key to unlock the special qualities of their native land. The epicentre of the picturesque was where the open field—felden—landscapes of the Midlands gave way to the enclosed 'forest' countryside of the borderland. Literally, a place squeezed between the sublime of the Cambrian Mountains and the soft beauty of lowland England. The Club was (is) very fortunate in having such a fashionable hinterland, for one of the salient features of landscape appreciation in the 18th and 19th centuries was the move away from the 'beautiful' but productive countryside of lowland England, towards the more broken terrain of the Celtic fringes and ultimately into the 'sublime' mountains of Wales, the Lakes and Scotland. The *literati*, painters and tourists began to find lowland England tainted by exploitation. They felt that enclosure added little that was attractive to the landscape and had turned the sturdy yeoman into a surly labourer whose production was geared to the urban markets.[11]

In picturesque countryside like Herefordshire, the landscape was older; sunken lanes and old hedgerows gave character to a land, where round the corner you were likely to find a rustic cottager, living in pre-lapsarian innocence under a tumbling thatch. This particular feature brought the artist David Cox (1783-1859) to Herefordshire in 1814 (Fig. 2). Significantly, the early naturalists of the Club are rarely found in the productive arable landscapes of the county e.g. the Ryelands between Hereford and Ross, and are more likely to haunt country parks or be out on the hills. But even here they railed against wire fences, the destruction of hollow lanes, larch plantations, the improving landowner who cuts down yews and several other picturesque nimbyisms, which had been current since the publication of Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, written a century before.

One of the most overused phrases to drop from the pens of the Woolhope naturalists when presented with an attractive scene was 'picturesque beauty.' Such was the scene in July 1857 from the summit of Shucknall Hill, where the members 'regaled their eyes with the glorious landscape, not less powerful in its suggestiveness to the geologist than admirable for its picturesque beauty.' On another occasion, in 1867, the ladies and gentlemen of the Club were climbing down a ravine to enjoy a better view of the waterfall at Craig-y-pwll-ddu in Powys when they enjoyed a peculiar combination of the sublime and the picturesque. 'The dark frowning rocks, damp and chilly from abundant spray' produced a 'peculiar gloom' relieved occasionally by shafts of sunlight. 'The feeling of awe was added to picturesque beauty, making it at once attractive and repellent.' Picturesque beauty was a term invented by William Gilpin and first employed in the *Wye Tour* (1782) to elevate the beautiful above its Burkeian sense of the pastoral. For the strict theorists of the Picturesque – Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight – this was a contradictory phrase but Gilpin's guidebooks were much read and plagiarised in the early 19th century. Even the scatterbrained heroine, Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey*, could try to apply Gilpin's language when admiring a distant view of Bath. Bull altered the catch phrase to 'picturesque character' when describing the richly diversified scenery near Builth in 1866 where 'the sportive Wye, here still in its infancy, has all the varied charms that a river possesses before it entirely leaves the rocks that have encompassed its mountain home.'[12]

Picturesque landscapes were epitomised by much more intricacy and variety, less smooth undulating countryside and were essentially, more interesting for the picture maker – who might use words or watercolours to describe it - or even the naturalist who wished to focus upon a narrow extent of landscape. Indeed, the picturesque perspective had a great deal to offer for the aspiring naturalist. Unlike the sublime and the beautiful, which were epitomised by the prospect, the picturesque confined the vision. Eighteenth-century tourists often carried a Claude glass to compress the landscape to make a better picture for the amateur artist. Equally the observer was encouraged to look closer to admire intricacy and variety, and among the knick-knacks tourists occasionally carried was a telescope. Having admired nature in an intimate manner the occasion required a record. A sketch was made, notes were jotted down in a journal and specimens – fossils, shells, curious stones and pressed flowers – were taken home for further study. Gilpin and many other writers stressed that the picturesque ramble was a 'rational agreeable amusement' with a moral tendency, the antidote to indolence and inactivity.[13]

Figure 3. A sycamore at Haye Park, Richards Castle drawn by M. Hewett in July 1874. A typical amateur sketch of the period. (Woolhope Club Library)

We know that the early naturalists of the Club carried notebooks and sketchpads as some of these survive in the Woolhope library (Fig. 3). At the falls of Craig-y-pwll-ddu, near Boughrood in 1867 – 'a particularly painterly spot' – Bull reports that 'sketching became the order of the day. In one book an excellent artistic effect was produced in a very short time, but in another scratches here and scratches there, no doubt held the germ of everything, but it did

require a large exercise of the imagination to see anything.' A year before at Talgarth, Edwin Lees came equipped with sketches he had made of churchyard yews in Herefordshire to illustrate a brief talk on the importance of recording veteran trees. He condemned modern artists who painted trees in their studios. They 'might be trees to the artist, but not any one in particular to the naturalist' who needed to see the 'physiognomy of the vegetation.'[14] Mid 19th-century artists had wandered away from their picturesque roots in the late 18th century, when many of them arrived in the Wye Valley and employed the amateur artist, James Wathen – 'Jemmy the Sketch' – to guide them to the most promising stations on the Wye to make their *plein-air* sketches (Fig. 4).[15] The Woolhope naturalists, however, remained true to the spirit of Gilpin, whose tour-books were provided with simple washes which could be imitated by the amateur artist.

This moral dimension of picturesque inquiry was taken up in the early 19th century by the evangelicals who promoted the study of nature as a godly activity, recommending that young people should engage with the countryside and learn to classify and apply scientific analysis to their collections.[16] There was a spate of children's books published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the smaller Religious Tract Society. Titles like *The Flowers of the Forest* (1839) – the picaresque adventures of a girl called Aimée - promoted piety through nature study. This aspect of the picturesque ramble no doubt had a particular appeal to the many clergymen and serious professionals who made up the membership of the Club in the mid 19th century. Dr Bull's retiring address as President in 1867 dedicated the Club's work during the year to the 'one great beneficent Power, the Author of all that beauty, the Promulgator of all those marvellous laws, the Sustainer of the universal fabric.' Clearly, Bull was looking over his shoulder to those like Darwin who misinterpreted the 'infinite works of the Creator.'[17]

Figure 4. James Wathen (1751-1828), artist and tour guide who knew the secret spots for picture-making on the Wye. Here at Breinton Springs with Belmont House in the distance. (Hereford City Library)

DARWIN AND THE PICTURESQUE

As 2009 is Darwin's anniversary year we might glance briefly at his picturesque credentials. *The Voyage of the Beagle* is a tour book very much in the mould of Gilpin. The canvas is greater and the scientific knowledge impressive but throughout Darwin demonstrates his familiarity with system of landscape evaluation described above. The beautiful is regularly encountered in Chile. In the valley of Quillota the country is 'such as the poets would call pastoral' where he admires the effect of the fog 'curling into the ravines, beautifully representing little coves and bays and here and there a solitary hillock peeping up.' The effect of mist and smoke in the landscape was a constant preoccupation of Georgian writers. A sublime experience also occurs travelling up the ravine of Paypote in northern Chile in June 1835: 'The scene on all sides showed desolation, brightened and made palpable by a clear and unclouded sky. For a time such scenery is sublime, but the feeling cannot last and then it becomes uninteresting' – a failure in the sublime, which apologists for the picturesque – where the 'eye is led on a wanton chase' – too readily recognised. Finally, on James Island in the Galapagos Darwin visits a circular salt-lake, fringed with green and succulent plants with woods clothing the precipitous walls of the crater; the scene he decides 'was altogether picturesque and curious.'[18]

This year has also seen several books describing the scientific and domestic life of Darwin and his family at Down House in Kent. There one of Darwin's first projects (1842-4) was to write down his observations of the local natural history, very much in the manner of Edwin Lees, with colourful prose but integrating the scientific names of plants. He was also an admirer of ancient woodland, preserving hollow trees within new plantations and maintaining ivy where he found it. Ivy was used on buildings in this era to produce an instant picturesque effect, and Down House itself was dripping in climbers, encouraged by an extensive framework of trellis. Darwin's niece, Gwen Raverat, later reminisced about the garden and felt sure that it had a creative beauty and special texture that stimulated artistic endeavours. The one gardening book we know Darwin owned was John Claudius Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822)—Loudon was an avowed disciple of Uvedale Price.

Darwin's life at Down House was devoted to close encounters with nature. His observations of cow parsley—its texture colour and variety—growing along the Sandwalk and in the lanes around the house, led to a major break through, which contributed to *On the Origin of Species*. This corresponds exactly with the chief aesthetic pleasure derived from the Picturesque, with its emphasis upon intricacy and variety. Darwin employed his reason to extract his scientific theory but we know from other sources, not least *The Voyage of the Beagle*, that he was passionate about the beauty and complexity of nature. We can return to Gilpin to examine the picturesque process.[19]

THE PICTURESQUE PERSPECTIVE

Gilpin believed that the picturesque interest of the Wye was to be found in its 'ornaments': 'ground—wood—rocks and buildings'. The first three preoccupied the early scientists of the Woolhope Club and the last its antiquarians, who at first were rather slow to find a voice in the pages of the *Transactions*. Gilpin has nothing to say about the geology of the ground and rocks or the varieties of trees and plants. But he insists upon the tourists looking closely at the 'essential parts' of a scene – the variations of foliage and growth patterns of trees; the tints of mosses and lichens; the shape and colour of rocks, which 'sometimes slant obliquely from the

eye in shelving diagonal strata.'[20] The picturesque eye focused here needs only to be sharpened with the correct scientific terminology to become the eye of the 19th- century naturalist and geologist.

Figure 5. The view of the 'lofty Lime Stone Rock on the banks of the Wye' at Symonds Yat from *The Botanical Looker-Out* (1851)

Edwin Lees revisited Symonds Yat in *The Botanical Looker-out* (1842) and is thrilled by the 'noble mass of mountain limestone.' The second presentation edition of 1851 was sent to Bull and is on the shelves in the Woolhope library.

Unlike Gilpin, who quotes Virgil to emphasise the experience, he is able to name the rock-form and dress it with wild flowers (Fig. 5). Indeed, he exclaims 'Frightful must the bare scene once have been! – but now romantic beauty has chased desolation away' and the rock is 'decorated', as Gilpin would have it, with hollies, yews, white-beam, bilberries, mosses, heath and lichen. For Lees the 'picturesque beauty' of the scene is elevated through the deployment of a little scientific knowledge but basically the activity of studying closely a vignette of nature has changed little since 1782.[21]

The special qualities of the Picturesque were given further detailed definition by two members of the Herefordshire gentry – Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price – whose respective works, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* and the *Essay on the Picturesque*, were published in 1794. Both were widely read and debated in the salons of polite society. Price's *Essay*, subsequently joined by several additional essays on woodland, water and architecture, was regularly reprinted until the 1840s. Price and Knight were keen to display their scientific knowledge. They knew very little about geology, but as landowners a great deal about trees. Knight, following Gilpin's *Forest Scenery* (1791), explored the picturesque virtues of native trees in the last section of *The Landscape*.[22]

Uvedale Price occasionally enjoys a direct reference in the early *Transactions*. As we have seen, the writing-up of meetings was often anonymous but either Bull or the Rev. George Cornewall reflected upon Price's contribution to the landscape as the 9.50 train from Hereford to Kington puffed up the valley of the Yazor Brook in June 1866. 'The beautiful Lady-lift with its diadem of trees' is noticed 'suggestive of the renowned author Sir Uvedale Price, who was not only their planter but the cause by his writings of many other beautiful estates being so laid out as to develop their natural capability of being made beautiful.' Price is also mentioned during the 'foray among the funguses' at Holme Lacy Park in October 1868. Here Dr Bull describes the Club members taking a route along the ridge of the upper park with views of the 'mansion itself and the neighbouring hills…and round back again by that beautiful walk called Price's Walk—from its having been laid out by Sir Uvedale Price—a walk that takes you past such a series of noble picturesque old oaks that can seldom be met with.'[23] (Fig. 6). Bull was probably aware that Price took a particular interest in these 'giant oaks' writing to his friend Sir

George Beaumont in 1820, warning him that, with the impending death of the Duchess of Norfolk, the new owner Sir Edwyn Stanhope would simply be interested in 'how many cords of firewood the monarchs will produce.' Fortunately, Sir Edwyn was also imbued with the same picturesque sensibility and proudly showed the veterans to the Club members on their visit in 1868—and many of them survive today.[24]

Figure 6. The Trysting Oak (*Quercus petraea*) – one of the named veterans in the park at Holme Lacy. Its girth measured 29 feet 3 inches in 1875 and 31feet 6 inches in 2002. It has since lost a large limb, which could have been avoided with some tree surgery. (David Whitehead, 2010)

Early the next year in March, at the AGM of the Club held at the Green Dragon, Bull gave his Report of the Remarkable Trees of Whitfield. After thoroughly enumerating the many mature specimens—exotics as well as natives—he comments on the 'clumps', possibly introduced by 'Capability' Brown but 'happily long since lost due to the taste of the late Mrs E. B. Clive', who, he was informed, was a 'good amateur artist' – an important qualification for picture making in the landscape. Her talent for picturesque planting, he continued, was aided by Sir Uvedale Price who 'visited much at Whitfield and attacked 'so spiritedly…the glaring faults of Brown.' Bull finally quotes Gilpin on the planting of oaks – 'the most picturesque tree in itself and the most accommodating in composition.'[25]

The picturesque experience was often a solitary one and albeit Edwin Lees appears to have been particularly gregarious, his deepest encounters with nature were eremitic and unaccompanied. In this he was like his near contemporary, Francis Kilvert, but unlike Kilvert who saw himself as the last of the Celtic *peregrini*, he also enjoyed the 'prattle' of field days. Early naturalists investigated the countryside on foot, often as part of an itinerary, which, from

reading between the lines in the *Transactions*, were often too ambitious for some Woolhope members. In this they shared their enthusiasm for strolling with the romantic poets. In the 1790s Coleridge and Wordsworth sharpened their perceptions of countryside with long walks in the Quantock Hills – the result was the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), which contain many close encounters with nature.

Bull defended the walking excursions in his presidential address in 1866. They 'furnish us with a delightful recreation. We are taken into scenes always of great interest and often of great beauty. Hills and dale, rock and meadow, not only yield fresh spoils for the vasculum and the hammer, but they refresh our eyes and banish from our thoughts many of those corroding cares of which busy life is full.' Feasting the eye on scenes of picturesque beauty is just as significant in Bull's mind as the pursuit of science and this can only be achieved through walking. Bull was particularly complimentary in 1869 about the walks laid out by Richard Payne Knight along the banks of the Teme at Downton. 'None could fail to be pleased with the loveliness of the scenery; its richness, its wildness, the rugged banks, and the rushing river, the beautiful combination of rock and foliage, of light and shadow, as seen now from the gloom of a rocky cavern and again from an open glade. Well might a lover of the picturesque grow more and more charmed with the views.' We are left in no doubt that Bull is 'a lover of the picturesque.' He quotes Knight's poem *The Landscape* (1794) and, from a subsequent comment, understands the special effects of the walk, whereby, before being revealed, scenes are often concealed by caverns, trees and walls. Thus, in effect clearing the mind of earlier 'pictures'.[26]

On the same walk Bull is enchanted by the scene of 'many groups of pretty naturalists' (it was Ladies' Day) wending their way along the south bank of the river. Apparently, it was the women guests who contributed to making these occasions so picturesque. Bull said as much three years earlier at Builth, where the men were busy with their hammers in a dingle when 'some ladies on horseback joined the party and added much to the picturesque effect of a group of naturalists.'[27] No doubt Bull's extensive reading of picturesque literature would have made him familiar with the famous debate inaugurated by Price about the requisite qualities necessary for human figures to enhance a fine picture. Price opted for female gypsies with their bright flowing garments, rejecting it seems the fashions of contemporary late Georgian women (Fig. 7). Price would probably accepted Bull's judgement that mid-Victorian women, drawn from the middle classes, with full dresses and pretty bonnets would certainly do the trick. On another Ladies' Day it was the laying out of tablecloths for the picnic, which 'produced an effect as picturesque as it was cheerful.'[28] There is a certain innocence in the manner in which Bull casts his women in the role of picturesque props. Some of the *frisson* and sexual banter that accompanied similar writing in the 1790s has now evaporated and, in this regard, the picturesque has become respectable.

Figure 7. An epitome of picturesque dress: *Girl Harvesting Bracken* (*c*.1830), by Joshua Cristall. (©New Art Gallery, Walsall)

PICTURESQUE ANTIQUARIANISM

It is interesting to notice that antiquarianism was out of fashion with the early naturalists of the Club. This had dominated the proceedings of the old Herefordshire Literary, Philosophical and Antiquarian Society where Bull referred to hearing 'increasing lectures upon things of antiquity' and even in 1866 he mentioned in confidence to his friend Thomas Blashill that, with regard to papers read at meetings, 'I am desirous that we should make a little more show of science, than we have done lately.'[29] The Picturesque also had an ambivalent attitude towards antiquarianism, which tended to be concerned with the niceties of style, diverting attention away from buildings in the landscape. Richard Payne Knight, for example, was always displeased with visitors to Downton who compared his house—usually unfavourably—with authentic medieval castles like Ludlow.[30] In the early days, the Club generally ignored medieval churches and the treatment of St George's, the parish church at Clun, is fairly typical. After a couple of cursory lines on style, there is an outcry against its present condition. In 'late years it certainly seems not to have been much interfered with. Its pillars and walls lean in all directions, and the whole building calls loudly for restoration, and so too does the lytchgate [*sic*] at the churchyard entrance, which is visibly crumbling away.' Picturesque delight in decay has been eroded here by Victorian piety. A decent well-pewed church was needed and this was provided in 1876-7 when G. E. Street virtually reconstructed it. A modern authority believes that 'the effect of Street's interior deserves to be appreciated' but finds it particularly difficult to 'pick out the medieval parts and deduce the development of the church.' The adjoining castle at Clun also receives scant attention with no architectural detail provided and only a little history lifted from a standard guidebook. However, there is a long reference to its appearance as the *Garde Doloureuse* in Sir Walter Scott's *The Betrothed*. For our early naturalists romantic atmosphere—at least with secular buildings—was more desirable than a long dissertation of style and dating.[31]

Naturalists with a picturesque disposition were programmed to notice cottages, especially those occupied by vernacular characters rooted in their own soil. Cottage architecture was a *leitmotiv* of the picturesque era with Uvedale Price, among others, devoting part of one of his essays to its painterly characteristics. William Cobbett noticed that cottagers inhabiting woodland and pastoral countryside, like Herefordshire, were likely to be better off and better housed than cottagers living in the richer corn lands of Midland and Eastern England. In the early 19th century the vernacular architecture of the Herefordshire labouring classes was made famous by the Birmingham water colourist David Cox who, during his long life, returned again and again to the image of the 'Herefordshire cottage.'[32]

On a visit to Brampton Bryan in 1870, the charms of Park Cottage were not lost on Dr Bull: 'How pretty and picturesque this cottage is; how well its grounds have been planted with roses; how exquisite was the view from it on the day of sunshine and cloud when these notes were taken' (Fig. 8). Bull shared his enthusiasm for cottages with Edwin Lees who described many cottages in words and pictures on either side of the Malverns, eulogising on their uneven floors, joists stained with wood smoke and the old inhabitants found therein, tucked into the chimney corner. Eventually, Lees and his wife became cottagers themselves, renting South Cottage at Malvern Wells. Bull achieved something more practical, becoming a member of the committee of the Hereford Cottage Society, which raised subscriptions for the better housing of the poor of Hereford. His friend, the architect Thomas Blashill, a leading member of the Woolhope Club, was also keen on cottage improvement and produced a paper on the subject.

Figure 8. The ‘pretty cottage’ in the deer park at Brampton Bryan. (D. Whitehead, 1999)

Eventually, Blashill became an architect for the newly established London County Council and designed ‘cottages’ for the working classes in the capital, which were much admired. These men shared a picturesque interest in the vernacular cottage but also they saw in it a symbol of an Arcadian world that was passing away very quickly. The agricultural depression of the late 19th century produced increasing depopulation in the Herefordshire countryside, and thus the cottages depicted in the early photographs published in the *Transactions* had the patina of decay because many of them had been abandoned or were about to be abandoned by the workers of the land (Fig. 9). Bull, Lees and Blashill had a sentimental interest in the humble buildings of Old England but this led to rational philanthropic activity to ensure that the labouring classes were still well housed. This, of course, was also a subject close to the hearts of William Morris and his followers.[33]

There was one area of antiquarianism that appears to have been universally accepted by the early Woolhope naturalists, which comes broadly under the heading of the romance of the Druids. During the ‘Druid’s century’ between *c.*1740-1860 interest in the Druids became widespread. They were seen in various roles: as founders of the British identity, freedom fighters and the priests of a peaceful nature-worshipping religion. As tourists went in search of the picturesque in Wales and Scotland they found, or imagined they found, small pockets of ‘innocent simplicity’ set within a pristine countryside. Since Celtic societies were older, they were also thought to be simpler and more pure. Hereford was seen as a surrogate piece of Wales and the presence of Druids in the remote past was evidence for this.[34] The belief was held that Herefordshire was a fragment of ‘Old Siluria’, before the Anglo-Saxons annexed it. The Society of Tempers, who promoted amiability and looked after the walks on Castle Green, developed elaborate initiation ceremonies based upon the assumed British roots of their genteel membership. The Rev. John Duncumb, a leading Temper and local antiquarian embraced this view. He was also one-time editor of the *Hereford Journal*, originally entitled *Pugh’s Hereford*

Journal or *The British Chronicle* to attract the Welsh market). There was also in Hereford the 'Silurian Lodge of Druids' (founded 1829) who met at the Rummer Tavern, Bewell Street every Wednesday evening.[35] The British leader Caractacus was the hero figure of the Silures who, it was thought, had fought his last stand against the Romans somewhere in Herefordshire. In the last years of the 18th century his struggle was recalled when, in 1797, the French landed in Pembrokeshire. Both Nelson and Uvedale Price thought that the Britons of Old Siluria might be called upon to fight another tyrant.[36]

Figure 9. Unidentified Herefordshire Cottage – eminently picturesque but before the age of modern improvements *c.*1930. (F. C. Morgan, Hereford City Library)

Once again this picaresque birth-myth was absorbed by the early naturalists of the Club who were particularly attracted to the nature-worshipping aspects of the Druidical sect. Bull's famous and long excursion in 1864 into the growth habits of the mistletoe, by his own admittance lacking in scientific rigour, provided him with an opportunity to explore 'the romance of its history.' After providing lists of host trees he relishes the opportunity to make an excursion into the traditions of the Druids and other bardic writers, describing an imaginary New Year festival at the Eastnor oak, one of the few oaks known to act as a host to the parasite, close to the ramparts of the British Camp. 'Some 2000-3000 years [ago], this grand festival would have been held last Monday (and) many a good wife has travelled for days, perchance, on a pillion behind her husband, through bogs and fords, and over wide tracts of uncultivated land and primeval forest, to attend this festival.' He is clearly out of sympathy with the Christian church suppressing these public ceremonies and forcing them behind closed doors but also believes that Herefordshire's isolation made the survival of Druidical beliefs more

likely, even in the mid 19th century. He regrets the export of mistletoe from Hereford by train, describing it as 'unpoetical…when common place railway tracks carry off romance – in the shape of mistletoe – at so much per ton.' Bull's romancing on the mistletoe, which was first published in the *Hereford Times*, got him into trouble with many pious readers who felt that he had been too sympathetic to the 'idolatrous' Druids.[37]

It seems likely that Dr Bull had been introduced to the mistletoe oak at Eastnor by Edwin Lees in 1853, when the Malvern Club naturalists met up with members of the more recently formed Woolhope Club at Eastnor. Lees presented a paper 'On the plants which flourish on Silurian Limestone' and in it alludes to the 'celestial plant' (mistletoe)…high upon its supporting dryad' (an oak) in a secluded spot below the 'grand Camp Hill once covered with painted Britons under the eye of Caractacus.' Naturally the way to the sacred oak is via a 'glen devoted to the Furies' and through a grove of 'gloomy yews.' Clearly, Dr Bull caught his creative fever from this old romantic from Worcestershire.[38]

Druidical references abound in the early *Transactions* and in their search for picturesque locations, the club regularly found themselves contemplating druidical or 'Celtic' locations. The legend of the lost city beneath the lake at Llangorse is recited in three separate versions when the members met at Talgarth in May 1866. The manuscripts of Taliesin Williams (Iolo Morgannwg) were published with English translations by the Welsh MSS Society in 1848. Those quoted here were some of Bull's favourite texts, and came to mind when viewing the ancient oaks at Colwall and in similar circumstances at Brampton Bryan in June 1882. Fortuitously, they contained the claim that the land 'between the Wye and the Severn' was part of the ancient patrimony of Wales. This was good news indeed for the inhabitants of Old Siluria and it enabled a massive corpus of antiquarian meanderings, folk tales and poetry to be associated, albeit rather tenuously, with Herefordshire. Dr Bull clearly had a copy of the 1848 edition but even without this specific source Celtic mysticism was very much in the air at this time, following the publication of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859) which particularly impressed another Herefordshire romantic, Francis Kilvert, who was equally carried way with all things Celtic and Druidical. But he had a more precious view of the landscape of Old Siluria, lacking the rational drives of the Woolhope naturalists. Thus, when the Club opened a tumulus at Twyn-y-beddau, near Hay in 1870 and disturbed the bones and broken skull found therein, he saw it as an act of desecration by a prattling 'herd.' 'The old world resting place of the wild warriors' should have been left 'to the silence of a summer afternoon.' On this occasion at least, the scientific drives of the Club had overcome their romantic sensibilities.[39]

Prehistory for the early Club members was generally 'British.' The approach to Croft Ambrey in 1852 via a 'beautifully wooded dell' was enhanced by the name that the camp took from 'the British monarch, Ambrosius' or 'good king Ambrosius' in 1870. Backbury Camp was also a 'British camp' albeit 'for some unknown reason (it had) been styled the camp of the Saxon St Ethelbert' – an unforgivable solecism. On a visit to Arthur's Stone in July 1855 the geologists of the party confirmed that the 'Druidical monument' was constructed of local cornstone with a capping slab of Old Red Sandstone. With some pride it was concluded 'there is no ground for supposing that the cromlech was formed of stones brought to the hill from any other places.'[40] Thus, it was categorically a product of Old Siluria. This was a thought which had earlier captivated the Rev. John Duncumb, who placed an engraving of Arthur's Stone as a frontispiece to the first volume of his *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Herefordshire* (1804). The monument, embraced by a craggy limb of a veteran tree (a Druidical oak?), symbolised the essentially British character of the county.

No comment was made by the Club of the association of the Neolithic stones with Arthur, but elsewhere in their itineraries, the leading lights of the Club showed some appreciation that the Celtic world existed beyond the Roman occupation as well as before it. In May 1867 Dr. Bull left it up to Edwin Lees to disclaim eloquently upon the origins of the British Camp. He put aside its associations with the 'Silurian prince Caradoc or Caractacus' and suggested that it was defended by the 'Old Silures' who 'maintained themselves in Herefordshire long after the Saxons had established themselves in Mercia and Worcestershire.' As an authority, he quoted a recent translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the archaeological evidence of the 'golden coronet' found 'at the outer edge of the entrenchment, near the Wind's Point.' The Club walked around the camp with Lees and agreed with their guide 'that the works were too great to have been executed by a petty chieftain in the ante-Roman times.'[41]

Later in the same summer the Club found itself on the Bury Ditches, near Craven Arms, guided by the eminent Roman archaeologist, Thomas Wright of Ludlow. Quoting Gaulish precedent, Wright also dismissed the idea that the earthwork was constructed before the Romans and instead, suggested that it was 'the house of a Saxon chieftain of great importance.' Bull comments in the *Transactions* that 'the general impression amongst the visitors seemed to be that it was a British encampment of a very early date, and possibly one made by the army of Caractacus.'[42]

The Club seemed to relish the British past of Old Siluria and, whereas they pursued their geological and botanical interests with scientific rigour, when it came to history they preferred to meander in the Celtic twilight accepting traditional tales and legends without much rational discrimination. As was often the case, Dr Bull put his finger on the core of the matter in 1866 at the hill of Castell Cymerda [*sic*], above Builth Wells. This 'British camp' was deserving of attention because of 'legendary interest as well as its picturesque beauty.' Without the one, the other was diminished, it seems. In the next sentence he refers to the flat stone of Yrhid (Llech-yrhid), where he comments, 'the last British chief…the unfortunate Llewelyn', had his breakfast on the day he perished. As if conscious of his own gullibility, he continues 'close to this spot redolent of heroic recollections, in which (as Burke puts it) 'the obscurity is a great element of the sublime' runs the railway and the *genius loci* was probably somewhat startled the other day when the iron railway bridge was placed aloft above the Wye, near the spot where Yrhid fell and Llewelyn ate his last meal.' There is a touch of scepticism here, but Bull appreciates that much of the enjoyment of the Club's meetings came from visiting picturesque locations, where the experience was enhanced by reciting the obscure legends and folk history of the site.[43]

THE PICTURESQUE APPRECIATION OF VETERAN TREES

For the early naturalists of the Club the most tangible survival of Druidical influence in the landscape was to be found in the presence of veteran yews and oaks. They were not alone in this belief. In Sherwood Forest in the 1790s the ancient oaks were 'rediscovered' by Major Hayman Rooke, a retired naval officer, who identified their 'druidical ancestry' with the greatness of the British navy.[44] In the age of iron-hulled ships this sort of association was less likely to be made by the Club, but their historic model developed along similar lines. The Colwall oaks were measured and found to be 21 feet and 16 feet 2 inches in girth respectively. Notwithstanding these modest proportions they were readily dated as 1000 years old, and 'in

their day the noble encampment on the Herefordshire Beacon above them may have been the scene of life and action.' Associationism was a key strand of the aesthetic theory underpinning the picturesque appeal and in this respect yew trees, above all other species, won hands down, even over the venerable oak. In 1866 at Builth, the Rev. T. Woodhouse urged members to forget their dry and uninteresting statistics—the tools of the amateur scientist - and visit the places frequented by the yews, which were 'not only picturesque objects in themselves (but) many of them stand in the midst of striking scenery or picturesque or curious buildings.' Woodhouse was reflecting here a sea-change in the general appreciation of yews in the landscape.[45]

The landscape movement associated with 'Capability' Brown had rejected the formality associated with yew gardens but by the late 18th century earlier gardens like those viewed on the Grand Tour to Italy were once again being admired, especially if they showed signs of senescence – another key yardstick for measuring picturesqueness. When a pupil of Brown tried to blow up the yew terraces at Powis Castle, Richard Payne Knight persuaded Lord Powis to retain his late 17th-century gardens.[46] In *The Landscape* Knight yearns, in general, to reverse the work of 'the improver's desolating hand' and see 'the moss-grown terrace' rise again, replanted with the 'ductile yew.' Gilpin too spoke favourable of the yew, regarding it as 'one of the most beautiful ever-greens we have,' a point re-iterated by Uvedale Price who felt it was an essential ingredient of natural woodland, frequently left out of new plantations.[47] It also added a unique quality to the landscape—solemnity. Chandos Wren Hoskyns recognised this quality of the yew when he provided a report of the trees of Harewood and Pengethley in the 1867 *Transactions* where many yew trees 'lent their dark shade to the park scenery at Harewood.' By the mid 19th century even popular handbooks on ornamental trees were recommending the yew as an 'indispensable among ornamental plants [which should] form a prominent feature in almost every natural plantation' and for William Robinson in *The English Flower Garden* (1883) it was 'the most beautiful evergreen of our western world.' He particularly like the free growing graveyard yew and picks out the 'broad and impressive yew hedges' at Holme Lacy for special praise (Fig. 10). The Arts and Crafts writers, like John Dando Sedding, wrote with almost religious fervour about 'the old English pleasaunce' or the 'stiff garden' with its terraces, cabinets and yew arbours.[48] Thus the delight in the yew displayed by members of the Woolhope Club was shared by most of their contemporaries and is reflected in the many paintings by artists such as George Elgood and Ernest Rowe who sought out ancient yew gardens to paint (Fig. 11).

But, as we have seen, the Woolhope naturalists were very keen to push their veteran yews back into the era of Old Siluria. Edwin Lees, who was present when the Rev. T. Woodhouse presented his paper on yews, convinced the assembled members that 'in many instances (yews) waved their mournful foliage as native trees long before the churches that now stand near them were erected (applause).' Similarly, Mr Flavell Edmunds claimed that the 'philological argument' confirmed that the very name 'yew' was of British derivation and that it was frequently found 'on the slopes of Roman camps' where it marked the site of burials. Among his examples were Kenchester, Credenhill, Aconbury and Dinedor. He finished his contribution to the debate by reminding his audience that the yew played an important part in the 'Druidical system.'

Figure 10. The late 17th-century yews at Holme Lacy, back in fashion according to late 19th-century writers such as William Robinson. (D. Whitehead, 2010)

Figure 11. George Elgood's evocation of the *Yew Garden at Lyde, Herefordshire* (1913). (Private Collection)

A similar line of thought can be detected in Bull's 1867 report on the yew trees at Capel-y-ffin, which he had recently visited accompanied by Edwin Lees. These 'rugged, grim and hoary' trees were measured but the key question in Bull's mind was 'were these trees planted as a consecrated graveyard for pagan worship' and did the early Christian missionaries 'avail themselves of a place already sacred.' Bull appears to have agreed with this proposition, following his mentor Lees, but the Rev. T. Woodhouse, perhaps for professional reasons, believed that in general yews were added to primary Christian sites. This meeting combined all the best ingredients of a Club outing. The 'hoary' trees, found in a picturesque setting, where nearby there was a mysterious cave and a 'beautiful' waterfall were combined with further speculation about Old Siluria, whilst the sceptical scientists (if there were any) had an opportunity to take some measurements and botanise in the locality, finding a rare cotton grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum*) nearby.[49]

Another tendency which the Woolhope naturalists inherited from the picturesque movement was their predilection for avenues. These majestic symbols of aristocratic power over the countryside were generally planted in the late 17th and early 18th centuries but by the 1760s were increasingly regarded as alien imports, interrupting the curving line of beauty that came to typify the Arcadian view of the English landscape. 'Capability' Brown and his imitators, encouraged by their patrons, cut avenues down or 'clumped' them to create discrete groups of trees. Since most of these avenues were mature and venerable features in the landscape by the late 18th century, picturesque writers with their confined focus and concern for 'atmosphere' began to defend them. Price compared the avenue to the 'great gothic aisle' of a cathedral but added 'the broad solemn shade adds a twilight calm to the whole, and makes it above all other places, most suited to meditation.' The famous avenues of Hampton Court at Hope-under-Dinmore, depicted in the late 17th century in the perspectives of Leonard Knyff and John Stevens, survived until the late 18th century when the Hon. John Byng noticed the passing of the 'noble timber' in 1784: 'every tree is mark'd; I feel for the dryads of the grove and lament that I cannot suspend the axe.' Indeed, Price may have had this event in mind when he recalls a moonlight experience approaching a 'venerable castle-like mansion, built at the beginning of the 15th century' along 'the deep gloom of an avenue. The whole scene forcibly brought to my fancy the times of faeries and chivalry. I was much hurt to learn from the master of the place, that I might take my leave of the avenue and its romantic effects, for that a death warrant was signed.'[50] Humphry Repton also seems to have commented on the stripping-out of ancient timber at Hampton Court, which in 1809 passed out of the hands of Lord Malden to Richard Arkwright Jnr. Illustrations of the grounds in this period show much new planting and between 1830-50 the Court was comprehensively re-built. Perhaps for these reasons the Club generally ignored Hampton Court in the 19th century and it was not until 1907 that a field meeting terminated there. On this occasion one or two trees were measured in the deer park, but the changed interests of the Club is reflected in a long discussion of its history rather than any active fieldwork.[51]

Figure 12. The veteran sweet chestnuts (*Castanea sativa*) at Croft Castle, gracing a landscape fit for the brush of Salvator Rosa. (D. Whitehead, 1993)

However, other avenues were regularly recorded by the Club and admired, both for the age of individual trees but also for the manner in which it struck the Club's 'fancy' – to employ Price's term.

At Croft the chestnut avenues survived because of the 'gothic' inclinations of the Knight/Johnes family who occupied the estate from 1746 to 1785. The Club visited in 1852 and 1864. On the latter occasion some serious tree measuring took place and individual trees were named e.g. the Bower Oak and the Lovers' Oak – so named, we are informed, 'from the romantic scenes that have occurred there.' The 'picturesque beauties' of the dingle (Fishpool Valley), visited in 1852, were 'tempting' but ignored in favour of a closely-planted beech avenue, which was best 'left to the artist' to fully appreciate. Eventually the sweet chestnuts were reached (Fig. 12); a species, which at Talgarth in 1866 Bull was to annex as his own field of study.

Given his extensive reading, he presumably appreciated that this was the picturesque tree *par excellence*. For Gilpin it was the tree that 'graces the landscapes of Salvator Rosa.'[52] Knight also associates it with the 'classic climates' of Rosa but acknowledges that it had 'diffused its charms o'er many a distant land' and looks forward to the time when it will adorn the canvases of British artists. He perhaps had in mind Hearne's recent painting of 'The Chestnut Tree at Little Wymondley, Hertfordshire' (1789), which was etched by Pouncey and published in *Picturesque Landscapes* (1794). On his tour of Sicily in 1777 Knight went out of his way to find a celebrated grove of chestnuts on the road to Taormina. He was disappointed and commented 'In Sicily they might be looked upon as wonders, as a great part of the Inhabitants never saw a tree larger than a Dwarf Olive, but to those who have been used to the noble Oaks of England, they are very contemptible objects.'[53]

At Croft, however, Bull felt that the 'celebrated' chestnuts were 'worth going any reasonable distance to see' and noted that Loudon (1838) believed that one of the trees had a girth of 25 feet 6 inches and was the largest chestnut in England. Like many who followed him, Bull was very keen to extend the age of the trees, dismissing the accepted view at the time that they were planted by Dr Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford (1662-91). As a true romantic he also dismisses his own measurements, stating, 'they give no idea of the grandeur and beauty of the trees themselves…the more they are examined, the more admiration they invite.'

On a visit to Moccas *c.*1870, the Monnington Walk was the first port of call. This 'grand avenue of Scotch Firs and Yew trees…..is very picturesque' and Bull noted with some

satisfaction that 'here and there oaks have been planted in place of firs, but this lapse of good taste is being extinguished and the fir trees restored.' The annual rings of a tree blown down a few years before provided a date of 1628, which heightened the romance by calling forth the annals of the Tomkyns family – cavaliers, of course, in this period – and a reference to Owen Glendower [*sic*] 'the wizard' being buried half inside and outside the church. A few years later, in 1875, Francis Kilvert woke up early one morning in the vicarage at Monnington and saw how the 'sunshine glinted in the red boles of the gigantic Scotch firs in the Monnington Walk.' Later he walked back along the Walk to Bredwardine with the Scotch firs 'evermore sighing overhead…(I) never saw the Monnington Walk so beautiful as it was this afternoon. The long green walk shone brilliant green in the golden afternoon.' A few days later he returned and incidentally, picked up on Price's image of the 'vast and solemn cathedral aisle', adding that the wind blowing through the pines 'makes mournful music as it breathes upon that natural Aeolian harp which is the organ of that cathedral.' Notwithstanding, Kilvert's differences with the Club at Twyn-y-deddau in 1870, he had much in common with the aesthetic outlook of the naturalists. Bull's writings can sometimes achieve similar flights of fancy but the scientist in him provided some restraint and as he says occasionally, some scenes are best left to the poet and artist.[54]

It was at Talgarth, in May 1866 that Bull asked the Rev. George Cornewall to launch the Club's campaign to record the 'more remarkable trees of Herefordshire.' As the owner of Moccas deer park, with its collection of fine trees which had been regularly recorded since at least the late 18th century, the Rev. Cornewall was the most fitting person for the task. Once again, Edwin Lees, the 'veteran' tree recorder *par excellence*, who had 'strayed' across the border from Worcestershire, provided some examples of noteworthy trees from east Herefordshire. Immediately after his address in the *Transactions*, the first of many illustrations of 'remarkable trees' begins with a fuzzy photograph by Ladmore of Hereford, dated March 1867, of the mistletoe oak at Tedstone Delamere (Fig. 13).[55] This tree was exceptional in being relatively immature, whereas most of the subsequent trees illustrated would today be referred to as 'veterans.' Thereafter, until the end of the century, the *Transactions* were full of notices of extraordinary trees, easily studied since the earliest indices, rather unusually, have a large number of entries under 'trees.' Although it was initially suggested that individual members of the Club should study specific species of trees, e.g. the Rev. T. Woodhouse – the yew, the Rev. Cornewall – the oak, the response from the wider membership of the Club, notwithstanding the circulation of a printed manifesto, was very poor. Eventually in 1870 Bull produced a long paper 'Incidental notes on Remarkable Trees,' which appears to have been culled from the various expeditions made by the Club.

His account of the visit to the deer park at Brampton Bryan is typical. This was already famous and from the late 18th century tourists regularly made a detour to visit it. Bull acknowledged this, noting its 'fine scenery...and the great number and variety of its picturesque trees.' It is the latter that capture his attention. First, a 'great old oak' in Laugh Lady Dingle, which 'has been riven asunder and now presents a hollow stem divided into three sections' – a space that was capable of providing refuge for seven sheep in a severe snow storm (Fig. 14). To enhance the picturesque associations he referred to the great storm of 3 September 1658, which coincided with the death of Oliver Cromwell, when many trees were destroyed in the park.

Figure 13. The Mistletoe Oak (*Quercus robur*) at Bredwardine. In 1871 this was the 10th known example of the mistletoe bearing oak in the county. The Rev. Sir George H. Cornewall, Bart., is pointing at the parasite. (Woolhope Club)

Figure 14. ‘Laugh Lady Oak’ at Brampton Bryan, from the 1871 *Transactions*

Several other oaks, some with individual names, were measured, their ‘grief scars’ mentioned and ‘all of them more or less weird, hollow and broken.’ Some more flourishing trees were noticed, which Bull hoped would escape from the ‘cool calculating clutches of the timber dealer.’ The sweet chestnut row was next to be visited, with measurements ranging from 11 to 19 feet in circumference. He informed his readers that these were brought from Eywood between 150-60 years ago, i.e. in the early 18th century at the time of the first earl of Oxford. Apart from the compulsive desire to measure the trees, Bull was concerned primarily with locating the curious and the picturesque. In the Pricean manner he had an eye for composition and his prose moves from one vignette to another. He completed his visit by inspecting the trees in the pleasure grounds near the Hall, drawing attention to three large limes, probably planted in the late 17th century and a ‘curious larch’—‘a very interesting picturesque tree.’ He leaves regretting that the remains of the castle ‘with all its interesting associations’ was not sited within the park. Presumably, he could imagine a picturesque conjunction between the ruined castle and the veteran trees—a conjunction of painterly elements found in the works of the great watercolourists of the romantic era, with their roots ultimately in the classic compositions of Claude, Nicholas Poussin and Salvator Rosa.[56]

THE SEARCH FOR REMARKABLE TREES

The Club’s search for ‘remarkable trees’ was not entirely dominated by its interest in picturesque wrecks; many of the pictures provided by Ladmore were vigorous and well balanced specimens – according to contemporary canons, beautiful rather than picturesque. The ‘Club Oak’ at Moccas was a good example, named by the Rev. Sir George Cornewall in honour of the Club (Fig. 15). Nevertheless, the descriptive text that accompanies these

photographs in the *Transactions* is highly coloured in the romantic tradition, irrespective of whether it was written by Bull or other contributors.

Figure 15. The Club Oak (*Quercus petraea*) in Moccas Park in 1871 when it had a girth of 19 feet 5 inches. The Club measured it again in August 2008 it was found to be 26 feet 8½ inches. It is now suffering from dieback in the crown

It is worth reminding ourselves of how fresh this was, and how different it was in content and language from the writings of the woodland surveyors and the agricultural commentators of the previous generation who dismissed veteran trees as 'stubbs, butts and hollow trees.'[57] In his *Introductory Sketches towards a History of the County of Hereford* (1793) the author John

Lodge comments on the ubiquitous nature of coppice within the county and states that there was very little large timber except on 'the estates of the nobility and gentlemen of fortune', for the farmers are 'foes to the growth of all sorts of timber' despoiling hedgerow trees 'of the honours by means of being cropped and beheaded.' Many of these trees, of course, were to become the stag-headed veteran of the future. Lodge also points out that 'Those landholders who have a proper regard for the beauty of timber, may see some very judicious remarks upon this subject in the fifth volume of Mr Young's annals, communicated by Uvedale Price Esq., of Foxley....a gentleman whose excellent plantations, conducted by the truest taste, contribute highly to adorn and beautify the neighbouring country.'[58] John Duncumb, whose picturesque eye seems to have been temporarily closed, shows little awareness of the ancient trees of the county in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford* (1805) although he notices in passing the 'beautiful grove at Rotherwas' and the estates of the earl of Oxford at Brampton Bryan and Eywood 'distinguished by the size and quality of the timber they furnish for the navy and other uses.' Guy's Hospital and the duke of Norfolk are also complimented for the planting of 'some hundred thousands of acorns' but in general 'young plantations do not receive much attention in Herefordshire.'[59]

Figure 16. Another Holme Lacy veteran oak (*Quercus robur*) still thriving in the Upper Park with a girth of 26 feet 1½ inches in 2002. (D. Whitehead, 2010)

The duke's veterans at Holme Lacy were however noticed by the Rev. Stebbing Shaw in 1788, who admired the 'huge oaks, those venerable sons of the forest, [which] spread their umbrageous arms around our heads.' He found the view from the pleasure grounds 'sweetly picturesque beyond expression.' In this he had the concurrence of John Biddulph of Ledbury

Park who twelve years later wrote in his daybook: 'the park is very extensive and well wooded. Many of the trees are old and stag-headed, which accord well with the place, giving it an air of solemn and antique magnificence.'[60] Generally, picturesque consciousness in relation to trees developed slowly in Herefordshire but coincided with similar stirrings elsewhere. In Sherwood Forest government officials were ready to cut down the old trees in 1775 when an order came from the Duke of Newcastle – the Crown's tenant – to preserve them. Some other consideration, other than economic determinism, was clearly at work here.[61] At Holme Lacy the Duke of Norfolk may have been influenced by Uvedale Price, who regularly visited the estate in the 1790s and took a personal interest in the veterans after the duke's death in 1815. When the Club visited Holme Lacy in 1868 there were at least twelve giants with individual names and today as many as fifty have a girth of over 3.5 metres (11 feet 6 inches). Holme Lacy was, perhaps, lucky in its ownership and also in the number of discriminating visitors who were impressed by its rich endowment of veteran trees.[62] (Fig. 16).

One early source of information on veteran trees, which seems to have been largely ignored or perhaps taken for granted, is Isaac Taylor's *New Map of the County of Hereford* (1754). This depicts a few landmark trees along with a considerable amount of other antiquarian information, including such arcane features as hermitages and cells, old foundations, residents of kings and 'Tumps of the Ancients.' Thus, the trees marked on Taylor's map, either with the symbol of a tree or the word 'Oak', may have been more than convenient landmarks for travellers.[63] The King's Acre Lime is simply drawn as a tree and still flourishes close to the Wyevale Garden Centre on the King's Acre Road, a mile or so to the west of Hereford. This tree marks the site of one of the early medieval inquisitions or public assemblies, which were held twice a year on the boundary of the Liberty of Hereford – a unit that probably dates back to the 8th century. The Club's naturalists never noticed this tree, but its significance as a landmark close to the capital of Old Siluria would have thrilled them.[64]

Another tree marked by Taylor is on the old road from Burford near Tenbury Wells to Ludlow, to the west of the hamlet of Bleathwood. Taylor names it as the Standard Oak and provides a clue to its significance with the sign for a battle site – crossed swords. Recent research by the Tenbury and District Historical Society suggests that it was the site of a Civil War skirmish in September 1642, following Prince Rupert's victory at Powick Bridge just outside Worcester earlier in the month. The oak, which has since disappeared, marked the point where Rupert stood his ground against a pursuing Parliamentary force.[65]

Notwithstanding Taylor's interest in significant trees, it was the picturesque writers who played a key part in stimulating the new consciousness. Gilpin rebukes the naturalists of his age for reciting the 'maladies' of ailing oaks but failing to recognise that such trees 'are often capital sources of picturesque beauty, both in the wild scenes of nature and in the artificial landscape.' Knight was also enthusiastic about decrepit trees:

> If years unnumber'd or the lightning's stroke,
> Have bar'd the summit of the lofty oak,
> Entire and sacred let the ruin stand,
> Nor fear the pruner's sacrilegious hand.

Price, in contrast, views them as a painterly opportunity, stressing the contrast between vigorous luxuriant trees, which might be rejected by the painter, with other neglected and inferior specimens that the improver 'might be inclined to cut down which have infinite variety

and intricacy to fix the attention of the artist.' In the event, artists were already arriving in Herefordshire in search of trees with these characteristics.[66]

Figure 17. Thomas Gainsborough *Beech Trees at Foxley* (*c*.1760) perhaps painted for fellow artist Robert Price, the father of Uvedale. (©Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester)

Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) regularly visited Foxley in the time of Price's father and grandfather. Both Uvedale Tomkyns Price (1685-1764) and his son Robert (1717-61) were patrons of Gainsborough and in 1760 he painted 'Beech trees at Foxley' – now in the Whitworth Art Gallery (Fig. 17). Here two large beech trees – with rather rough bark – are closely planted upon a grassy 'tump'. They rise gracefully with complementary curves above an unimproved track; just the sort of lane Uvedale Price eulogised in his first *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794). Overlooking the track is a stunted pollard, again paralleled in Price's description of another pollard 'stretching out (its) limbs quite across these hollow roads, in every wild and irregular direction.' Trees like these, often informally mutilated by fuel-hungry labourers, were repeated in many of Gainsborough's paintings, such as the *Woodcutter's Return* (1773), where the labourer's bounteous family await his return nestling in the doorway of their thatched cottage, which is propped up by the sort of tree the woodcutter has just been mutilating. Gainsborough's sympathy for this decent labouring family is very much in evidence, but so is his enthusiasm for the tree and cottage.[67]

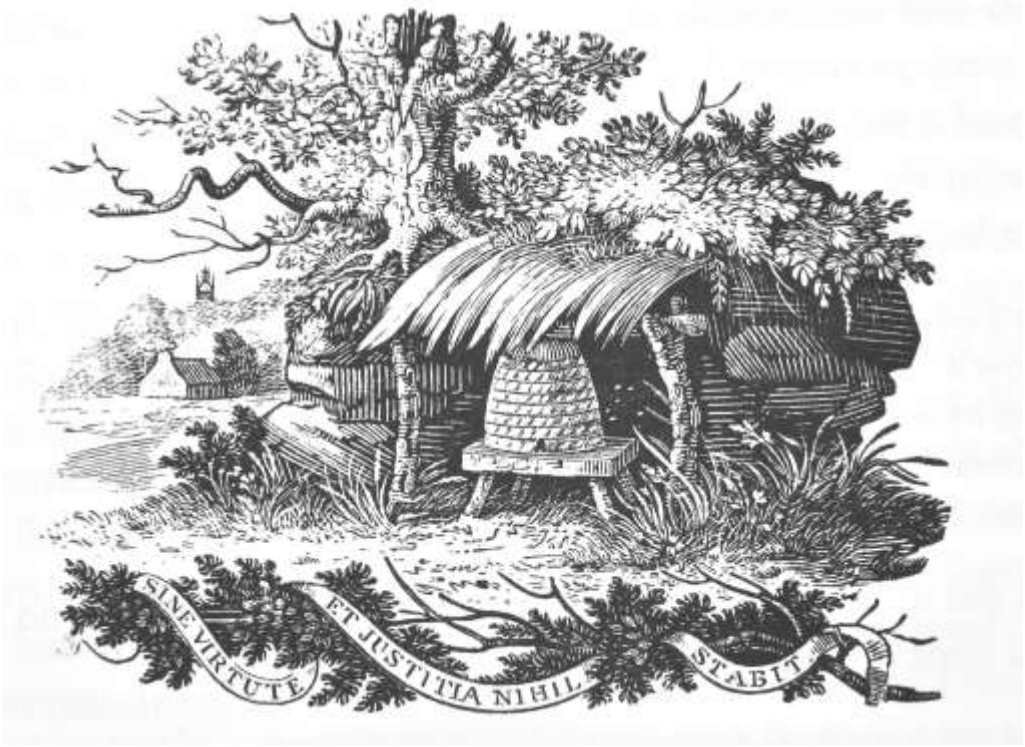

Figure 18. Thomas Bewick, a vignette for a title page (1799). A craggy veteran protects the hive. (Private Collection)

Such trees were the stock-in-trade of late 18th century artists and were used most effectively in the woodcuts of Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) where stunted trees are benign features offering shelter for rustic families, fishermen, deer and even bees (Fig. 18). As Bewick's recent biographer explains, trees provided the artist with 'an imaginative realm of old Britain', which he feared was passing away. His small prints were pirated throughout the 19th century particularly in popular literature, where his deep affection for the countryside and the moral didactic purpose of his compositions struck a chord with the serious professionals of the Victorian age—like the Club's early naturalists.[68]

Another water colourist who arrived in Herefordshire in the late 18th century to paint trees was Thomas Hearne (1744-1817). Between 1784-6 he was employed by Richard Payne Knight to create several images of the Downton Gorge. Here the trees, mostly fairly juvenile, are the principal element in his compositions, framing and articulating the scenery on either side of the Teme. Generally, these are burgeoning and fulsome specimens, although one large oak (?) sheltering a fashionable lady, dressed in blue, appears in the 'View from below Pool's Farm' as a tree that has suffered from informal pollarding in the manner of Gainsborough's trees.

In *The Landscape* written ten years after Hearne's visit Knight praised the 'high-clustering oak'

> King of the Woods! whose tow'ring branches trace
> Each form of majesty, and line of grace;
> Whose giant arms, and high-imbower'd head
> Deep masses round of cluste'ring foliage spread.[69]

Perhaps on Knight's recommendation, Hearne was invited to Moccas Court by Sir George Cornewall (1748-1819), where a similar series of views were completed *c*.1788-9. These include two portraits of veteran oaks: 'The Moccas Oak' and the 'Monnington Oak'. The former was reproduced as an etching by B. T. Pouncey in 1798 with an accompanying patriotic caption referring to it as 'the source of produce' from whence 'springs the British navy which gives our Island so honourable a distinction among surrounding nations.' Among the other works published by Pouncey was 'An ironwork at Downton, Herefordshire'—another patriotic image, fuelled by the coppiced oak growing on Knight's estate.[70] A further image of the 'Moccas Oak' was reproduced in J. C. Loudon's *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1838) with several other references to the notable trees at Moccas Court. Notwithstanding the scientific nature of Loudon's mammoth publication—the first comprehensive encyclopaedia of British trees—it still displays a notable interest in veterans and champions. In an extensive appendix, a useful list of Herefordshire's most remarkable specimens is provided, many of which were subsequently re-visited by the Club.[71]

One of the great oaks noticed by Loudon grew below Nunupton, in the parish of Little Hereford. Loudon states that the trunk was '33 feet in girth at 5 feet from the ground.' It was also marked on Taylor's county map of 1754, which suggests that Loudon's informant, perhaps G. R. Lewis, had used Taylor as a source of information. Most of the copies of Taylor's map would have been in the hands of the gentry, who were particularly flattered by the marking of even minor country houses in a manner that distinguished between those that were 'old and new' together with their 'parks or paddocks.' From the evidence of the shields in the side panels, at least 40 members of the gentry bought the map. So it is likely that some of such members of the Club, like the Rev. Sir George Cornewall, may have glanced at the map from time to time and noticed the marking of significant trees. Indeed, Bull writing up the account of the Nunupton Oak in 1870 records that it 'had been noted from time immemorial' and as was the tendency made exaggerated claims for its 'standing there before the Norman Conquest…the last remaining tree of the primaeval forest.' Bull had also seen a picture of it – 'a very noble tree carrying it['s] bole straight and well up into its branches.' It was so famous that 'picnic parties resorted to it from a considerable distance.' However, in 1850-1 it was set on fire 'by accident or design' and, remarkably, to save 'this noble tree' it had to be felled. Even in death, it seemed to retain its power and Bull found he was compelled to measure the 'dead wreck upon the ground, shrivelled and dry.' Here was a Druidical oak, indeed. Today, the modern 1:25 000 OS plan still marks an 'Oak', which Bull dubbed the 'Young Nunupton Oak.' He measured it at 17 feet 9 inches in circumference.[72]

One of the illustrations used by Loudon to illustrate the Weeping Oak at Moccas was 'reproduced from a drawing made for us in September 1836' by G. R. Lewis (1782-1871)—'the largest tree of this variety known in England'. Lewis was a well-respected London landscape and portrait painter, who seems to have settled briefly in Herefordshire in the 1830s and 40s, producing several paintings of the Herefordshire landscape, studies of the Romanesque architecture at Kilpeck and Shobdon and a portfolio of tree sketches.

Figure 19. The Rotherwas Elm (*Ulmus procera*), drawn by G. R. Lewis in 1837, stood on the lawns to the south of the mansion, close to the lake. It was blown down in 1865 but its stump was still worthy of a visit by the Club in 1890. (Hereford City Library)

Lewis's work on trees must have been well known to the early naturalists of the Club who later sought them out on their travels around the shire. Among these was the Rotherwas Elm (Fig. 19).[73] Drawn without its foliage, its straight trunk was estimated to be between 112 and 125 feet tall. Although planted in the park at Rotherwas close to the lake, its drooping lower limbs with pronounced knuckles suggests that it had once been pollarded. Loudon mentions it and publishes a small drawing of the tree in full leaf sent to him by 'Mr Hay Brown, gardener at Stoke Edith Park near Ledbury.' Bull, in his study of elms in the 1868 *Transactions* acknowledges Loudon for information on this champion, which had been 'completely blown down' in 1865. Once again, as an iconic tree, it was allowed to lie where it fell and Bull was able to measure its girth as 29 feet, 6 inches. In October 1890, the Club on a 'Fungus Foray' visited Rotherwas again and went in search of the decayed stump, and like pilgrims at a religious shrine, they reflected upon its 'magnitude and beauty' and with these pantheistic feelings in their hearts, visited the nearby chapel.[74]

CONCLUSION

This extended excursion into the pre-history of Club members' interest in remarkable trees serves to emphasise their role as continuators rather than innovators. As with so much else, we can trace their interest directly back to the romantic era. Theirs was a more rigorous search – with tape measure, clinometers and sketchbook – but it was essentially the same endeavour. It is not surprising that Bull and his companions came to the task imbued with picturesque sensibility and a sheath full of quotes from appropriate romantic and pastoral literature. Indeed, the 'golden age' that seemed to be passing for the earlier generation – Knight, Price, Bewick, Lewis, Hearne etc. – who idealised the ancient British values reflected in ancient trees was teetering on the edge of oblivion by 1860s-70s – or so they thought.

Bull's magisterial paper on 'Remarkable Trees', pushed into the last pages of the 1870 *Transactions*, epitomises the tension felt by a generation of scientists operating in the twilight of the Romantic Age. A quote from Cowley on 'old patrician trees' sets the scene as Bull explores the dichotomy, discussed elsewhere, between the healthy trees that 'in this luxuriant county are too frequent to be remarkable' and the old pollards that survive as rubbing posts for cattle, props for hop poles and nests for turkeys. Useless for timber, they have been left to decay into the 'varied forms of picturesque beauty'. Bull, as a proto-scientist and a man, we might assume, who was influenced by the utilitarian ethic, is conscious of the basic flaws in his emotional attachment to the redundant and decrepit, when reason tells him he should spend his time studying the healthy and the vigorous - trees with some economic and social value for society. His justification is: 'The many generations of men these trees have seen out: the many changes that have taken place during the long period of their existence: the many varied scenes enacted as it were in their presence, are all in some sense expressed in their very aspect, and certainly throw an air of romantic history around them.'

Ah! Bull was a picturesque antiquarian after all. He senses that he might be the last person to see these ancient relics, which grew in a Druidical spring and survived until 1870. Thirty-three pages later, with several hundred measurements recorded, he urges his reader 'if they wish to see how well oaks grow in Herefordshire, and to see 'the grandeur of this noble tree in full luxuriance' and in a 'variety of picturesque forms' to visit Moccas Park. 'There you will not only find them in great abundance, but you will find also a richness of landscape that become them, and cannot fail to carry away impressions that will be lifelong in the pleasure

their memory will recall. Of such enjoyments of Nature and nature's works – unlike the more exciting pleasures of social life, it may ever be said HAEC OLIM MEMINISSE JUVABIT.'[75]

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Charles Darwin and the Woolhope Club

By ALAN STONE

Charles Darwin was born on 12 February1809, and On the Origin of Species *was published in November 1859. To mark these anniversaries, this article traces his connections with the Woolhope Club, and how his theories on the evolution of species were received by a local society where so many members were clergymen.*

In 1826 Charles Darwin began his studies of natural history and geology, including fieldwork, at Edinburgh. His teachers included Robert Jameson, the first person to use the term 'evolution' in its modern sense.[1] Later, at Cambridge, he read Herschel on the principles of scientific investigation and Humboldt's account of his travels in South America, and studied geology under Adam Sedgwick, with whom he spent three weeks mapping the geology of North Wales. He was also strongly influenced by Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830), which suggested that the Bible was not an accurate guide to science.

The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was founded in 1851, the first recorded meeting being on 13 April 1852. By that date Charles Darwin had made his five-year voyage on HMS Beagle, had been elected to the Royal Society and published his account of the voyage (1839). He had also published *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (1842), *Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands visited during the Voyage of HMS Beagle* (1844), *Geological Observations on South America* (1846), and the first volume of *A Monograph on the Sub-Class Cirripedia* (1851).

His name was therefore not unknown to the thirty-odd Herefordshire gentlemen interested in geology, natural history, archaeology and related topics who decided to form a club to hear lectures and make field visits. In fact, the Rev. Thomas Taylor Lewis, one of the six founders of the Club and 'grandfather of the Silurian System,' who had, like Darwin, studied geology under Adam Sedgwick at Cambridge, was a corresponding friend of both Darwin and T. H. Huxley. Another founder, the Rev. W. S. Symonds, the rector of Pendock, also a student of geology, could not believe that Noah's Ark could possibly have held all species.[2]

However, the Club was not the only local society with these interests. The Herefordshire Literary, Philosophical and Antiquarian (also 'Natural History' at times) Society—henceforth the Philosophical Society—had been formed in 1836, before Darwin's first publication. Its activities were essentially sedentary, with meetings during the autumn and winter at which lectures were given by members or outside speakers. By contrast, the Woolhope Club was founded on members' own observations and researches in the field, although membership of the two bodies overlapped. Records of the Society's activities are fragmentary, but some survive in local press reports.[3] Symonds addressed the Society on the 'science and wonders of geology' in 1851 (no report found), and again in1852.

Because of his very readable books and the astounding fossils he had sent back from South America, by 1851 Darwin was generally recognised as one of the foremost naturalists in Britain. Over the succeeding half-century, however, his name was to become famous to the general public, celebrated by some but notorious to others. The story of how this came about, the controversy over his supposed irreligious views, the unfair and bigoted criticism, the

famous confrontation between Darwin's great supporter T. H. Huxley and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce at Oxford, the 'Punch' cartoons, and the remarks of Disraeli are familiar enough—but how did things play out in Herefordshire?

The purpose of this paper is to study how ideas of evolution, particularly those raised by Darwin, were received by this band of enthusiasts in a small cathedral city. Hereford, though small, was not however isolated from national affairs and new ideas; it enjoyed a reliable daily postal service, two weekly newspapers covering Parliamentary and foreign affairs, improved roads, connection to other centres by daily stage coaches, and imminent railway connection. Interest in science and technology had been stimulated nationally by the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London.

EVOLUTION

Darwin did not discover evolution, nor did he use the term, preferring 'descent with variation' for the idea that species might give rise to other forms. This concept had been around for some time. Although the doctrine of Special Creation, the belief that each form of life on earth was individually created by God and had remained unchanged since its creation, was the accepted wisdom of the Christian Church from the 16th to the 19th century, some philosophers had put forward other ideas. In *Novum Organum* (1620), Francis Bacon wrote:

> 'It would be very difficult to generate new species, but less so to vary known species, and thus produce many rare and unusual results. The passage from the miracles of Nature to those of Art is easy; for if nature be once seized in her variations and the cause be manifest, it will be easy to lead her by Art to such variation as she was first led to by chance; and not only that, but others, such deviations on the one side lead and open the way to others in every direction.'[4]

Charles's grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had put forward his ideas of evolution in *Zoonomia* (1794-6):[5]

> 'All animals undergo transformations which are in part produced by their own exertions, in response to pleasures and pains, and many of these acquired forms or propensities are transmitted to their posterity.'[6]

This view of evolution as the 'transmission of acquired characteristics' later became familiar as the theory of the French naturalist Lamarck, which was supported by Jameson. Erasmus Darwin also expressed ideas on the origin of species in verse in *The Temple of Nature* in 1803:[7]

> 'Organic life beneath the shoreless waves
> Was born and nurs'd in ocean's pearly caves;
> First, forms minute, unseen by spheric glass,
> Move on the mud, or pierce the watery mass;
> These, as successive generations bloom,
> New powers acquire and larger limbs assume;
> Whence countless groups of vegetation spring,
> And breathing realms of fin and feet and wing.'

A notebook begun by Charles in 1837 to record his observations and conjectures on all aspects of natural history and philosophy was headed 'ZOONOMIA', indicating his grandfather's influence. This series of private notebooks eventually formed the basis for his great theory, but he was reluctant to disclose his thoughts, only confiding in Lyell in 1842.

GEOLOGY, THEOLOGY AND TIME

A major difficulty in accepting that any form of life could undergo gradual change, so as to give rise to another, lay in the time believed to have elapsed since the Creation. In 1650 Archbishop Ussher, by reference to the generations recorded in the Bible, placed this event in 4004 BC, and this was generally accepted. But this timescale was clearly insufficient for the accumulation of vast sedimentary deposits and the development of modern forms from related fossilised remains.

An anonymous publication, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, appeared in 1844 and caused a sensation, running to ten editions. Drawing on the work of Lyell and others, but more science-fiction than science, it postulated a vast sequence in the universe, from a primordial gas cloud, through the creation of the earth, successive stratigraphical deposits, to the emergence of life forms which changed progressively until humanity developed from apes.[8] Reactions were inevitable; *A Brief and Complete Refutation of the Anti-Scriptural Theory of Geologists, by a Clergyman of the Church of England*, appeared in 1853, and *Atheisms of Geology: Sir Charles Lyell, Hugh Miller etc. Confronted with the Rocks*, in 1857.[9]

MUST GEOLOGY CONTRADICT SCRIPTURE?

At the Philosphical Society's *soirée* on 30 November 1852, the Rev. W. S. Symonds responded to questions raised by his 1851 lecture, concerning apparent dissonances with Scripture history. He then read a well-received paper aimed at reconciling geology and the Bible:

Figure 1. Rev. W. S. Symonds

'Modern science has very considerably altered opinions as regards many natural phenomena. The same term that conveyed one idea to the Jewish reader in ancient days, often conveys an opposite meaning to the ear of a Christian philosopher. The Bible often uses language concerning the highest and most awful of objects, which we cannot suppose to be meant in an exact and literal sense.

> Has Christianity suffered because the Copernican system of astronomy proved true? Just as much as gold suffers by passing through the furnace...Instead of coming into collision with the Bible, geology affords us important aid in understanding it right.
>
> What is a million or a million million years to eternity? But there are people who undoubtedly believe that God has existed from all eternity, yet are staggered at the idea of going back a million of years in the history of his works!'[10]

The President, the Ven. Archdeacon R. Lane Freer, thanked the speaker, remarking that modern views resulting from scientific research were not contrary to Scripture, and might ,with judgement, be reconciled.

DISCUSSION IN THE WOOLHOPE CLUB

Such controversies were under discussion in informed circles in 1853, when Hewett Wheatley included in his *Remarks on the Icthyology of Herefordshire*:

> 'Since the laws stamped on nature, by the Creator, are inflexible, unswerving, and unerring, it results that a discovery in natural history, must, if, true, be equally invariable and inflexible, and in harmony with the Creator's works, in that particular division of the great laboratory; else it is a misinterpretation of nature.'[11]

In January 1854, in a veiled reference to current controversies, the retiring President, the Rev. T. T. Lewis, quoted Sedgwick against bigotry in science and in religion:

> 'The studies of mankind have sometimes been divided into natural, moral, and religious. Each branch requires its appropriate training, and yields its own peculiar fruit. A study of the natural world teaches not the truth to revealed religion; nor do the truths of religion inform us of the inductions of physical science. Hence it is that men whose studies are confined to one branch of knowledge, often learn to overrate themselves, and so become narrow-minded. Bigotry is a besetting sin of our nature. Too often it has been the attendant of religious zeal, but it is most bitter and unsparing when found with the irreligious. A philosopher, understanding not one atom of their spirit, will sometimes scoff at the labours of religious men; and one who calls himself religious will, perhaps, turn a harsh judgement, and thank God that he is not as the philosopher, forgetting all the while that man can ascend to no knowledge, except by faculties given to him by the Creator's hand; and that all natural knowledge is but a reflection of the will of God. In harsh judgements, such as these, there is not only much folly, but much sin. True wisdom consists in seeing how all the faculties of the mind and all parts of knowledge bear upon each other, so as to work to a common end, ministering at once to the happiness of man, and his Maker's glory. [12]

Time was the theme of a spirited lecture to the Woolhope Club by Professor Phillips of Oxford in October 1854, as reported in the *Hereford Times*:

> 'The Professor went on to explode the theory of those imaginative naturalists who affirmed that all the species of living things were capable of gradual changes, whereby they passed into other forms, and that geological strata exhibited a series of these easy and gradual changes from the oldest times till now. We might start with a shell, the inhabitants of which in the course of ages aspire to the class of fishes, and not content with that, would go on to a bird, and ultimately join the mammalian tribes – and so an oyster might become a man. Given a form of life out of which anything might come, and of course everything might come. (Hear, hear). But there was no basis for that absurd theory. Had anything changed its form within the period of man's existence or knowledge of the earth? Sepulchred in Egyptian soil was found the mummied Ibis as it was 3000 or 4000 years ago, and the Crocodile of those days agreed with its modern representative on the banks of the Nile. Nothing, indeed, within our experience, justified the suspicion that even plants changed their forms; nor, in fact, that any one specific form ever varied so as to represent others.'[13]

THE HEREFORDSHIRE BREED

Figure 2. Mottle-faced Hereford bull

Figure 3. Grey bull

Illustrations from Eyton's Herd Book. 'M F' in the Herd Book refers to 'mottle-faced', a colour distinction used at the time. The artist is E. F. Welles Esq., himself a noted breeder. This famous 'mottle-faced' bull was bred by Benjamin Tomkins the younger at Wellington Court near Hereford

Meanwhile Darwin was steadily amassing information on the distribution and variability of species, by wide reading and enquiries to many correspondents. One of these was an old Cambridge friend and keen naturalist, T. C. Eyton, the squire of Eyton near Shrewsbury, to whom he wrote the following letter on 27 August 1856:[14]

> 'Dear Eyton
>
> Will you forgive me troubling you once again? I believe that you have attended much to Herefordshire cattle. I have somewhere seen an account of two strains of this cattle differing slightly in colour: I think in more white on face. Now what I want to know, is whether in these two strains there is any other difference whatever, so that you or a good judge, could generally distinguish these breeds by any slight character, independently of the one of colour. Will you be so good as to enlighten me, & not abuse me much as being abominably troublesome.
>
> Your's most truly Ch. Darwin'

Eyton had published *The herd book of Hereford cattle* [1846-53].[15] His reply is lost, but he evidently sent Darwin the illustrations, as Darwin replied on 31 August (amid other enquiries concerning pigs' teeth, cats' skeletons, geese, and seed distribution and viability):

> 'I thank you heartily for your note --- I had no idea that your Stud Book was so well illustrated; I suppose you mean me to return the Plates, so I do. But I have been very glad to have seen them. Just after writing to you, I found what my memory told me of: viz an article by some apparently well informed person in Quarterly Review (1849 p. 392) which says there is a split of unknown origin in this breed; one strain having white face tawny sides & upward directed horns; the other a speckled face, generally white line down back, **shorter legs** & more horizontal horns. In my Book on Variation[16] which is progressing (but Heaven knows what it will turn out) I shd like to give this case trifling as it is; for it is so rare to trace commencement of even a sub-breed of a sub-breed; & I shd like to quote your remarks in your note, & will append Author of the "Stud Book on Herefordshire

> Cattle". Is this correct title? If you can give me any other information about these two families I shd be very grateful: I suppose you do not believe about **short-legs;** but just bear this point in mind.
>
> Your's most truly, Ch Darwin'[17]

Darwin referred to his correspondence with Eyton in the *Origin*: 'Ask, as I have asked, a celebrated raiser of Hereford cattle, whether his cattle might not have descended from long-horns, and he will laugh you to scorn. I have never met a pigeon, or poultry, or duck, or rabbit fancier, who was not fully convinced that each main breed was descended from a distinct species.'[18]

NOVEMBER 1859: PUBLICATION OF *ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES*

Darwin organised his arguments systematically: first came a chapter on the variability of organisms, with emphasis on the changes obtainable by selective breeding. He then drew an analogy with variation in nature, claiming that such variations were caused by conditions and constraints inherent in nature. He then went on to propose that these conditions follow from the struggle for life.

> 'Owing to this struggle for life, any variation, however slight, and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of any species in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will be generally inherited by its offspring.'[19]

The offspring would also have a better chance of surviving, as many more die early than survive to breed. This principle he called 'Natural Selection'. He supported his argument with masses of data and examples of problems explicable by it.

He dismissed the unscientific 'Vestiges of Creation' as 'no explanation'[20]and the concept of Special Creation in robust terms: 'a curious illustration of the blindness of preconceived opinion'.[21]

> 'Probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from one primordial form, into which life was first breathed by the Creator.'[22] His only comment on the origin of humanity was made on discoveries to be made in the distant future: 'Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.'[23]

The publication of the *Origin of Species* is not recorded in the *Transactions*. Darwin sent about eighty complimentary copies to his numerous correspondents, including one to the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a naturalist with knowledge of geology and zoology and writer of reformist theological tracts and historical novels. Kingsley replied warmly from his Hampshire rectory:

> 'I have to thank you for the unexpected honour of your book. That the Naturalist whom, of all naturalists living, I most wish to know & to learn from, should have sent a sciolist like me his book, encourages me at least to observe more carefully, & think more slowly.
>
> I am so poorly (in brain) that I fear I cannot read your book just now as I ought. All I have seen of it *awes* me; both with the heap of facts, & the prestige of your name, & also with the clear intuition, that if you be right, I must give up much that I have believed & written.
>
> In that I care little. 'Let God be true, & every man a liar'. Let us know what **is,** & as old Socrates has it *(in Greek*) – follow up the villainous shifty fox of an argument, into what soever unexpected bogs & brakes he may lead us, if we do but run into him at last.

> From two common superstitions, at least, I shall be free, while judging of your book. I have long since, from watching the crossing of domesticated animals & plants, learnt to disbelieve the dogma of the permanence of species. *I have gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of Deity, to believe that he created primal forms capable of self development into all forms needful pro tempore & pro loco, as to believe that He required a fresh act of intervention to supply the lacunas which he himself had made.* I question whether the former be not the loftier thought.'[24]

Darwin was so pleased with Kingsley's 'admirable sentence' (in italics above) that he requested and received permission to quote it in the second edition of the *Origin* in the following January, under the reference 'A celebrated author and divine,'[25] and it has been printed in each edition since.

CONTROVERSY AMONG THE PHILOSOPHERS

Figure 4. Mr E. Y. Steele

The publication of the *Origin* naturally gave rise to discussion in the Philosophical Society. During the following decade a number of views were promulgated, both for and against 'Darwinism.'

Thus in 'The Primaeval Platform of the Earth's History', a lecture on geology given by D. Mackintosh, F.G.S., F.E.S., of the Polytechnic Institute, to the Society on Friday 24 January 1862, he made the statement that 'Darwin cannot get over the human eye,' citing its complexity as an argument against a developmental theory.[26] Later in the lecture it was reported that: 'The learned lecturer contended that the world was as perfect at its foundation as at the present day. Mr Darwin's theory of transmutation is as follows.' He went on to quote various facets of the theory and argue against them.

Just over a year later, on 10 February 1863, the Society received a lecture on geology by Dr Grindrod of Malvern, who followed the Symonds line on geology without mentioning Darwin:[27]

> 'An objection often presented to the minds of Christians, that the word of God & geology were antagonistic—the word of God & geology could not be antagonistic: they were both written by the same divine author; any apparent want of harmony arose from the imperfection of knowledge and the fallible interpretation of man.'

Richard Johnson, a past President and author of *Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford*, in proposing the vote of thanks,

> 'referred to the Darwinian theory of development, and vigorously combatted the notion that the works of the Creator were not as fully developed in the beginning as those existing at this time.'

A few weeks later, the Rev. W. S. Symonds gave a lecture 'On the intellectual gratification derived from the study of natural history.'[28] While avoiding Darwinism, he reiterated his views

on Time, with an oblique reference to Ussher, saying that he had '…not hesitated to say, for some time past, that it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that the human race is, as regards Time, immensely older than we have hitherto been taught to believe.'

A lecture by E. Y. Steele (another Woolhopean) was given on 22 February 1866 on 'The wisdom and goodness of God, displayed in the structure, functions and use of plants.'[29] Without mentioning Darwin, this included the following passage:

> 'In growing plants, as in animals, the vital principle originates and maintains structural development, and the hereditary principle endows the particular organism with special moulding power to build up the structure, as the case may be, of the minutest moss or lichen, or the towering giants of the forest, according to a fixed and predetermined pattern'

Was this an oblique attack on Darwinism? Or just a description of biological effects, given the admitted lack of knowledge of hereditary mechanisms at the time?

The Philosophical Society was by then in a state of decline, and became defunct about 1870, leaving the Woolhope Club without competition in the area of natural history.

CONTROVERSY IN THE WOOLHOPE CLUB

At a meeting in 1864, the President, Mr Chandos Wren Hoskyns, attempted to bridge the apparent gap between opposing factions:

> 'I can hardly conclude my address without some reference to a subject which appears to have lately revived much of the same feeling between Science and Theology, which...will call to mind...the discussions...of Sir Charles Lyell's late work on the Antiquity of Man (1863*).* The conclusions indicated by men of science and exaggerated by their followers on this topic, have naturally startled many by the conflict suggested with some received theological views. There is no just cause for the least apprehension on this ground. Any existing or apparent antagonism will die out, as in the case of Astronomy in the seventeenth century. As the antagonism with theological opinion, mistaken for discrepancy with religious Truth, died away, the relation that suggested it survived, and the scientific study of the wonders of Creation was found in powerful alliance with the very truths it had been supposed to threaten.
>
> The first man who drew lightning from the clouds was thought little better than an atheist. But nobody now considers Christianity in danger from the Electric Telegraph. In this age, as before it, we mistake the discordance with our own readings and opinions for opposition to Christian truth. Time insensibly corrects the error. In matters of science it is far better to let each investigator go on in his own track undisturbed by perpetual challenge of disagreement with received opinion.'[30]

This pacific approach, in line with Symonds's views, seems to have been followed by most subsequent contributors to the *Transactions*, and similar attempts to reconcile the new scientific discoveries with religious views were made in 1866. In *A Glance at Dr Grindrod's Museum*, the anonymous reporter noted the views on the age of the Earth:

> '...the strange and wondrous forms which dwelt upon the shores and beneath the waters of this globe whilst it was passing through the first of those measureless epochs by which, as by successive stages, it was being prepared for the habitation of man'[31] while Dr Wright,[32] of Cheltenham, an eminent palaeontologist, said: Thousands and hundreds of thousands of

> years must have rolled away since the organisms before them had lived. Some might doubt the high antiquity of the earth, but when they reflected that the processes of nature were slow and onward, that the ancestors of some of the same species of coral polyps now living in tropical seas had formed reefs that were probably seventy thousand years old, what must we think of the duration of those ages that had preceded modern times? – that long vista of the past during which eighteen miles of sedimentary rock had been slowly and steadily accumulating? The Almighty Author of all things had chiefly displayed to us in these His works how unchangeable was His character, for in the details of their structure, the laws of their being, and other phenomena by which present organisms were characterised, were found by us alike in these oldest members of the earth's first denizens; so that, were it possible to realise, in a material form, the words of scripture, that the Author of our being was the same yesterday, to-day and for ever, he would point to the Crinoids, the Star-fishes, and Trilobites and say, There are the evidences.''[33]

A VISTA OF PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

Figure 5. Mr Chandos Wren Hoskyns

Figure 6. Sir Charles Lyell

In 1868 the President, Mr. Chandos Wren Hoskyns, addressed the Club in somewhat purple prose. After reviewing the events of the previous year, including a colliery disaster and the deaths of many persons distinguished in science and literature, he referred to 'the panorama of the present time with its disastrous monetary and commercial state, its babel-like confusion-worse-confounded, of all political principle, the startling and scandalous revelations of a Trades Union Commission, the senseless atrocities of the Fenian conspiracy, and the morbid and depraved 'sensation'-ism that has tainted and enfeebled our literature.'

However, one reassuring sign was the unmistakable and successful activity pervading the field of Physical Science, which had:

> ‘rushed from dwarfish to gigantic dimensions almost within human memory. A glance over Sir C. Lyell’s sketch of the progress of geology, in his great work, leaves one amazed at the childish absurdity of view, on the structure of the world and the facts of animal and vegetable life, entertained by men of ability but half a century ago. Surely such a change as this is enough to show that man is essentially the child of progress. Viewing his career, from flint hatchets to those of ocean telegraphs, it would seem as if, except in the very roots of his moral and intellectual nature, he is a changed being. Not only has he bid farewell to the wonder, and terror, and mystery, and superstition, of ignorance, but even the Convulsions and Cataclysms of science have yielded to calmer and gentler views of the power and processes of nature; and the Present is seen stretching back by a harmonious unity of law into the vista of the Past.’[34]

Figure 7. Mr D. M. McCullough

Figure 8. Charles Darwin

Following the publication in 1863 of T. H. Huxley’s *Man’s Place in Nature*, James Rankin spoke in 1867 on *The Structural Differences between the Higher Apes and Man*, preferring to place man in a ‘distinct order by himself,’ than in the Primates along with apes, as Huxley proposed:

> ‘I would, however, decidedly express my opinion that, great as the structural pre-eminence of man may be over that of brutes, we must nevertheless look for his superiority not in his physical but in his psychical endowments, which reach their highest expression in those divine gifts of speech and improveable reason.’[35]

In his paper on ‘The Geology of the Woolhope District’ (1867), the Rev. Robert Dixon quoted *verbatim* from *On the Origin of Species*:

> ‘One of our greatest living naturalists has well said: ‘For my part, I look at the geological record as a history of the world imperfectly kept and written in a changing dialect: of this history we possess the last volume alone, relating only to two or three countries. Of this

> volume, only here and there a short chapter has been preserved; and of each page, only here and there a few lines.''[36]

He ended his talk with a reference to fossils at Woolhope: 'the exuviae of marine molluscs and reef-building polyps, silent but sure witnesses of the truths of our science, proofs of the glorious handiwork of Creative Power.'[37]

Darwin had been previously mentioned in the *Transactions*, for example his studies on buried seeds[38] and on correlated variability in hair and teeth,[39] but from then on his name occurred more frequently, most often in brief references to one or the other of his many studies, or just as name-dropping, as in March 1868, when the Rev. W. S. Symonds said that he 'happened to be in London in company with Sir Charles Lyell and Mr Darwin, when the former mentioned a letter he had received from Mr Latouche on the subject (On the Alluvial Deposits of Rivers).'[40] The Presidential Address for 1868, given by D. M. McCullough, M.D., noted that:

> 'The publication of Mr Darwin's great work on the Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication has been the most important event of the year to naturalists. Whatever opinions we may entertain as to the theory of development and the principle of natural selection, there can be no doubt as to the great interest and value of the enormous mass of facts he has accumulated...It is to be hoped that the time is passing away when the investigation of the wonders of creation can be regarded otherwise than as a means of increasing our reverence for the Creator. The more comprehensive the view we take of nature the more we see the analogy and mutual dependence in the different parts of creation, and the more we recognise the evidence of one creative mind which fitted every part to every other part.'[41]

At a Woolhope Club 'Fungus Foray and Feast' in October 1873, Mr C. E. Broome F.L.S. read *Notes on New Genera,* quoting an address to the Linnean Society by Mr Bentham, who deplored British shortcomings in physiological botany, compared with work in France & Germany:

> 'One instance is in the investigation of the progress of growth, and especially of the first formation and early development of the organised individual, which , under the new lights thrown upon the subject by the Darwinian theories, have been shown to have so important a bearing on difficult questions in animal and vegetable physiology and affinities.'[42]

In 1874, the re-elected retiring President, Rev. James Davies, made his position plain:

> 'Under my presidency there shall be no encouragement to exalt Nature to a pedestal above Nature's God; for if there is one paramount gain in the scrutiny of Nature's marvels, I hold that it consists in the constraint put upon our abased intellects to acknowledge in them all, the proofs of a beneficent Providence and an infinite Divine Intelligence.'[43]

In June the same year the Rev. W. S. Symonds reiterated Wright's 1866 view:

> 'The laws of birth, and life, and death, were as firmly established in those early ages as they are at present. The young Trilobite, side by side with its parent, alike yielding to the same fate, tells us plainly that these mysterious laws have been at work for unnumbered ages, and that every one of those fossil forms was once endowed with the gift of life.' [44]

In 1877 the retiring President, T. Algernon Chapman MD, observed that: 'Mr Darwin's recently published work is *On Cross and self-fertilisation of Plants.* Perhaps the strongest

impression formed in reading it is not on the subject of the book itself but of its author. One is forcibly reminded of the aphorism that one of the chief characteristics of genius is an infinite capacity for work.'[45]

Figure 9. Rev. James Davies

Figure 10. Sir James Rankin

James Rankin's 1877 paper 'The Difficulties of Estimating Geological Time' surveyed various methods of estimating time, quoting Prof. Thomson's upper limit of 100 million years, with a warning that the assumptions are unproven, and that a small error of observation would cause a great error in calculation.[46] T. Curley's remarks in 1880 supported natural selection:

> 'To the lover of Nature it is interesting to know the forms of animals and vegetable life which lived on the earth before the present genera and species appeared; to trace the likeness of one that lived in far off times (the units of the scale to measure such periods would be millions of years), and to note the marvellous adaptation and fitness of every creature to the circumstances which prevailed during the epoch in which it had existence.'[47]

Although opposition to Darwinism had by then disappeared from the *Transactions*, there were still conflicting views between founder-members. The Rev. W. H. Purchas, botanist and diluvialist, who had issued the first part of 'The Flora of Herefordshire' in 1866,[48] asked the Rev. W. S. Symonds, a Lyellian, to write some introductory notes on geology for the full edition, published in 1889, after Symonds's death. It is not clear if Purchas had read Symonds's text before publication, but in his handwritten note in the Durham University Library copy he strongly distanced himself from the views expressed in it.[49]

Charles Darwin died in 1882, and nothing more on evolution or the controversies engendered appeared in the *Transactions* until 1908, when Rankin (now Sir James), a past President, MP, and donor of the Hereford Free Library, home of the Woolhope Club, set the seal on the general acceptance of natural selection:

> 'The theory of evolution, which was in 1869 taking hold of the public imagination, has now, I think, become the almost universally accepted doctrine of the method by which Nature ordinarily works out her problems.'[50]

He also referred to recent discoveries: electricity, wireless telegraphy, radium and argon: 'It certainly confirms me in the accuracy of the words with which I concluded my address in 1869, namely that 'the wonders and glories of creation are unexhausted and inexhaustible.'

CONCLUSION

The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was formed at a time of dispute between theologians and geologists, and its early members were aware of and involved in these controversies. Educated in the classics, medicine science and theology, with the Church well represented, they were able to weigh arguments and question long-held assumptions, when these were challenged by new information. The literal truth of Biblical Scripture, and with it Ussher's calculation of the age of the Earth, was being questioned. The inclusion of 'Field' in the title of the new club emphasised the importance of members finding out, and deciding, for themselves.

Darwin's theory of 'descent with variation' (evolution in modern terms) explained by natural selection therefore fell on fertile ground in Hereford. The immense mass of data put forward in the *Origin*, coming from a highly regarded naturalist, was impressive and the theory of natural selection persuasive. 'What an idiot I am not to have thought of that!' Huxley is reputed to have said. Some early objections on religious grounds may have been diminished by W. S. Symonds's lectures and by the publication of Kingsley's 'admirable sentence.'

Following publication of the *Origin*, Darwin continued his studies and published several more books adding to his arguments. Extracts from the *Transactions* published over this period show growing agreement with his views, but stated in accordance with the acceptable Symonds/Kingsley position.

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Chapel Farm, Deerfold, Herefordshire
a re-appraisal: part 2

By DUNCAN JAMES

This is the second part of a paper that seeks to establish a new interpretation of Chapel Farm, Wigmore, Herefordshire, as a late medieval timber-framed chapel and therefore a rare, probably unique survivor of its type in the county,[1] and that it replaced an earlier, stone chapel on the site that has been linked to the composition of the Ancrene Wisse, an important Middle English text.[2] It also proposes that the timber-framed chapel was built c.1430-40 by the same team of craftsmen that was responsible for three other buildings; Bryndraenog, (Beguildy, Radnorshire); Swan House, (Pembridge, Herefordshire) and No. 5 Harley Court, (Hereford) in a related building campaign that was financed by Duke Richard of York (1411-1460). There is also a suggested interpretation of a barn within the curtilage of Chapel Farm and a discussion of the possible origins of the choir stalls and an altar slab in Wigmore Church.

THE DEERFOLD CHAPEL AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

It is impossible to discuss the history of the Chapel Farm site in isolation; it had significant associations with four other sites, all within a two-mile radius; Wigmore Abbey, Wigmore Castle, Limebrook Priory, and Lingen (Fig. 1).

It is not my intention to reiterate E . J. Dobson's skilful and penetrating research in detail but I shall attempt to summarise his findings.[3]

Limebrook Priory was founded by Ralph of Lingen with a very modest endowment of one carucate of land (*c*.120 acres): indeed, so modest that it is clear that Ralph had no intention of doing more than establish a very small community of just 'two or three women, vowed to a religious life of simple poverty.'[4] This foundation, with a church dedicated to Thomas Becket, was made prior to 1190,[5] possibly in 1189, which is a widely accepted date.[6] Later, probably shortly after 1200, perhaps inspired by the Lingen/Limebrook foundation, a stone chapel dedicated initially to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was built at Deerfold by Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore castle. Slightly later *c*.1210-14, the additional dedication to St Leonard was made, possibly as a result of the Mortimers' experience, at that time, of captivity.[7] This chapel stood within an area of land (1 carucate), similar in size to the initial Limebrook holding and could only have been intended to provide a very modest level of income for the religious order that initially occupied the site. The grant was, however, probably only made for as long as the occupants were alive because a Limebrook Charter, transcribed in MS Harley 1240, records the gift in about 1250-55 to the church of the 'Martyr of Lingebroc' of 'the whole valley in which was founded the church of the Blessed Mary and of St Leonard of Sutelsford, which [valley] is now called La Derefaud, and all the lands and tenements, possessions, rents, easements, and other things below my woods and the way out into the valley of Wigmore, as they are more fully, better and more openly contained in charters of my grandfather, Roger de Mortimer, of happy memory, which he made for the sisters formerly living in Le Derefaud; within the boundaries and limits within which the said sisters were in possession and had seisin, and by the same seisin as the aforesaid sisters at all time had possession.' [8]

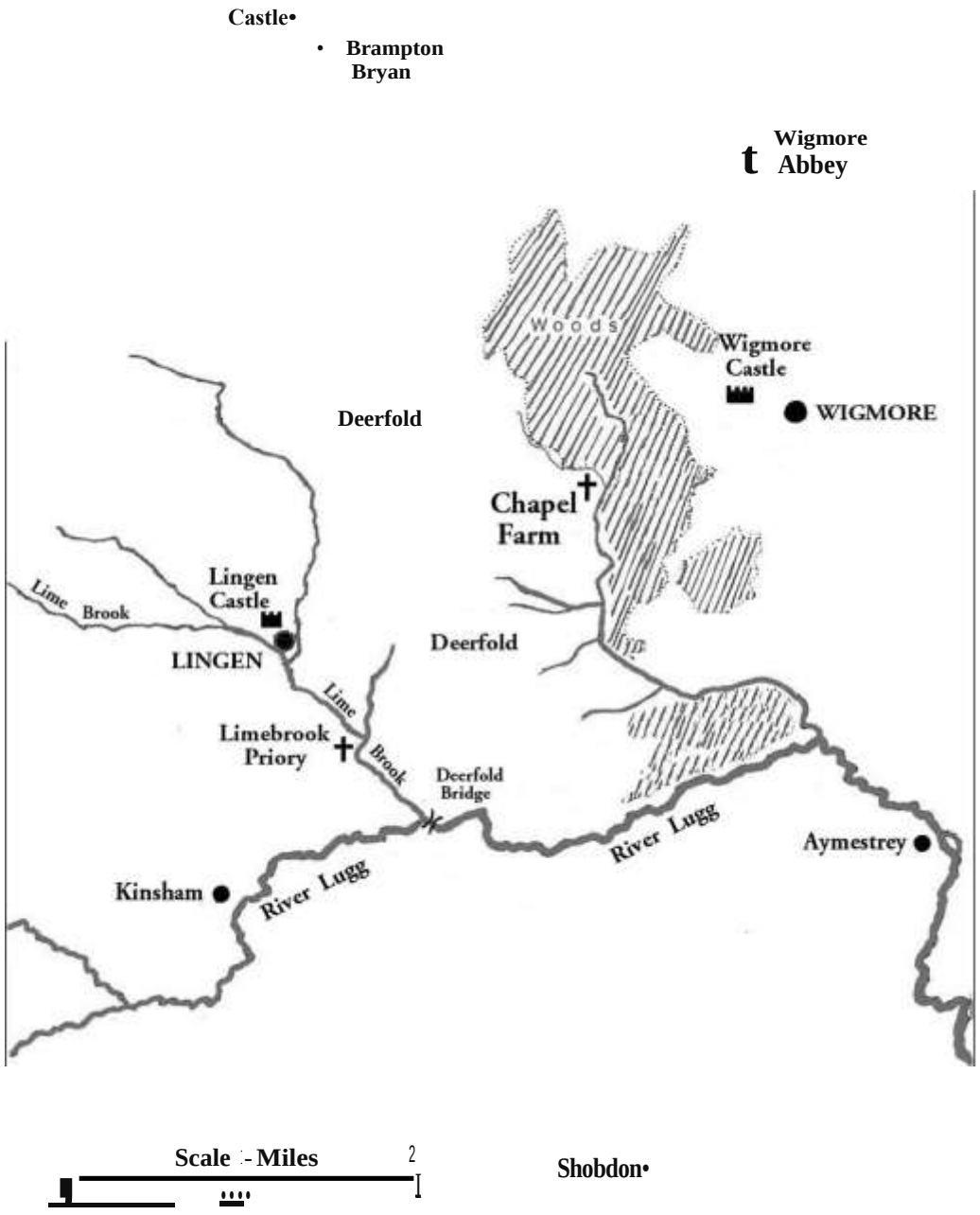

Figure 1. Map of significant sites around Chapel Farm

There were two conditions contained in the charter: firstly that the nuns should provide and maintain a chaplain to celebrate the divine offices in the church at Deerfold for the soul of Roger, Matilda his wife, his children, ancestors and parents in perpetuity and secondly that Roger de Mortimer and his heirs should have the right to present two women to be made nuns or lay-sisters. The chapel was thus a form of chantry chapel in which the powerful Mortimer dynasty had a direct interest.[9] This special function, undoubtedly recorded in the Limebrook cartulary, would not have been forgotten by the Limebrook community.

To summarise: Limebrook, between its foundation *c*.1189 and the 1250/55 charter, had become a nunnery—albeit small—and had been given land and a chapel at Deerfold. In the years to come, Limebrook, although never wealthy, would steadily increase its holdings of land.[10]

The Deerfold chapel would have been built in stone and, as mentioned in part 1, some evidence of this early structure survives on the Chapel Farm site. Here, mass would have been celebrated by a chaplain, possibly attached to Wigmore castle or Wigmore Abbey. During the time of the 'sisters formerly living in Le Derefaud' the site must have been permanently occupied: however, following the transfer to Limebrook, there may not have been a full-time presence on the site. Much depends on the way in which the land was used: whether it was farmed more or less directly by the nuns or simply tenanted to provide an income. At the time of the Dissolution a farm or *ferma* was associated with the chapel but this is likely to refer to the land rather than any actual farm buildings and may simply mean fixed rent.[11]

The question one must ask is, what happened to this original chapel? Did it fall into ruin, was it destroyed, or was it dismantled?

The evidence indicates that it was dismantled, though possibly not all at once, and replaced by a timber-framed chapel, which was probably larger in size than the stone building and that this later chapel survives, substantially intact, as the building now known as Chapel Farm.

The discovery of moulded stones, of 12th- or early 13th-century date, incorporated in the plinth of the present building suggests that this reused material was from the earlier chapel. That this earlier chapel may have survived into the late 17th century as a ruin comes from Thomas Blount, who says in about 1675 that 'Near to the Castle were anciently two Parks one of which was stocked with deer, till the late War, and a forest called deerfald, corruptly darval in the Mortimers tyme stocked mostly with Red Deer, In the Village of darval there the ruynes of a Chapel which som yet call the Lollards Chapel, because the Lollards were wont to meet at this Village.'[12] In 1675 it is unlikely that the timber-framed chapel stood as a ruin, having undergone a high quality conversion to a farmhouse in the previous century. Blount's reference, if it is accurate, could be to the remains of the stone chapel. That these remains have now vanished may explain the presence, as noted in Part 1, of the moulded stone surround of the first floor fireplace inserted in the 16th century and of the reused dressed stone that can be seen incorporated in parts of the stone barns to the west of the farmhouse.

Various authorities have assessed the building date of Chapel Farm. Blashill gave it as the later half of the 14th century;[13] the Royal Commission in 1934 put it as early 15th century;[14] as did Pevsner.[15] J. W. Tonkin proposes a date of '*c*.1400 or perhaps just a little later.'[16] The most recent appraisal by the Royal Commission puts the date at 15th century, adding that 'it would not be appropriate to suggest a date before the 15th century.'[17]

In the light of very strong stylistic and constructional links with Bryndraenog, a large hall house some 14 miles to the north-west which has been dendro-dated to 1436,[18] it is possible to

suggest a date for Chapel Farm of *c*.1430-40. This is based on the proposition that both buildings are of similar date because they were actually built by the same team of craftsmen. There is very strong evidence that such a close link exists and this was discussed in part 1 of this paper.

By the early 15th century the stone chapel could have fallen into disrepair and simply needed replacing, or perhaps, with the increased wealth of Limebrook, the congregation of nuns had grown and a larger chapel was needed. Certainly in the 15th century many religious communities did experience an increase in the number of inmates. There may have been a change in the way the land was farmed such that it required a permanent satellite community of nuns and therefore, a larger chapel.

There is however, evidence for a more dramatic end to the Norman chapel; simply that it was destroyed, probably in 1405-6 during the rising of Owain Glyndŵr. The damage wrought by Glyndŵr and his raiding parties along the central Welsh March was considerable, and many churches, thirty in Herefordshire and twenty-two in Shropshire, are recorded as having been destroyed. These are listed in the register of Bishop Mascall (1404-15) for 1406 in a return to the exchequer of benefices which, 'owing to the losses in the war, are exempt from paying the king's aid.'[19] Also itemised are a number of nunneries, including Limebrook, which are described as '*pauperes moniales*' and were also excused payment of the tax. There are many similar entries for Limebrook throughout the bishops' registers in which they are excused payment of ecclesiastical dues because of their poverty. However, in the 1406 entries there is a significant difference in that two of their possessions, from which they drew a relatively large part of their income, are also listed—namely the churches of Stoke Bliss and Clifton-on-Teme.[20] Had these two churches been damaged by the Welsh one might understand their inclusion in the list, but they are both situated well away from the border on the west side of the county of Worcestershire and clearly out of reach of the raiders. A parallel situation was that of Aconbury, a nunnery to the south of Hereford, which was damaged by Welsh raids and is listed along with its three churches which were also exempt from paying their dues in spite of one them (Wolferlow) being out of danger in the north east corner of Herefordshire. The only logical reading of the evidence is that Limebrook, like Aconbury, had been damaged by Glyndŵr's forces and therefore needed all its funds to effect repairs. Apart from this, the nearby churches of Presteigne, Titley, New Radnor, Old Radnor, Newton (near Wigmore) and Byton are listed as damaged; it is hard to believe that Limebrook, and more especially the Deerfold Chapel, escaped unscathed.

If the destroyed churches are plotted on a map it becomes clear that Glyndŵr's forces penetrated at least 10 miles (16km.) and in places 15 miles (24km.), across the border into Herefordshire[21] and also parts of Shropshire (Fig. 2). As supporting evidence for the latter, the Shropshire dendro-dating project reveals that with one exception (Plowden Hall, Lydbury North) surviving 13th and 14th-century timber houses are all sited 8 miles (12.9km.) or more away from the border, mainly east of a line through Shrewsbury and Ludlow.[22]

If we assume Limebrook was damaged then it is likely that work on the main site would have taken precedence over repairs to the Deerfold Chapel and the latter may well have languished as a ruin, possibly with every prospect of remaining that way.

However, it may be that the then heir to the Mortimer lands, Duke Richard of York (1411-1460) was not content to let that state of affairs continue.

The building was, as noted above, a chapel that was dedicated to the Mortimers past and present, a form of chantry chapel and the gift to Limebook had been made with conditions that

would still have been in force, and Duke Richard was, through his mother Anne Mortimer, still of that line. He would also have retained the right to present two women to the community to become nuns.[23]

Figure 2. Map of churches destroyed by Owain Glyndŵr 1405/6

There is considerable evidence that following Duke Richard's coming of age, when he acquired full control of his vast inheritance (making him the wealthiest nobleman in the land, second only to the king and the church),[24] he embarked on a building program that appears to

have been intended to put his house in order and to mark out his territory. This ordering of his affairs touched on both the spiritual, with the building of the nave at Fotheringhay in 1434;[25] possible refurbishment at Ludlow church, starting in 1433;[26] and temporal, with extensive work being done at Cefnllys castle in Wales.[27] It is therefore suggested that Duke Richard was the most likely sponsor for the building of a new chapel at Deerfold, especially in view of the fact that the nuns were an impoverished community repeatedly referred to in the Bishops' Registers as '*pauperers moniales de Lingenbroke*.'[28] But it may well be that the death of his aunt, Anne, in 1432 prompted him to the work.

There seems to have been considerable reluctance by all who have studied the Chapel Farm building to consider it as anything other than a secular structure.[29] This would be understandable if any of the suggested secular functions had been even remotely plausible; however, the evidence that it was built as a chapel to replace the earlier building, and for at least a century functioned as such, is persuasive from the documentary material alone. But if, to this, is added a careful analysis of the timber frame, the evidence becomes overwhelming. This argument is set out in the following section.

CHAPEL FARM - A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE STRUCTURE

Associated with the present building are at least twenty features or characteristics which argue in favour of its being a religious rather than secular structure.

The Site

There is firstly the name 'Chapel Farm' as it is known today. However, on the tithe map of 1844/5 it is, perhaps significantly, referred to simply as 'The Chapel.'

The holding of land, the farm or *firma* of one carucate can be established with a considerable degree of certainty through the descriptions or simply by walking the ground. There elements in the landscape force one to the conclusion that the area concerned ran along the west side of the stream between Trucknell Wood in the north and Dickendale in the south. The roads clearly also played a part in defining boundaries.[30]

There are two further sources of evidence; the enclosure map of 1822 and the tithe map of 1844/5 that serve to confirm the Deerfold holding, because the area appears to have remained almost intact as a single parcel of land right through into the 19th century (Fig. 3). It is evident that prior to the enclosure of the Limebrook township in 1810-28 (Wigmore township was enclosed 1772-74) much of the area to the west of Chapel Farm was common land.[31] The carucate of land held at Deerfold by Limebrook nunnery was, and is, a fertile little valley with a road or track skirting the holding along the west side.

The function as a chantry chapel.

In any consideration of the building it is important to understand that it functioned in a similar way to a chantry chapel - that is, it was a chapel in which mass was to be celebrated and prayers offered for the souls of the Mortimers. This was likely to have been the function of the original chapel, but if not, then it certainly was by 1250/55 when the chapel and land were given to Limebrook Priory with the injunction that '*the nuns should provide and maintain a chaplain to celebrate the divine offices in the church at Deerfold for the soul of Roger, Matilda his wife, his children, ancestors and parents in perpetuity*.'[32]

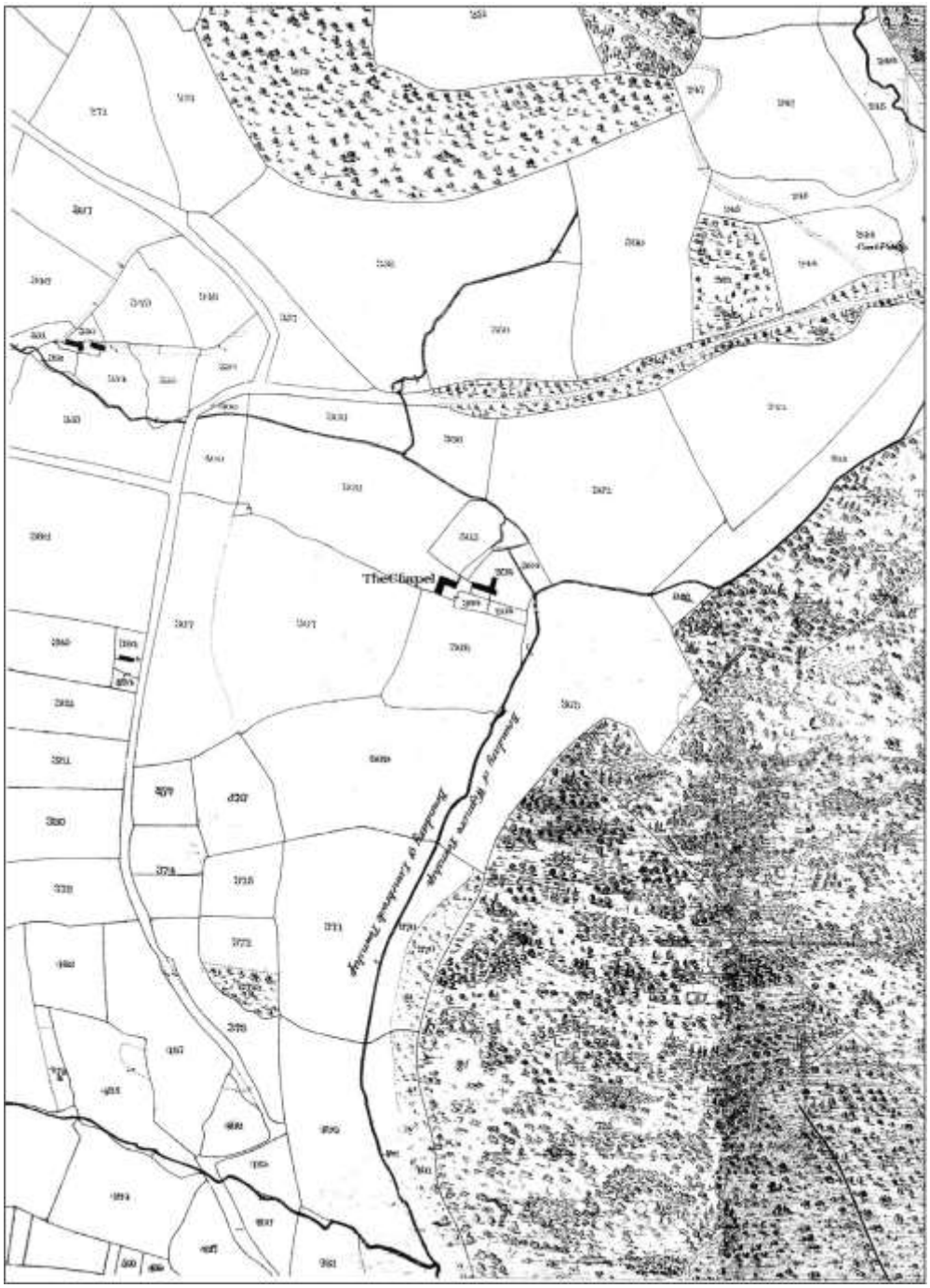

Figure 3. Wigmore tithe map

There is no reason to suppose that this condition would have changed, indeed it is well known that monastic establishments had long memories, maintaining as they did cartularies in which they recorded meticulously all such obligations. Also, in view of the power and proximity of the Mortimer dynasty, it is hardly likely that Limebrook could have overlooked its duties in this respect. Although the chapel was a form of chantry chapel it was not recorded as such because it was in the possession of Limebrook Priory and its foundation predated the Statute of Mortmain (1279). Many monastic foundations maintained chapels that were separate from the principal monastic church.[33]

Thus it is necessary to consider this as a building in which there was little or no requirement to serve a lay community—there had only to be provision for accommodating the occasional attendance by members of the Mortimer family or household. The principal need was to allow space for nuns and the officiating chaplain. It should also be remembered that the nuns were part of an enclosed community.

The Chapel Farm building, with its clear east/west alignment, wide west door for lay, and processional, access and south door slightly east of centre as an entrance for the nuns and possibly the priest, would have offered appropriate accommodation. The overall size and proportions of the building are also in keeping with single cell churches and chapels. The provision of high windows to illuminate the east end bay (and the altar) is exactly the arrangement one might expect, as is the break in the plinth at the centre of the east end where the altar once stood. [34]

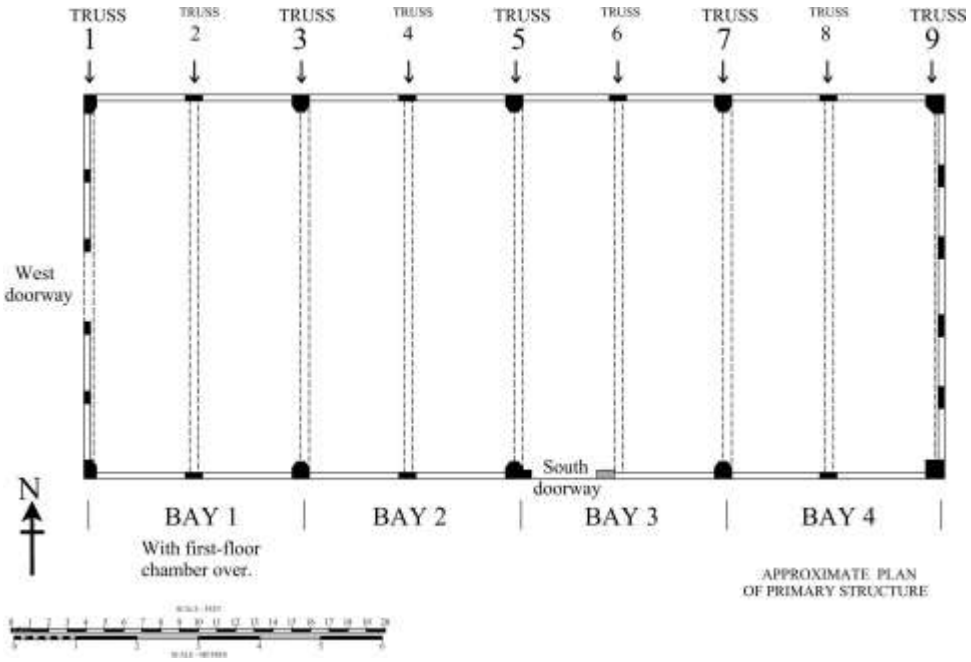

Figure 4. Plan of Chapel Farm primary layout

The importance of the east end is emphasised by the arrangement of the east-end wall in which the four posts are remarkably wide (approx. 14in (35.5cm)) and, unusually, extend from cill beam to tie beam without interruption where normally there would be a girding beam midway (as there is in the other three walls). This emphasis on the vertical is visually dramatic and indicates that the east wall was undoubtedly the focus of attention inside the building, and this assertion is reinforced by the unusual form of the east end truss with its crossed struts. Indeed, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that a symbolic alpha and omega[35] can be found in the unique arrangement of struts or, more likely, the raking struts below the collar constitute a double V, standing for *Virgo Virginum* (Virgin of Virgins), a widely used Marian mark that would be appropriate for a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[36] It is difficult to justify the idiosyncratic design in any other way.

Evidence for this focus on the east end can be found not only in the moulding on the wall posts and tie-beam that serve to frame the east end, but also in the timber frame of the building as a whole. For example, the three interior roof trusses (3, 5 & 7) all have their *upper* faces towards the east end - that is, the pegs are all driven from the east face, on which the carpenter's marks are also clearly visible. This practice of orientating the upper faces of the internal frames towards the most significant part of a building was a strictly observed convention and is a valuable tool when analysing the original function of any timber-frame building.[37] For instance, in a medieval domestic hall, whilst the visual emphasis would be on the *upper* end of the hall rather than the service end, the focus would be on the *centre* of the space, which would generally be indicated by a larger and more decorative truss and posts (or crucks). In the Chapel Farm building the two tie-beam trusses (5 & 7) in the open hall area are identical in design whilst the three arch-braced trusses are made to the same repeated pattern: the centre itself is not marked out in any way as it would be in a domestic hall. The three bays of the open hall have additional decoration in the form of a moulded wall plate, above which is a moulded and crenellated cornice. Also, the three bays of the hall have decorative moulding on the lower row of purlins but this is not continued in the upper chamber of the west bay; here the lower row has plain, wide chamfers.

A remarkable feature of the building is the original size of the stone plinth which was, as built, some 22 inches (56cm) in height and perhaps as much as 30 inches (76cm) wide. Thus, with the sill beam of the timber frame positioned near the outer edge, there is (or was) a wide, dressed-stone ledge within the building along the north, south and west walls, the east wall having a much narrower (i.e. normal) width of plinth.

Blashill, in his plan of 1869[38] goes some way towards recording this, and what he saw was much as it is today because the plinth has been partially, and in places fully, hacked back within the building and cemented over so that what was once a vertical surface now forms an irregular batter. There is evidence that this was done as part of the conversion to a house because in a protected area beneath the staircase a fragment of the late 16th-century decoration survives on the surface of the cutback plinth. However, the clearest surviving evidence for the wide plinth can be found beneath the middle post in the south wall where a small undamaged section of neatly laid and dressed stonework remains in place. The reason for its survival is not only that a later partition overrides it but also that its position behind the door means that it has been protected from damage. This section of stonework indicates that the plinth originally formed, between the main posts within the building, a ledge at least 14 inches (35.5cm) wide along three of the walls and, with the height of about 22 inches (56cm), it is hard to conclude that this was anything other than the provision of seating especially in view of the high quality

finish imparted by the dressed stone. It is worth noting that there is no evidence of there having been a dressed stone finish to the exterior of the plinth.

As mentioned above, this small section of intact plinth has a return on the end marking a break in the continuity and indicating that the present south door is the site of the original south door. This is confirmed by the fact that the moulded jamb on the west side of the south door is an integral part of the wall post and therefore must be part of the original structure (Fig. 4). These important features appear to have been overlooked in all previous reports and yet the confirmation of a door in the south wall just to the east of the middle of the building, coupled with the central west door, is very significant indeed not only in reading the structure as a chapel but also in moving towards an understanding of the layout of the site itself. This was, almost certainly, in its 15th-century rebirth, an enclosed community of nuns living as a satellite of the nearby Limebrook Priory. The south door would have given the nuns (and probably also the priest) access from their enclosure directly in to the sanctuary of the chapel whilst the west door would have been reached from outside the enclosure, leading in to the ground floor of the western bay only, from which there was also a staircase to the first-floor chamber. It should be noted that the south doorway is not related to a cross-passage as there is no evidence for opposing doors in the hall.

The first-floor chamber at the west end, with its internal east window giving a view of the altar, would have been for the patron and his family (or, presumably, their representatives) whilst the ground floor (the nave), possibly separated from the body of the chapel by a screen, could have been for the patron's servants and retainers. Margaret Wood states that '…a 13th century development which became very popular in the later Middle Ages...was to have the chapel with a tall chancel the height of two storeys, and the nave divided horizontally by a floor so that the upper part could serve as a private pew or gallery for the lord and his family, reached from their apartments, the lower portion for the servants, with an external doorway. There would be a screen or grille dividing the east and west parts vertically.'[39] Here Margaret Wood is referring to a private chapel attached to a large house, but it does illustrate the use of an upper chamber. She also shows an elevation of the chapel screen at Membury Court with its internal window or squint.[40]

A timber-framed private chapel also existed at Woodmanton Manor, just over a mile from the church at Clifton-on-Teme (the latter, by coincidence, a Limebrook possession). It was built in the 1320s,[41] probably by the de Wyshams, and is a three bay building, the western bay of which forms an upper chamber fitted with two, large, three-light windows giving a full view of the east end of the chapel. (Fig. 5). The body of the chapel was lit by trefoiled side windows, one in the centre of each bay, above the girding beam.[42] The Woodmanton chapel is not as long nor, more significantly, as wide as Chapel Farm because it did not have a collegiate role involving the provision of lateral seating. The window of the upper chamber was considerably larger than that at Chapel Farm, and there was a low cill, enabling the *seated* family to see the altar and also for them to be seen. It is worth remembering that the Limebrook nuns had limited engagement with the outer world and the small upper-chamber window respects that condition. As noted above, the layout of the windows in Chapel Farm are indicative of its function as a chapel. They are set above the girding beam, clearly intended to light the interior whilst preserving privacy.

The evidence for a feature at the ridge of the west end of the roof may well have been a small bell-cote. This could have housed a sanctus bell rather than anything larger as there may not have been a need to summon a lay congregation.

Figure 5. The west end first-floor chamber in Woodmanton chapel (*c*.1330)

A very unusual feature for a Herefordshire building is that the panel infill material at Chapel Farm is stone; this was noted by Blashill, [43]and repeated by J. W. Tonkin.[44] The RCHM report of 1994 omits to mention this feature, possibly because it was not observable at the time.[45] The present owner did note the infilling and photographed it. The stone infill does not appear to be a later alteration as each panel has a groove cut into the inner edge (top, bottom and sides) of the wooden frame to act as a key for the stone. If the panels had originally been wattle and daub, there would have been stave holes in the underside of the upper edge and just a groove in the lower one. This use of stone infill is noted by Tonkin as being 'of the same construction as some on Westhope Common and in the Black Mountains area.'[46] Perhaps the most important aspect of this stone infill is that, coupled with the high and substantial stone plinth, the building was, in spite of being timber-framed, in essence a stone building. In symbolic terms it was thus the replacement of stone with stone,[47] indeed, the Chapel Farm panels may well be infilled with material reused from its Norman predecessor just as the plinth, by all accounts, contains moulded fragments also from the earlier chapel.

There is one remarkable feature at Bryndraenog, a related building which was dealt with in Part 1, that has come to light only recently and which has served to reinforce the interpretation of Chapel Farm as a chapel. A curious aspect of Bryndraenog is that although every roof in the building appeared originally to have contained cusped and pierced wind braces, none of them had a decorative motif on the point of the cusping whereas Chapel Farm had *fleur-de-lis* in abundance. If this extra motif was a mark of status then Bryndraenog should certainly have had them in its very grand base-cruck hall. However, some were discovered, but not in the hall.

The entrance to the cross passage of the hall at Bryndraenog is through a porch, which is of two storeys.[48] The upper room, measuring just 12ft. (3.66m.) square, has a later, inserted ceiling that has hidden the roof from view, but a recent inspection revealed that this roof has cusped wind braces with leaf motifs (viz. *fleur-de-lis*) on the points of the cusps.[49] Richard Suggett has proposed that this little room was an oratory - a tiny domestic chapel over the porch.[50] This was a feature of larger houses in the 15th century.[51] In view of the findings at Chapel Farm this suggestion becomes highly plausible.

TIMBER-FRAMED CHURCHES AND CHAPELS: SHROPSHIRE AND WORCS.

Only a few medieval timber-framed churches survive in Great Britain, most of them in fragmentary form having been remodelled or rebuilt. That there were once many more is without doubt. Herefordshire, in spite of the relative abundance of timber-framed bell towers and the many timber-framed buildings, was thought to have had no surviving timber-framed churches.[52]

There is no recent, detailed study of the subject of timber churches but Crossley devotes a useful chapter to ecclesiastical buildings in his book, *Timber Building in England*.[53] Cheshire once had many timber-framed churches and chapels, Crossley lists 27, the majority of which were aisled buildings. They were mostly rebuilt in brick or stone in the 18th and 19th centuries. Two notable examples have survived, Lower Peover and Marton, probably because they were restored rather than rebuilt.[54]

Medieval examples in the counties adjacent to Herefordshire are Trelystan in Powys (Montgomery); Besford in Worcestershire; and Melverley church and Halston chapel, both in Shropshire. These four buildings, which all date from the late 14th/early 15th century, were each built with a single cell layout and have many parallels with Chapel Farm. However, the building that has most in common, including the date, is Halston, which has been tree-ring dated to 1437-8. [55] It is a chapel built alongside a now demolished preceptory of the order of St John of Jerusalem. The layout of the pews was, and still is, collegiate: that is, facing inwards just as the choir stalls at Chapel Farm would have been arranged. The windows are also set high in the side walls, above the girding beam. The sizes of the two buildings are not dissimilar; Halston is 40ft. (12.2m.) long and 23ft. (7m.) wide (excluding the later, small, east-end sanctuary) against 46ft. (14m.) by 20ft. (6.1m.) for Chapel farm. Both buildings would have served a similar function, as chapels rather than churches, attached to a small religious community and with a design and layout that was principally to serve the needs of that community, with only a small and separate area reached through the west end door given over to lay provision.

One timber-framed chapel, built in the early 14th century to serve the family at Woodmanton Manor, Clifton-on-Teme, does survive in relatively good condition. As discussed above, it did not have a collegiate function; it was, instead, designed to serve the family of the house for which generous accommodation in an upper chamber was provided (Fig. 5).

RICHARD, 3rd DUKE OF YORK

Mention has been made of Roger de Mortimer and his foundation of the Deerfold Chapel in the late 13th century. The Mortimers came to England with the army of William the Conqueror. Shortly after Ralph de Mortimer was granted lands in Herefordshire and Shropshire along with the township and castle of Wigmore. Over the following three centuries the Mortimers became

a major power in both English and Welsh affairs. The male line came to an end with the death of Edmund Mortimer in 1425 and the estates passed to Richard 3rd Duke of York, son of Anne Mortimer and Richard, Duke of Cambridge.

The value of the inheritance was very large indeed but in 1425 Richard, 3rd Duke of York was only 14 years old and, as a minor, his lands were held in trust by the Crown, until he came of age in 1432. Within a few years of that date he became, next to the church and the King, the wealthiest landowner in the kingdom with about 250 manors and boroughs scattered through some 20 counties, plus extensive lands in Ireland.

By the time that Richard Duke of York came into full possession of his inheritance there was probably a need to re-establish an administrative structure. J. T. Rosenthal writes that 'The machinery by which York recovered his holdings seems to have moved without signs of the infamous lawlessness and anarchy of the fifteenth century... there is no record that the estates had been wasted in a scandalous fashion by those who held them during his minority. York gained a huge block of lands with a minimum of trouble or exertion. The ease with which the manors were recovered, and the absence of any signs of disorder, make it probable that the machinery of private administration had not been seriously disrupted by the guardians of the manors. York assumed control of a functioning bureaucracy, ready to carry out his orders and to implement any novel policies which he might order.'[56] However, P. A. Johnson takes a different view. 'Central administration was conducted by a small group of permanent staff, aided by councillors nominated by the duke. When he came of age, York had difficulties with both categories. Estate officials usually made their careers in a service of a great house, continuing bureaucratic traditions from the old lord to the young heir, and often in their own families, from father to son. Duke Richard's father had no estates. His uncle of York had been dead some seventeen years when Richard came of age, and most of Duke Edward's friends and servants had moved on...In many ways, therefore, the new duke had to start afresh.'[57]

It seems likely that the continuity of administration, if not broken, had been damaged and the Duke had perforce to rebuild an authoritative bureaucratic structure; that this went hand in hand with a certain amount of new building is a reasonable assumption. Not only would the Duke's buildings house such men as stewards, seneschals and receivers but they would also make a visible statement of purpose and authority; indicating to everyone that the new lord of the manor meant business.

With regard to Maelienydd, the destruction of timber buildings was extensive during the time of Owain Glyndŵr (Fig. 2). This is demonstrated by the fact that none has been found in the area to predate the early 15th century in spite of documentary evidence that they did exist.[58] Thus, in this, as in other war-torn areas of Wales that were part of the Mortimer inheritance, it would have been essential to build replacement administrative buildings. J. T. Rosenthal has noted that the...'Welsh receiverships are more sketchily known than the English - fewer accounts have been preserved, and many of these from anomalous years. The reasons are unclear...Perhaps Glendower's rebellion had torn up the Welsh manors and this is reflected in the accounts...'[59] This must explain the existence of Bryndraenog, a high status hall house with extensive accommodation, on a raised site at the heart of the Lordship of Maelienydd built to replace buildings destroyed by Glyndŵr. Bryndraenog possibly housed the Maelienydd receiver who was responsible for the 15 manors of the Maelienydd receivership.[60] It is perhaps significant that in 1459/60 John Milewater is recorded as receiver of Wigmore, Radnor and Maelienydd,[61] so Bryndraenog could have been concerned with more than just the 15 manors since Milewater's three areas contained a total of 37 manors.

The evidence indicates that in the very early 15th century, Glyndŵr's raiders penetrated further into north and mid Herefordshire than has so far been acknowledged, and as more buildings are dendro-dated a clearer picture of this turbulent period may emerge. Since incursions by the Welsh reached Lyonshall and Kington, it could well be that Pembridge buildings were also damaged.[62] Because the target of such forays would probably have been manorial and court buildings, Swan House in Pembridge may be a replacement structure; one that would have been essential for the administration of the large borough and manor.

As was argued in Part 1, No. 5 Harley Court, in the centre of Hereford, on the edge of the Cathedral precinct, if it was not used as a centre for the administration of the twenty or so Herefordshire manors (which is by no means out of the question) could alternatively have been used for liaison with the Bishop of Hereford since much of the Duke's land in Herefordshire, Shropshire and even across the border in Wales, was within the Hereford diocese. This included Ludlow, with its huge castle, which in this later period had replaced Wigmore Castle as the administrative centre of the Mortimer estates and was adopted by the Duke and his entourage as a principal residence. [63] In view of its east/west alignment and the regular form of the roof trusses, it cannot be ruled out that 5 Harley Court served some religious function.

The building of Chapel Farm (The Deerfold Chapel) in *c.*1430-40 was most probably, funded by the 3rd Duke of York since it is unlikely that the nuns of Limebrook Priory could have paid for such a lavish building and for him the time was right. He may have been reminded of the death of Anne Mortimer, his mother, when his aunt, also named Anne, died in 1432, the year when he came into possession of his lands, and he might well have ordered the rebuilding of the chapel as an act of piety: certainly he was more than able to afford it. At this time he also may well have funded rebuilding work on Ludlow church including the carving of a fine set of misericords.[64] In addition, he was continuing the work on the collegiate church at Fotheringhay that had been started in 1411 by Edward, 2nd Duke of York.[65]

THE CHAPEL FARM BARN

To the south west of Chapel Farm is a group of interconnected barns of various periods forming an L-shape (Fig. 6). The major part of the north/south range is built with reused timbers and has yet to be investigated in detail. It can be stated however that its construction post-dates the east/west range (Barn A) by many years as it encloses the latter's, once exposed and heavily weathered, west end (Fig. 7). Barn A is of considerable interest because it has features that mark it out as having an original function that was other than agricultural - notably in its layout, detailing, high quality of finish and decoration (Fig. 8).

It is a three-bay, two storey, box-framed building, 35ft. (10.67m.) long and 18ft. (5.48m.) wide. The layout is slightly curious with a longer centre bay of 14ft. (4.27m.) that is flanked by end bays each of 10ft. 6in. (3.2m.). The north and west elevations survive substantially intact but the south wall has been rebuilt in stone, although it incorporates three of the four original timber wall posts. The east-end frame has been removed and the building extended in length by 5ft. (1.52m.). The west-end roof truss, with three struts below the collar and 'V' struts above, survives in mutilated form. The rest of the roof trusses were removed and replaced with king-post trusses in the 19th century but leaving *in situ* two of the original tie beams though in slightly modified form.

Cross-frame B, and probably also cross frame C, was closed at ground floor level but at first floor level both frames have doorways, positioned to the north of centre, with chamfered

surrounds terminating in small scroll stops and with an unusual roll moulding under the centre of the slightly cranked door head.

Figure 6. Chapel Farm – barns – south elevation

The substantial floor beams, 11in. (28cm.) square, have wide chamfers and straight bar stops with run out. The joists are closely spaced, at 18in (45.7cm) centres. The planking of the floor itself has been removed and replaced with crude slabs (i.e. the sawn-off sapwood plank when squaring up timber) which, when first seen, were covered with a thick layer of straw that effectively evened out the surface. It was thought at first that this may have been a base for a plaster/ash floor but detailed inspection proved that this was not the case. It was evident that the original boards, probably of high quality, had been removed for use elsewhere[66] to be replaced by the simple, cheap option of slabs, perfectly suitable for flooring what had become a hay loft.

Both west and north framing had large tension braces at ground floor level although strangely, these were omitted on the north wall of bay 1 in favour of triangular corner brackets. Neither frame, north or west, has evidence for window openings.

It is clear that there has been other structures directly related and of the same or similar date since the later lean-to along the north side of the barn contains four reused ceiling beams with chamfers and straight bar-stops that match exactly those in the barn.

There is no direct evidence for a staircase within the building. Certainly it could not have been in bays 1 and 2 but the floor in bay 3 has been removed and replaced, presumably when the building was extended as the beams would then have been too short. It is therefore not impossible that this was the site of a staircase: however, it is unlikely because the cross

frames all have their *upper* faces towards the west and the doorways on the first floor also have chamfers on the west face. Quite simply, they opened eastward into each chamber (there is evidence for latch and hinge-pintle positions on the lower (east) face of both doorways) indicating that they must have been approached from the west. The only option therefore is that access to the first floor was gained through the south elevation of bay 1, either from a staircase on the outside of the building or because a 1st floor corridor in another (lost) building abutted at this point.

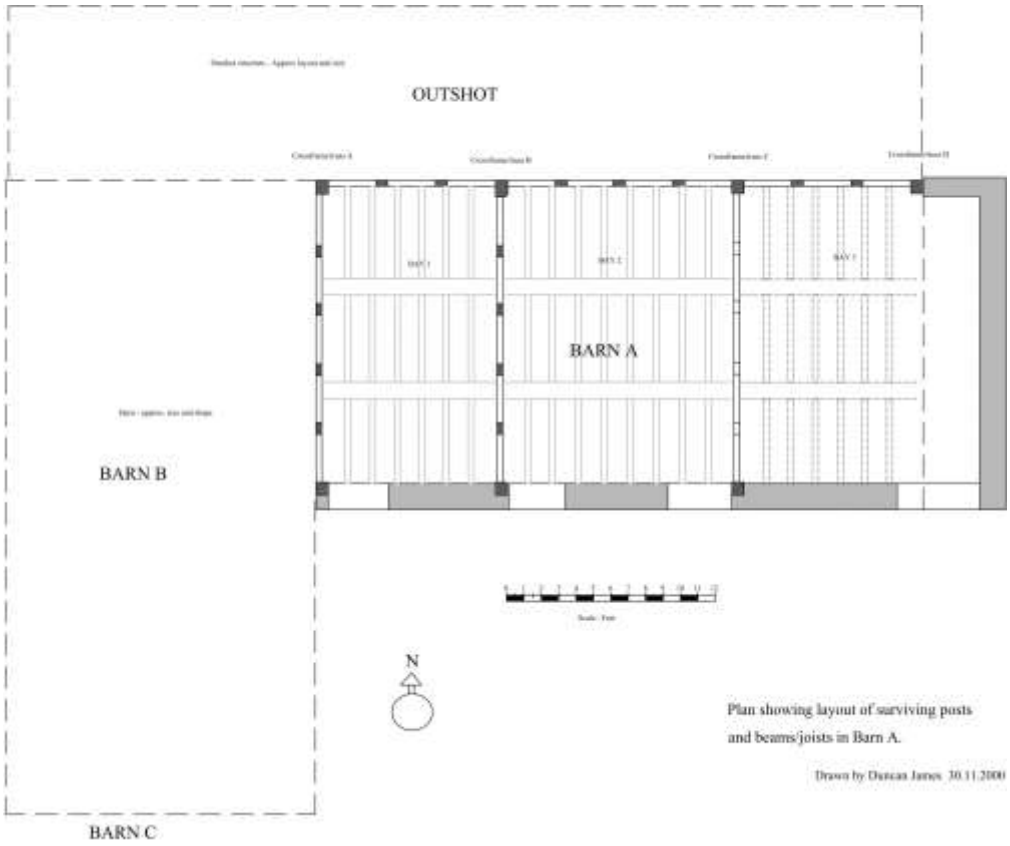

Figure 7. Chapel Farm – barn A – ground plan

It is possible that the barn was built following the conversion of the Chapel in the late 16th century for domestic use but, if so, it is difficult to see how such a high quality, non-agricultural structure might have been used.

The alternative might be that it was built prior to the Dissolution as an adjunct to the Chapel and that it functioned as an accommodation block, either for visitors or, more probably, for nuns. The orientation of the building, with no windows on the north and west sides, suggests that it faced south, possibly into an enclosure or small cloister. The cell-like nature of the unheated, linked first-floor chambers could certainly have served as a dormitory.[67] Above

all, the high quality of the build is typical of monastic structures in general and Limebrook Priory buildings in particular. (viz. moulded ceiling beams reused in Limebrook Cottage, and the cruck framed Upper Limebrook, possibly a guest house for the priory, tree-ring dated to 1447/8).[68]

Figure 8. Chapel Farm – barn A – doorhead

THE LOLLARDS

In any discussion of Chapel Farm it is impossible to avoid the subject of the Lollards who were active in Herefordshire in the late 14th century and also, more specifically, in the forest of Deerfold, an area which was remote and wooded and therefore lent itself as a hideout for a fugitive group. One of the most prominent Lollards was Sir John Oldcastle, a Herefordshire man from Almeley (about 12 miles (19km.) south of Chapel Farm) who was executed for his beliefs in 1417. There is no evidence that Oldcastle had any connection with Deerfold. The Lollard whose name has long been associated with the area and, more specifically, with the Chapel Farm site, is William Swynderby. He was a preacher of considerable power, active in Herefordshire in the late 1380s, and he came to prominence in 1390 when the Bishop of Hereford brought a number of charges against him.[69]

It is the nature of any movement that operates outside the law that little is known about it until one of its number is charged with an offence; then the official records may provide us with invaluable documentary evidence. So it was with Swynderby. The Lollards were an heretical movement influenced initially by John Wycliffe and a number of other academics, which had its origins at Oxford and Leicester in the 1370s. Over the following decade, Lollardy developed as a popular, radical movement that rejected aspects of the established Catholic church. William Swynderby, popularly known as *William the Hermit*, came to Herefordshire from Leicester where, in 1382, he had incurred the wrath of the Bishop of

Lincoln for his heretical and unlicensed preaching.[70] Undeterred, he preached in the Worcester diocese until prohibited, by the bishop, in 1387. So he moved to Herefordshire where an order for his arrest was issued on 10th November 1388. However, he remained at large in the west of the county, preaching and administering the sacraments. On 8 September 1390 he was accused of celebrating mass in an unconsecrated chapel 1½ miles from Chapel Farm, at Newton, near Leintwardine and then at 'a desert wode cleped Derwaldeswode…and there in a chapell noght halwed but a curset schepherdeshutte be myne owne foly…' which previous commentators have assumed to be a reference to the Chapel Farm site.[71]

It is important to rationalise the association of Swynderby with the Chapel Farm site as it has given rise to much unfounded speculation, not least that the building itself was erected by the Lollards in spite of it being both a 15th-, not 14th-century, structure and also the fact that it stands on land that was until the Dissolution in the possession of Limebrook Priory. The idea that a fugitive group such as the Lollards would have been in the position to construct elaborate, expensive and permanent chapels in the countryside is patently absurd. It also ignores the fact that the Lollards were antipathetic to the organised structure of the church; theirs was a movement that looked towards the simple, direct teachings of Christ. Swynderby was, for the most part, preaching in the fields. It was also at this time that the Lollards experienced a change in attitude from both secular and religious authorities - before 1390 they were tolerated, but in the final decade of the century attitudes hardened; they came to be perceived as a very real threat to the established order and became outlaws.

Swynderby's association with the Deerfold Chapel was a brief affair which has, over time, been given disproportionate attention due to the unusually detailed and extensive reporting of the matter in the Bishop's register and, perhaps more significantly, its reworking in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, published in 1563 with many subsequent editions. Thomas Blount, in his manuscript *History of Herefordshire* (1675) repeats the information from Foxe and thus are legends made.

What does seem likely is that the stone chapel in 'a desert wode cleped Derwaldeswode' was still standing in the late 1380s and that it was, to quote Swynderby '…for hit is a chapel where a prest synges certain dayes in the yere with great solempnitee…'[72] - and therefore it had not been abandoned by the late 14th century.

CHOIR STALLS, ALTAR SLAB AND THE LOST COMMUNION TABLE

Curiously, there is somewhat unusual corroborative evidence (if any were needed) that Chapel Farm is the substantial remains of an early 15th-century timber-framed monastic chapel and this lies in the presence of the 15th-century choir stalls in the chancel of Wigmore church. The Royal Commission recorded them as follows: '…stalls - in chancel on N. and S. sides, returned at W. end, panelled fronts with moulded posts, trefoiled and traceried heads, enriched with foliage and masks; buttressed standards with carved top spandrels and poppyheads, modern seats with old bench ends; return-stalls with cinquefoiled and traceried panels on W. face and shaped bench ends, 15th century.'[73]

However, no one has seen fit to question why the majority of the masks on the stall fronts are female not male, more specifically, nuns with wimples (Fig. 9). The quality of the carving is not that high but each face is different and one has the impression that they may well have been actual portraits. There are also a few male faces which one would expect because priests would have been associated with a nunnery to celebrate mass and take confession.

Figure 9. Wigmore church choir stall front

At the Dissolution it was common practice for good quality furniture from monasteries to find its way into the nearest church. There are many examples of this: Wigmore Abbey stalls are in Leintwardine church (1¾ miles (2.8km.));[74] Wormsley Priory stalls appear to have gone to Canon Pyon church (¾ miles (1.2km.);[75] Chirbury Priory stalls went to Montgomery church (2½miles (4km.));[76] Stalls from Fotheringhay in Northants. went to Tansor and Hemington churches—1½ miles (2.4km.) and 5 miles (8km.).[77] Misericords in Holme Lacy church may have come from Aconbury.

Wigmore church is slightly over 1 mile (1.6km.) from Chapel Farm and in terms of proximity, stalls from the chapel would have been most likely to travel to Wigmore rather than Lingen, which would have been twice the distance. It is of course possible that they came to Wigmore from Limebrook Priory but this would have involved a trip of more than 3 miles (4.8km.) and Lingen at less than 1 mile (1.6km.) would have been the natural choice. In fact it is said that the pews in Lingen church were from Limebrook and being early 16th century they are certainly of appropriate date.[78] A notable feature of the Wigmore church stalls is that they have modern seats. This would equate with the fact that the high plinth within the Deerfold chapel could, with the addition of wooden planking along the top, have provided lateral seating for the nuns: thus only the stall fronts with their desk tops would have been available for Wigmore church. It has also been noted that the panels are carved from good quality English oak rather than the superior Baltic oak.[79] The main set of sixteen, 15th-century panels (eight on each side) are carved from four separate planks, two to each side. Of the returned sections at the west end, only two panels appear to be early work.

Another puzzling possession of Wigmore church is an intact altar stone built into the windowsill in the west side of the tower. Obviously this could have originated from within the church itself but the destruction of altar slabs at the time of Edward the VI was quite thorough and only a few in Herefordshire (e.g. Peterchurch and Urishay Chapel) have survived unbroken. They vary greatly in size, one of the largest being that in Dore Abbey (12ft. (3.66m.) x 4ft. (1.22m.)). The Wigmore church altar slab[80] is of interest because it is 6ft. 3in. (1.9m.) long and this, with a projecting lip of 1½ in. (3.8cm.) would require a 6 ft. (1.83m.) wide altar base: this is the exact width of the cutback in the east end plinth at Chapel Farm as drawn by Blashill in 1869.[81] Naturally this could be a coincidence but Chapel Farm is remote and, positioned as it is, two miles from the main site of Limebrook, an altar slab could easily have escaped the more destructive aspects of the Reformation - indeed, the fact that the building has survived at all does suggest that it was overlooked.

It is recorded that there was within Chapel Farm in the 1860s a communion table, noted during a visit by members of the Woolhope Club, presumably in use as a piece of domestic furniture.[82] This was in the building until its disappearance in dubious circumstances in the 1940s, by which time it had rightly been identified as a valuable article. It is difficult to explain why this should have been in the building but it is possible that the chapel continued to

function as a church for the local community after the Dissolution for some years until the conversion in the late 16th century for domestic use. This could explain the gap of perhaps 50 years between the cessation of use by the nuns and the conversion to a house.[83] It would also account for the presence of a communion table. Unfortunately the scant details of this piece of furniture do not allow it to be dated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From the work of E. J. Dobson and the investigation of buildings related to Chapel Farm there is sufficient evidence available to propose a chronology for the site. It began on or near the year 1200 when a stone chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built at Deerfold by Roger de Mortimer and endowed with land to support three sisters (or brothers) who had withdrawn from the world to a life of seclusion and prayer. The chapel was intended also as a chantry chapel where mass could be said for the Mortimers, past, present and future. In 1252, by which time the last surviving sister (or brother) had died, the chapel and its land was given to the nearby Limebrook Priory, with the stipulation that its chantry function in respect of the Mortimers should remain in place. To what extent the site was permanently occupied is not known although mass was celebrated in the chapel at certain times of the year. Thus it was that the Lollards came occasionally to use the building in the late 14th century by which time the chapel may have fallen into a state of disrepair. However, it is more likely that the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion in the years after 1400 was the cause of damage or even of its destruction; it was, after all, a manifestation of the oppressive Mortimer Marcher lordship and would have been an easy target for Welsh raiders in spite of the proximity of Wigmore Castle.[84] With the death of Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, in 1425 the male line of the Mortimers came to an end and the vast estate was inherited by Richard, then aged 14, through his mother Anne Mortimer, Edmund's sister. Richard, who had also inherited the title 3rd Duke of York through his uncle, gained livery of the Mortimer estates in 1432[85] and more or less full control in 1434 by which time Richard was an orphan, his mother dying soon after his birth and his father having been executed in 1415.[86]

On his Welsh estates and those in England that had been damaged during the Welsh revolt it would have been necessary for Richard to undertake a programme of rebuilding and the date of Bryndraenog (1436) indicates that it was one of the first. It is possible that the death of his mother, and the death in 1432 of his aunt, Edmund Mortimer's wife, the dowager countess Anne,[87] prompted the rebuilding of the Deerfold chapel, a structure that, with its stylistic links to Bryndraenog, belongs to this early period. The same team of carpenters also seem to have built the hall at 5 Harley Court[88] in Hereford and, somewhat later, in 1451, constructed Swan House in the Duke's manor of Pembridge.

The rebuilding of the Deerfold chapel probably gave the site a new lease of life as suggested by the survival of a series of cells at first floor level in the timber framed building, now a barn, to the west of the chapel. These may indicate that there was, in this later period, a permanent presence on the site, possibly with nuns managing the land directly.

Limebrook Priory met its end at the Dissolution, and mounds of buried rubble and a few ruined walls are all that has survived other than a small cottage, possibly built later using timber from the site. In contrast the Deerfold chapel did survive, substantially intact. Another possibility is that it continued for a while as a chapel for those living in the area, perhaps retained under the patronage of Wigmore church; such an arrangement could explain the

continued presence of a communion table in the building.[89] However, before the end of the 16th century it had undergone a high quality conversion to a house, and the stalls, as suggested above, were removed to Wigmore church.

Apart from the identification of the Chapel Farm building as a timber-framed chapel that replaced an earlier stone chapel on the site, it is the connection with Richard the 3rd Duke of York as the inheritor of the Mortimer lands and obligations that is most significant in that it serves to offer further evidence in support of the research by Professor E. J. Dobson into the authorship of the *Ancrene Wisse*. From a careful reading of his book, *The Origins of the Ancrene Wisse*, he appears to have visited the Deerfold area but not the site itself or the Chapel Farm building. Neither did he see the account in the *Transactions* of the discovery of dressed stone in the foundations of the later building. Had he done so they would have offered further evidence in support of his thesis that the *Ancrene Wisse* was written for three sisters, living as anchoresses, in a chapel on the site of the present Chapel Farm.

However, it must be acknowledged that more recent research has moved away from accepting Dobson's thesis although no-one has yet been able to propose a convincing alternative.[90] Whether or not the site can be linked with such an important work as the *Ancrene Wisse* there remains little doubt that Chapel Farm is a remarkable example of a 15th-century timber-framed chapel and a rare survival of carpentry of the highest quality and beauty.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Dobson, E.J.	Dobson, E. J., *The Origins of the Ancrene Wisse*, (1976) O.U.P.
HSM.	Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record.
NGR	National grid reference.
Pevsner, N. (1963)	Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England, Herefordshire*, (1963), Penguin.
RCHME (1934)	*RCHME Herefordshire N.W. Vol.III*, pp.208-9, *HMSO*, (1934).
RCHME (1994)	Unpublished report by Nigel Fradgley 'Chapel Farmhouse, Wigmore, Herefordshire' NBR No. 92316. *RCHME* (March 1994).
Suggett, R. (2005)	Suggett, R., *Houses & History in the March of Wales,Radnorshire 1400-1800*, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, (2005).
TWNFC	*Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*.

REFERENCES

[1] The timber-framed chapel attached to Woodmanton Manor, Clifton on Teme, Worcestershire, close to the Herefordshire border, has features in common with Chapel Farm. It has been tree-ring dated to 1321-53. (*Vernacular Architecture* (2002), pp.116-7.) Drawings of the chapel were made in the late 19th century (Walker, S., *Architectural Sketches*, (1862)). A history of the site was prepared in 2001 for the owner. (Hughes, P., 'The Documentary History of Woodmanton Manor, Clifton on Teme, Worcestershire', Unpublished report, (October 2001).

[2] There are a number of manuscript versions of the *Ancrene Wisse*, which was a guide for anchoresses, the earliest being *M.S. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402* which was a copy, made in the 13th century, of the original (lost)

manuscript. It was formerly in the library of Wigmore Abbey. The Corpus text is published by the Early English Text Society: Tolkein, J.R.R. (ed.) *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, Ancrene Wisse.*, (1962) Oxford University Press (OUP). A modern English rendering can be found in: White, H., *Ancrene Wisse, guide for anchoresses*, (1993), Penguin Books. Closely associated with the *Ancrene Wisse*, and possibly the work of the same author, are four meditations on the theme of Christ's love – collectively known as *The Wooing Group* and five others including lives of the virgin martyrs Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana which are referred to as *The Katherine Group.* All are identified as having been written in a dialect that places their origins in the West Midlands and more specifically, in north Herefordshire or south Shropshire. See also: Millett, B. & Wogan-Browne, J.,(eds.), *Medieval English Prose for Women from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse*, (1992) Clarendon Press, Oxford; Millett, B., (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts: drawing on the Uncompleted Edition by E. J. Dobson, With a Glossary and Additional Notes by Richard Dance,* 2 vols, EETS OS 325, 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2006).

[3] Dobson, E.J.

[4] Dobson, E.J., p.233.

[5] Dobson, E.J., p.209.

[6] Tonkin, J.W., *TWNFC* (1974) p.149.

[7] Dobson, E.J., p.248.

[8] Dobson, E.J., p.218. However, recent research (*Women Religious* by Sally Thompson, (1991), O.U.P. p.34) has suggested that Dobson misread the charter and that the abbreviation for *sisters* used in the manuscript actually refers to *brothers*. (The difference between these two abbreviations is very subtle.) Whilst this appears to be the case, the proposition that Roger de Mortimer built a chapel for three 'brothers' at a time when he was also financing Wigmore Abbey and its Augustinian Canons is hardly credible especially since the Deerfold chapel and land holding were subsequently given to the nuns of Limebrook. In fact Wigmore Church was, in 1100, a collegiate church served by three canons but their role ceased with the establishment of the Wigmore Abbey. It seems very possible that a transcription error is responsible for the confusion - after all the MS Harley 1240 is a copy, made in 1375/80, of a document dated to 1250/55 which itself refers to a late 12th century charter. Further critical discussion concerning aspects of Dobson's work has been published by Bella Millett in 'Origins of the Ancrene Wisse: new answers, new questions', *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 61, (1992), pp.206–228.

[9] Though not a normal chantry chapel as this would have required the permission of the Bishop and no record for this has been found in the bishops' registers.

[10] Tonkin, J.W., *TWNFC*, (1974) pp.149–164.

[11] Dobson, E.J., p.231.

[12] *The 1675 Thomas Blount Manuscript History of Herefordshire*, transcribed by R. & C. Botzum and translated & edited by Norman C. Reeves. p.78. n.d. Also Blount MS,f.41v - quoted in part in 'Chaplains, Chantries and Chapels' by P.E.H.Hair, *TWNFC*, (1989) p.275.

[13] Blashill, T. 'Description of the Old Buildings in Deerfold Forest', *TWNFC*, (1869) p.182.

[14] *RCHME* (1934), p.208.

[15] Pevsner, N., p.223.

[16] *TWNFC*, (1974) p.159.

[17] *RCHME*, (1994) p.6.

[18] Miles and Haddon-Reece 1996, *Vernacular Architecture Journal 27*, list 74, pp 107–8 & 110.

[19] Parry, J.H., (ed.), *The Register of Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford 1404-1416*. Hereford. (1916), v–vi, 20–22.

[20] *Ibid*. pp.21 & 36.

[21] Dendro-dating of houses in Weobley, Pembridge and Eardisley indicates that extensive rebuilding took place in the second and third quarters of the 15th century in all three villages and that no trace of houses of 14th-century date or earlier has been found. James, D., 'An Analysis of Ten Medieval Buildings in Pembridge, Herefordshire'. Unpublished report for Pembridge Amenity Trust, (December, 2002); James, D.,'An Analysis of the Historic Fabric of Thirty Buildings in Eardisley, Herefordshire'.Unpublished report for Eardisley History Group (August, 2005); James, D.,'An Analysis of the Historic Fabric of Medieval and Post Medieval Buildings in Weobley, Herefordshire', Unpublished report for Weobley History Society (April 2007).

[22] Moran, M., *Vernacular buildings of Shropshire*, (2002), pp. 352–56 lists sampled buildings and dates in the County.

[23] 'A continuing link with a lay patron, usually the founder's heir, was recognised in canon law and was an important aspect of the monastery's later history.' Thompson, S., *Women Religious*, (1991), O.U.P., p.181.

[24] Rosenthal, J.T., 'Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)' in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History - Volume II*, edited by Bowsky, W. M., University of Nebraska Press, (1965), p.117.

[25] Salzman, L.F., *Building in England down to 1540*, O.U.P., (1952), pp.505–510, gives the contract for this work. It illustrates the form of detailed agreement that would have accompanied the building of the Deerfold chapel. It is noteworthy that the Fotheringhay contract specifies that materials, tools etc., were to be supplied by the Duke of York. If the timber and stone came from his estates it would certainly have eased the cost.
[26] Lloyd, D., *The Concise History of Ludlow*, (1999), p.46.
[27] Remfry, P., *Castles of Radnorshire*, Logaston Press (1996), p.95.
[28] For example in 1406: *The Register of Robert Mascall* - ed. J.H. Parry, Hereford, (1916), p.20; and in 1419: *The Register of Edmund Lacy* - ed. J. H. Parry, Hereford, (1917), p.68; and in 1421: *The Register of Thomas Poltone* - ed. W.W.Capes, Hereford, (1916), p.8.
[29] There is an exception to this; D.R.Chapman in *Hereford, Herefordshire and the Wye*, (1883), p.48, states that 'in the (Deerfold) forest was formerly an ancient Chapel, now used as a farm house'.
[30] The identification of the site is discussed at length in Dobson, E.J., pp. 219-232.
[31] Tonkin, M., 'The Wigmore Inclosure Act and Award 1810-28', *TWFNC*, (1984), pp. 283–300.
[32] Dobson, E.J., p.219.
[33] An example from nearby is the Forbury Chapel in Leominster, which stands to the west of the former Priory church.
[34] The chapel at Woodmanton Manor has a similar arrangement of windows. (see Walker, S., *Architectural Sketches*, (1862)).
[35] The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. 'I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last', Revelations xxii, 13, i. 8, 11, xxi. 6.
[36] The double 'V' Marian mark is found in many buildings where it was inscribed on the timber above doorways and fireplaces to invoke the protection of the Virgin Mary. (see Easton, T. 'Ritual Marks on Historic Timber', *Weald & Downland Museum Journal*, (Spring 1999), p.24.)
[37] James, D., 'An investigation of the orientation of timber-framed houses in Herefordshire', *Vernacular Architecture* Vol. 34 (2003) p.23 & notes 20–24.
[38] Blashill, T. 'Description of the Old Buildings in Deerfold Forest', *TWNFC*, (1869), opp. p.183.
[39] Wood.M. *The English Medieval House*, (1965), p.231.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.232 ill.70.
[41] See note 1 above.
[42] The Woodmanton chapel has been underbuilt up to girding beam level but was originally fully timber framed. I am indebted to the owner David Lee and to Nick Joyce who surveyed the building in 2001.
[43] 'In the main portion the framing is filled in with very thin stone walling…'. Blashill, T. 'Description of the Old Buildings in Deerfold Forest'. *TWNFC*, (1869) p.181.
[44] Tonkin, J.W. 'The Nunnery of Limebrook and its Property'. *TWNFC* (1974) p.159.
[45] *RCHME* (1994).
[46] *TWNFC*, (1974), p.159.
[47] I am indebted to Dr Keith Ray, Herefordshire County Archaeologist for this observation.
[48] Suggett, R., (2005), pp.47 & 50.
[49] Suggett, R., (2005) figs. 41–2 & 46.
[50] Suggett, R., (2005) p.51. 'The finest decorative detail is reserved not for the hall or the upper-end chambers but for the chamber over the porch. Here the cusping of the windbraces terminates in delicate foliate tips. This room, although sited at the passage end of the hall, clearly had a special status. This was a more or less public area reached from the gallery. The function of this chamber is not immediately obvious, but it may be conjectured that it was a small chapel or oratory, and the east-west alignment of the range is consistent with this interpretation.'
[51] See Wood, M., *The English Medieval House*, (1965), p.239, referring to the 15th century, 'The smaller chapel, or oratory, may be situated over the porch, and adjoining the great chamber.'
[52] Although there is a post-medieval half-timbered Friends' Meeting House of 1672 at Almeley.
[53] Crossley, F.H., *Timber Building in England from early times to the end of the Seventeenth Century,* Batsford (1951), pp.26–37.
[54] Horn, W. & Born, E., 'Two Timbered Medieval Churches of Cheshire' *The Art Bulletin, XLIV*, (1962), pp.263–278.
[55] *Vernacular Architecture*, 28, (1997), p.169.
[56] Rosenthal, J.T., 'Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)' in, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History - Volume II* - edited by Bowsky, W. M., University of Nebraska Press. (1965), pp.120–1.
[57] Johnson, P.A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. (1988) pp.15–6.
[58] Suggett, R., 'The Chronology of Late-Medieval Timber Houses in Wales.' *Vernacular Architecture 27*, (1996) p.28.
[59] Rosenthal, J.T., 'Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)' in, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History - Volume II* - edited by Bowsky, W. M., University of Nebraska Press. (1965), p.127.

[60] *Ibid*., p.195.
[61] Johnson, P.A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. (1988), p.235.
[62] Apart from the detached bell tower and church, the earliest buildings so far found in Pembridge date from 1424/5. *Vernacular Architecture 34*, (2003) p.102 (item 1) & p.104, (item 11).
[63] Griffiths, R. A., 'Ludlow During the Wars of the Roses', in, *Ludlow Castle - Its History and Buildings* - ed. Shoesmith, R. & Johnson, A. Logaston Press (2000), pp.57-59.
[64] *Ibid*, p.57.
[65] Cook, G. H., *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*. Phoenix House (1963) p.67.
[66] The boards may have been used in Chapel Farm when the floor was inserted in the late 16th century.
[67] 'By this time [the mid 15th century] there was a widespread move towards greater privacy, and communal dormitories were often being subdivided into private cubicles', Bond, J., 'Medieval Nunneries in England and Wales' in Wood, D., (ed.) *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, (2003) Oxbow Books, p.66.
[68] *Vernacular Architecture 35*, (2004) p.186 (item 10).
[69] Capes, W.W. ed., *The Register of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford*. Hereford, (1914) pp.231–78 & 365–401.
[70] Mcfarlane, K.B., *The Origins of Religious Dissent in England*. Collier, (1966) pp.131–4.
[71] Capes, W.W. ed., *The Register of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford*. Hereford, (1914), p.249.
[72] *Ibid*., p.249.
[73] *RCHME* (1934), p.205.
[74] Pevsner, N., p.222
[75] *Ibid*., p.98
[76] Haslam, R., *The Buildings of Wales, Powys*, (1979), p.166.
[77] Grössinger, C., *The World Upside-Down, English Misericords*, (1997), p.53.
[78] *RCHME* (1934), p.136.
[79] I am indebted to Dr Ian Tyers, dendrochronologist, for this observation. Baltic oak was used for high quality work and the timber, imported through Bristol for the choir stalls in Ludlow Parish Church, is probably from this source. See also, Klein, P. *The Misericords and Choir Stalls of Ludlow Parish Church*, Ludlow Parochial Church Council, (1986).
[80] Shoesmith, R., & Richardson, R., (eds.) *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey* (1997), p.155.
[81] Blashill, T. 'Description of the Old Buildings in Deerfold Forest.' *TWNFC* (1869), opp. p.183.
[82] 'There is but one piece of furniture belonging to the house, that is to the landlord, and this exactly corresponds with the old communion tables. It was certainly intended to stand against a wall and has turned front legs and a loose slab on top. It is of very large size, larger indeed than is common in parish churches.' Blashill, T., 'Description of the Old Buildings in Deerfold Forest'. *TWNFC*, (1869), p.182.
[83] Although the conversion of the building could have taken place at an earlier date.
[84] This power is summed up by R.A.Griffiths writing of the marcher lordships . 'Ultimately held of the Crown, into whose hands on occasion they fell by escheat, forfeiture or wardship, they were franchises of the most independent kind. Every function of government in each lordship was the sole responsibility of its marcher lord: his courts had power of life and death over his tenants, he could impose his own taxes, royal officials from neighbouring English or Welsh shires had no authority there, and even bishops with letters of excommunication in their pocket sought the support of the lord's secular arm (and not the king's). This was the public framework within which Welshmen lived and English marcher lords and kings ruled in later medieval Wales.' Griffiths, R.A. 'Wales and the Marches', in Chrimes, S.B., Ross, C.D., & Griffiths, R.A., *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society*, (2nd ed.,1995) p.146.
[85] Johnson, P.A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. (1988), p.10.
[86] *Ibid*., p.1.
[87] Rosenthal, J.T. p.120.
[88] It is not known whether the Harley Court building was owned by Duke Richard but it may be significant that many of the former Mortimer estates eventually came into the hands of the Harleys, including Wigmore Castle.
[89] This communion table survived in the house until the 1940s when it disappeared in somewhat mysterious circumstances.
[90] Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts: Drawing on the Uncompleted Edition by E. J. Dobson, With a Glossary and Additional Notes by Richard Dance,* vol. II, EETS 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. viii-xxxvi).

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A Curious Feature on the Old Wye Bridge, Hereford

By RON SHOESMITH

An odd feature on the old Wye Bridge that baffled many friends, including some archaeologists, is explained. It consists of two vertical slots or grooves cut into the faces of the southernmost V-shaped refuge on the eastern side of the bridge, nearest the Saracen's Head Inn.

Figure 1. The two grooves cut into the sides of the refuge

It has been suggested that Milfrith built the first bridge over the river Wye at Hereford in about AD 800, but firm evidence is lacking. A bridge was certainly in place by 1100 when Bishop de Capella helped in its reconstruction. In 1303 Edward I granted timber for its repair and in 1383 Richard II provided thirty oaks and forty perches of stone for the same purpose after it had been 'broken and destroyed by the force of water.' These early bridges were probably based on stone piers with a wooden superstructure and would have been built by royal command.

The present bridge was built *c.*1490, but a recent survey has indicated that the builders may well have made use of some of the earlier piers. The bridge has six arches and five piers and originally had a gate on the southern end.

In 1645, during the Civil War, the Scots army attacked Hereford from the south. A letter from Barnabas Scudamore (the Governor of the City) to Lord Digby, describing events in the early days of August, gives some indication of the scale of the battle around Wye Bridge when he wrote about the death of Major General Crafford on the day when the Scots

> '…raised their Batteries, commencing at Wye-bridge, from whence they received the greatest damage, but, instead of revenging that losse upon us, they multiplied their owne, by the death of their much-lamented Major Generall Crafford, and some others that fell with him. This provoked them to play hot upon the Gate for two dayes together, and battered it so much (being the weakest) that it was rendered uselesse, yet our men stopt it up with Wooll-sacks and Timber, and, for our greater assurance of eluding their attempt, we brake an Arch, and raised a very strong Worke behind it.'

The ruins of the gate were still standing at the southern end of the bridge and are shown in a sketch of 1685 (Fig. 2). They were finally demolished in 1782. The third arch from the city side was the one that was taken down – even now the shape of the arch is slightly different from the other bridge arches.

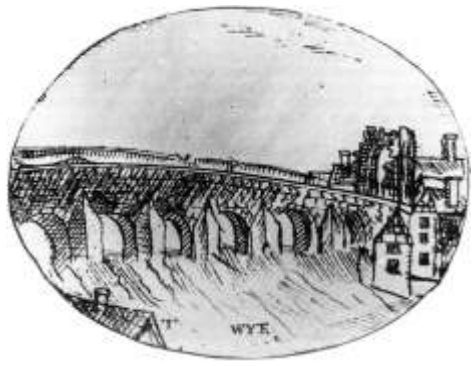

Figure 2. The Wye Bridge in 1685 shortly after the Civil War. The ruins of the Bridge Gate are apparent on the right

Figure 3. A pipe leads from the side of the refuge

The main road along the Welsh border still crosses the River Wye at Hereford and, until the Greyfriars Bridge was built in the late 1960s, the Old Wye Bridge took all the traffic. It was widened in 1826; just sufficient to take two lanes of traffic and it was then that the triangular refuges were built, standing on the cut-waters that force the water into the arches.

So, back to the two grooves in the southern refuge. They are now filled with cement, but were originally designed to accommodate some structure. The more conscientious viewer will, perhaps, lean over the bridge or even walk down the riverside path by the Saracen's Head. Here he or she will see the next piece of evidence – a pipe leading out from the refuge, just below the internal ground level (Fig 3). Have you guessed? If not you will have to look at the 1886 1:500 Ordnance Survey plan (Fig 4) for the answer. The grooves took two waist-high

slabs of slate, so positioned to allow access but without the lower regions of the occupant being visible. Nothing to do with the Civil War or the lost Gate – were they just red herrings?

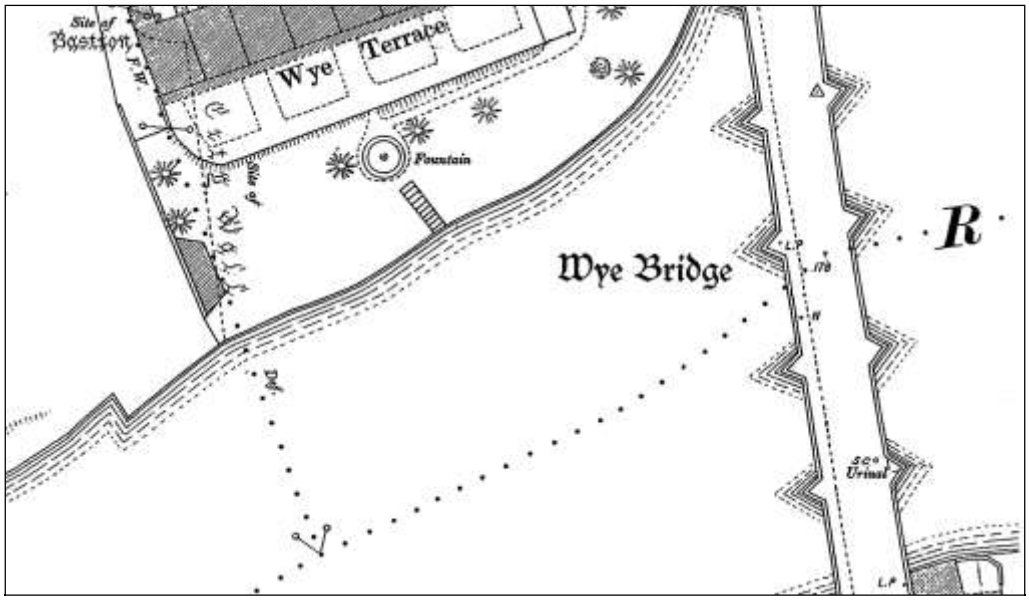

Figure 4. Part of the 1:500 Ordnance Survey plan of 1886 showing the Wye Bridge

Well, not entirely, for John Eisel has pointed out that there was a predecessor to this urinal, for in 1642 a 'house of office' on the bridge was presented as being out of repair. Was it not repaired until the bridge was widened in 1826-7?

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John Scarlett Davis: where was he born?

By ANN MALPAS

It is widely believed that John Scarlett Davis, the 19th-century artist from Leominster, was born at no. 2 High Street and it is sometimes further stated that his grandfather was the first of four generations of the family to live and work at this address. An examination of the history of no. 2 High Street and the neighbouring properties shows that this cannot be the case and that John Scarlett's brother, Francis Davis purchased the property in 1832 and was the first of the family to live there. Further evidence shows that between 1806 and 1846 the family home was at nos. 9 & 11 High Street. Possible reasons as to why the story that the artist was born at no. 2 gained credence and the question of where the artist was born are discussed.

JOHN SCARLETT DAVIS

John Scarlett Davis was an artist of whom Leominster is justifiably proud.[1] His work was highly praised during his lifetime but his name fell into obscurity after his death and erroneous statements about his life and moral character were published.[2] These 'unfounded assertions' were strongly refuted by his brother, Francis Davis, in a letter to the *Hereford Journal* in 1880.[3] In more recent years the quality of his work has been appreciated and collections of his work are now held by both Leominster Museum and Hereford City Museum and Art Gallery as well as many other art galleries around the world. A major exhibition of the artist's work was held at Hereford Museum and Art Gallery in July and August 2004 and was in Leominster during September of that year. This exhibition marked the bicentenary of the artist's birth and was accompanied by the publication of the first full biography written by Tony Hobbs.[4]

The period of time with which the subject matter of this paper is mainly concerned is the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The numbering of houses in Leominster streets was not introduced until *c.*1870, well after the period of interest. However, it is convenient to refer to properties existing by present-day house numbers, remembering that a reference to, for example, 'no. 2 High Street' should be understood as 'the property we now call no. 2 High Street.'

THE DAVIS FAMILY

John Scarlett Davis was a member of a family long established in Leominster.[5] His grandfather Bartholomew Davis (1731–1804) was a tallow chandler and soap boiler, who married Martha Nash in Leominster Priory Church in 1761 and they had four sons and one daughter (Fig. 2). Of the four sons, Francis followed in his father's business and became a chandler. James, the youngest son, born in 1775, was apprenticed in 1791 for seven years to Thomas Tomkins, a watchmaker of Leominster.[6] James then set up his own business as a clock and watchmaker and silversmith, and on 2 January 1800 he married Ann Scarlett in Leominster Priory Church. They had four sons and one daughter.[7]

Edward James Scarlett was the eldest, born in 1801; he became a jeweller and moved away from Leominster. The second child, John Scarlett was born in 1804 and displayed considerable talent as an artist at an early age. When he was 13 he went to London to study and to develop his career. He married and settled in London but spent much time travelling in Europe. He wrote many letters to his parents and other members of his family and many times

visited his home in Leominster to see his parents.[8] He was in Herefordshire in 1845 during his last illness, but returned to his wife and children in London where he died and was buried in the cemetery of All Souls, Kensal Green.[9]

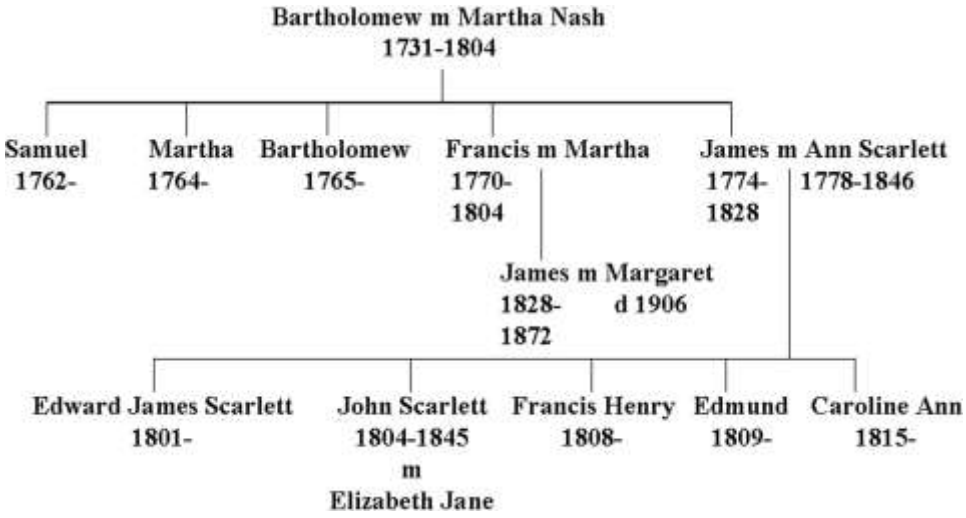

Figure 1. The Davis family tree

Francis Henry was the third child, born in 1808. He became a druggist and chemist, and settled in Leominster with a shop in High Street (now no. 2). The fourth son Edmund born in 1809 entered the church and remained in Herefordshire. The last child was a daughter, Caroline Ann, born in 1815.

That members of the Davis family lived in High Street, Leominster is clear from directory entries. One of 1822 records John Scarlett's father, James Davis, a watch and clockmaker and silversmith and his uncle, Francis Davis, a tallow chandler and soap boiler, as both in High Street. Another of 1835 records his mother, Ann Davis (then a widow) as watch and clockmaker; his aunt, Martha Maria Davis (by then the widow of Francis Davis) as a tallow chandler and Francis Davis, his brother, as a chemist and druggist, all in High Street.[10] The census of 1841 shows Francis Davis, Ann Davis and Martha Davis at different locations in High Street; Francis Davis on the west side near to the Buttercross, Ann Davis in the central part of the street on the east side and Martha Davis on the west side near to the Iron Cross.

Documentary evidence presented below shows that Francis Davis purchased no. 2 and lived and ran his business as a chemist and druggist there and that no member of the artist's family was in residence there before that date. Further evidence shows that from 1806-1846 the family home of the artist was at nos. 9 & 11 High Street on the other side of the road, now the Nationwide. The chandlery business of Martha Davis was at no. 32 near the Iron Cross.

No. 2 High Street - the birthplace of John Scarlett Davis?

Figure 2. The West side of High Street at the Buttercross looking south showing no. 2, The Grill Bar. No. 4, Orchard Hive and Vine (now Bumbles), is on the south side of no. 2. (photo February 2005)

On the front of no. 2, now the Grill Bar, there are two plaques commemorating John Scarlett Davis, who was born 1 September 1804 and died 29 September 1845, aged 41. The first plaque, a small wooden plate on the left-hand door post of no. 2, was put there in 1970 by Mr

G. Watkin Williams, a great-great nephew of the artist, in a ceremony arranged by Mr Norman Davis, then Mayor of Leominster, to mark the 125th anniversary of the artist's death.[11] The wording on the plaque is:

'JOHN SCARLETT DAVIS, 1804-1845, BORN IN THIS HOUSE, 29th SEPTEMBER 1804'

(The date of birth given on the plaque is an error and should read: 1 September 1804.) Mr Watkin Williams also wrote an abridged account of the life and works of John Scarlett Davis which was published at this time.[12]

The second plaque was attached to the front wall of no. 2 by Leominster Town Council in September 2002, at the suggestion of Mr Don King, to commemorate the artist's birth. It is a round blue plaque and shows the following wording, 'No. 2 High Street, John Scarlett Davis, renowned artist, was born here, 1st September 1804'. (Fig. 2)

No. 2 High Street and its early history as part of the Royal Oak Inn

Before 1809, no. 2 was part of a larger property (the present nos. 2 & 4) which had from at least the early part of the 18th century until the 1770s been known as the Royal Oak Inn.[13] This Royal Oak Inn in High Street is to be distinguished from the present day Royal Oak Hotel situated on the corner of South Street and Etnam Street which has been on that site since about 1800. There are earlier references to events at the Royal Oak prior to 1800 that took place at the High Street premises, of which the following are two examples.

In 1729 the Road Act for repairing the roads into Leominster stated that at least seven of the Trustees should have their first meeting at the Sign of the Royal Oak in Leominster.[14] The Leominster Borough Council Minute Book records the expenditure incurred on 9 October 1746, 'By Cash expended at the Oak etc, it being a public thanksgiving for the victory at Culloden when the Jacobites were finally crushed by the Duke of Cumberland, £4 0s. 1d.'[15]

In the 18th century the inn was owned by members of the Bach family and in 1757 Robert Bach of Luston, John Bach his eldest son and Robert Bach his second son raised a mortgage of £100 on the security of the 'Inn now known by the name of the Royal Oak then in the occupation of Edward Eysam, (or Eyson) Inn holder.' (Fig. 3) The inn remained in the ownership of the Bach family but closed in the summer of 1773, the landlord at that time being Thomas Martin. He placed an advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* stating that he had moved to the Unicorn and that the Royal Oak was 'no more an Inn, being let to a private family.'[16]

Information about who was the occupier of the former Royal Oak after Thomas Martin left comes from a different source.[17] In 1789, Philip Davis, who had recently purchased Townsend House in Green Lane, Leominster from Somerset Davies of Wigmore, agreed to convey certain properties in trust for the benefit of his future wife, Rebecca Tudor of Leominster and after her death to their children. The properties included the three tenements situated in High Street on the west of and behind the timber framed Market Hall at the Buttercross described as 'a messuage in Leominster near the Buttercross heretofore in the tenure of Philip Davis and now of Francis Harris having:

> a dwelling house heretofore known by the name of the Royal Oak and now in the occupation of Robert Watling on the south side
> a messuage on the north side of the last mentioned messuage and now made use of as the Bank of Leominster

> a messuage now in the occupation of . . . Ward breeches maker having the last mentioned house on the south and a dwelling house belonging to Mr William Seward on the north side thereof.'

William Seward's premises were later, from about 1835 to 1854, an inn called the Cross Inn, situated on the corner of High Street and Burgess Street. These four properties occupied part of the site which was cleared in 1854 to make way for the New Town Hall. This building was replaced by the present library/ bank complex in 1992.

In 1809 the former Royal Oak, formerly occupied by Robert Watling, brandy merchant, was sold to Joseph Henry Seward, mercer for £980. The premises were described as follows:

> 'All that messuage or dwelling house with the malthouse stables outbuildings fold and garden thereunto adjoining and belonging formerly known by the name of the Royal Oak Inn late in the possession of Robert Watling but now of Joseph Henry Seward in High Street having High Street on the east.'

By February of the following year the premises had been divided into two dwellings and Joseph Henry Seward occupied the one on the north (now no. 2 High Street), the other on the south (now no. 4 High Street) being empty, though soon to be let to John Bradford the younger who was a saddler. In May 1815, Joseph Seward acquired a parcel of land on the south side of the garden of the house he inhabited and extending back to Burgess Street. He built himself a new house in the garden and fenced off his new house together with a garden, from that part of the former Royal Oak which he had been occupying. He then sold to Thomas Fairchild Watling, a surgeon, that part of the former Royal Oak where he had been living (now no. 2 High Street), together with yard, pump, well, part of a building and that part of the garden fenced out from his newly erected house, the garden extending to Burgess Street. In 1832 these premises were sold to Francis Davis, the brother of John Scarlett Davis. He lived here with his wife and had his business as a chemist and druggist.

In 1853 the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Leominster obtained an Act of Parliament which enabled them to purchase the site necessary for the building of a new Town Hall and Market Hall.[18] This included the three properties on the north side of Francis Davis's house and shop and also part of the garden and associated buildings (of no. 2 High Street) which extended to Burgess Street. The vaults and cellars lying partly under the ground floor of his property and partly under the ground floor of the property on the south were also purchased. These vaults and cellars were then leased back to Francis Davis and a passage was constructed on the north side of his own property for his use.

By 1858 Francis Davis had been joined in his business by David Frederick Davis, a near relative, and also a chemist and druggist. Francis Davis retired from business and went to live in Crescent House in Etnam Street, and eventually moved to Baron's Cross Villas. The shop and house remained in the ownership of the Davis family until the early years of the 20th century and continued as a chemist for many years after that. Since about 1950 no. 2 has been a Milk Bar, a Snack Bar and is now the Grill Bar.

It is clear from the above that the former Royal Oak Inn, divided into two in 1809, was not occupied by any member of John Scarlett Davis's family until 1832 when Francis Davis, his brother, purchased no. 2, the northern part of the premises The evidence presented below shows that from 1806 the family lived on the other side of the street at nos. 9 & 11 (Fig. 4).

Date	Royal Oak		Three tenements at the Buttercross		
1757	Edward Eysam (innkeeper)				
Up to 1773	Thomas Martin (innkeeper)				
1789	Robert Watling (brandy merchant)		Francis Harris then Thomas Coates	Bank of Leominster	. . . Ward
1809	Joseph Seward (mercer)		F. J. Burlton		
	No. 4	**No. 2**			
1816	John Bradford the younger (saddler)	J. H. Seward then T. F. Watling	From the 1820s part of the property used by the Leominster Savings Bank, the rest probably let out		
1832	James Wilkes (brazier)	Francis Davis (chemist and druggist)	As above		
1854	Gilbert Wood (tea dealer)	Francis Davis (chemist and druggist)	Sold to Leominster Corporation, the site to be used as part of the New Town Hall		

Figure 3. The occupiers, so far as is known, of no. 2 and the neighbouring properties on the west side of High Street at the Buttercross

The Davis family home in High Street

After finishing his apprenticeship as a clock and watchmaker with Thomas Tomkins the elder, James Davis must have set up his own business. He married Ann Scarlett in 1800 and by 1806 they had two sons, Edward James born in 1801 and John Scarlett born in 1804. On 29 July 1806 James placed an advertisement in the *Hereford Journal*, stating that he had removed to the house lately occupied by Edward Price in the High Street and that he had fitted up the house with every convenience for carrying on his business. He described himself as a clock-and-watch maker and silversmith, and had laid in 'new and fashionable assortments of every article in these branches of the business from the first houses in London.'

The house in High Street was held on a lease from the Bailiff and Capital Burgesses of the Borough of Leominster.[19] These Chamber Leases concerned properties owned by the Borough and let at a low annual rent. Edward Price was a butcher and in 1801 he had taken out such a lease on the property in High Street which was described as having:

> 'Drapers Lane on the east, High Street on the west, a property of Thomas Smith on the north, a property in the occupation of Elizabeth Coleman on the south'.[20]

This shows that the premises in question were on the east side of High Street and occupied a site with a street on both east and west sides and neighbours on the north and south. (Fig. 5)

Figure 4. The east side of High Street looking north showing the Nationwide, at nos. 9 & 11, and the neighbouring properties. (photo February 2009)

In 1806 Edward Price assigned the remaining term of the lease to James Davis, who renewed it in 1812.[21] At this time his neighbour on the south, William Lea, who also rented his property

from the Borough of Leominster, had recently died and his lease was assigned to Francis Went who set up his printing business there. After James Davis died in 1828 his widow, Ann, continued the business and on 18 December 1830 she renewed the lease on the premises.[22]

In May of 1845 John Scarlett visited his mother in Leominster but he was very ill.[23] He went to stay with his brother Edmund, who was then living at Llangattock in Breconshire, and from there went to Llanthony Abbey for the summer months to rest and regain some strength. He returned to London where he died on 29 September. His mother Ann died in June of the following year. The shop and house were let to Thomas Powell, a shoemaker, and his family, and by 1871 the premises had been divided into two, with Thomas Powell and his family in no. 9 and George Hart, hairdresser in no. 11. Francis Davis, the chemist now living at no. 2 High Street was able to purchase the freehold of the premises sometime after 1853 when the Corporation of Leominster was enabled by the Markets and Fairs Act to sell properties that it owned in the Borough of Leominster.[24]

Date	**Number of property in High Street**			
	7	**9**	**11**	**13**
1801	Thomas Smith	Edward Price (butcher)		Thomas Bedford (hairdresser)
1806	Thomas Smith	James Davis (clockmaker & silversmith)		William Lea (saddler)
1812	James Philpotts	James Davis		Francis Went (printer & bookseller)
1830	John Philpotts (butcher)	Ann Davis (jeweller & watchmaker)		Francis Went
1841	John Philpotts	Ann Davis		Francis Went
1851	Jon Proudman (butcher)	Thomas Powell (shoemaker)		Francis Went
1875	Benjamin Jenkins (tailor & draper)	Thomas Powell	George Hart (hairdresser)	Charles Saxby (bookseller & printer)

Figure 5. The occupiers of nos. 9 & 11 and the neighbouring properties on the east side of High Street

In 1875, Francis Davis, now retired, raised a mortgage and used as collateral several properties which he owned.[25] These included no. 2 High Street where he had lived and conducted his chemist's business but was now occupied as a residence and chemist shop by David F. Davis; and also nos. 9 & 11 High Street, his family home, described as:

> 'All those two messuages or tenements, formerly one messuage in High Street, formerly in the occupation of Ann Davis, widow, afterwards of Thomas Powell and now of Thomas Powell, boot maker and Mr Hart, hair dresser.'

By 1876 nos. 9 & 11 High Street were again used as one property the occupant being William Miles, linen draper, with Benjamin Jenkins, outfitter, tailor and draper on the north at no. 7 and on the south at no. 13, Charles Saxby, printer who had taken over the printing business of the Went family. This property is now occupied by the Nationwide Building Society.

CONCLUSION

The belief that the Davis family home and business was at no. 2 High Street and that John Scarlett was born there seems to arise from two sources. Firstly, Francis, John Scarlett's brother, had his chemist's and druggist's shop there and also lived on the premises until he retired and passed the business on to his relative, David Frederick Davis.[26]

Secondly, in 1934, it was noted that there were 'some curious early 18th century paintings on the walls of view from the windows.'[27] When major refurbishment of no. 2 took place in 1949, some painted wooden panels were removed from the first floor room overlooking High Street and these were presumably the same as those noted earlier. Two of the panels were retrieved from a bonfire and saved from destruction by Mr H. Schofield, the Borough Surveyor and these panels were later presented to Leominster Museum where they are now on display. One of the panels, which has been cleaned, is a view of Church Street apparently as seen from the first floor window of no. 2 and is said to be signed by the artist. The painting on the other panel is of a rural view and this panel has not been cleaned.[28] The conclusion has been reached that John Scarlett painted these panels when he was about 13 or 14 and that the view of Church Street was painted from the window of the room where the panels were found. It has also been suggested that this room was the artist's bedroom. John Scarlett is known to have used wooden panels for his oil paintings. His letters home contain requests to his father for oak panels, suitably prepared, to be sent to him.[29] The presence of these panels at no. 2 cannot be said to mean that the artist lived in the house unless there is confirmatory evidence from other sources. The panels could have been a present to an earlier occupant or, more likely, taken there by his brother Francis on taking up residence in 1832 or perhaps the view of Church Street was painted on a visit to his brother in his 'new house'.

The review of the occupancy of nos. 9 & 11 High Street from 1806-1875 shows that the family were in residence at this address for all but the first two years of John Scarlett's life.

There are several questions that remain unanswered. Where were John Scarlett and his older brother born if not at no. 2? Where did James and Ann live for the first few years of their married life? Where in Leominster did the artist's grandfather, Bartholomew live and work as a soap boiler and tallow chandler?

These questions cannot be answered at the present time. However, it is possible that Bartholomew's business and dwelling were at no. 32 High Street near to the Iron Cross. His son Francis, an older brother of James the clock- and watchmaker, was also a chandler and soap boiler like his father. When Francis died in 1834 his widow Martha Maria continued as a tallow chandler and the 1841 census records her at what was later no. 32. Their son James and his wife Margaret were also tallow chandlers at this address, and Margaret, as a widow continued the shop and candle manufactory at no. 32. She was the last of the chandlers there and in 1895 the premises were let to Charles Lewis, a gentlemen's outfitter.[30] Perhaps James and Ann were also here at the beginning of their married life, or maybe they were renting another place nearby.

Further evidence may become available in the future. In the end it may be difficult to establish where John Scarlett Davis was born but from what we know at the moment it is highly improbable that the artist's birthplace was no. 2 High Street, Leominster.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the owner of no. 4 High Street who kindly allowed me to look at the deeds.

REFERENCES

[1] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004-2009).
[2] Redgrave, Samuel, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (Second Edition 1874).
[3] *Hereford Journal*, 18 September 1880.
[4] Hobbs, Tony, *John Scarlett Davis a biography* (2004).
[5] In Leominster at that time there were several distinct families with the name of Davis, sometimes spelled Davies, and other families with the name of Davies, not usually spelled Davis.
[6] Branston, T. & Eisel, J., *Herefordshire Clockmakers and Watchmakers* (2005).
[7] Leominster Parish Registers, available on microfilm in Herefordshire Record Office (HRO).
[8] The collection of letters written by John Scarlett Davis is held by Hereford Libraries and Information Service.
[9] *Loc. cit.* in note 4.
[10] Pigot & Co.'s Directories for 1822 and 1835.
[11] *Leominster and Bromyard News*, 21 October 1970.
[12] Williams, G.W. 'The Life and Works of John Scarlett Davis (1804-1845),' *Old Water Colour Society's Club Annual*, 45 (1970). Copy held at Leominster Museum.
[13] Title deeds of no. 2 High Street are in HRO, AA32/48-63. Title deeds of no. 4 High Street are in the possession of the owner.
[14] 1729 Road Act (2 George II), *An Act for repairing the several Roads therein mentioned, leading into the Town of Leominster, in the County of Hereford*.
[15] Townsend, Rev. G. F., *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (1863) p.186.
[16] *Hereford Journal*, 22 July 1773.
[17] HRO, BN97/16-35.
[18] 1853, The Leominster Markets and Fairs Act (16 & 17 Vict.) *An Act for the establishment or improvement and regulation of Markets and Fairs in the Borough of Leominster; and for other purposes relating to the said Borough* (1853).
[19] HRO, S67. The Chamber Leases are indexed by year. These are renewals of Leases. Assignments of leases occur in wills or title deeds of the properties concerned. The lease was granted for the term of 99 years if the three lives named in the lease lived that long. When one or two of the named persons died, the lease was renewable on payment of a fine. The annual rental was payable in four instalments during the year together with the supply at Christmas of two fat hens to the Bailiff of Leominster, or in lieu, hen money, amounting to 1s. 6d., this amount being increased to 2s. 6d. in October 1807. The Bailiff was thus enabled to give a "Henne Feast". at Christmas. If the tenant died or wished for whatever reason to give up his tenancy, he or she was able to dispose of it often by devising the remaining term to his heir or heirs or by assigning the lease for an agreed sum of money to someone who wished to take on the tenancy.
[20] HRO, S67/1801.
[21] HRO, S67/1812.
[22] HRO, S67/1830.
[23] *Loc. cit.* in note 4, p.73.
[24] *Loc. cit.* in note 18.
[25] *Loc. cit.* in note 13.
[26] David Frederick Davis is often referred to as the son of Francis Davis, the brother of John Scarlett Davis. However, he is recorded in the Leominster Parish registers as born to Francis Davis, chandler and Martha Margaret and was christened on 12 January 1825. David is also recorded in the 1841 census as a druggist's apprentice and as being at the same premises as Martha Davis, chandler.
[27] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, III—North-West* (1934), p.121.
[28] *Leominster and Bromyard News*, 6 February 1974.
[29] *Loc. cit.* in note 4, pp.20-21, 28, 38.

[30] The census of 1861 records Martha Davis and her son James and his wife Margaret at what was later numbered as 32 High Street. Various directories record Francis, Martha and James as tallow chandlers in High Street and from 1876 Mrs Margaret Davis as having a candle manufactory and warehouse at no. 32 until 1895.

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Robert Maulkin Lingwood

By JOHN C. EISEL

The Woolhope Club dates its beginnings to the winter of 1851, although no firm documentary evidence has so far been found. That this date was accepted early on is evident since the club badge, which bears this date, was used on the front of the first hard-bound volume of Transactions that was issued, those for the year of 1866.[1] *The first meeting of the Club for which minutes survive took place on 13 April 1852, and the first field meeting was held on 18 May 1852. The circumstances of the founding of the Club were dealt with in detail in the Club's sesquicentennial volume, where Dr John Ross also discussed the careers of the most influential of the founders of the Club.*[2] *At that time little was known of Robert Maulkin Lingwood, the first President, but more sources have now become available, and these are used in this short paper to give an outline of Lingwood's career.*

BACKGROUND HISTORY

Robert Maulkin Lingwood, the son of Peter Lathbury Lingwood and Anna Maria Lingwood (née Maulkin), was christened at Bury St Edmund's on 5 February 1814. Like his father he was educated at the Grammar School in Bury St Edmund's. He went up to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner on 22 May 1832, matriculated at Michaelmas 1832, and received his BA on 23 January 1836, proceeding MA in 1840.[3] In 1836 he married his cousin Elizabeth Sole Lingwood, daughter of Benjamin Lingwood, of Little Saxham, Suffolk, and towards the end of 1836 they were living in Uckfield, Sussex. Charles Cardale Babington, the botanist, was a friend from Cambridge days, and visited him at Uckfield on 23 December 1836.[4] In 1839 the Lingwoods were still in Sussex, but later that year they moved to Herefordshire, Babington's diary for 10 August 1839 recording:

> 'Went on to Hereford by way of Hay, and arrived at Lingwood's, Sufton Court, Mordiford, before dinner-time.'[5]

Clearly Lingwood was renting Sufton Court. That he was of substantial means is evident from the entry in Babington's diary for 6 August 1840, when a trip was taken down the river Wye from Ross, the party travelling to Ross from Sufton Court in Lingwood's carriage.[6] When the census was taken in June 1841, Lingwood was staying at the Hand Hotel, Llangollen, together with his wife and one of his sisters-in-law, probably taking a holiday. It is likely that he was still living at Sufton Court, as the census records five servants in residence there on the night of the census, but no head of household. At the time that he was living in Mordiford, the rector was the Rev. C. J. Bird, a gentleman of similar interests, and there were social contacts between them. Thus on 17 August 1839, when his friend Babington was staying as a guest at Sufton, they visited Mordiford Rectory where they saw the Rev. C. J. Bird's collections of antiquities etc.[7] In view of this social contact it is not surprising that in 1841 Lingwood's younger brother, the Rev. Thomas John Lingwood, became the curate of Dinedor, the other parish of which the Rev. C. J. Bird was rector, a position which he held until 1843.[8]

In 1842 Lingwood bought the Lyston estate in the parish of Llanwarne, which was offered for sale by auction on 31 January 1842. With this he became one of the landed gentry

of the county and his social status was marked by being appointed High Sheriff of the county for 1848, and in 1861 a Deputy Lieutenant for the county.[9] He lived at Lyston in some state and at the time of the 1851 census his household staff included a butler, house-keeper, house maid and cook, as well as a lad who worked in the garden. He had two gardeners, who had separate residences, and there was also a coachman.

Figure 1. Lyston sketched by James Gregory Peene between 1819 and 1842 (Hereford Reference Library)

Subsequently Lingwood had what was described as 'a severe reverse of fortune', and circumstantial evidence suggests that it may have been in the middle 1860s.[10] It is quite possible that this was connected with the business affairs of his brother-in-law (and cousin), Robert Sole Lingwood, a prominent solicitor in Cheltenham, who had acted for him in the past.[11] In October 1862 the manor of Cheltenham was put up for sale by auction and offered in one lot for £23,000. It did not sell, and was subsequently bought by R. S. Lingwood for £33,000. This was a straightforward speculation, and R. S. Lingwood intended to gain financially by making the copyholders of Cheltenham pay for their enfranchisement. Naturally they resisted, forming an association to do so, and R. S. Lingwood lost the resulting legal case, leaving him with property that was worth only a fraction of what he had paid for it.[12] The coincidence of a severe financial loss in R. M. Lingwood's immediate family at about the time that he himself had a severe financial reverse, makes it quite possible that R. M. Lingwood put up some, if not all, of the money that was lost. The loss does not seem to have affected R. S. Lingwood to the same extent, as he continued to live in Redesdale House, a large residence in the prime area of Leckhampton, Cheltenham, called The Park.[13]

Early in 1865 the Lyston estate was put on the market, with Robert Sole Lingwood handling the legal side. It was widely advertised for sale by private treaty, including *The Times* of 12 March 1865 and *The Field* of 18 March 1865, the adverts giving general details but not

the name and price wanted. Enquiries were directed to Robert Sole Lingwood, and a MS note on one of the letters of enquiry received indicates that the price was £28,000.[14] The eventual purchaser was the Rev. Daniel Capper.[15] On 15 July 1865 it was announced in the *Hereford Journal* that the contents of Lyston House would be sold by auction on the premises, the estate having been sold. The auction took place on the five successive days between 24 and 28 July inclusive, the auctioneers being a firm from Cheltenham, and the list of contents, including furniture by Gillow of London (and Lancaster), and Alder of Cheltenham,[16] makes it clear that this was rather more than a local sale. It is particularly sad to note that included in the auction was a library of books, the library of a working scholar, but probably Lingwood kept his favourite items. One other possible sale that might be thought to be connected with Lingwood was advertised in the *Hereford Times* on 19 & 26 August 1865 which was for oil paintings etc. that were to be auctioned at the Corn Exchange in Hereford on 28 & 29 August, described as 'Genuine and Valuable Works of Art' which were 'the property of a gentleman who is leaving England'. However, in 1849-50 Lingwood's pictures were only insured for £30, which makes this rather unlikely.[17]

After the Rev. Daniel Capper took over Lyston, he called it Lyston Court, and in 1872 Robinson reported that 'Lyston has been almost re-modeled [*sic*] by its present owner, the Rev. Daniel Capper…'[18] Subsequently it was bought by Sir James Rankin, Bart., and added to his already large estate.[19]

After his reversal of fortune Lingwood went abroad for a while, but had returned by the time the Club annual meeting was held on 26 February 1867, and attended the dinner at the City Arms Hotel.[20] By the time the Club's *Transactions* for 1868 were published in 1869 he was living at Cowley House, a residence just outside Exeter. This was rather a grand house, initially called Cowley Place, then Cowley House, and now reverted to Cowley Place. It seems in all probability that Lingwood was renting this, rather than having bought it, but he lived there in some style and at the time of the 1871 census the family were being looked after by six servants. In 1872 he moved to 1 Derby Villas, Cheltenham, where his mother-in-law had lived, and the home of his two unmarried sisters-in-law.[21] Within a few years he had moved on to 6 Park Villas, The Park, Leckhampton, Cheltenham, and he was still there at the time of his death on 2 June 1887.

SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS

Robert Maulkin Lingwood was a man of wide scientific interests in the natural sciences, and was a close friend of Charles Cardale Babington, as indicated above. Babington was a botanist of some celebrity and held the chair of botany at Cambridge University from 1861 until his death in 1895. He was one of the founders of the Entomological Society in 1833, of which Lingwood was elected a Fellow on 4 May 1835, before he had even graduated, and it is likely that Babington was one of his proposers, but the early membership records of the Society were lost many years ago.[22] Babington was one of the first non-resident members of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, which was instituted on 17 March 1836, being admitted to membership on 12 May 1836. He was probably responsible for Lingwood being admitted a non-resident member on 8 February 1838.[23] Babington was also one of the three persons who nominated Lingwood when he was elected a Fellow of the Linnaean Society on 15 January 1839.[24] A year later, on 22 January 1840, Lingwood was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society, member No. 1270. On that occasion his proposal form was signed by C. C. Babington, D. T. Ansted,

W. H. Stokes, and A. Sedgwick.[25] The latter, of course, was the famous geologist who was Woodwardian Professor of Geology at Cambridge from 1818 until his death in 1873. Sedgwick worked with Murchison in the 1830s, and guided the young Charles Darwin, but later opposed Darwin's theory of natural selection. Ansted was also an important figure, in 1840 becoming Professor of Geology at King's College, London, a post which he held until 1853.

Lingwood was thus at the heart of scientific enquiry, and moved in exalted circles. In 1835 he spent much time in Ireland with Babington, and in 1837 accompanied him on a long visit to the Channel Islands, which resulted in the latter's book on the flora of the Channel Islands, published in 1839. Babington was also one of the early members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (now the British Science Association), which was founded in 1831. Lingwood met Babington at various annual meetings of this body, at Bristol in 1836, Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1838, Birmingham in 1839 and Glasgow in 1840. Probably Lingwood was also a member, but the information is not available.[26]

In Hereford the only body that was comparable to the learned bodies of which Lingwood was a fellow was the Herefordshire Literary and Philosophical Society, established late in 1836. While not of such standing as the learned societies, nevertheless the membership included many of the county gentry, the circle in which Lingwood moved, as well as professional people and successful tradesmen. Lingwood's name appears for the first time, as a subscribing member paying one guinea a year for the privileges of membership, in the Philosophical Society annual report for 1839, and he continued his membership until the end of 1851. However, it seems that he was not a prominent member, and so far no record has been found of his lecturing to the Society. It is evident from his background that he was an active researcher in the field, but the Philosophical Society mostly held evening meetings and the occasional outing by carriage, and so when there was a proposal to form a naturalists' field club he would naturally have supported it. Perhaps not wishing to have divided loyalties, he gave notice of his intention to withdraw from the Philosophical Society at the end of the year to a meeting of the Council of the Society held on 7 July 1851.[27]

The idea of a naturalists' field club for Herefordshire had been raised by a letter in the issue of the *Hereford Journal* of 25 April 1849, written by 'Physiologos'.[28] This was perhaps the start of the movement that led to the foundation of the Woolhope Club. As is well known, the Woolhope Club dates its start to the winter of 1851, although the first minuted meeting, at which the rules of the Club were formally agreed, took place on 13 April 1852. That meeting was chaired by R. M. Lingwood who became the first President. The first annual meeting of the Woolhope Club was held on 24 January 1853, at the house of Mr Scobie, the secretary, in Bye Street (now Commercial Street), and the chair was taken by Lingwood as President.
At that meeting several names were added to the list of honorary members, including that of Profesor Sedgwick, probably at the suggestion of Lingwood. In accordance with the rules, he reviewed the progress of the Club over the previous season, discussing the field meetings that were held, and reviewed papers that had been read. The report of his speech ends:

> 'In conclusion, the President thanked the members for their kindness, and expressed a hope that each succeeding year may witness an increase in the interest and intellectual enjoyment of its members. After paying a deserved compliment to the indefatigable zeal of the Hon. Secretary, the President sat down amid much applause.'[29]

It will be noticed that Lingwood did not read a paper as part of his presidential address. However, his successor as President, the Rev. T. T. Lewis, in his address at the annual meeting on 24 January 1854, while discussing the field meetings held during his year in office, managed to work in a lot of instruction in geology, and also made further remarks on the subject, so starting the custom of the president reading a paper as the finale to the year in office.

Figure 2. R. M. Lingwood from the Club's collection.

It does seem clear that Lingwood was more interested in field work than writing papers, and his contributions to our *Transactions* were limited to a list of birds, published in 1853, and a list of animals and birds etc. of Herefordshire, and average dates of appearance near Lyston of birds, butterflies, and flowers etc. over the period 1850-57, both of which appeared in 1861.

He was elected secretary of the Club in 1864 and in 1865, but did not complete his second term of office. Lingwood was at the field meeting of the Woolhope Club held on 19 May 1865, and the account of the field meeting held 18 and 19 July 1865 mentions that the secretary was in attendance, but his name is not given in the list of those present. With the sale of Lyston and its contents there was nothing to keep Lingwood in Herefordshire, and it seems likely that he and his wife left for the Continent immediately. His departure was commented on by the president, E. Y. Steele in his retiring address, given on 22 February 1866, when he mentioned that

> 'Mr Lingwood and Mr Chandos Wren Hoskyns, who have been long prominent and useful members of the Woolhope Club, have retired to the Continent.'[30]

He went on to state:

> 'Mr Lingwood's services deserve a special acknowledgment from us, for he was at all times most cheerfully willing to assist any of us, from the stores of his extensive information, on all subjects of Natural History.'

By 1869 Lingwood had returned to England, living in Exeter, and he moved to Cheltenham in 1872. Perhaps in preparation for that move, he deposited his herbarium in the Royal Albert Museum in Exeter, some 1,386 sheets being donated on 22 January 1872, and a further 470 specimens on 6 April 1872. He also made donations which included specimens of bone, teeth etc., some of which came from Kent's Cavern, and others from King Arthur's Cave on the Great Doward, Herefordshire, the latter evidently collected when he was resident in Hereford.[31]

Other plant specimens that Lingwood collected are scattered in various herbaria through the country, including those at Bristol, Forres, Cardiff, Warwick, and Ulster museums, as well as several personal herbaria, and it has been suggested that the wide distribution of specimens was due to some Victorian exchange scheme, or *via* another botanist who was so connected.[32]

The deposit of his herbarium may indicate that Lingwood's interest in botanising and allied matters had waned. He lost contact with his old friends, and in a letter to the Rev. W. H. Purchas, dated 30 November 1876, Babington wrote:

> 'I have not seen or heard anything of the Lingwoods for, I am sorry to say, a very long time. The last I heard of them was that he had let his house, and was living in Cheltenham.'[33]

Unless he was referring to a house other than Lyston, Babington was incorrect—perhaps Lingwood's ill fortune was not widely known. Lingwood died on 3 June 1887, and the learned societies of which he was a Fellow did not learn of his death until later. No comment was made in the Club *Transactions*, his name just being deleted from the list of honorary members.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Prior to this volume there were six parts issued, in paper wrappers, in 1856, 1857, 1861, 1863, 1864 & 1865 respectively. They were used as the basis when the volume for 1852 – 1865 was prepared retrospectively by H. Cecil Moore and issued in December 1907. These sets are extremely scarce, although there is a bound set in the Club library. Moore's own bound set, which I assume he used in the preparation of the retrospective volume, is my own collection, although the first two parts are in manuscript.
[2] D. Whitehead and J.C. Eisel (eds.), *A Herefordshire Miscellany*, (2000), pp.17-26.
[3] J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* (2001 edition), Vol. 4, p.175.
[4] *Memorials, Journal and Botanical Correspondence of Charles Cardale Babington* (1897), p.59.
[5] *Ibid.* pp.78, 84.
[6] *Ibid.* p.91.
[7] *Ibid.* p.84.
[8] The life and interests of the Rev. C.J. Bird are discussed in J.C. Eisel, 'Duncumb, Bird and Bird' *TWNFC* Vol. 55 (2007), pp.19-42.
[9] *London Gazette* 1 January 1861. The commission was signed by the Lord Lieutenant on 1 December 1860.
[10] *Op. cit.* in Note 3, p.175.
[11] Draft conveyance of 1840 for property in Cheltenham, R.M. Lingwood to R.M.P. Hall, Messers Bubb and Lingwood acting for R.M. Lingwood. Herefordshire Record Office (henceforth H.R.O.) A27/6.
[12] Phyllis Hembry, Leonard W. Cowie and Evelyn E. Cowie, *British Spas from 1815 to the present: a social history*, (1997), pp.199-200.
[13] Kelly's Directories for 1856, 1863 and 1870.
[14] The file of draft details, correspondence etc. is HRO, A27/6.
[15] The Rev. D.P. Capper was elected a member of the Woolhope Club in 1867. See list of members in *TWNFC*, 1871, (unpaginated).
[16] Gillows is well known. The other firm appears to that of Alder and Alder, Cabinet makers and Upholsterers, whose name subsequently appears in Slater's directory of 1868.

[17] HRO, A27/4.
[18] The Rev. C.J. Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872), p.185. Robinson also states that the Rev. Daniel Capper bought Lyston in 1864, but this is clearly incorrect.
[19] Bryngwyn estate was bought in 1865 by James Rankin, of Bromborough Hall, Cheshire, who conveyed it by deed of gift to James Rankin, who was his only son. The Rev. C.J. Robinson, *A History of the Mansion and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872), p.85.
[20] *TWNFC*, 1866, p.299.
[21] His father-in-law, Benjamin Lingwood, a farmer, was buried at Little Saxham, Suffolk, on 9 January 1827. Subsequently Benjamin's widow moved to Cheltenham and at the time of the 1861 census she was described as a Fundholder and House proprietor. She died in 1869 at the age of 91 and her two unmarried daughters, Charlotte and Ellen, continued to live at 1 Derby Villas.
[22] Inf. ex. Val McAteer, Librarian, Royal Entomological Society.
[23] Taken from the list of members published in 1840, pp.24 & 27. The address of Lingwood was given as Sufton Court, Mordiford. However, he did not move there until 1839, so evidently he communicated his new address to the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. This society is now called the Botanical Society of Scotland.
[24] Inf. ex Ben Sherwood, assistant librarian, Linnaean Society.
[25] Inf. ex. Wendy Cawthorne, Librarian, Geological Society.
[26] *Op. cit.* in Note 4, pp.56, 76, 84 & 95. Currently the only membership lists held by the British Science Association are for members who joined in 2002 or later. Inf. ex email from Beena Patel, dated 15 September 2009.
[27] HRO, CF50/64.
[28] Quoted by Dr John Ross in 'Founders of the Woolhope Club', *A Herefordshire Miscellany* (2000), p.18, where he quotes a suggestion, made by Isaac Cohen in 1957, that the writer was the Rev. W.S. Symonds. It is also possible that the writer may have been R.M. Lingwood.
[29] *Hereford Times*, 29 January 1853. The meeting was not reported in the *Hereford Journal*.
[30] While Linwood stayed on the Continent for some while, the visit of Chandos Wren Hoskyns could not have been long, as at this period he was building up his estate at Harewood. When the Llandinabo estate was sold by auction in 1865 the portion adjoining the Harewood estate was bought by an agent on behalf of Hoskyns. *Hereford Journal*, 1 July 1865. For a detailed history of the life of Chandos Wren Hoskyns, see Kevin Brookes *et al*, *Historical Aspects of Ross* (2000), pp.198-204.
[31] Inf. ex David Bolton, Royal Albert Museum, Exeter. Kent's Cavern is at Torquay, and it is assumed that he collected the specimens from here after his return to England.
[32] Details of locations are taken from D. H. Kent & D. E. Allen, *British and Irish herbaria* (1984), kindly supplied by Dr Charles Nelson, formerly of the National Botanic Gardens, Dublin, who also made the suggestion about the wide-spread distribution of specimens from Lingwood's herbarium. Lingwood's herbarium in Exeter is listed in Desmond, R. *Dictionary of British and Irish botanists and horticulturalists* (1994), p.430, where it also states that he had 'Plants in Ulster Museum.' However, there are only two specimens at Ulster, neither of which originated in Northern Ireland, nor is there any documentation as to why they were deposited there. Inf. ex Dr Brian Nelson, Department of Natural Sciences, National Museums, Northern Ireland.
[33] *Op. cit.* in note 4, p.377.

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The early history of Wilton castle and manor, Herefordshire

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Wilton was a royal manor before the Norman Conquest and remained one until king Henry I (1100-35) gave it to Hugh I de Longchamps. It was probably Hugh who built the first castle. Wilton then stayed in his family until the death of Henry II de Longchamps in 1237, when it passed with his heiress to Reginald de Grey of Shirland. Thus began a long association between Wilton and the family of Grey, but this account, as it deals only with its early history, will cease in the mid 13th century. In the previous one hundred and fifty years, however, there are several references in the royal records to building or repair work at the castle, which may or may not relate to the structure seen today.

THE ORIGINS OF WILTON AS A MANOR

At the time of *Domesday Book* Wilton was an outlier of the royal manor of Cleeve, which contained 14½ hides.[1] Although Cleeve itself lay east of the Wye in the *Domesday* hundred of Bromsash, most of the manor lay west of that river, in Archenfield, and included King's Caple, Bridstow and Peterstow, besides Wilton. William fitzBaderon of Monmouth had a small manor in Wilton in 1086 that stayed in his family. By 1160 one of his successors had given Monmouth Priory the tithe of the land of Willliam de Dives in the parish of Bridstow and as late as 1278 the lord of Monmouth had a rent of three shillings annually from William 'of the Garth' of Wilton for his land at Wilton.[2]

Wilton remained in royal hands until King Henry I gave lands at Wilton and in the royal manor of Linton jointly to Hugh (I) de Longchamps and Richard Talbot. It was still in Henry's hands at a date in or after in 1125—when he had had there eighteen oxen, eight cows, five heifers (*iuuenca animalia*), two draught animals (*aure*), one hundred and fifty sheep and thirty-eight pigs[3]—but the grant to Longchamps and Talbot of Wilton and Linton had been made by the time of his death ten years later. Together the two manors were valued at £33 yearly, although the way the land was divided up between Hugh and Richard is not at all clear. Hugh's share, however, certainly included Wilton (with Cleeve, Bridstow, Peterstow and King's Caple), for which he was required to do the service of one knight's fee for this manor, a service later defined as being for 'the service of two mounted sergeants in the wars of Wales.'[4] The imprecision of the grant seems to have caused confusion, and in November 1156 Talbot sought out the king (Henry II) at Argentan in Normandy in an attempt to resolve it. He duly obtained a grant of the whole manor of Linton and its appurtenances, except for land worth sixty shillings annually held by Hugh de Longchamps.[5] Hugh, it seems, had a similar grant, but this time of the whole manor of Wilton and its appurtenances except for land worth sixty shillings annually held by Richard Talbot, although no record of it now remains. As a result of this effort Richard is shown in the pipe roll for the exchequer year 1156/7 as having £16 10s. annually at Linton, while Hugh has £16 10s. at Wilton and Linton.[6] Talbot's land in Wilton lay at Cleeve, which remained appurtenant to the manor of Linton into the later Middle Ages.[7] The location of the Longchamps land in Linton is unknown.

HUGH I de LONGCHAMPS

Hugh I de Longchamps probably built the first castle at Wilton as a means of securing the nearby (and lucrative) ford of the Wye.[8] His father is said to have been a runaway French slave who took refuge at Longchamps, a ducal and royal castle lying in the Norman Vexin, but the tale is probably scurrilous, aimed at the deeply unpopular William de Longchamps, Hugh's grandson and chancellor of England under Richard I. In the *quo warranto* proceedings of 1292, Reginald de Grey and Maud de Longchamps his wife claimed that Maud's ancestors had conquered the manor of Wilton from the Welsh 'in old times.' They also said that it had belonged to their ancestors 'before the Conquest.'[9] Though neither of these claims is true (they were no more or less than those of other chief lords of lands on the Welsh border), but both were important in respect of the regalian rights they claimed to have within their manor of Wilton, *i.e*. rights gained by conquest from its previous Welsh lord rather than by grant of a king of England. Their case failed, but its details (as set down in the *quo warranto* record) are interesting in themselves, and tell us a great deal about the history of Wilton as they and the crown saw it.

Hugh retained Wilton until after civil war broke out in England between king Stephen (1135-54), nephew to Henry I and usurper of his throne, and the empress Matilda, duchess of Anjou and Henry's daughter and designated heir, when he lost it to the earl of Hereford. Herefordshire lay in territory that was soon obliged to support the empress, so when Hugh initially supported the king, Matilda did no more than take Wilton into her own hands 'because the owner was in arms against [her]' as she said at a later date.[10] In July 1141 she gave it to Miles of Gloucester, sheriff of Gloucester and her chief supporter in Herefordshire, when she made him earl of Hereford.[11] Hugh subsequently made his peace with the empress's party and by 1148 was in a position to witness a charter of a son of earl Miles to the priory of Llanthony Secunda.[12] Hugh's conversion to the Angevin cause did not gain him full possession of Wilton, however, since it was subsequently held only as a subtenant of earl Miles and his son and not of the crown. He died about 1150, leaving a son, also named Hugh.

HUGH II de LONGCHAMPS

In the period between his father's death and the accession of duke Henry of Anjou, son of empress Matilda, to the English throne in 1154, Hugh II de Longchamps was in almost constant attendance on the duke.[13] Indeed, he was sufficiently in favour with him as to become one of those entrusted with the safety of his new wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, when she made a pilgrimage to the abbey church of Fontevrault in 1152.[14] A year later, both he and earl Roger of Hereford, son of earl Miles and his overlord at Wilton, witnessed a deed of the duke's in favour of Cirencester Abbey.[15] After Henry became king in October 1154 earl Roger attempted to rebel against him, and had Wilton and many other lands and manors taken from him for his pains. At the end of the year or early in the next Henry returned Wilton to Hugh to hold as a chief tenant of the crown by service of one knight's fee.[16] He gave Linton to Richard Talbot on similar terms. Both grants were regarded by the crown as gifts of *terra data*, that is, grants out of royal demesne lands, so from this point onwards the sheriff of the county was allowed £33 annually against his farm of the shire for the lands at Wilton and Linton given to Hugh de Longchamps and Richard Talbot.[17] As noted before, this changed to £16 10s. annually each in 1156/7 after Talbot made his appeal to the king. In 1162 Hugh was quit of danegeld on 14½ hides of land in Herefordshire,[18] which is precisely the hidage at Cleeve-with-Wilton in 1086.

Hugh II de Longchamps married Emma de St Leger, daughter of Hugh de Lacy, lord of Ludlow and Weobley. With her he gained lands at Burghope and Arkstone in Herefordshire that came to form a small 'honour' or 'barony' of Wilton with the castle at its head. Burghope belonged to Hugh in 1166 *in maritagio* and in 1243 Arkstone was said to be a 'fee of the honour of Wilton' (*Feoda Honoris de Wylton*).[19] He also gained Kempley in Gloucestershire, but this remained part of the Lacy barony. In about 1165 he witnessed a charter of Hugh de Lacy to the priory of St Michael at Ewyas.[20]

Hugh's record as witness to the deeds of king Henry II shows that he maintained his closeness to the crown.[21] In 1172 he became keeper of the honour of Tosny in Normandy, in royal hands due to the minority of its heir. He held the post for the next seven years, during which time he ran up debts totalling £889-10s-6d Anjou (about £180 sterling).[22] This was an enormous sum, and the scale of them forced him to resign, out of favour and in disgrace. They were mostly never paid, and some 90% of them were still outstanding more than ten years after his death.[23] For the remaining ten years of so of his life Hugh's name appears to have been anathema to the king, who is said to have called his son William, who became bishop of Ely, 'a son of two traitors.'

Hugh II died on 25 October 1187 leaving several sons.[24] The most important of these were Stephen (died 1214), steward to Richard the Lionheart; William (died 1197), bishop of Ely and chancellor of England, and Robert (died 1239), prior of Ely. His heir for Wilton, however, was Henry (Henry I de Longchamps) who had become identified with the party of the king's rebellious eldest son Richard, and so king Henry kept Wilton until his own death 18 months later. In 1188 therefore the sheriff of Herefordshire was allowed only £4 2s. 6d. (one quarter of £16 10s.) for the lands of Hugh de Longchamps at Linton and Wilton for the time that it was in his hands. However, he was also allowed £10 12s. 11d. of his expenses in 'keeping the castle of Wilton after the death of Hugh de Longchamps.'[25]

HENRY I de LONGCHAMPS

Henry I de Longchamps's career under king Richard began on its own merits but prospered further while his brother William was chancellor of England from 1189-91 and again in 1193-7. While Richard was abroad William was virtual vice-regent of England and he used this position to feather both his own and his brother's nest.

Immediately after his father's death in July 1189, Richard issued a charter to Hugh regranting to him lands now defined as his manor of Wilton *et Caples* (King's Caple).[26] The charter has not survived, but is mentioned many years later, and was doubtless intended as a reward for his loyal support.[27] The grant was soon followed by a gift of the shrievality of Herefordshire from Michaelmas 1189 onwards, together with the lucrative wardship of Adam de Port's barony of Kington and the keeping of the royal forest of Treville.[28]

Henry remained with the king until he went to Dover in December 1189 on the first stage of his journey to the Holy Land. He did not cross to Normandy on that occasion, but did join the king in the following March, having been sent to Normandy by the chancellor on certain business.[29] He may well have stayed on to the end of the month, to be present when Richard granted Gilbert Talbot the manor of Linton as his father Richard had held it, except for land worth sixty shillings annually that belonged to Henry de Longchamps, but if he did he did not witness it.[30] He then went to York with the chancellor and with other knights of the king to deal

with the aftermath of the massacre of Jews.[31] Both in going to Normandy and travelling to York Henry was paid his expenses 'by writ of the chancellor.'

Longchamps remained sheriff until Michaelmas 1191 and at the end of his term owed back-revenues of £35 11s. 3d. In October chancellor William was dismissed from all his offices by prince John and forced to depart the realm. He gave his brother Henry as a hostage and guarantee that he would leave the country. Chancellor William was reinstated by the king in 1193, however, and afterwards Henry received land worth £4 annually at Chartley in Staffordshire from among the lands of Stephen de Beauchamp. In 1194 he became sheriff of Worcester, a post he held for three years, during which time he accumulated further debts.[32] At about the same time William, his brother, gave him the manor of Worlingham (near Beccles) in Suffolk which he had purchased from William Lovel. Henry later passed it on to Robert de Grelley of Manchester in marriage with his daughter Margery.[33] Henry also had at this time ½ knight's fee at Heydour in Lincolnshire from Gilbert de Ghent, lord of Folkingham in that county.[34] It was at about this time that the *castellum de Wiltona* was noted by Gerald of Wales as one of the significant sites passed by the river Wye on its way to the sea.[35]

Bishop William de Longchamps died on 31 January 1197 and it was not long before Richard found an excuse to move against Henry, whom he suspected of favouring the French king in the war currently raging in the Vexin. This eventually came in the following June when he deprived Henry of his lands at Wilton and elsewhere in England. The manor (and presumably the castle) was placed in the keeping of Stephen of Turnham[36] and did not return to Henry until long after Richard's death.

In 1199 Henry proffered £100 for the custody of the lands and heir of Stephen de Beauchamp, and in the same year John, the new king, had all Henry's Herefordshire debts consolidated in the amount of £32 17s. 9d. This he agreed to pay off in two equal portions over the next two years.[37] That same year Wilton was given to William de Braose, sheriff of Herefordshire and John's great favourite, but in 1200 John gave it to Henry de Bohun when he made him earl of Hereford.[38] The grant never took effect, however, and the pipe rolls show that Wilton remained in the hands of the king's agents. At Michaelmas 1200 Hubert de Burgh, the royal chamberlain, became sheriff with Richard de Seinges as his deputy and keeper of Wilton. By this time Henry had reduced his debt to just £3 13s. 6d., which the king allowed to be offset against Hubert's surplus revenues of the shire.[39]

This favour to Henry was perhaps done in the knowledge that Longchamps was about to join the Fourth Crusade. Early in 1202 Henry crossed to Normandy 'with horse and arms.'[40] On 28 May he placed all his lands in John's keeping, the king being at Lyons-la-Forêt near Longchamps at the time. He then departed for the Middle East, reaching Constantinople in 1203 and participating in the sack of that city in April 1204.

Wilton, meanwhile, remained in the custody of Hubert de Burgh (or his deputy) until Michaelmas 1204, when he ceased to be sheriff. During this time he had accumulated debts of £12 14s. 11d., but in the next accounting year he was remitted £2 3s. of this 'for work at the castle of Wilton.'[41] In October the king wrote to Richard de Seinges instructing him to let William de Cantilupe, steward of the royal household and the new sheriff of Herefordshire, have Wilton Castle and its appurtenances.[42] Cantilupe was sheriff for only a year, although he is still credited with the Longchamps lands at Wilton and Caple three years later.[43] This may, however, be a mistake.

By now rumours that Henry had died abroad had reached England, and as a result the king ordered the sheriff to let Matilda, his 'relict' (and Cantilupe's sister), have £10 annually

from the revenues of Wilton.[44] Henry soon returned home, however, and on 7 March 1205, having returned to favour with the king, John gave him Wilton, with the castle and all its appurtenances, to be held just as Hugh I de Longchamps, grandfather of Henry, gave it to Hugh II, father of Henry. He did this with the consent of Geoffrey de Longchamps, Henry's brother and heir (Henry and Matilda not having any living issue, as yet), and of Geoffrey's son and heir, William.[45] For this grant Henry fined three hundred marks, a destrier worth twenty marks and two palfreys worth ten marks. He paid £56 13s. 4d. of this immediately and, as a gesture of goodwill, the king then forgave him fifty marks and the render of horses, leaving his total debt at £110.[46] On 26 September 1205 Henry had a grant of a weekly market at Wilton to aid him in the paying off this debt, and in that same year Henry was in dispute with James Penhoc of Pennoxstone regarding his free tenement in King's Caple.[47] In 1206 he cleared his debt by paying £95 10s. himself and getting Thomas de Chimilli to pay the remainder, probably in discharge of a debt.[48]

In 1210 John went to Ireland in pursuit of his vendetta against William de Braose, his former favourite, and Henry went with him.[49] He was still in possession of Wilton in the following year but appears to have died shortly before 30 September 1211. This is because although in that year William de Cantilupe gave five hundred marks and five palfreys for having custody of Henry's lands, the custody and marriage of his widow (his sister Matilda), and the marriage of his heir, the sheriff was still given his full allowance for Wilton under Henry's name and not William's. William, however, was quit of the scutage owed on the Longchamps fee at Wilton in 1211. In the same exchequer year the debt of £18 5s. Henry had accrued while sheriff of Worcester was written off as a bad one.[50]

HENRY II de LONGCHAMPS

Henry's heir, another Henry (II), was a minor in ward to his uncle for many years after his father's death. In 1215 Cantilupe was pardoned two hundred and sixty-two of the marks he had proffered for the custody of Wilton.[51] On 9 February 1223 the king gave William de Cantilupe four windfall oaks in the Forest of Acornbury 'for the repair of his house at Wilton.'[52] 'House' was a name commonly used at this time for what we today would call a castle. In June 1227 he had custody of the manors of Wilton and *Birches* (Much & Little Birch) through the heir of Henry (I) de Longchamps.[53] Cantilupe still had Wilton at Michaelmas 1230, but the fact that in November Henry II de Longchamps proffered fifty marks for having to wife Joan, widow of Thomas of Birkin (of Birkin, Yorkshire),[54] suggests that he may by then have reached his majority. On 8 September 1231 king Henry III granted him a weekly market and annual fair at Wilton.[55] Two years later the earl of Gloucester led a rebellion against the king in the south Welsh marches that caused great devastation. Military operations to suppress the rebellion went on into 1234 and it seems likely that the granting to Henry from the Forest of Dean of all that was necessary for strengthening (*ad firmandum*) his *domus* at Wilton was part of this campaign.[56]

His health was not good, however, and in 1236 he went on a pilgrimage to St James of Compostela. He had returned by Michaelmas of that year, but in March 1237 the king was instructing the sheriff to let his widow have her reasonable dower in his lands.[57] Her name was Hawise (Avice), so it seems that either he did not marry Joan of Birkin or she had died and Hawise (whose parentage is unknown) was his second wife. In the following month Henry's lands were placed in the keeping of Peter of Wakering and John of Tew, king's clerks. In

August, Amery de St Amando, the king's steward, was instructed to deliver the castle of Wilton to Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester (son of William the steward), to whom the king had granted custody, during minority of heir, of the land and heir of Henry de Longchamps, with the marriage of that heir (his daughter Maud) and with the castle.[58] On 23 March 1238 Hawise, widow of Henry, had licence to marry Morgan of Caerleon and in June bishop Walter received twenty oaks from the Forest of Dean by the hand of the constable of St Briavel's 'for the repair of the house of Wilton.'[59] In 1242/3 he had the ½ knight's fee at Heydour in Lincolnshire *sub nomine* Henry de Longchamps.[60]

MAUD de LONGCHAMPS and REGINALD de GREY

Maud de Longchamps married Reginald de Grey, son of John de Grey of Shirland, Derbyshire, by his second wife Emma de Cauz, widow of Stephen of Seagrave and daughter of Roger de Cauz.[61] She was married to Reginald by 1248, when her lands in Gloucestershire were said to be in the custody of William de Cantilupe (son of William the steward, who had died in 1239).[62] In September 1255 Reginald received from the king a gift of ten does from the Forest of Dean and in 1257 received a market and fair at Wilton on the same terms as his father-in-law.[63] It was his own father John (died 1266), however, who in August 1261 received from the constable of St Briavel's ten oaks fit for timber by the king's gift 'for the work at his castle of Wilton.'[64] John had been made constable of Hereford Castle in 1260 and was sheriff of the shire from July 1261.[65] In February 1263 the king made John leader of the army assembling at Hereford for service in Wales in the place of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford.[66]

The earlier history of Wilton castle and manor having now been explored only one or two further points will be noted. In October 1304 the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were instructed to acquit Reginald de Grey of the scutage exacted from him 'for two knight's fees for the king's army in Wales' in 1277 in respect of Purleigh in Essex and Wilton in Herefordshire, as he was with the king 'by his order.'[67] Reginald, who may have been responsible for building the Wilton Castle we see today, died on 5 April 1308, his wife having died some time before November 1302. At his death he held the castle of Wilton, with the hamlets of Peterstow, Much Birch, Little Birch, Cleeve and King's Caple, from the king in chief by service of 1½ knight's fees.[68]

REFERENCES

PR = Pipe Roll

[1] *Domesday Book*, f.179b; *Herefordshire Domesday Book 1160-70*, p.9.
[2] Marchegay, *Chartes Anciennes du Prieuré de Monmouth* (Les Roches-Baritaud, 1879), no.5; Duncumb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, vi, Wormelow Hundred, Lower Division, pt.1, p.11.
[3] Galbraith & Tate (eds.), *Herefordshire Domesday Book 1160-70* (1950), p.75.
[4] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 650, 785; *PR 2 Henry II*, 5I; *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p.269, '*…pro servicium…duos servientes equites ad guerram Wallia*'; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, no.1945.
[5] *Charter Rolls 1327-41*, p.83.
[6] *PR 3 Henry II*, p.93.
[7] In 1396 Richard Talbot of Linton had certain lands and tenements in Wilton of the king by service of one-hundredth of a knight's fee: *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, xvii, no.915.
[8] The castle at Wilton built by Stephen in the 11th year of his reign (1145/6) according to Leland (*Collectanea*) lay at Wilton in Somerset: *cf.* Duncumb, vi, Wormelow Hundred, Lower Division, pt.1, p.9.
[9] *Year Books 20 & 21 Edward I*, 98, p.102.
[10] *Ibid.*, p.100.

[11] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum,* iii, no.393.
[12] Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', no.68.
[13] Delisle and Berger (eds.), *Actes de Henri II,* nos.23, 29.
[14] Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France,* no.106.
[15] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum,* iii, no.139.
[16] The extract from the pipe roll of the first year of Henry II's reign (1154/5) included in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p.650) shows that the sheriff was allowed only £24-15s-0d for the joint Talbot and Longchamps lands at Linton and Wilton for 'three quarters of a year since the coronation of king Henry' showing that they passed to them about 31 December. In 1212 the service due was one knight's fee: *Book of Fees,* 100. The service of two mounted men-at-arms was later regarded as equivalent to the service of one knight's fee.
[17] *PR 2 Henry II,* p.51, etc.
[18] *PR 8 Henry II,* p.59.
[19] *Red Book of the Exchequer,* 283; *Book of Fees,* p.816.
[20] Walker (ed.), 'Register of Gloucester Abbey Churches', no.141.
[21] Delisle & Berger (eds.), *Actes de Henri II,* nos.78, 234, 239, etc.
[22] Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae,* pp.cxiii & p.74.
[23] *Ibid*., p.495.
[24] 'Necrology of the Church of Rouen' in Bouquet et al. (eds.), *Receuil des Historiens de la France,* xxiii, 368.
[25] *PR 34 Henry II*, p.210. '*…in custodia castelli de Wilton' post mortem Hugonis de Lungcamp*.'
[26] *PR 1 Richard I*, p.141, where the sheriff is allowed only one quarter of the usual sum for the period it was in Henry's hands, indicating that it had been given to him almost immediately after king Henry's death on 6 July.
[27] *Placita de Quo Warranto*, p.267 where, when talking of Henry I de Longchamps and Wilton, it is said '*…quod idem Ricardus Rex manerium illud reddidit concessit et carta sua convirmavit*'; see also *Year Books 20 & 21 Edward I,* 100.
[28] *PR 2 Richard I*, pp.45, 46, 49, where he owes scutage on the knight's fees in the Kington barony and also a hawk (the usual annual render) for Treville.
[29] Landon (ed.), *Itinerary of King Richard I*, 26; 'Roll of Escheats' in *PR 2 Richard I,* p.6.
[30] Conway Davies (ed.), *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20,* no.583.
[31] 'Roll of Escheats' in *PR 2 Richard I,* p.8.
[32] *PRs 5 Richard I,* p.84; *8 Richard I,* p.88; *3 John,* p.266.
[33] *Book of Fees,* p.134.
[34] *Ibid*., p.184.
[35] 'Description of Wales', Giraldus Cambrensis: *Opera,* vi, p.171.
[36] *PR 9 Richard I,* p.194. The sheriff received a rebate of £12-7s-6d for only ¾ year in the exchequer year 1196/7, after which Wilton was in the hands of Stephen of Turnham.
[37] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus,* 15; *PR 1 John*, p.215.
[38] *Rotuli Chartarum,* p.53.
[39] *PRs 10 Richard I,* p.211; *1 John*, p.214, *2 John*, 240; *3 John*, p.264-6.
[40] Stenton (ed.), *Lincolnshire Assize Rolls AD1202-9,* Lincoln Record Society, **22**(1926), no.18.
[41] *PR 7 John*, 272. '*…in operatione castelli de Wilton.'*
[42] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium,* 46b.
[43] *PR 9 John*, p.157.
[44] *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis,* p.84.
[45] *Rotuli Chartarum,* i, p.11.
[46] *PR 8 John*, 68; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum,* i, 38b.
[47] *PR 7 John*, 276; *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus,* p.292
[48] *Ibid*. 51; *PR 9 John*, p.159.
[49] *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Preastitis,* p.178, etc. Five marks of the loan he received in this year for maintaining himself in the king's army of Ireland were still outstanding twenty years later: *PR 14 Henry III,* p.220.
[50] *PR 13 John*, pp.232, 253-4.
[51] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus,* p.538.
[52] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p.534, '*…ad domus suas de Wiltone reperandum*.'
[53] *Ibid*., ii, p.188b.
[54] *PR 14 Henry III,* pp.216, 222; *Excerpta e Rotuli Finium 1216-46,* p.207; Farrer (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters,* i, p.359.
[55] *Close Rolls 1227-31,* p.556.
[56] *Close Rolls 1231-4*, p.65.

[57] *Patent Rolls 1232-47*, p.139; *Close Rolls 1234-7*, p.440.
[58] *Patent Rolls 1232-47*, pp.181, 190.
[59] *Ibid*., p.214; *Close Rolls 1237-42*, p.65, '*…ad domos de Wyltone reparandas*.'
[60] *Book of Fees*, pp.1037, 1067.
[61] *Complete Peerage*, vi, p.173.
[62] *Book of Fees*, p.1408.
[63] *Close Rolls 1254-6*, p.130; *Charter Rolls 1226-57*, p.477.
[64] *Close Rolls 1259-61*,p. 420, '*…ad operaciones castri sui de Wiltone*.'
[65] *Patent Rolls 1258-66*, pp.71, 73.
[66] Shirley (ed.), *Royal and Other Letters Illustrative of the Reign of King Henry III*, ii, no.593. Moor (*Knights of Edward I*, ii, p.148) identifies the John de Grey who became constable, etc., as John son of Richard de Grey of Codnor, but given his son's interest in Wilton it is more likely to be this one.
[67] *Close Rolls 1302-7*, p.176.
[68] *Complete Peerage*, vi, p.173; *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, v, no..53.

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A case of mistaken identity: The Fosse, Captain Pendergrass and Mr Smirke

by JOHN C. EISEL

All historians build on the work of their predecessors and occasionally earlier errors are perpetuated because conclusions reached were stated as facts and not interpretations, and the primary evidence was not subsequently reassessed. A case in point is the house on Castle Green, called The Fosse, which it is claimed was commissioned by Captain James Pendergrass, designed by Sir Robert Smirke, and completed in 1825.[1] *However, when the primary material is reviewed and considered as a whole, all these statements are found to be incorrect.*

THE BUILDING DESIGNED BY SMIRKE

In 1752 the lease of Castle Green was granted to the Society of Tempers, who built a pavilion at the south-west corner, adjacent to the Bridewell, stated in 1761 to have three arches, with two classical piers under a pediment.[2] As a result of vandalism in 1818, the Society of Tempers set up a committee to look into the problem. This reported back to a meeting of the Tempers on 18 March 1819, and recommended that the 'Alcove' be converted into a cottage, the idea being that this should be for a person to look after the Castle Green. However, nothing came of this and in 1822, the lease having expired, it was decided not to renew it.[3]

The value of the Castle Green as an amenity to the city was recognised by the leading citizens who set up a committee to look after it, and an advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* of 7 April 1824 outlined their proposals. At the south-west corner of Castle Green the Alcove was in a poor state—it was described three years later as a 'decayed summer house'—and it was decided to replace this with a convenient residence for the occupation of a constable who would look after the Castle Green.[4] In view of the problems with vandalism, security was a concern of the committee, and one of the measures proposed addressed this:

> 'In case the Funds shall allow it, to put up Iron Gates at the three Entrances on the City side, which shall be regularly locked at a certain hour of the night, one of the watchmen's boxes being removed to the entrance from Castle-street, and the watchman furnished with a key to let persons through who have business at the Infirmary; and likewise to put a handsome Iron Railing along the Walk by the side of the River, and also at the head of the Castle Pool.'

The *Hereford Journal* of 7 July 1824 carried an advertisement asking for subscriptions that had been promised to be paid immediately, stating that the cottage would be commenced as soon as the subscriptions had been secured. Meanwhile, contact had been made with Mr Smirke—later Sir Robert Smirke—who provided a drawing, reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 28 July 1824:

> 'A plan of the intended cottage about to be erected in our Castle Green has been received from Mr Smirke, and the building will be commenced as soon as a contract has been entered into. The iron gates, rails, &c. are also in a state of forwardness.'[5]

All the evidence quoted above makes it quite clear that the plan provided by Mr Smirke was for a cottage to be erected at the expense of the committee looking after Castle Green, and not for a private individual. There is no doubt that this cottage replaced the Alcove erected by the Tempers, and it certainly was not the building that became The Fosse.

Confirmation of the site of the cottage is given in the proposal for warm baths to be built down by the river, announced in the *Hereford Journal* on 25 August 1824:

> 'We understand that the proposal for erecting Warm Baths, near the cottage about to be placed in the Castle Green, has met with general approbation in this city, and there is every possibility this desirable and useful measure will be carried into effect.'

The news report went on to state that subscriptions for shares of £5 were solicited. However, the money seems to have come in slowly, as there is evidence to suggest that the lease for the site was not granted until 1828, and the baths were not opened until 1829.[6] Also, in the event not only were baths built down by the river, but also a reading room was built at a higher level. The position of the warm baths, close to the 'cottage about to be placed in the Castle Green', and marked on Wood's Survey of 1836 as **16** reinforces the identification of the cottage designed by Smirke with the building with pillared veranda at the south-west corner of the Castle Green, and not the building that later became The Fosse.

A report in the *Hereford Journal* of 5 July 1826 establishes when the Smirke-designed building was completed:

> 'The Alcove in our Castle-green, is now completed, and the alterations and improvements which have been made in this public promenade are most creditable to the Committee of gentlemen, who have undertaken the superintendence of them.'

It is also possible to suggest a builder who may have undertaken the work. Charles Heather, who was clerk of works to John Nash when he was carrying out alterations at Garnstone, Weobley, settled in Hereford after this work was completed. In 1812 he built his own residence that became what is now the Old Market Inn, and set up in business as a surveyor and builder. When Smirke designed the Shire Hall in Hereford, Heather acted as builder and it would not be surprising if he took the same role with the Alcove.[7] He was appointed surveyor of county buildings in 1825 and surveyor of county bridges in 1831, and died in 1845 at his residence in Widemarsh Street.[8] In the present case there is no way of actually proving any connection with Smirke's building, as no records of the Castle Green committee for the period survive, nor have any accounts for the work been traced in the local press.

As stated above, the cottage behind the veranda was intended for the residence of a constable, and on completion would have been occupied immediately. A few years later a good description of the situation was given by Joseph Jones in *The New Hereford Guide* of 1840:

> 'At the west end of the walk on the south side is a large alcove, and behind it is the house occupied by the constable of the Green, who takes care that the trees, walks &c. are kept in good order. Adjoining this is a Reading Room, and Cold and Warm Baths; both these and the Green are kept up by subscription, and are under the direction of a Committee, but the latter only is open to all classes whether subscribers or not.'[9]

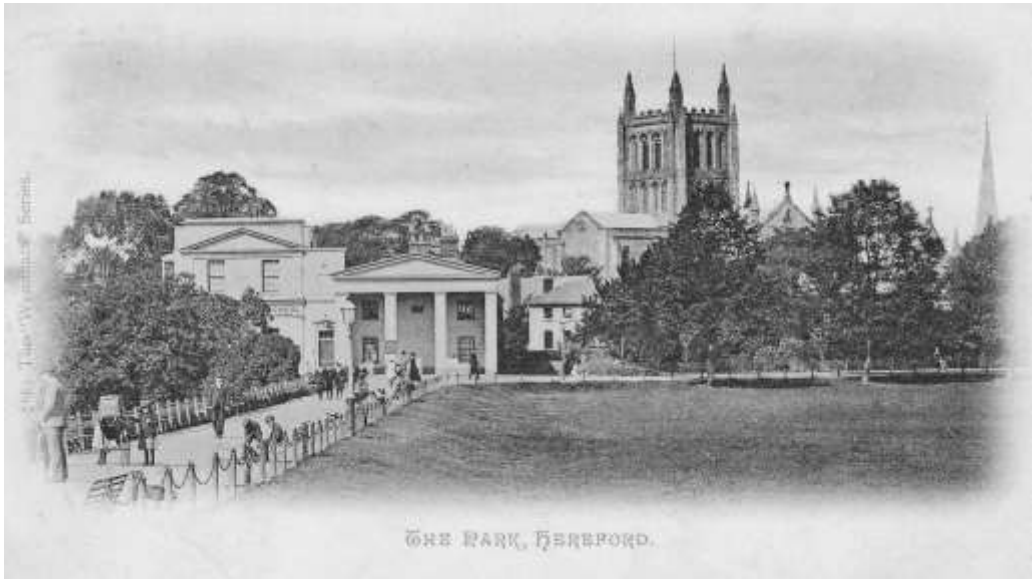

Figure 1. Postcard of Castle Green (posted in 1908) showing the pillared portico of Smirke's cottage

In the 1850s the Reading Room and Baths Society ran into financial problems, and in 1858 it amalgamated with the Literary and Philosophical Society. It was found necessary to increase the accommodation in order to accommodate the Museum of the latter society. The reading room was extended over the baths, and another storey was built above.[10] Eventually, after the demise of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1870, early in 1875 the premises came into the hands of the local council and subsequently a School of Science and Art was moved here.[11] Following an initiative by the Prince Consort, a Government Elementary Drawing and Modelling School was set up in Hereford in February 1853, the first master being a Mr J. S. Clifton.[12] In January 1854 he resigned to take up the mastership of a school in Oxford, and the drawing school was adjourned for a month. The *Hereford Times* of 11 April 1854 announced that it had reopened under the direction of R. B. Bustin, who later founded the well-known photographic business. The 1861 census shows that he was still in post, but subsequently he concentrated on his photographic business. The school disappears from view until later in the century, by which time it had become the School of Science and Art, and was firmly established in the old Philosophical Society buildings. In the 1920s it became a School of Arts and Crafts, and it was probably at this time that Smirke's cottage was demolished, apart from the pillared veranda, and rebuilt with a storey above. Further accommodation was subsequently added above the veranda, the pediment above the pillared front being removed, and it was probably at this time that the veranda was filled in. After the second world war the School of Arts and Crafts became an Art School, and in the 1960s was translated to its present premises as a College of Art, now diversified into a College of Arts.[13] The building has been further disfigured by a modern addition on the east side.

CAPTAIN JAMES PENDERGRASS

Having established that The Fosse is not the cottage for which Smirke sent a plan to Hereford in 1824, the myth that Captain James Pendergrass was the person who commissioned The Fosse also needs to be dispelled.

James Pendergrass was born about the year 1766, and subsequently went to sea and worked his way up to being a commander of the *Hope*, a ship of the Honourable East India Company, to which he was appointed on 9 February 1803.[14] In 1811 he was persuaded to take James Wathen as a passenger to India and China, one consequence of which was the publication in 1814 of Wathen's illustrated *Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812, to Madras and China*.[15] Within a few years, and certainly by late 1817, Pendergrass had 'swallowed the anchor' and settled in Herefordshire, leading the life of a local gentleman and devoting himself to good works.[16] In 1826 he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Hereford.[17] He was prominent in the affairs of the Hereford Infirmary and this was marked in 1848 by the presentation of his portrait to the infirmary. On the frame he was described as being 'R.N.', and he is depicted wearing the Navy General Service medal.[18] He died on 22 February 1851, in his 85th year, and an obituary in the *Hereford Times* of 1 March 1851, whilst deprecating his politics, acknowledged the good work that he had done. On 27 February 1851 at a weekly meeting of the Board of Hereford Infirmary, reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 5 March 1851, it was decided that this eulogy be entered in the official record of their meetings:

> 'The death of Captain Pendergrass, so long a member of the Weekly Board of this Institution (at which he so frequently presided), having been officially announced, the Governors assembled feel it a duty to record in the strongest terms their sense of the invaluable services Captain Pendergrass has rendered to the Institution during the long period of thirty-two years; and so express deep regret at the loss the Charity has sustained by the removal of so devoted and effective supporter.'

I have so far avoided the question of where Captain Pendergrass lived in Herefordshire. The notice of death quoted above stated that James Pendergrass lived at 'Pool Cottage, near this city…' and this was where, from January 1818 onwards, he recorded rainfall figures: those for the period 1818 to 1842 inclusive, a period of some 25 years, were published in the Club's *Transactions* in 1867 where it was stated that these were recorded 'by the late Captain Pendergrass, at Pool Cottage, Dewchurch, 4¼ miles nearly south of the City of Hereford, on the West side of a hill, the aspect W.N.W., about 400 feet above level of the river Wye at Hereford bridge.' From this it can be deduced that Pendergrass lived in Much Dewchurch, and the tithe map and its apportionment (1841 and 1846 respectively) not only mark the position of Pool Cottage but also record that it was owned by James Phillips, the proprietor of the Bryngwyn estate. Despite being called a cottage it was of considerable size, and at the time of the 1841 census James Pendergrass and his wife were living there, with an Elizabeth Pendergrass—probably a sister—and four servants.

James Pendergrass made his will on 3 June 1850, which was proved on 5 April 1851, shortly after his death,[19] and this shows that he owned property in Llangarren, 'Welch' Newton, Allensmore, Much Dewchurch and Haywood, but not Hereford. After his death, his widow Anne carried on at Pool Cottage for a while, being described in Lascelle's directory of 1851 as a farmer. The census of that year records that she was resident at 'Pool Cottage Farm', and was a landed proprietor as well as farming 65 acres of land with the help of an agricultural labourer

and a boy. But she did not stay there for long, as the *Hereford Journal* of 3 September 1851 carried an advert for the sale by auction of the furniture of Captain Pendergrass at Pool Cottage '5 miles from Hereford on the Ross road.' Then, on 21 January 1852, the same paper carried an advert for the stock and implements to be sold by auction at Pool Cottage. It is assumed that Mrs Pendergrass moved to Hereford after the sale of the furniture, and when she made her will on 14 April 1852 she was living in St Owen's Street, Hereford.[20] Possibly then, but certainly by 1858, Pool Cottage was being rented by S. R. Lockley Esq., and he was still there when the Bryngwyn estate was offered for sale by auction on 6 July 1865. In the auction the first lot was the main estate of nearly 1,600 acres, while Pool Cottage was offered as the second lot, being described in the following terms.

> 'An ornamental COTTAGE RESIDENCE, known as "POOL COTTAGE," situate in the Parish of Much Dewchurch, adjoining Lot 1, fronting the Turnpike Road from Hereford to Monmouth, and overlooking a rich Valley, with the Welsh Hills in the distance. The House contains 7 Bedrooms, Dining and Drawing-rooms of good dimensions, Library, and convenient Offices; capital newly-built Stabling for four horses, and the requisite Outbuildings; Lawn, Pleasure and Kitchen Gardens, Orchard, and several enclosures of rich and nicely timbered Grass Land, in all nearly 13 Acres, now in the occupation of Samuel R. Lockley, Esq., as yearly tenant.'[21]

The later history of Pool Cottage is not of concern here, except to say that it is still in existence, but in the first half of the twentieth century the name became first The Cottage, and then The Old House—and humans are now living where the horses were formerly stabled!

All this establishes without a doubt that Captain James Pendergrass lived at Pool Cottage, Much Dewchurch, from at least the end of 1817 onwards, and was still living there when he died in 1851. There is nothing to connect his name with any Pool Cottage near the Castle Pool in Hereford, although there was a Pool House in Blackmarston over the river.[22] How his name came to be associated with what is now the Fosse is easily explained. In the list of gentlemen and clergy at the front of Pigot's directory of 1830 his name is given and his residence stated to be 'Pool Cottage'. Now this list includes gentlemen resident in other places in Herefordshire as well as those resident in Hereford itself, and for those outside Hereford the town or village is usually given. Thus from the fact that no town or village qualified where his residence was it has been assumed that he was resident in Hereford, and by extension, living near Castle Pool, taken from the name of his residence. In the corresponding lists in directories of 1835 and 1850 his residence appears in a similar form.

DATE OF COMPLETION

So far no documentary evidence has been found that gives the exact date when The Fosse was completed, but there is enough evidence to indicate the approximate period, which is somewhat later than has hitherto been assumed.

The first detailed survey of Hereford was Isaac Taylor's map of 1757, when the topography of this area was rather different. At that time there was still the remains of the castle mound, and in the vicinity of where the track entered the Castle Green by the side of the site of what is now the Fosse, several buildings are shown. By the time that Cole and Roper's map was published in 1806 the mound had gone but the buildings were still marked.[23] However, there is a suspicion that this map may have been redrawn from Taylor's map.

Figure 2. Cole and Roper's map of 1806. north to top

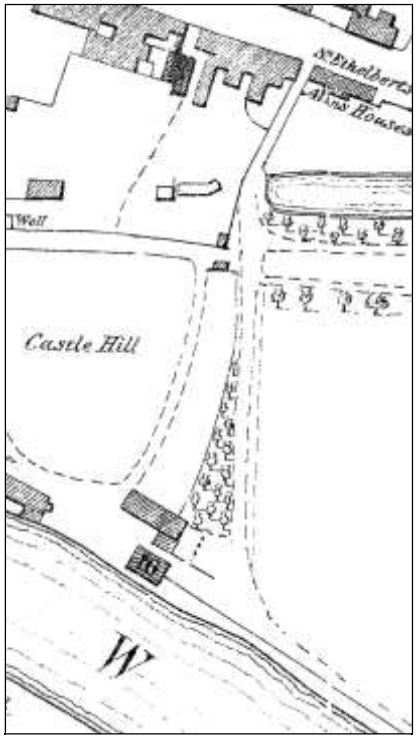

Figure 3. Wood's Hereford survey, 1836

On Wood's detailed survey of Hereford, published in 1836, there is no sign of the houses, but a pair of gate piers at the entrance from Castle Hill at the north-west corner of the Castle Green is clearly in evidence. There is no sign of a house on the site where the Fosse now is, only what appears to be the overflow from the Castle Pool. The outlines of the parish boundaries are marked on the survey in a pale wash which does not reproduce well, but is evident enough on the original map to show that the site of The Fosse was within St. Owen's parish. Whilst it can be argued that the survey was out of date when it was published, it marks the site of the warm baths, and also indicates the reading room on the bank above the baths, so the survey could be no earlier than 1828, and is unlikely to have been carried out very long before it was published.

By the time that the tithe map for St John's parish was drawn up in 1840, certain changes had taken place. The southernmost of the two gate piers at the entrance to the Castle Green from Castle Hill had gone, and been replaced by a newly-built cottage that was later used by the constable of the Green.[24] Within the map of St John's parish and its immediate environs, a block plan of each house was drawn. The east end of Castle Street and Little Castle Street (now St Ethelbert's Street) are both in St. Owen's parish, and were not drawn in such detail, although the houses are indicated. Thus it is surprising that The Fosse was not indicated in any way, its site being left blank apart from the surviving gate pier, which rather implies that The Fosse had not then been constructed, rather than being an omission. The tithe map for St Owen's parish, dated 1843, is not drawn in such detail as that for St John's, and the houses are not indicated, so that is no help in the present analysis.

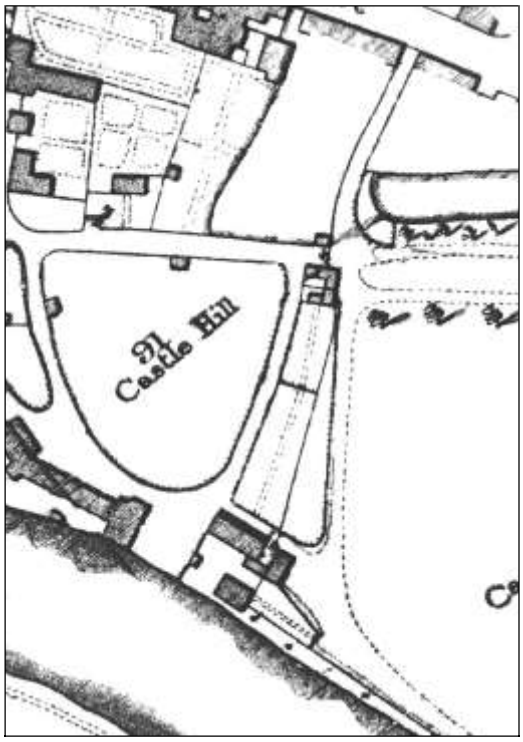

Figure 4. 1840 tithe map for St John's parish. North to top

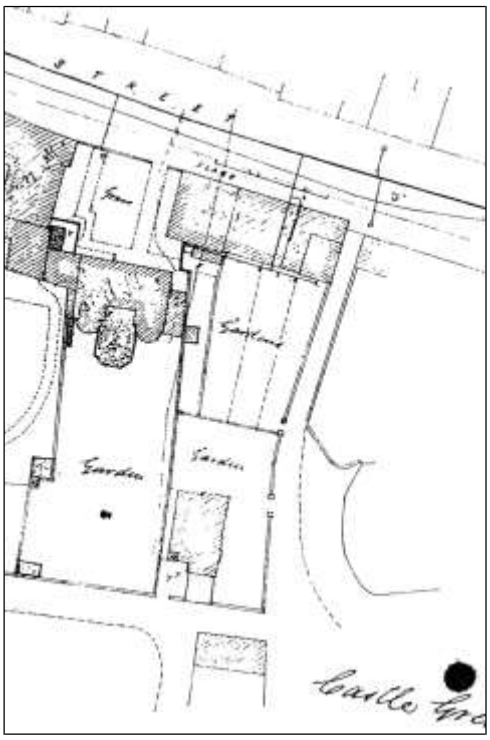

Figure 5. Part of Curley's survey of 1854. The area corresponds to the NE. section of the extract from the tithe map

So far no documentary evidence that could be interpreted as referring to the Fosse has been found before 1851. The 1851 census records, under St Owen's parish, a residence in Castle Green where the only person staying there on the night of the census was Elizabeth Rooke, stated to be a 'House servant in charge of house.' This is no doubt a reference to The Fosse, as the only part of St Owen's parish adjoining the Castle Green which had a residence was the site now occupied by The Fosse. In Lascelle's directory of 1851 the only person recorded as being resident in Castle Green was Thomas Jenkins, at Tudor House, so it is assumed that Elizabeth Rooke was working for him.

Jenkins's name occurs in a Poll List of 1852, where he is listed as being resident in Castle Green, and was described as being a 'gentleman' i.e. of independent means. The first certain drawn record of the Fosse was in Thomas Curley's survey of 1854, where the footprint of the building is drawn, before the addition of the entrance porch. It stood within the present plot of land, and the gate pier, which figured in the earlier plans, had gone. Frustratingly, while many houses in Castle Street are marked with the name of the occupier, this is not so for The Fosse!

Thomas Jenkins was still recorded as being resident in Castle Green in the 1861 census. After the enumerator had been down Castle Street, Jenkins's name was the first in Castle Green, followed by two others, and then the residents of Castle Hill. He was still resident in Castle Green at the time of his death in 1869.[25]

Nothing that can be construed as relating to The Fosse has been found in the 1841 census, and the evidence from the 1851 census almost certainly indicates that The Fosse had been built in the intervening period, but there is no clue about exactly when, nor is there any evidence about the architect. A claim about stylistic connections with Sir Robert Smirke has been made in these pages, although Smirke's known work in Herefordshire was rather earlier than the 1840s and the details quoted are very general.[26] It is at least possible that Charles Heather as involved, in which case the similarities with Smirke's work are explained. If so, then this implies a date prior to his death in 1845.[27]

CONCLUSIONS

1. There is no doubt that the cottage designed by Smirke in 1824 was at the south-west corner of the Castle Green, and of this only the pillared veranda survives, but lacking its pediment and with the sides filled in.
2. There is no evidence of any connection of Captain James Pendergrass, of Much Dewchurch, with any of the building activities in the Green.
3. The Fosse was almost certainly built in the 1840s. It is possible that it was commissioned by Thomas Jenkins who is the first known occupier.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks, as ever, to the staff of the Hereford Reference Library for their unfailing help; to the staff of the Herefordshire Record Office; to Jean Dobson for genealogical information; and to Ron Shoesmith for the extract from Curley's survey of 1854.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] See, for instance, D. Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford* (2007), p.82. I also used the ascription to Smirke in J.C. Eisel, 'The post-Civil War history of the site of Hereford Castle', *TWNFC*, Vol. 51 (2003), p.30, and pointed out the omission of The Fosse from Wood's Survey of 1836 (discussed in detail later in this paper) but failed to follow the line of reasoning through.

[2] The history of the Bridewell, now Castle Cliffe, is not discussed in this paper.

[3] For the connection of the Tempers with Castle Green, see J.C. Eisel, 'The post-Civil War history of the site of Hereford Castle', *TWNFC*, Vol. 51 (2003), pp.15-18.

[4] The Rev. W.J. Rees, *The Hereford Guide*, 3rd edition (1827), p.84. This has been stated (incorrectly) as being at the north-west corner of Castle Green – see D. Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford* (2007), p.82.

[5] Various plans by Smirke are held in the RIBA Drawings Collection but none of this building. Letter dated 9 September 2002, Natasha Whiteley, RIBA Library and Information Centre. The catalogue of the collection of drawings by Smirke is now on line.

[6] *Op. cit.* in note 3, p.20.

[7] *Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of Herefordshire*, 1867, p.188, where it states in reference to the Shire Hall: 'It was erected in 1815 and opened in 1818. It is an interesting and noble building, worthy alike of the county and Sir Robert Smirke, the architect, under whose direction, and the able superintendence of Mr Heather, builder, of this town, it was completed in the above year.'

[8] Summarised, with additions, from H. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects*, 4th edition (2008), p.510. The notice of death appeared in the *Hereford Times* (henceforth *HT*) of 19 July 1845, *Hereford Journal* (henceforth *HJ*) of 23 July 1845.

[9] pp.38-9.

[10] W.J. Humphrys, *Memories of Old Hereford*, n.d. (*c*.1926), p.4.

[11] The history of the Hereford Philosophical Society will be discussed in a forthcoming paper.

[12] *HJ* 2 March 1853, *HT* 5 March 1853. The formal opening took place on 7 March – see *HJ* 9 March 1853, *HT* 12 March 1853 for lengthy reports.

[13] College publicity states that the college was founded in 1851, but this is demonstrably incorrect. The error has occurred because of a misinterpretation. Printed annual reports for the School of Science and Art survive for the period 1900-1916, and the later ones in the series state: 'Established shortly after the Exhibition of 1851, promoted by the late Prince Consort.' However, this does not state that this school was founded in 1851, but 'shortly afterwards.' See Herefordshire Reference Library, Herefordshire Pamphlets, Vol. 20. The correct date, from contemporary evidence, is quoted above.
[14] Mariners' website at www.mariners-l.co.uk/EICSocCommanders.htm Accessed 28 September 2009.
[15] James Wathen has been described as an old school friend of James Pendergrass, but the difference in ages (Wathen was born in 1751) makes this unlikely. See the introduction to David Whitehead and Ron Shoesmith, *James Wathen's Herefordshire* 1770-1820, 1994, unpaginated. The text of Wathen's book does not record any great intimacy between them, rather the reverse. Also, it is doubtful whether Pendergrassw as a native of Herefordshire. In the 1841 census for Much Dewchurch it is recorded that James Pendergrass, his wife and visitor Elizabeth Pendergrass were all born in Herefordshire. However, this is probably incorrect, and her age suggests that Elizabeth Pendergrass was the person of that name, daughter of James and Anne, who was baptised on 11 February 1767 at St. Mary's, St. Marylebone Road, London. There was also a son Thomas, but James Pendergrass has not so far been traced.
[16] While the minute books of the Hereford Permanent Library have been lost for more than a quarter of a century, it is known from the Land Tax returns that he was a subscriber and was a member of the committee, noted in surviving returns of 1824, 1828-30. HRO, MX 43.
[17] *London Gazette* 8 May 1827. This announcement was rather late, as the appointment was made on 7 August 1826.
[18] This was agreed at the annual meeting of the governors at a meeting on 24 August 1848, chaired by R.M. Lingwood, endorsing an earlier decision made at a monthly meeting. At that time the portrait was in an advanced state and could be seen at the house of the artist, Edward Smith, in Castle Street. *HJ* 6 September 1848. See also *TWNFC* 1959, p.157 (footnote).
[19] HRO, M26/27/15.
[20] HRO, M26/7/15.
[21] *HT* 1 July 1865 (and before).
[22] G. Gomond Cooke, Pool House, was a subscriber to the improvements of Castle Green – see *HJ* 24 April 1824. His name appears in the 1832 Poll List as being resident at Pool House, St. Martin's parish.
[23] For the purpose of this analysis I am ignoring the demonstrably unreliable map of Hereford which was issued with the Rev. J. Duncumb's *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County Hereford*, Vol. 1 (1804).
[24] The history of this cottage is not relevant to this paper, but the evidence is clear that it was built in the late 1830s and was a private residence, and not used for the constable of the Green until much later. My assumption that the cottage was built for the green keeper in the 1870s (*op. cit.* in note 3, p.20) is incorrect, and ignores its earlier history. It was probably at this period that the green keeper moved here after being displaced from his residence behind the alcove.
[25] The entry in the *HT* of 20 March 1869 reads: 'JENKINS.-March. 17, at his residence, Castle Green, in this city, aged 70, Thomas Jenkins, Esq., J.P., having survived his wife only four months.'
[26] *TWNFC* Vol. xxxvi, p.322.
[27] Prior to the death of Charles Heather, his son William was already in business on his own account as a surveyor and builder, a business carried on until his death in 1853. However, if The Fosse was connected with the Heather family is more likely to have been with Charles than William.

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A kiln at New House, Brilley

By MICHAEL HARRISON

The important kiln site at Whitney has been known for many years. This article identifies another kiln not far away at Brilley producing similar wares, and analyses the pottery produced in comparison with other hard-fired wares around the country. The kiln probably dates from the 17th century.

SITE LOCATION

On the road between the A438 and Brilley church lies New House, a stone-built dwelling with yellow brick quoins, that dates from the mid l9th century. It is actually built onto a much older stone cottage which can be seen behind the l9th-century work. This appears to date from the late 17th or early 18th century, but may obscure earlier origins of timber frame construction. (There was a tendency as timber frame buildings rotted to replace in stone whenever money allowed, a process that could take several decades.)

A public footpath descends the hill behind the house and passes beside it. There is also a small stream. The writer noticed quantities of potsherds on the stream bed and on discussing it with the owners, Mr and Mrs Davies, they confirmed that potsherds appeared wherever there was digging in the immediate vicinity (grid ref: SO 253 481). Whilst not very prolific by some waster standards, these sherds represented rather more than casual household breakage. The presence of a kiln was suggested first by the numbers of badly warped wasters and finally by the appearance of three pieces of local sandstone all heavily contaminated by the very glazes, black and dirty amber, that characterised the sherds. These were plainly remnants of the kiln's construction.

The site has not been excavated; there are several folds in the steep bank behind the house and it is possible that a kiln, built into the hillside, may be discovered there.

WARE PRODUCED

Taking into account pot types, shapes and rims the sherds appear to be seventeenth-century in date, early rather than late.

They also resemble so closely many of the sherds found at the Whitney kiln site, only some 2km. distant as the crow flies, that there may be a connection. The main difference is that the Whitney site was larger and far more productive than that at New House, where the topography alone limits it to small-scale production.

The wares from New House are of two distinct types. The first is low-fired wares of typical porous earthenware of relatively clean terracotta colour and glazed with a fairly clear amber glaze. The second type is high-fired wares, much disfigured by kiln fumes which together with a reducing atmosphere has turned red firing clay all shades to dark grey, and the glaze, often black, has boiled on a number of wasters resulting in a surface like that of the moon. It is notable that many of the high-fired vessels suffer from firing defects, and split or melt like Salvador Dali's *Soft Watch*.

The low-fired earthenwares are in a minority, and due to their relatively uncontaminated condition (there is no fume scorching), must have been a separate firing. One of the chief products of low-fired ware was panchions, or cream settling bowls, to judge from the surface

sherds examined by the writer. These have steeply flared sides and only the top is visible when in use so the undersides were not glazed. They are a good, fairly clean, pale brick red and have often been slipped in white with trailed lines, 'E' shapes and blobs, the whole covered by the aforementioned amber coloured lead glaze.

'E' shapes of crude appearance are to be found on slipped Metropolitan ware (site of Harlow New Town) where a number of pieces have been found with dates in the mid seventeenth century. These crude 'E' shapes appear not to survive on slipware into the last quarter of the seventeenth century, so can be indicative of date. There are also trailed zigzag lines on rims which were in use well into the eighteenth century, but probably started in the early seventeenth century. These slip-decorated panchions are clearly designed to appeal to women who were traditionally responsible for the dairy and fowls on the holding.

The high-fired wares comprise virtually all the other types of pot which number every sort of cooking pot but also butter pots, little tulip-shaped mugs with three handles and mugs with one handle somewhat under half a pint in capacity.

High-fired wares

It is quite hard to rationalise why so much ware was high-fired, if only because of the high cost of fuel and the apparently high failure rate. Perhaps at this stage we should consider something of the background to high-fired ware.

Ordinary earthenware, such as the panchions, is normally fired at about 600-700°C. There is however quite a wide range of temperatures because the constituents in local clays vary and can delay achievement of a suitable texture. For instance, the white firing clays in the Farnham area of Surrey require a temperature of over 900°C to flux the glaze,[1] and at 1000°C the pot collapses so the potter had to be highly skilled in judging kiln temperature.

It will be apparent therefore that successful potters had to be extremely knowledgeable, not only knowing their clay and its characteristics but the performance of their ovens (also made by themselves) and the type and condition of the fuel. This was often scrub or furze because potters were tenants and landlords would not allow the felling of expensive trees, even trimmings and loppings were the property of the landlord and usually sold by him. In addition to all this, the potter had to judge the heat in the kiln by the colour of flame viewed through a peephole, also deciding whether he had the right amount of oxygen entering the kiln to provide a good coloured earthenware. He also had to run down the heat at the correct rate to avoid setting too much tension in the newly fired pots. Put simply, the potter's business only succeeded if there were enough good pots to carry the fuel cost of the useless ones.

The decision to create greater temperatures (and longer run-down times) exaggerated most of these problems and so was not carelessly taken as some commentators have believed, especially as one of the potter's greatest costs was fuel.

Depending on clay type, a temperature of around 1200-1700°C is needed to create fully vitrified ware which is known as stoneware. The potters at Brilley and Whitney may not have aspired to complete vitrification but a part-vitrified pot is harder and more waterproof than a low-fired one; in fact most of the benefits of vitrification can be obtained with part vitrification at a lower fuel cost.

Vitrification or part-vitrification makes pots water- and fat-proof, especially useful in butter pots where the same pot can be loaded with butter every week for market without the latter soaking into its porous body and going rancid.

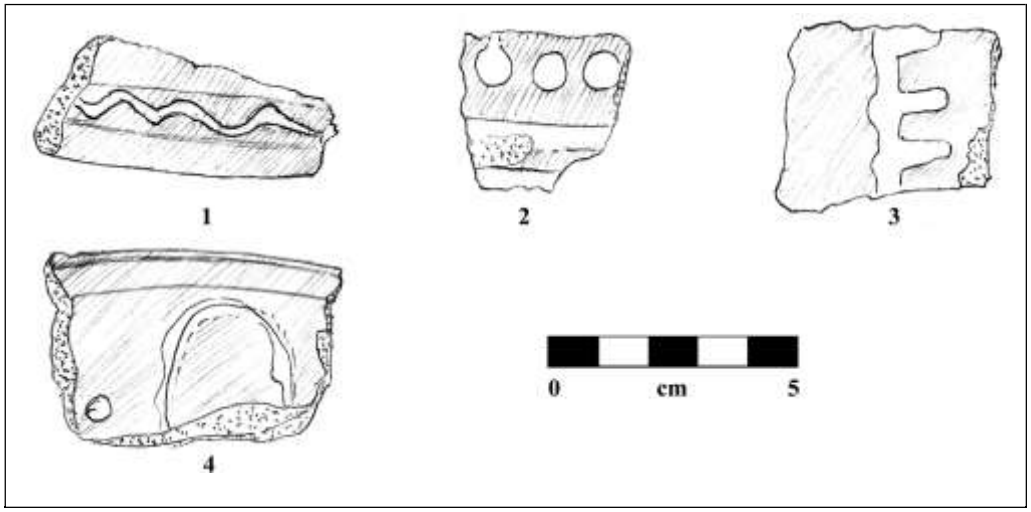


Figure 1. Slipware group

1. A narrow rim with wavy slip pattern 2. Three dots and 2 stripes 3. An 'E' shape, part of a rectilinear pattern 4. A loop and a dot below a plain rim. Unusually, the pattern has been scribed into the wet clay with a sharp instrument as a guide to slipping.

One of these sherds is green-freckled, a well-known type of decoration achieved by sprinkling verdigris powder on top of the unfired glaze.

Whilst part-vitrified pots are harder than low-fired it is questionable whether they are more satisfactory for cooking because early stoneware is known to split if heated very often. Why high temperatures were used to fire small cups and mugs is rather less clear. Extremely neat versions of these, fired in saggers, (crudely thrown protective pots to keep out the fumes), are to be found in the so called 'Cistercian' ware kilns.[2] These are thin-walled and nice to drink out of, but these benefits are far less apparent in the rough Brilley wares which appear not to have employed saggers.

As stated earlier our potter at New House—or Whitney for that matter—probably did not want to achieve stoneware temperatures, a somewhat lower degree of vitrification being sufficient to provide most of the benefits of full vitrification at less cost in fuel and wasters.

Modern commentators on this situation over the past hundred years or so have often unthinkingly and scathingly dismissed such wares as if they were accidents and greatly inferior to 'true' stoneware, but even they would be surprised to learn that some German productions passing as salt-glazed stoneware are not in fact always fully vitrified.[3] It is about time we acknowledged this state of affairs and at least called these partly-vitrified wares 'proto-stoneware' thereby acknowledging that they were intentional.

It must be added that not all the wares at the New House site, or other sites for that matter, are vitrified to the same degree. One reason for this is likely to be the position of the pot in the kiln where it would be surprising if uniform temperatures could have been obtained in such primitive conditions. The main difference when the much-heralded salt-glazed stoneware became universal in the last years of the seventeenth century was a far more sophisticated kiln, which needed many access points for throwing in salt at the height of firing.

The earlier producers of proto-stoneware did however have extensive experience of achieving high temperatures and Stoke on Trent has numerous Cistercian ware kiln sites which appear to have been in operation well into the seventeenth century before the introduction of salt glazing in the 1680s.[4,5]

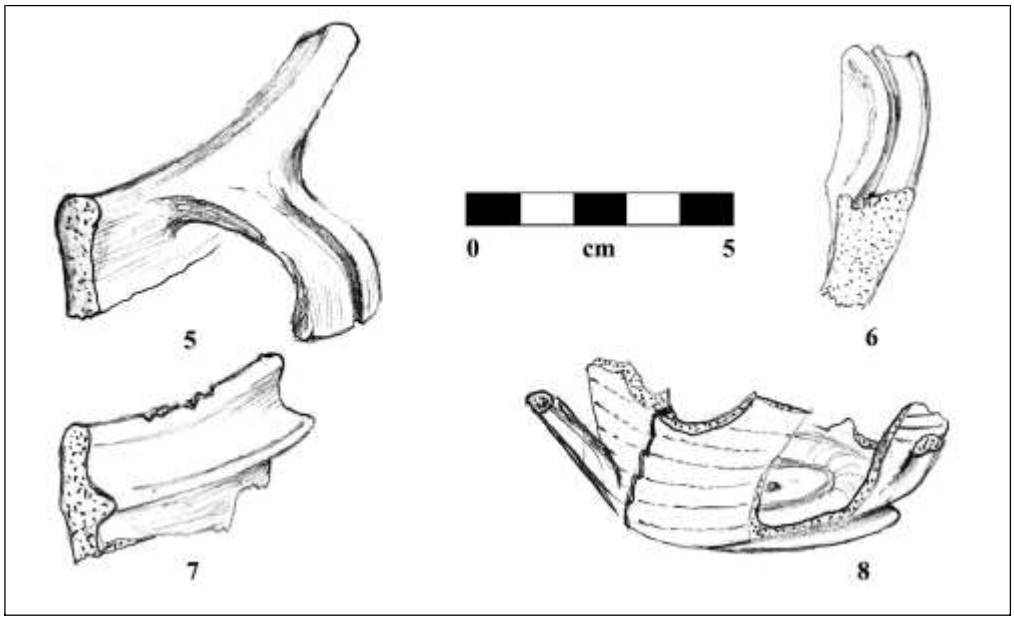


Figure 2. 'High-fired' group

5. Grey fabric, black glaze internally, probably completely vitrified.

6. Rim of unglazed conical bowl. This is an unconventional rim, particularly in view of the groove. Colour, pale brown/red, partly vitrified.

7. Pipkin of cooking pot with a flange to accommodate a lid. Faded surface of pale pink fabric, grey in places. Black internal glaze has gone blotchy. Highly but not totally vitrified.

8. Collapsed three-handled cup. Fabric cross-section is pink/grey. Externally, a black glaze which has boiled and blistered. Highly vitrified.

Proto-stonewares

Before we leave proto-stonewares, how did they arise? Some parts of England, the wealthy south-eastern area, in particular London being one, have no tradition of high-fired wares at all, saving only the very limited production of jugs, often mounted in silver, made for the super rich that could ignore objectors. This appears to be because there were abundant high-quality earthenwares available, *e.g.* Farnham ware already referred to, and the production of high-fired wares would have been objected to by those granted monopolies to import German and Belgian salt-glazed stoneware from Elizabeth's reign onwards.

Two of the major concentrations of kilns producing high-fired wares are the York/Grimsby area (where there was a market in the great Cistercian Abbeys before 1530) and inland from the port of Gloucester, of which Whitney and Brilley are outliers, suggesting that

the technology for high-fired wares may have travelled to England through its ports from the Rhine area and may represent the nearest the potters could get to stoneware without a sophisticated kiln.

Reverting to the Whitney kiln, Albert Watkins read a paper on the kiln site to the Woolhope Club on 13 December 1917 in which he stated:

> '...the Whitney ware...is of two distinct types. The first has a crude pale soft body, lightly fired, and much like local soft red brick. Most of it is unglazed, [some] glazed...and with slip decoration (which includes) zigzag lines, large dots, waved lines *etc*...
>
> 'The second type has a much harder and darker body...[being] more highly fired. It is made into wide mouthed jars, jugs, pitchers, beakers and perhaps beer jars. [Also produced are] charming small three handled tygs or beakers of which we have several pieces.'

This description fits exactly what has been found on the surface at New House except that there appears to be a higher proportion of small cooking vessels and a lower number of jugs and pitchers. In addition to Watkins's list, the relatively small cooking pots found at New House include some with two squat lug handles, pipkins, some with and some without three legs and with hollow pouring handles into which a stick could be thrust to move them about in the ashes, and at least one rectangular dripping tray (to place beneath a spit).

There appears to be no progression of types at New House and this coupled with the relatively small number of sherds suggests that the pottery was not long lived.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Lavinia and Arwen Davies on whose land the New House kiln is situated for all their help and for letting me investigate the site; also to Judy Stevenson of Hereford Museum and to Katherine Crooks of Archaeological Investigations for reviewing some of the finds with me.

REFERENCES

[1] F. W. Hollings BA, AMA., 'A Preliminary Note on the Pottery Industry of the Hampshire/Surrey Borders' *Surrey Archaeological Collections* Volume LXV111, 1971.

[2] For the purposes of this paper I combine the neatly-potted, high-fired, so called 'Cistercian' wares with the high-fired wares such as at New House. Cistercian ware is so called because the monks knew a good thing to drink out of when they saw it and until more kiln sites were found it was believed that this pottery was produced at the abbeys. Such thin walled and finely thrown pots were carefully fired in saggers with a carefully controlled opaque glaze of brown or black colour. As stated earlier, kiln sites abound in parts of Yorkshire and in Gloucestershire. It appears that the high fired wares produced at Whitney and New House are a somewhat crude and retrograde attempt to emulate Cistercian wares.

[3] David R. M. Gamester, *German Stoneware 1200 - 1900*, British Museum Press, 1997.

[4] Arnold R Mountford in his incomparable *Staffordshire Salt Glazed Stoneware*, (Barrie & Jenkins, 1971) states that when kiln sites were being excavated many earlier kilns were found that had been producing Cistercian ware.

[5] Henry Hodges, *Pottery* (Hamelin) in this highly informative study illustrates a three-handled Cistercian ware beaker from Burslem which he dates to *c*.1680 (p.123).

Received July 2009

Herefordshire's historic weather

By ROSALIND LOWE

The weather in Herefordshire is often mentioned in diaries, letters and other historical documents. Members are asked to make a note of these (pre-1870), and send them to the Editor for publication in the Transactions.

Account books of the ironworks at New Weir, Whitchurch

The White family and their descendants leased the ironworks at New Weir in Whitchurch from the lord of Goodrich manor for many years from the later 17th century. George White and his son (another George) had a notebook kept by John Bamford, manager of the ironworks for the Earl of Shrewsbury in the late 16th century. Although this is lost, their transcriptions of odd pages and subsequent notes sometimes mention damage to the ironworks caused by the river.[1] After rioters destroyed New Weir in the summer of 1589, an old corn mill at New Mill on the Garron was converted to an iron forge.

1592	From the middle of September to about the middle of November was a very wet time.	(JLC/38 p.2)
1642	October. Accounts for the repairing of New Mill breach in dam and floodgates caused by floods. [The flood seems to have been in the late summer as payment was made for workmen's action in saving the bayhead and making a ditch to save Walter Vaughan's corn.]	(HRO,[2] O68/II/42)
1673	Exceeding great flood in Wye & Monnow	(JLC/38 p.2)
1692	14 days before Christmas as great a flood in Wye & other rivers, as that in 1673; or rather greater And was above Four Foot deep in the house at New Weare.	(JLC/38 p.2)

The diary of John Osborne of Goodrich House

John Osborne married Mary, the daughter of the younger George White of Goodrich, and lessee of New Weir. He kept a diary from 1745 to 1770 (Gloucestershire Archives, D2930).

1767 'Deepest snow ever known began on 4th Jan continued to 20th Jan. A very severe frost in the month of Jan, on the breaking of which much damage was done to New Wear by the ice...'

1768 'This New Year's Day so great a quantity of snow fell as to render the roads impassable for either horse or Foot & continued so for many days. Severe frost this month, much damage done at New Wear.'

There is a list of historical mentions of flooding on the Severn which includes references to Herefordshire on www.geography.org.uk/download/GA_BewdleyFloodHistory.doc.

In December 1768 the floods were so great that 'The flat country in Herefordshire and Shropshire is a perfect sea, so that the roads are impassable.' Unfortunately no sources are given.

The building of Goodrich Court, and the letters of Sir Samuel Meyrick

The foundation stone of Goodrich Court was laid on St George's Day, 1828. The architect Edward Blore was kept informed by the construction manager William Heiton, who sent weekly reports and requests to him in his 'Book of Expenses incurred at Goodrich Court Apr 27 1829 to Nov 6 1831' (Royal Armouries library (RAL), Box AR6/1).

1829 Nov 15-22. Owing to frost [the men] have had to be taken inside for work on the pavement & steps on cellar floor and for drains in the cellar floor for water closets.
1829 Dec 20-27. Severe frost.
1829 Dec 27-3 Jan. Frost so intense no mason could work.
1830 Jan 3-10. Weather still bad but men working inside
1830 Jan 17-24. On Wed so stormy had to stop work
1830 Jan 31-7 Feb. Severe frost [only joiners & carpenters working]. Complete thaw on Sunday 7th.
1831 Jan 23. Intense frost.

Sir Samuel's letters mention the weather occasionally.

1832	9 Mar. 'We have had snow on the Welsh mountains in our neighbourhood these three days, but none here [Goodrich].'	(AK,[3] f.27)
1835	21 Jan. A mild winter - Llewellyn Meyrick transplanted some very large hollies.	(RAL, AR6/2)
1837	7. Sep. 'Sharp storms of rain the evening you went to London greatly damaged harvest'	(T W King)[4]
1838	27 Feb. His letter from Abraham Kirkmann in London was late because of the snow.	(AK, f.15)
1841	3 Jan. 'Strong storm with snow overnight ...blown down some big trees on the road to Whitchurch'	(T W King)
1841	18 Feb. 'We have had our river frozen over, which is what has not occurred before these dozen years.'	(AK, f.3)
1841	24 Feb. 'Snow was on the Brecknock Mts 4 days ago.'	(AK, f.40)
1841	26 Oct. 'My fields have been flooded.'	(T W King)
1841	23 Nov. 'We are deluged by the river, and I dread on its retreat to fnd any incipient fence has departed with it, but as yet the countermarch has not begun.'	(AK, f.49)
1846	15 Dec. 'This sharp weather has stopped my masons, the stones are too hard to chip...'	(T W King)
1847	1 Jan. '...continued foggy weather following exceedingly cold...'	(AK, f.81)
1847	7 Dec. 'Our meadows yesterday and this morning were covered with water...'	(AK, f.88).

ABBREVIATIONS

[1] National Library of Wales, John Lloyd Collection (JLC).
[2] Herefordshire Record Office.
[3] National Library of Wales, MS 6656C, letters to Abraham Kirkmann.
[4] College of Arms, T W King, Heraldic Miscellany, Vol. 19.

Recorders, 2009

Archaeology, 2009

By RON SHOESMITH

As in previous years, I have included a section for each archaeological organisation that responded to my request for information. In spite of the downturn in the economy resulting in reduced demand for archaeological services, with many units having to lay off staff, most responded and their reports include several fascinating and important sites. However, the year was not without its casualties with Marches Archaeology ceasing to operate and not able to report; but although Archaeological Investigations Ltd (A.I.) were taken over at the end of the year by Headland Archaeology Ltd, (an organisation that has done much work in Scotland and Ireland) they have been able to provide a report.

There have been many interesting discoveries throughout Herefordshire in 2009. Work on the Edgar Street Grid (ESG) project area in Hereford continues to provide evidence for prehistoric activity, reinforcing the work to the south of the city at Rotherwas and to the north at Wellington Quarry. Roman and later remains at the Prospect, Ross-on-Wye, created considerable interest in the press. Herefordshire Archaeology continued their woodland surveys and historic farmstead characterization and have done more work on the Hereford Urban Strategy project. The third season of work at Credenhill has produced some interesting information as has exploratory work in association with Time Team on a possible hillfort on the summit of Dinmore Hill, some 6 miles north of Hereford.

In every section I have indexed each report by city, town or parish and site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. Many of the references are to internal unit publications (now called 'grey literature'), some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by the Herefordshire County Archaeological Service, some details are also available on the internet. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed SAM.

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, and to Roger Barrett who consolidated the various reports with their own styles, shapes and sizes into a common format to submit to the club's editor, all of which has made this report a valuable source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2009. From time to time I receive reports from members of the Club and these are gratefully appreciated as they carry on the long tradition of Club members carrying out their own original research and ensuring that it is recorded.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

Archaeologists

At the end of 2009, in advance of large-scale works in the Cathedral Close due to start in the new year and lasting for several years, Richard K. Morriss was appointed Cathedral Archaeologist to succeed Ron Shoesmith, who will continue with his work on the Cathedral barn until completion. Richard is no stranger to Hereford as he worked for a number of years with Ron in the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit, the fore-runner of A.I. (now part of Headland).

Close Project

Although the Close Project started in 2009, it is still in its infancy and as a result no details are included in this report. In the first stage the work has been concentrated in St John's Quad adjacent to the Vicars' Choral College, and will continue throughout the main part of the Close and the Lady Arbour in 2010 and 2011.

The 1993 New Library Building excavation

The long-awaited report on this project is being undertaken by Worcestershire Archaeology Service and is still in progress; no final date for the completed report has been suggested, but it would seem that the longer it takes, the more interesting and complete it will be. As the excavation included many burials, it is hoped that the results can be tied in with the present Close project to provide a rounder picture of the people who lived in Hereford and the neighbouring parishes during the last 1,000 years.

The Cathedral Barn

The barn, a Grade II listed building on the English Heritage 'Buildings at Risk' register, which stands at the north-eastern corner of the close, is being renovated and will be used as a school party centre. In addition to trenches for services, three exploratory archaeological trenches – one internal and two external – were excavated. Their small dimensions meant that it was not possible to reach natural gravel, but the excavations have totally changed our understanding of the building.

The clearance of the later floor levels within the barn exposed a massive stone wall just within the southern side of the barn and almost, but not exactly, on the same alignment as the building. An external trench to the east of the barn demonstrated that this wall turned to the north and a further examination of the stone fabric (particularly the north-western corner of the barn) has shown that it was incorporated as the west wall of the barn. An additional trench to the north of the barn confirmed that the wall did not continue any further northwards.

The wall is about 0.7m. wide and stands to varying heights inside the building (all below the latest concrete floor level). However, at the north-western corner of the building it stands some two metres high and is faced on the west, north and almost certainly on the east sides. It originally joined the surviving fragments to the south, but most of this wall was demolished when the double doors were inserted. The hole against the south-western corner exposed some three courses of the wall, all well-faced and coursed and evidently above ground when the wall was built – they are certainly not foundations. Several of the few surviving stones comprising the wall in the western entry were taken out to make way for new services. They were massive – at least 0.3m. cubed and well-squared. As there was no dating evidence from the external

trenches, an internal trench was excavated adjoining the massive wall and just to the west of a later internal partition wall. The north face of the early wall was also well-faced and, as the excavation continued, floor levels containing pottery dating from the 13th to the 15th centuries were found together with large amounts of metal-working waste material. The lower levels in the trench, probably associated with the construction of the massive wall, contained pottery of 11th and 12th-century date. It rapidly became apparent (and was rather worrying) that the later layers were far too low to be associated with the timber-framed building, dated by tree-ring analysis to 1253–88.

The purpose of this massive wall is as yet uncertain, but it may have been a precinct wall, with the turn to the north representing the eastern side of an entry to a building to the north (perhaps a predecessor of the Canon's House). It does not appear to be part of a building, but the presence of metal-working debris in the area between the walls may well mean that the metal workers, engaged in the construction of the cathedral, had their working area here, just as the present-day masons have their yard adjoining the cathedral. Metal-working involved considerable heat and the danger of fire, so their yard would be well away from the cathedral. It is evident that this massive wall remained in use well into the 15th century, allowing some build up of the surrounding ground.

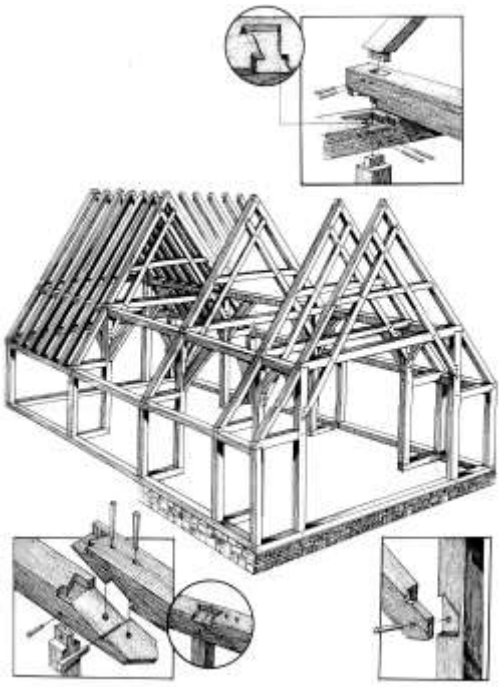


Figure 1. Cathedral barn as it probably appeared on its original site. (Drawing by Brian Byron)

The first phase of the development of the present building took place on a different site; one which will probably never be identified, but was probably reasonably close to the position of the present barn. The original timber-framed building looked completely different from the present barn, for it was both wider and longer (Fig. 1). The increased width included aisles on each side, and the building was half-a-bay longer than the present barn. As built, it would have been approximately 15.5m. long and about 7.5m. wide externally. Each of the aisles would have been about 1m. wide leaving a clear area in the centre some 4.3m. wide (allowing for the outside walls and aisle posts). The whole building was probably of timber construction and the roof probably consisted of five scissor-braced trusses forming four bays. Two diagonal braces rising from each arcade post helped to support the arcade plate and stabilise the building.

This building, erected in the mid-13th century, was an aisled hall of some stature and could well have been one of the canonical houses that surrounded the close at that time. It is tempting

to suggest that it may have been the predecessor of the 16th-century cross-wing of the Canon's House just to the north of the barn. It has to be assumed that by the latter part of the 15th century the canonical hall, then being over 200 years old, was not in the best of condition and was due for replacement. But could parts of it be re-used? Like all timber-framed buildings, it would originally have been laid out in a framing yard and each joint would have been numbered for ease of re-erection. The process could be reversed.

There must have been a need for a building in the immediate area, perhaps as a coach house or simply for storage, and by that time the solid precinct wall had served its purpose. The southern part was demolished down to ground level (by this time quite a bit higher than it was when the wall had originally been built), but the western section was left. The aisled hall was carefully taken down and the parts no longer required were disposed of (perhaps due to their poor condition). They included the outside walls and the roof – the areas that would have suffered most from the weather. What was left was the aisle posts and the wall plates that held them together. These remaining timbers were moved to a new site at the north-eastern corner of the close, and a new building was erected utilizing the western section of the precinct wall as a stone west wall.

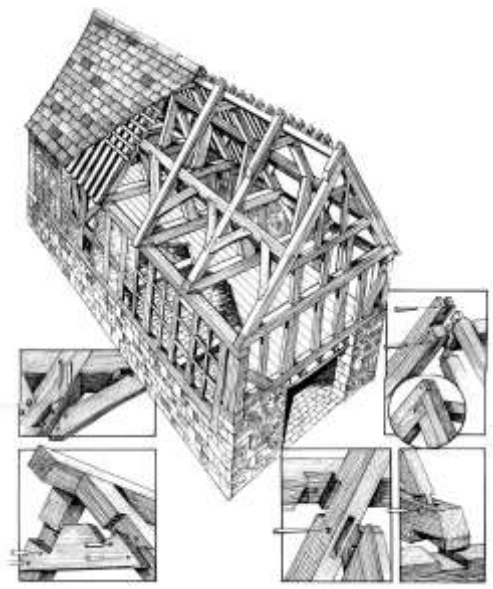


Figure 2. Cathedral barn on its site at the north-eastern corner of the Close. (Drawing by Brian Byron)

As it so happened, the original building was slightly longer than the available site – had it been built it would almost have blocked St John Street – so most of the eastern bay had to be lost and a totally new east face constructed.

Over time, the old building had suffered from age and the eastern part of the northern wall-plate was renewed. The building also needed a new roof, to a more modern design. Five bays replaced the original four, the wall plate being adjusted to accommodate them. With just aisle posts on the north and south sides, new timbers had to be inserted and the new panels were probably filled with wattle and daub. The new building (Fig. 2), essentially constructed from prefabricated parts of the aisled hall, has been precisely dated – for the tree rings on one sample are complete to the bark edge, giving a felling date either late in 1491 or early in 1492. Other samples are compatible, and as green timber was usually used, a construction date early in the last decade of the 15th century seems most probable – about the time Columbus discovered America.

As time went on the lower sections of the eastern gable and south wall were replaced in stone. The internal floor at this time must have been at a higher level than at present in the western part, but it may survive in the higher, undisturbed eastern part of the barn floor

adjacent to St John Street. At some time the wattle and daub panels on the south face were infilled with brick, weather-boarding was applied to the other faces, and a first-floor was inserted into the building.

There have been many alterations to the building during the last 200 years including lowering the floor level in the western three-quarters of the building, underpinning the north wall with stone, and inserting new double doors in the western face. At one time in its later history three WCs were laid out in a row in the centre of the building, whilst the western part was apparently a two-room accommodation unit, possibly for the stable boy.

South Wall of the Nave

The third year of this project dealt with the central part of the south wall of the nave and clerestory in the Lady Arbour. Eroded stone has been replaced and six corbels on the clerestory were replaced with ones carved with the faces of people involved in the work of the cathedral for many years and who are now retired or about to retire. Four of those so honoured are shown below (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Four corbels of the Hereford Six shown with their retiring real-life counterparts: (L to R)

Ron Shoesmith, Cathedral Archaeologist for 14 years; Sir Thomas Dunne, KCVO, KG, Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire for 30 years; Michael Bayliss, Dean's Verger for 14 years; Sir John Cotterell, Bt., Chairman of the Mappa Mundi Trust for 20 years. (Sculptures by Paul Sheldon)

The two other members of the Hereford Six are Andrew Eames, Lt. Col.(Ret'd), Chapter Clerk and Administrator (12 years) and the Rt. Rev. Michael Hooper, Priest, Archdeacon, Bishop of Ludlow (40 years in total).

Opportunities were taken to photograph work before and after restoration and work will continue in 2010 with the western part.

Stable Yard at Vicars' Choral College
The stable yard on the southern side of the College has been tidied up with the removal of the disused piggeries and is now laid out as a car-park. The work was carried out under archaeological supervion, but nothing of archaeological importance was exposed.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS LTD

DINEDOR, Rotherwas Futures Building and Photographic Survey (SO 532 377) [HSM 45146]
A photographic building survey was carried out on the remaining munitions bunkers on the former Royal Ordnance Factory. The survey has shown that the buildings were used for the storage of explosives throughout their history. The project also recorded the smaller details in the form of graffiti left by the workers to highlight the daily history of the buildings (Mayes, S., in Herefordshire Archaeology Series (HAS) 820).

DINEDOR, Rotherwas Futures Phase 3 road (SO 530 383) [HSM 49288]
The evaluation work identified possible prehistoric/Roman features in two trenches although these could equally be explained as being caused by natural geological processes. More recent evidence related to the now disused Hereford to Gloucester railway line and to the site's use as a private estate and munitions factory (Rouse, D., HAS 834).

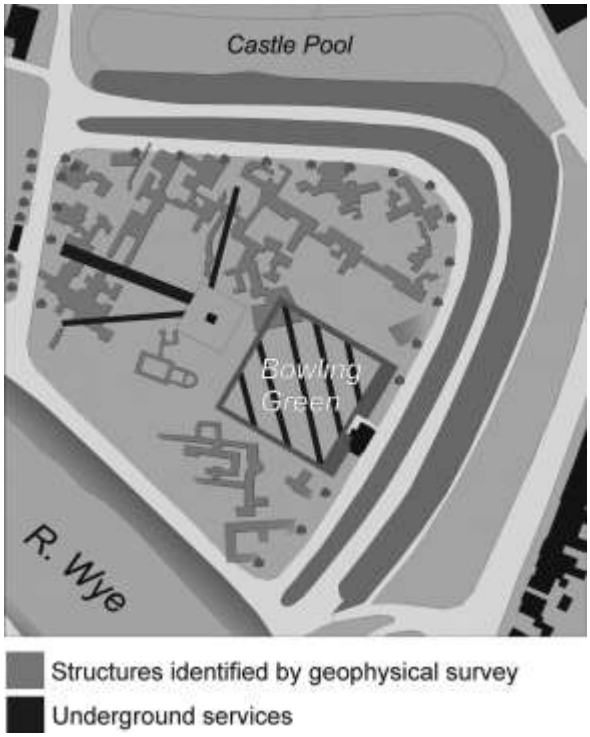
HEREFORD, The ASDA Site (SO 505 393) [HSM 42303]
Agricultural features of post-medieval date related to Causeway Farm, whilst evidence of medieval activity in the form of metal working and pottery production was perhaps at the back of burgage plots. Further into the site and nearer to the river was evidence for Roman and prehistoric occupation. This appeared to include the survival of a preserved topsoil horizon containing pottery and 46 flints within the site of the new bowling green. One feature identified, sealed beneath the palaeo topsoil, was radio-carbon dated to the Roman period and contained a lump of fired clay. Some recording was also undertaken during work on the horse-drawn tram-road embankment (Rouse, D., HAS 775).

HEREFORD, Flood Alleviation Scheme (SO 509 391) [HSM 44517]
Excavations succeeded in defining both the northern and southern sides of the Rowe Ditch and establishing its base. A number of samples were taken and radio-carbon dating from two samples indicate a pre-Conquest date for the earliest deposits in the base of the ditch. Pottery recovered from later ditch fills was of 13th- to 14th-century date, suggesting that the ditch was silting up during the medieval period and confirming the supposition that it was dug before the 13th century. In addition to pottery, iron slag was found in the ditch fill, which was probably waste from nearby industrial processes, previously identified during the evaluation excavation and watching briefs on areas closer to the river bank. Very few finds were recovered from the excavation of the ditch and from features excavated at the northern end of the trench.

A number of small ditches were present at the northern end of the site, possibly resulting from flooding in the area; one was apparently associated with the surviving rampart. Close to the river bank a number of features relating to iron-working were present including possible furnaces and a considerable quantity of iron slag and furnace lining. Pottery dated this activity

to between the later 12th and the 14th centuries. On the basis of this work it would appear that the earthwork in Bishop's Meadow may be one of very few that can be assigned to Harold Godwinson (Crooks, K., HAS 827).

HEREFORD, Castle Green (SO 513 396 [HSM 51609]



A new resistivity survey of the Castle Green has provided a much clearer picture of the layout of buildings than was the case from previous surveys (Figure 4, left). It would appear that a substantial range of buildings once occupied the west and northern sides of the Green. The church is clearly depicted, with a couple of isolated buildings to its south. Unfortunately it was not possible to distinguish between priory and castle buildings from this survey (Boucher, A., HAS 823).

HEREFORD, Gaol Street/Bath Street (SO 514 401) [HSM 43650]

An excavation was undertaken on the western part of the area between Gaol Street and Bath Street. The eastern part of the site was occupied by the city defences, a Scheduled Ancient Monument. The excavation revealed the profile of the rampart and two phases of building; the earlier predating the rampart and being of post-hole and beam-slot construction. The only dating evidence from this phase was a single sherd of 11th to 12th-century pottery. The second phase, possibly a renewal of the first building, was dated to the early to mid-13th century. Horn cores and antler debris were recovered from surfaces and pits on the southern part of the site. The most notable finds were two bones from a bear, and a tuning peg possibly from a harp (Crooks, K., HAS 782).

HEREFORD, Edgar Street Grid Relief Road (SO 511 406) [HSM 49287]

The series of investigations have continued within the area of the Edgar Street Grid development, this time focused on the proposed route of the new link road running from Commercial Road and the railway station to Edgar Street. Historically this was an area of poorly-drained ground – part of the Widemarsh – containing numerous channels of both man-

made and natural origin. The proposed route misses most of the waterworks associated with the Monkmoor mills (now beneath Morrisons). However, it does cross the site of the former canal basins that once lay south of the present railway station. Trenching in this area failed to locate any surviving traces of these features and it is likely that 20th-century re-landscaping of the area removed any vestige of the former canal system at this point.

Further westwards, the route is known to traverse an area of Bronze Age peat bog fed from pure springs beneath the Police Training Field. Investigations focused on the edge of this area and may have identified an associated ancient land surface, but without any archaeological remains. The western end of the route passes to the north of the football ground. At this location other peaty areas were identified associated with earlier channels or stream courses. It would appear that in this case the peat dates from the medieval or later periods.

The exercise succeeded in developing an understanding of the nature and depth of deposits in the area to allow proper planning for any future potential archaeological impact from the scheme (Crooks, K., HAS 830).

HEREFORD, 14 Church Street (SO 510 399) [HSM 48665]
One trench measuring 3m. by 3m. was hand excavated adjacent to the rear wall of the building. A layer containing 13th-century pottery was revealed. Cutting this layer was a 16th/17th-century refuse pit containing crop-processing waste and pottery indicating a prosperous household (Craddock-Bennett, L., and Doyle, D, HAS 793).

HEREFORD, Cathedral School Sports Hall, East Street, (SO 512 398) [HSM 44998]
Groundworks at the site were monitored over the course of the construction project. During the excavation of a service trench across East Street, the buried remains of the Saxon town defences were observed and recorded. The sequence of deposits within the rampart material may provide evidence for the refortification of Hereford in 1055 AD by Harold Godwinson (later King Harold). A metalled surface overlying the rampart may have been a medieval forerunner to the present East Street. To the south of the defensive line, evidence for iron smithing was revealed which dated from the 11th to 13th centuries. A deep topsoil deposit containing post-medieval pottery appears to have been imported to the site for the landscaping of the gardens of No. 1 Castle Street in the 18th century (Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 800).

HEREFORD, Equitable Access Centre, Stonebow Road, (SO 513 403) [HSM 50000]
The site lies to the north-west of the Stonebow Unit (the psychiatry department of Hereford County Hospital) and forms part of its garden. Previous excavations in the vicinity have located the burial ground and possible buildings associated with St Guthlac's Priory, which was present on the site between about 1143 and the Dissolution in 1539. The burial ground is not thought to extend as far north as the proposal area. Stone walls, which may date from the medieval period, were identified to the south of the proposal area beneath the Stonebow Unit. Other investigations adjacent to the site produced evidence for medieval archaeology at approximately 0.9m. below the present ground surface. During trial works two trenches each 5m. in length were excavated to a depth at which the natural gravel was present. The trenches demonstrated that the ground surface had been levelled, probably when buildings on the Commercial Street frontage were demolished and the area laid out as a car park. There was no evidence for a medieval topsoil or other surface, with modern building debris lying immediately above red gravels thought to be natural in origin. No deposits of archaeological significance were encountered in the trenches (Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 836).

HEREFORD, Police Station, Bath Street (SO 513 400) [HSM 44519]
Two deposits were uncovered that are likely to relate to the turf and gravel rampart exposed by S. C. Stanford during his excavations in 1966. Although the relationship between these deposits and the city wall was lost due to the intrusion of an 18th/19th-century pit, the fact that the wall continues down at least 0.42m. below the top of the upper deposit would suggest that it was originally cut into these deposits. Two pits containing pottery of 18th- and 19th-century date were found adjacent to the city wall, at a point where the wall showed signs of a break in construction at the level from which the pits had been cut. At this point a red brick is mortared into the wall, the width of the wall above the brick being approximately 0.05m. narrower than the part below. The city wall is likely to be original beneath the patching of the red brick (approximately 0.3m. below the present ground level). This stretch of wall was described in the 1980s as being 'newly conserved', which suggests that what stands today is a composite of original masonry, patching through the centuries, and an extensive rebuild during the second half of the 20th century (Crooks, K., HAS 840 and Crooks, K. & Craddock-Bennett, L, HAS 748).

HEREFORD, The Buttermarket , High Town (SO 511 401)
A rapid map regression and radar survey were undertaken across the available internal spaces of the Buttermarket at both ground floor and basement level. There was a strong correlation between the detected locations of cellars and those known to exist. There was no evidence that other cellars were present appart from those that were already accessible. The work was undertaken to inform engineers with respect to future improvements of the site (Boucher, A.R. & Craddock-Bennett, L, HAS 84).

HOARWITHY, Church House (SO 355 229) [HSM 50005]


Figure 5. Monkey-like demon barber

A series of 32 water colours had been painted between the rafters of this 19th-century school house. Although these are going to be preserved as part of the project, a photographic record was made of each panel prior to works commencing on the site. The pictures were alternate views of animals (Fig. 5) and plants (Fig. 6). The plants appear to have been copied from a botanical text as they show plants in all stages of development (Boucher, A.R., HAS 842).


Figure 6. Botanical illustration of a poppy

KINNERSLEY, Church (SO 335 250)
The unit was commissioned by Hook Mason Architects to undertake an archaeological watching brief on Kinnersley Church during the installation of a cable for lighting the path from the gate to the church porch. No burials were known to lie on the line of the excavation. With the exception of one fragment, thought possibly to be human bone, no remains were seen

during the excavation. No features of archaeological significance were seen during the watching brief (Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 835).

LEOMINSTER, Land at 40/42 West Street (SO 495 590) [HSM 46882]
Several features and deposits of archaeological significance were observed during the evaluation. Most dated from the 13th and 14th centuries and included several pit features, the most significant find was a kiln or oven (Rouse, D., & Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 818).

LEOMINSTER, Marsh Mill, Bridge Street (SO 494 597) [HMSR 49162]
This was initially a building recording project of the remains of a mill. However, as work progressed it became apparent that a much larger proportion of the structure survived than had been expected. A watching brief monitored the excavation of two trial pits and identified backfill deposits within the former mill leat (Rouse, D. & Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 828).

PEMBRIDGE, The Barn, East Street (SO 392 582) [HSM 48859]
The barn was a former farm building to the rear of 17th-century timber-framed tenements that front East Street. The building had recently been demolished and an archaeological watching brief was required during the excavation of foundation trenches for a new build. The only archaeological features recorded were the floor and wall foundations of the barn, which were exposed during the initial site clearance. Within the foundation trenches themselves, no archaeological deposits were encountered (Lewis, D.).

ROSS ON WYE, Hildersley Model Farm (SO 617 240) [HSM 48857]
A total of 32 trenches, each measuring 25m. in length were machine excavated to what were thought to be natural deposits. Trenches were positioned to investigate magnetic anomalies identified during a geophysical survey. No features or deposits of archaeological significance were identified on the site during the trial trenching. The only artefact to be recovered from the site was a single, post-medieval fragment of rooftile and a much abraded sherd of pottery also dating from the post-medieval period (Crooks, K., HAS 821).

ARCHENFIELD ARCHAEOLOGY LTD

ABBEY DORE, Dore Abbey (SO 387 305)
A programme of archaeological works was carried out in conjunction with the repair of the ruined nave and cloister walls of this Cistercian monastery. This included exploratory excavation, monitoring of the removal of soil that had built up against the wall of the nave and recording of the portions of the standing structures that were to be restored. The inside of a blocked doorway through this wall was exposed and four evaluation trenches were opened. Detailed photographic and drawn records were made of all the walls prior to, and immediately after clearance of the thick vegetation that had grown up over them. The blocked doorway in the nave wall was recorded in detail from the farmyard (north side) and the south side was exposed by excavation. On both sides the base of the door surround was found to have decorative scroll work motifs. The original nave floor was exposed and its depth recorded.

Following a geophysical survey by Archaeophysica Ltd., four more trenches were excavated to examine targets found by magnetometry (Fig. 7). Trenches 1 and 2 were within the cloister garth. Trench 2 yielded little apart from evidence of a post-medieval garden path, but trench 2 showed evidence of a collapsed building with some stones that had been heated to a high temperature, supporting the theory that the kitchens may have been located here.

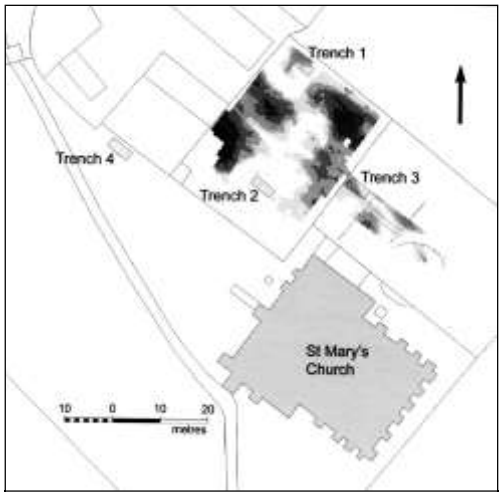


Figure 7 (above). The resistivity survey at Dore Abbey

Figure 8 (right). Skeleton found at Dore Abbey

Trench 4 was placed parallel to the nave wall to examine the relationship between two walls thought to be the original end wall of the nave and a possible later extension to form a galilee or porch. At the western extent of trench 4 was a substantial sandstone wall 1.4m. thick. It had quoined and faced stonework on the inside (eastern) face, which also showed traces of mortar/plaster. This wall was not bonded into the north wall of the nave but abutted it. The external face was only exposed in a small sondage, but this was sufficient to demonstrate that it had faced stonework, and was also not bonded into the nave wall. One bay's width further east the traces of a wall that had been bonded into the nave wall when constructed were clearly visible, and when excavated to the level of the nave floor some stones were found to still be *in situ*, the rest of the wall having been taken down at an earlier date, presumably when the nave was extended. It seems unlikely, therefore that the two walls could have been in place at the same time and that therefore there was never a galilee at Dore.

Trench 3 was positioned within the eastern. cloister walk. Here a grave containing a single inhumation was found (Fig. 8). The entire skeleton was present and the hands were crossed right/left over the pelvis area. The skeleton was that of a mature adult, 1.66m. tall with no obvious signs of illness and with excellent teeth. One of these was taken as a sample so that lead isotope analyses could be carried out to help determine the place of origin of the individual. The results indicated that this was a local person (pers comm. Ruth Richardson). This seemed to be an individual in generally good health, probably aged between 25 and 35 years of age who had enjoyed a reasonable diet.

HEREFORD, 31 Eign Gate

This building had been the premises of Jennings the saddlers and leatherworkers from the mid-19th century and had been assumed to date from that period. However, within the three-story brick building were two gable frames of a two-story timber-framed jettied building of the mid-to-late 16th century.

The front and rear posts of the east frame, together with the upper studs and truss were still *in situ*. Some of these timbers were hidden, in some cases by the chimney stack, but a reasonable reconstruction has been attempted by combining the east and west frames to generate almost a full frame (Fig. 9).

The internal face of the east frame had been adzed to take plaster that originally covered the whole of the frame; stripping of modern plasterwork revealed paintings on both the original plaster and the timbers. The western frame is of the same design as the eastern although there had been some repair work. The two-storey jettied timber-framed building stood above a stone-lined cellar. From what evidence is left there was originally a single chimney stack situated at the west end of the gable frame. A large fireplace would have heated the shop at the ground floor level with probably another set of fireplaces at each floor above.

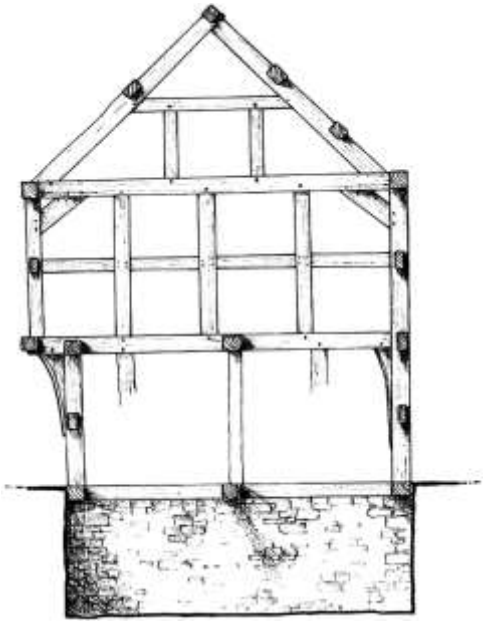


Figure 9. The consolidated frame from the survey at 31 Eign Gate (Jenning's shop)

HEREFORD, 14 Church Street

The Pippin Trust was granted planning permission to convert the former Skinner's cobbler's shop into seven single-bedroom apartments with retail space on the ground floor. The property was the subject of a building survey by Richard Morriss in 1992 which identified it as probably having late 16th- or early 17th-century origins. A two-story timber-framed structure with a jetty on the first floor had been extended in several phases. A previous evaluation excavation carried out in the yard at the rear of the building in 2004 revealed evidence of occupation of the site from the 13th century, although Church Street itself is believed to date from the 8th or 9th century.

The removal of a brick-built chimney of probable 18th- to 19th-century date revealed the original wall panels. These were found to have a well-preserved decorative motif painted directly onto the plasterwork and beams. This has been identified as being of likely late 16th- or early 17th-century date (pers. comm. R. K. Morriss and Kathryn Davies). On the first floor the removal of a 19th-century brick fireplace revealed a very well-preserved stone fireplace with a carved wooden lintel which is likely to be original. During the monitoring of foundation work in the cellar a series of well-defined post-holes with the bases of decayed timber posts

were found. These, cut into the underlying natural gravel, were the earliest features on the site and may represent an earlier building.

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY

EARDISLEY, Castle Close (SO 313 492)

Archaeological evaluation was undertaken on behalf of Border Oak Design & Construction Ltd on the site of a proposed development at Castle Close, within the historic core of Eardisley, the principal aim being to ascertain the nature and extent of any archaeological remains relating to the former medieval urban settlement. The site is located in close proximity to the substantial earthwork remains of the medieval castle, first mentioned in 1183, and immediately north of the 12th-century parish church of St Mary Magdalene.

The evaluation was carried out between 14 and 18 May 2009, and comprised a single trench extending roughly north-east/south-west across the proposed development area. Revealed within this trench was part of a substantial ditch of probable medieval date running north-west/south-east and thought to relate either to the northern outworks of the castle itself or to an area of early settlement activity located immediately to the east. The small pottery assemblage recovered from the ditch fills consisted of Herefordshire green-glazed fabrics of 13th- to 15th-century date, with a marked absence of post-medieval sherds, suggesting that there was a gradual accumulation of domestic debris within the ditch throughout the medieval period, followed by a final backfilling event which probably occurred not later than the end of the 15th century.

HEREFORD, Hereford United Football Ground, Edgar Street (SO 509 404)

Archaeological evaluation adjacent to the Blackfriars Stand was undertaken between 19 and 22 October 2009 with two trenches, each measuring 10m. by 1.5m. being opened by machine and subsequently excavated manually to a maximum depth of 1m.

One of these trenches revealed features and deposits potentially indicative of early human occupation, based on comparison with the results of fieldwork carried out immediately to the south of the site at the cattle market in 2006, where a pit was identified containing prehistoric pottery, carbonised wood and burnt stone. Study of the pottery collected from this feature suggested that it was of late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date and may potentially belong to the Beaker period, *c*.2500BC.

The striking similarities between the feature revealed on the cattle market site and a series of small pits or postholes at the present site suggested the features were broadly contemporary and, upon advice from Julian Cotton of Herefordshire Archaeology, samples of material were taken from these pits/postholes and remitted for specialist assessment to determine their potential, interpretation and dating. Assessment revealed the presence of coal fragments, ash/tarry material, charcoal and bone fragments, which may be indicative of the dumping of waste into these features as infill material However, the presence of greater quantities of ash/tarry remains in two of the features, provisionally interpreted as postholes, may possibly represent a form of preservative used to treat wooden posts. Additionally, the plant remains extracted from the samples provided some evidence to indicate the nature of the environment at the time of deposition; the presence of sedge, pale persicaria and celery-leaved buttercup being characteristic of damp conditions. Unfortunately, the samples revealed no conclusive evidence about the date and function of these features and, following further consultation with Julian Cotton, no additional analysis was undertaken.

LEOMINSTER, Abbey Funeral Services, New Street (SO 495 592)
The excavation of three evaluation trenches revealed deposits, features and finds relating to post-medieval (17th- to 19th-century) occupation of the site. A large amount of brick and stone rubble from the demolition of late post-medieval buildings on the site was observed. Much of the site appeared to have been built up with imported or redeposited material, partially removing or truncating underlying deposits in places. Underlying these deposits was an accumulation of late post-medieval occupation/garden soils across the entire site. A number of 17th- to 18th-century features and deposits were uncovered below this layer, including a stone-lined pit and a substantial deposit of cattle horn cores, probably representing horn working or tanning activity.

HEREFORD, Land in East Street to the rear of 26 St Owen Street (SO 513 398)
Archaeological evaluation was carried out on 1 June 2009 with the aim of locating evidence of the pre-Conquest defences. The northern section of the defences is presumed to lie along the West Street/East Street axis and it was anticipated that development activity in this area would impact upon significant archaeological remains.

Two trenches were excavated close to the north-west and south-east boundaries of the site. The first trench revealed the remains of post-medieval cellarage while the second contained further cellarage, together with the remains of a probable bread oven. Due to trench instability, detailed investigation of deposits was not possible. To the rear of the cellarage, the excavations located a substantial build-up of medieval and post-medieval deposits of *c*.3.5m. depth, which were suggestive of the fill of the early medieval ditch; a slight bank cut of pink gravel was encountered that may represent one edge of the ditch.

PETERCHURCH, St Peter's Church (SO 345 385)
Excavation within the nave and vestry of the church was carried out as the initial phase of a programme of internal works relating to the construction of a community centre. This preliminary phase of works involved the reduction of existing floor levels and relocation of the font. Additionally, archaeological observation of all associated external works, comprising trenching for drainage and other services, was carried out.

Evidence of an extensive programme of restoration carried out during the mid 19th century was revealed within the nave, including an under-floor heating system comprising a below-ground boiler room and ducting. The floor level had also been reduced at this time and no burials or *in situ* ledger stones were identified. Wall foundations exposed beneath the north and south elevations of the nave and tower appeared to follow an alignment that diverged slightly from that of the extant building and may thus represent evidence of an earlier church.

The external ground-works comprised a series of interlinked trenches for the installation of utility pipes/ducting and drainage. Fifty-four burials were excavated and recorded, most of which appeared to be post-medieval (18th and 19th century) in date. Three earlier burials were identified in trenching to the west of the tower. Four masonry foundation walls were identified oriented on parallel east/west alignments to the west of the tower. These possibly also relate to an earlier church building on the site. The churchyard appears to have been landscaped and enlarged, probably during the 19th century, this presumed activity being particularly evident to the south of the church. The extent of the former churchyard boundary was visible in trenching to the north and southwest of the church. A pit excavated at the south-west extent of the churchyard contained a large quantity of well-preserved human bone, probably representing disinterred burials removed from the interior during the 19th-century restoration works.

FOWNHOPE, Fownhope Trunk Main (NGR: SO 533 365, SO 567 366 and SO 570 369)
A programme of archaeological work was carried out on behalf of Dŵr Cymru Welsh Water (DCWW) / Laing O'Rourke in respect of the Fownhope Trunk Mains Water Pipeline Scheme, extending from the village of Dinedor through Holme Lacy, Mordiford and Woolhope to the DCWW facility at Woolhope Cockshoot. Three locations within the pipeline corridor were identified as archaeologically sensitive:

1. The eastern end of a large field to the south of Dinedor deserted medieval village (SO 533 365): HSM 1001), where two distinct linear features are visible running north-south.
2. An area of water meadow to the north of the B4399 at Holme Lacy Bridge exhibiting evidence of earthwork features (SO 567 366).
3. Fields located immediately south of Mordiford village, adjacent to the B4224 Mordiford to Fownhope road, where a series of human burials were discovered during the 19th century (SO 570 369) [HSM 8951 and 8952).

The removal of topsoil along the pipeline corridor was carried out under archaeological supervision in the first two locations, while location 3 was additionally subject to archaeological field evaluation by means of three exploratory trenches in selected locations to identify any evidence of human remains. Two of these trenches, which were spaced 50m. apart, measured 11m. by 4m., with a further trench of 2m. by 2m. placed between them.

A series of land drains were identified to the south of Dinedor DMV but no evidence of earlier activity was revealed. Similarly, no sub-surface remains were revealed to the north of Holme Lacy Bridge, although the earthworks relating to a probable early field system were clearly visible on the ground. The three evaluation trenches to the south of Mordiford produced negative results.

LEINTWARDINE, Plough Farm (SO 404 746)
Archaeological evaluation carried out in advance of proposed development to the north of Plough Farm between 27 and 30 May indicated the presence of Romano-British remains. The activity appeared to be concentrated within the area adjoining the line of the Roman road extending north from the Roman fortified *vicus* at Leintwardine (*Bravonium*) towards Wroxeter and was attested by a series of cut features representing two phases of Romano-British activity separated by a period of abandonment.

The small quantity and broad date range of the pottery assemblage recovered from these features (chiefly dominated by oxidised Severn Valley and black-burnished wares) preclude the establishment of a detailed chronological phasing for the site, although the presence of fine dark-grey ware sherds in the primary fill of a linear ditch might indicate a 1st- to 2nd-century origin for this feature. Interestingly, the trenches situated further upslope failed to produce any evidence of activity predating the post-medieval period, this being largely confined to a series of 19th and 20th-century land drains.

YARPOLE, St Leonard's Church (SO 470 648)
Archaeological observation of ground-works relating to the conversion of the western part of the nave for use as a village shop and post office was carried out within the interior of the church and was followed by further observation of external ground-works immediately south-west of the porch. The first phase of archaeological observation was carried out on 26 January and 2 February, with the second phase taking place from 22 to 24 April.

Two areas were excavated within the church. The first, at the west end of the nave, measured approximately 6.5m. by 5.5m. and was excavated to a depth of approximately 0.6m. The second area, at the east end of the nave, adjacent to the raised entrance to the chancel, measured 6.3m. by 1.1m. and was also excavated to a depth of approximately 0.6m. Reduction of the church floor revealed the presence of human remains concentrated in both excavated areas.

The subsequent phase of work comprised the reduction by approximately 0.35m. of an area to the south-west of the south porch measuring roughly 8m. by 8m. This revealed several 18th-century gravestones but no associated graves. Although fragmentary human remains were present, they appeared to form part of a landscaping deposit. This deposit was probably associated with levelling activity carried out concurrently with the restoration of the church in 1863–4.

ROSS-0N-WYE, Prospect Gardens

Archaeological investigation carried out on behalf of Herefordshire Council following the collapse of part of the original 17th-century perimeter wall revealed a substantial masonry structure of probable Roman date. A watching brief was carried out on ground-works along the northern and western walls of the gardens commencing approximately 10m. north of the western gate. Human remains were anticipated due to the proximity of St Mary's churchyard. More remote was the possibility that remains associated with the palace of the bishops of Hereford, presumed to lie well to the north-east of the site beneath the present Royal Hotel, would be revealed.

No burials were encountered, but some very exciting Roman and medieval structures did come to light (Fig. 11). At around the level of the base of the boundary wall, between 1 and 2m. below the existing height of the gardens, a series of gullies, ditches and postholes was revealed forming two or three phases of occupation that appear (based on provisional dating obtained from pottery and coins) to be principally of Roman date. Several earlier, undated features appeared to indicate the possibility of prehistoric occupation, with worked flint and flint flakes recovered from parts of the site. The gully and ditch alignments potentially point to the existence of at least two Roman or possibly early post-Roman structures, the larger of these apparently having been constructed after the first building fell out of use. A possible hearth was located in one of the buildings.

The buildings may have been enclosed by a boundary ditch, apparently aligned north-west/south-east along the length of the western side of the Prospect, suggesting the gardens may have respected a much earlier layout. It is not clear whether this 'boundary ditch' marked the limit of Roman settlement, as traces of material appeared to extend beyond into the graveyard to the west. Several features revealed during the watching brief were associated with burning deposits, one of which – a regular cut with a flat base – provisionally interpreted as a beam slot, contained well-preserved charred structural timbers consisting of horizontal members abutted by smaller slats at each end, together with several iron nails.

Figure 10 (above). Horse burial underlying a stone structure at Prospect Gardens, Ross-on-Wye

Figure 11 (left). An overview of some of the features and surfaces located during the watching brief at the Prospect, Ross-on-Wye

In the foreground of Fig. 11 are a ditch, stake holes and fired soil surfaces forming part of what appeared to be a hearth, while in the background are ditches and gullies associated with possible construction, as well as stake holes and a large flat-bottomed pit.

Once the features extending along the western side of the Prospect had been revealed, excavation under watching brief commenced in the north-west corner of the Prospect and it was there that the base of a singular masonry structure came to light. Square, with a circular interior and foundations extending more than 1m. in thickness, the structure revealed a central bowl-shaped hollow and posthole, with a 1m. wide wall running south-east from its western side. Much of the masonry had been removed and presumably reused elsewhere. Unfortunately, the associated robber trenches had also largely removed any evidence of the structure's relationship with the surrounding, dateable soils. Furthermore, the Prospect wall had been dug through part of it and had removed all trace of a northern return; it was thus difficult to ascertain the structure's original form and extent.

Full excavation of an area measuring approximately 20m. by 10m. was subsequently carried out. A small mound of soil and rubble, probably representing either the collapse of the building after a period of abandonment or deliberate demolition activity, was found to underlie a subsequent make-up layer. Excavation slots inserted into the structure's foundation cut, to identify intact masonry and locate dating evidence, suggested that much of the building stone had been robbed-out during the late medieval or post-medieval period. Dating evidence proved elusive. One sherd of pottery was recovered underlying apparently intact deposits in a slot on the western side of the structure, which may help to ascertain a construction date.

The main structure was dug into a relatively sterile sandy soil, which appears to have been used as a levelling deposit for the building to sit upon. Within this soil was a Roman coin identified as an *antoninianus* of the rebel Emperor Carausius (287–293 AD). Intriguingly, one of the test trenches dug into the structure and the surrounding soil revealed an articulated horse skeleton lying on the interface of the landscaping deposit upon which the structure was built and underlying Roman material (Fig. 10). Significantly, it appears that the sterile soil forming

the landscaping deposit was placed directly on top of the horse burial. The burial could have had some special significance and several other possible horse skeletons, some buried in pits, others represented by skulls, with fragments of copper alloy from what appeared to be harness fittings, were located in several parts of the site. Collectively, these horse burials may well have had ritual significance, possibly being associated with the cult of the Romano-Celtic horse-goddess *Epona*. They could represent the terminus of a particular phase of settlement activity on the site or have been related to construction of the masonry building and its associated landscaping activity.

Underlying the landscaping material was further evidence of early Roman settlement activity, presumably associated with the activity identified along the western side of the Prospect. Several pits and postholes produced a variety of Roman copper-alloy finds, such as a fibula brooch, pins and a *dupondius* coin of the Emperor Vespasian, minted at Lyons in 72–73 AD.

The structure certainly appears to be Roman in date. Its unusual plan, coupled with its prominent location on an elevated site overlooking the river, suggest a temple, possibly originating as a native shrine in the late Iron Age. Alternatively, it may have been a Roman watchtower or even a 'pharos' or lighthouse.

A further suggestion, based on the thickness of the outer wall, the apparent absence of a doorway at ground level and the circular interior with a central posthole of sufficient size to support a rotating ladder or 'potence', is that the structure is not Roman at all but a medieval dovecote bearing some resemblance to the example at Garway built in 1326. If this is indeed the case, then the structure may have belonged to the bishops of Hereford, whose palace was located nearby during the medieval period. Another possibility is that the structure is indeed post-Roman and represents the base of a watchtower or similar structure forming part of a defensive circuit associated with the Bishop's Palace, suggesting a date of between 1100 and 1356. Results of the investigation will be published in due course.

ROSS-ON-WYE, The Bishop's Palace

During the course of the site works, it was agreed that an additional trench should be opened to investigate the potential for survival of further structural remains within the Prospect. This additional trench was located in the north-central area of the Prospect and exposed a substantial wall and foundation running north-west beneath a thick silty soil. The wall was more than 1m. thick and bonded with lime mortar while the foundation was an even more substantial 1.2m. The form and substantial nature of the masonry remains suggested they probably belonged to the palace of the bishops of Hereford. This was particularly surprising, as the focus of the palace complex was believed to lie north of the Prospect beneath what is now the Royal Hotel, where an undercroft was located during the 19th century.

MERCIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

LEOMINSTER, Grange Court Evaluation [HSM 48872] [SAM 245]

Evaluation excavations in the grounds to the north and south of Grange Court found little of medieval activity apart from possible drainage ditches. The main ground disturbance was associated with landscaping and gardening following with the removal of Grange Court (the old town hall) to its present site in 1856 (PJ 234).

WORCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE

BROMYARD, 77 Old Road (SO 651 546) [HSM 44818]
A watching brief was undertaken on behalf of Hercules House Ltd. Approximately 40% of the total area of the development site was monitored. The earliest structural remains on site comprised a stack of hand-made 17th- to 18th-century roof tiles. However, they were associated with a dump of building debris which contained 20th-century material. It is unclear if these tiles were removed from a building which previously occupied the site, such as No. 77, or were from further afield. The earliest identified *in situ* structural remains observed date from the 18th century and comprised a stone structure with an internal brick floor, which may have been an outhouse of the former No. 77. The date of construction of the main house is unclear, although a building with a similar footprint is indicated on the tithe map of 1844. A small brick and stone structure with a red tile floor lay within a sand revetting wall to the north-east corner of the site. It appears to be the building depicted on the 1st edition OS map of 1885. Otherwise only a small number of 19th- to 20th-century rubbish pits and a brick soakaway were identified across the monitored areas of the site. The limited finds assemblage from this site provided evidence of residual domestic debris from the early 17th century onwards. It would appear, therefore, that the site was not extensively occupied or utilised previously, and was put to pasture and gardens from at least the mid 19th century (Vaughan, T., WHEAS 1695).

HEREFORD, Hereford Academy, Stanberrow Road, Redhill (SO 501 380 [HSM 49313]
An archaeological evaluation was undertaken on behalf of Hyder Consulting (UK) Ltd for Willmott Dixon in partnership with Herefordshire Council. The investigation revealed a dynamic landscape with at least two palaeo-channels showing the progressive migration of the current Bailey Brook southwards across the site within the valley bottom. Environmental analysis indicates a change from a tree-lined watercourse to open wet floodplain or marsh. This water channel was the focus of all activity noted during the project, the earliest feature revealed being a pit (or possibly a ditch terminus) sealed by a Bronze Age burnt mound, which was in turn truncated by a later undated ditch. The site as a whole was subject to landscaping during the construction of the current school in the 1970s. In an attempt to level out the natural slope, large quantities of imported material were dumped across the site sealing the underlying deposits with up to 2.4m. of modern overburden. The south-eastern portion of the site has the potential to answer a number of research questions particularly regarding later prehistoric settlement, landscape organisation and agricultural practice (Webster, J., Rogers, T., & Vaughan, T., WHEAS 1711).

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

Staff of the county archaeological service for Herefordshire undertook a number of grant-aided projects in 2009. These involved partner organisations including English Heritage, the Forestry Commission, Herefordshire Nature Trust, the Wye Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, the Victoria County History Trust for Herefordshire (England's Past for Everyone project, under the national aegis of the Victoria County History at London University's Institute for Historical Research) and The Woodland Trust. The principal field projects undertaken during 2009 involved the excavation of an area within St Katherine's car park in Ledbury, a first season of excavation at New Weir iron works at Symonds Yat West and a final season of excavations at Credenhill near Hereford.

Other field projects included the continuation of a community survey project in the Olchon Valley (which this year also involved a test excavation of earthworks close to Olchon Court), and exploratory excavations of a substantial early enclosure on Dinmore Hill, in association with Time Team. The Herefordshire Historic Farmsteads Characterisation Project report (stage 2 baseline mapping) was completed, as was an archaeologically-based townscape characterization of central Hereford. Aerial survey and woodland survey projects continued as for previous years, along with the core activities of advice on development proposals and works, monument and countryside management, maintenance of the county Sites and Monuments Record, and a variety of outreach and community partnership work.

ABBEY DORE, Camp Wood (SO 394 320) [HSM 50006]

A rapid reconnaissance survey of Camp Wood was undertaken in partnership with, and with funding from, the Forestry Commission. Features relating to post-medieval woodland industry and management were identified, including woodland boundary banks, trackways, quarries and platforms, as well as evidence for quarrying, timber extraction and drainage. No definite features predating the post-medieval period were traced (Atkinson, C., HAR 275).

CASTLE FROME, Fishpool Wood (SO 677 453) [HSM 50024]

A survey of Fishpool Wood was undertaken in partnership with, and with funding from, the Forestry Commission. Features recorded included sawpits and platforms, woodland boundary banks, trackways, quarries and drainage channels. Two previously unrecorded fishponds were identified which may be of medieval date (Atkinson, C., HAR 274).

CREDENHILL, Credenhill Fort (SO 450 446) [HSM 49271]

The excavations carried out at Credenhill Fort in 2009 with grant-aid from, and in partnership with, the site owners, the Woodland Trust, formed the third and final season of a three-year field project. As in previous years, the purpose of the work has been to gain new information on the type and preservation of archaeology on the site in order to develop a better picture of the use of the site in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, to help to prepare interpretative material, and to inform future landscape management of the site.

Six areas were excavated in 2009 and an area examined in 2007 and 2008 was reopened and completed. The archaeology here comprised cut features mainly of the early Romano-British period, including a series of large parallel timber foundation slots, and rubbish disposal pits. Preliminary examination of the ceramic assemblage suggests Roman military activity possibly associated with the use of the site as a supply base for troops campaigning up the Wye valley into Wales, apparently during a pre-Flavian period of operations.

A significant assemblage of later Bronze Age ceramics, and a representative sample of Iron Age wares indicated the prehistoric occupation component.

Figure 12. Excavating a section through the defensive rampart and ditch, close to the eastern entrance to Credenhill fort

An area within the internal quarry ditch just to the south of the eastern entrance was re-opened and a succession of likely four-post structures on slightly different alignments was examined. A trench was also cut across the ditch and counterscarp bank of the east-facing defences in the same area, effectively extending the trench opened last year across the inner rampart (Fig. 12). Ditch fills here were complex and are likely to represent not only activity associated with the construction and use of the hill-fort itself, but also later, possibly medieval, use of the enclosure as well. One of three trenches in the northern interior revealed the foundation trenches of rectilinear Iron Age structures (Dorling, P., HAR 271).

DONNINGTON, Little Heath, Haffield (SO 726 332) [HSM 51837],

A finely-polished Neolithic axe made from honey-coloured flint was found in the area between Great Heath and Bromsberrow Heath on the border with Dymock and Bromsberrow parishes in Gloucestershire and was reported to the Finds Liaison Officers of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Finds of similar axes have been reported from Dorset, Kent and East Yorkshire, and this axe may have been imported from one of these areas, or possibly even from Belgium or southern Scandinavia. A flint axe in grey flint but with a distinctive square-butted form was found at Colwall in 1931 and is more certainly a Scandinavian import. Illustrations of both axes feature in a discussion of prehistoric sites and finds in the Ledbury area. (Ray, K. 'Settlement to 600AD', chapter 2 of *Ledbury: people and parish before the Reformation*, ed. Sylvia Pinches, Phillimore 2010).

DULAS, Prior's Wood (SO 375 290) [HSM 49289]
Reconnaissance survey within Prior's Wood was undertaken in partnership with, and with funding from, the Forestry Commission. Features including charcoal burning platforms, quarries and woodland management boundaries were identified. A length of bank and ditch was recorded which appears to relate to an early field boundary pattern, possibly dating from the medieval period, and pre-dating the development of woodland in at least part of the area concerned. A minor leat or drain within the wood appears to have fed a small pool outside the woodland. The pool and leat are likely to have formed an element of the designed landscape associated with the historic parkland and gardens of Dulas Court (Hoverd, T., HAR 273).

FOY, Perrystone Estate (SO 621 288) [HSM 50064]
Woodland survey in the western part of the Perrystone Estate was undertaken in partnership with, and with funding from, the Forestry Commission. The survey recorded features that predominately related to 17th to 19th-century land and woodland management including features that formed part of the designed landscape. A former mill site and associated mill-ponds and leats along the southern edge of Eaton Park may have had origins in the medieval period. Evidence for quarrying, charcoal production, route ways and woodland compartment boundaries was also recorded during the survey (Atkinson, C., HAR 276).

GANAREW, Little Doward hillfort (SO 539 159) [HSM 51675]
A small scale excavation was conducted in October within Little Doward Camp (Scheduled Monument Herefordshire 26). A massive beech tree on the edge of a probable house platform had blown over earlier in the year. This had exposed archaeological material and there was evidence of digging around the tree throw in contravention of the site's scheduled status. The excavation, supported by English Heritage and the Overlooking the Wye Project (Wye Valley AONB/Heritage Lottery Fund), aimed to recover archaeological material from the tree throw and, by excavating an adjacent 10m. by 4m. area, to understand also the context of deposition of the tree-throw material. The excavation confirmed the presence of settlement activity on the upper of two adjacent presumed house platforms possibly re-used for charcoal burning. On the upper, northern platform, two post holes were located at the margins of a surface, the presence of which was indicated also by a definite wear pattern on the limestone bedrock. The space likely to have been occupied by the interior of the sub-circular structure was traceable by mapping the extent of this wear pattern. Within the more limited area of the southerly platform investigated, a midden deposit was encountered. This produced a proportionately large assemblage of Iron Age pottery and bone; many of the latter bear cut marks which will provide information about butchery practices. Several artefacts found in the same deposit are of particular note. One was a toggle made from part of a deer antler tine, while there were also gaming pieces made of bone (Cotton, J., & Rimmington, N., HAR 278).

HEREFORD, ESG Archaeology Masterplan (SO 513 407) [51676]
An archaeological Masterplan was produced for the Edgar Street Grid area north of Hereford city centre to assist ESG Herefordshire Ltd in the creation of an archaeological strategy relating to planned urban regeneration. The aim of the document was to provide a summary of the constraints and the opportunities presented by the archaeology; to provide a general summary of procedures to be followed in the development process, and to provide a statement of desirable outcomes in terms of the management of the archaeology and the future setting of the visible historic landscape and individual monuments (Baker, N., HAR 265).

HEREFORD, The historic townscape of central Hereford (SO 512 399) [HSM 51677]
A characterisation study of the historic core of Hereford has formed part of the second, assessment, stage of the *Hereford Urban Archaeological Strategy Project*, funded by English Heritage. The study started from the view that the present above-ground townscape – buildings and an urban topography shaped and accumulated over roughly 1000 years – is as much a part of the city's archaeology as the buried deposits under the streets, and is an archaeological landscape just as surely as a hillside covered in farming lynchets and ridge-and-furrow. As such, the characterisation study examined the underlying site, the form of buildings, the date of buildings, the 'townscape grain' of burgages and alleyways and the modern land uses to be found within Hereford's walls. The study report features a new LiDAR (airborne laser scanning) image of Hereford, using Environment Agency data, showing the city site stripped of its buildings, with the earthworks of its defences and ancient features such as the King's Ditch, laid bare. Copies have been deposited in the Local Studies Collection, in the Central Library in Broad Street (Baker, N., HAR 266).

HEREFORDSHIRE, Historic Farmsteads Characterization [HSM 51678]
As part of the West Midlands Farmsteads and Landscapes Project, and with English Heritage funding, all historic farmsteads in Herefordshire have been recorded from Ordnance Survey 1st edition mapping. This collaborative project between English Heritage and all metropolitan and county councils in the West Midlands has aimed, through the mapping and characterisation of every historic farmstead, to provide a clear understanding of their development and landscape setting. This understanding and data can now underpin future prioritisation in conserving and managing this important historic resource.

A report has been prepared for each county in the West Midlands. The Herefordshire report records 4,534 farmsteads, smallholdings, field barns and out-farms. It highlights the dispersed nature of the county's farmsteads, with almost 75% being classified as isolated. It also provides a fully quantified baseline of data that shows the extent to which topography has strongly influenced character, demonstrating for instance how small ancient farmsteads characterise the Black Mountains periphery and the considerable extent to which large 18th and 19th-century regularly-planned farmsteads dominate the Herefordshire lowlands (Preece, N., & Rimmington, N., HAR 272).

HOPE-UNDER-DINMORE, Hampton Court Estate (SO 451 447) [HSM 51002]
Woodland survey of the Hampton Court Estate was undertaken in partnership with, and with funding from, the Forestry Commission. The survey recorded features relating to occupation and farming from prehistoric to post-medieval periods, including field boundaries and intensive woodland management features. The location and recording of a length of possibly prehistoric ditch and rampart amplified previous observations, and provided part of the basis for further investigation later in the year (Williams, D.N., HAR 277).

HOPE-UNDER-DINMORE, Dinmore Hill Excavations, (SO 451 447) [HSM 906]
Archaeological excavations took place on Dinmore Hill on the site of a possible hillfort. An approximately 100m. length of prominent earthwork bank with a substantial ditch on its western side survives within woodland, curving north and north-north-east between the crest of the east-west ridge of this part of Dinmore Hill and the precipitous north-facing scarp above the river Lugg and overlooking Hampton Court. Some 300m. to the east in a present-day pasture field apparent ditches showing on an aerial photograph under light snow cover seem to

indicate an arc of bank and ditch curving up the hillside south-eastwards from the scarp to the crest. This appears to mark a north-east facing length of bank and ditch that mirrors the north-west facing length in the woodland, and indicated the likelihood that there was some kind of hillfort-like enclosure here.

Figure 13. Time Team filming a section of the rampart on Dinmore Hill

An exploratory investigation of the site was undertaken in partnership with Channel 4's Time Team, and with the permission and co-operation of Hampton Court Estate, during July (Fig. 13). A geophysical survey traced the buried continuation of the 'north-eastern arc' of

bank and ditch right across the ridge to the precipitous slope marking the southern limit of the hilltop here. This survey also took in the whole 42-acre area of the hilltop framed by these present and former earthworks, but there were no indications of features other than those relating to post-medieval land management and former trackways. Three sections were cut across the three arcs of bank and ditch and a further seven trenches were opened within what would have been the interior of the enclosure. No features of prehistoric origin were recorded in these latter trenches, although metalling was found associated with post-medieval finds in one trench on the course of a former trackway.

The section dug across the southern limit of the surviving bank of the north-western arc of defences indicated some time-depth and complexity to its construction despite considerable post-medieval damage to the earthwork locally. The rock-cut ditch fronting the bank here was of impressive proportions and was lobed as if turning inwards at a former entrance. A trench to the south showed no sign of the continuation of the ditch and it can be assumed that the area marks an entrance into the former enclosure. A hedge following a course southwards here curves south-south-eastwards in such a way as to indicate the likely presence of the fourth, south-western, arc of bank and ditch in this area.

All three excavated ditch sections were different in character, but no artefacts were found that might provide a clue to their date of construction. The section across the south-east facing arc of the buried ditch revealed a sequence of infilling and the only finds and dates so far retrieved (although post-excavation analysis of soils and sediments continues) comprise a small piece of deer antler found well down in the ditch fill and above a deposit of large slab-like stones that may have fronted the bank here. A radio-carbon date was obtained from charcoal found within the basal ditch deposits well sealed by these stones, and this seemingly dates the construction of at least this part of the defences to the fourteenth century BC, in other words to the Middle Bronze Age. The character of the site is quite unlike the normal largely contour-defined hillforts of the Iron Age in central Herefordshire, and given the current radiocarbon dating result, its status should be regarded as uncertain (Dorling, P., Pryor, F.M. and Ray, K., HAR 270).

LEDBURY, St Katherine's/Master's House site (SO 707 376) [HSM 51639]

An investigation was undertaken by Herefordshire Archaeology as part of a community project with volunteers from England's Past for Everyone, Ledbury, project and other members of the local community, and with funding from Herefordshire Council. The purpose of the excavation was to provide information concerning the type, depth and survival of archaeologically significant deposits and features within the site prior to finalisation of the design of the proposed new Library. The excavation formed part of a project already underway in Ledbury which was investigating the growth of the medieval core of the town.

The fieldwork was carried out within the southern part of St Katherine's car park, to the west of the barn that stands just to the west of the chapel, and to the south of the Master's House, during January. The excavations revealed that much of the area investigated has been severely truncated by levelling during the post-medieval and early modern periods. This has resulted in only the very basal deposits of medieval features surviving in some limited areas of the site (Fig. 14). Despite this, an assemblage of medieval pottery was recovered from securely stratified pit deposits.

Figure 14. Investigating the base of a medieval wall at St Katherine's, Ledbury

Much of the northern half of the site had been truncated in the 18th century by the creation of a brick-lined rectangular pool dug into the natural marl, and the construction of associated garden features. The area had been further disturbed during the late 19th century by the demolition of the pool, the insertion of a brick cistern and drain, and landscaping to create new features including a tennis court. A post-medieval rubbish pit was encountered close to the disturbed area, from which a substantial quantity of bottle glass and pottery was retrieved. This material appears to have come from the Feathers Hotel immediately to the south of the site.

The base of an east-west aligned stone wall foundation was encountered running much of the length of the site, down its centre-line. The location, scale and form of this foundation suggested that it represented either the remains of a medieval burgage plot boundary running back from the High Street frontage, or that it was one of a succession of boundary walls to the medieval (and later) hospital. The presence of this wall footing, together with the remains recorded in the 2008 excavation and the current boundary wall between the site and the Feathers Hotel, has raised a number of possibilities concerning the medieval development of this part of the town (Atkinson, C. & Hoverd, T., HAR 263).

LEDBURY: An Urban Archaeological Profile (SO 707 376) [HSM 51679]
Research was undertaken towards establishing the archaeological profile of Ledbury, funded by the England's Past for Everyone project. It focused on the emerging archaeological identity of the medieval town arising from development-related field projects over the last twenty years and from Herefordshire Archaeology's community excavation projects of 2008–9. The morphological evidence for the development of Ledbury as a planned 12th-century episcopal borough, was re-examined with local volunteers measuring burgage-plot frontage widths. The work has been published as chapter 4 of *Ledbury: People and Parish before the Reformation*, ed. Sylvia Pinches (Phillimore 2010) (Baker, N., HAR 264).

LEDBURY, Dingwood Park linear earthwork (SO 723 350 to SO 725 340) [HSM 51838]
A 'substantial boundary bank' has previously been noted east of Dingwood Park Farm, and may have formed part of an early field system. A possibly-related earthwork comprises a once-massive west-facing lynchet that runs along part of a field boundary that still exists today, and extends south-wards to Haffield Park in Donnington parish. It has been suggested that this might have formed part of a post-Roman linear boundary work traceable on historic maps and via aerial photographs that extended as far south as the Leadon just to the east of Dymock. See Ray, K. 'Settlement to 600AD', chapter 2 in *Ledbury: people and parish before the Reformation*, ed. Sylvia Pinches (Phillimore 2010).

LEDBURY, Wall Hills hillfort [SAM HE15; HSM 557; 51839]
Two reconnaissance visits were made to Wall Hills multi-vallate hillfort as part of the research towards the Ledbury England's Past for Everyone project, with the kind permission of the owners. The fort is largely as described by H. G. Bull (*TWNFC*, 1883, pp.20–8} comprising an upper and lower enclosure defined by a suite of substantial earthwork banks and ditches. However, the earthworks of the lower enclosure are more striking than might be imagined from that description, despite the levelling of the earthwork bank cresting the north-facing scarps of the counterscarp bank in the same area.

The massively-incised and curving main entrance way into the outer enclosure on the northern side isolates an intriguing earthwork projection that on the H. H. Lines sketch-plan of the site produced in the 1870s is labelled both 'Bastion' and 'Church Yard'. Interpretive possibilities for this feature include that it may be the site of human burials dating from the Iron Age or, alternatively, from the English Civil War. Possibly, the 'church' reference could allude to the former existence of an otherwise undocumented early medieval or medieval chapel here. The Iron Age fort is discussed in the context of neighbouring later prehistoric sites in Ray, K. 'Settlement to 600AD', being chapter 2 of *Ledbury: people and parish before the Reformation*, ed. Sylvia Pinches (Phillimore 2010).

LLANVEYNOE, Olchon Valley Survey (SO 278 326) [HSM 44560]
The sixth season of a community project looking at the historical development of the landscape of the upper Olchon Valley was completed in 2009. During the first season of work early in 2004 a series of upland enclosures and their associated settlement were surveyed. Whilst almost certainly containing post-medieval elements, at least two phases of enclosure appear to be of considerably earlier date. The second season's work in 2005 concentrated on the survey of an extensive ruined farmstead and its associated holding at Abbey Fields. The field-name evidence together with the location of the holding and the unusually large size of the group of buildings suggest that it may have been one of the priory farms owned by Llanthony Priory.

The 2006 season saw the beginning of a detailed survey of individual land holdings. All boundaries, earthworks and ruined buildings were recorded by hand held Global Positioning System instruments and were described in detail. It rapidly became apparent that the scale and method of construction of field boundaries changed through time and although of considerable complexity, a basic phasing could be put together. Evidence for small scale medieval and post-medieval intensive arable was recorded in the form of ridge and furrow. Features relating to small-scale industrial processes were also recorded, such as saw-pits, quarrying and the production of lime. A series of leats and dams were also recorded which appear to have directed water out of natural water-courses towards a possible mill site. This detailed survey of land holdings continued in 2009 with further discoveries of lime kilns, ruined farmsteads and field barns (Hoverd, T., HAR 268).

LLANVEYNOE, Olchon Court excavation (SO 279 326) [HSM 51613]

A preliminary archaeological excavation was undertaken as part of a community project with local volunteers. The excavation examined a series of earthworks that had previously been recorded in close proximity to Olchon Court as part of the Olchon Valley Survey. The close environs of Olchon Court have long been associated with rumours of burials and were thought possibly to have been the site of a post-Romano-British monastery associated in Welsh tradition with St Beuno. Prior to the excavation a detailed earthwork survey was undertaken during which a low L-shaped bank was recorded which appeared partially to enclose and define a levelled area, possibly forming some kind of enclosure or fold-yard. A resistivity survey appeared to indicate the presence of masonry remains on the eastern edge of the levelled area and the possibility of some density of stone along the line of the earthworks.

Upon removal of the turf in the main excavation trench a tightly-packed stone structure was immediately revealed. Although only a small area was initially uncovered, this appeared to be roughly circular with either a curving dry-stone revetment wall or a coursed kerb enclosing it to the west. This kerbing survived to a height of 0.65m. and appears to define a cairn approximately 9m. in diameter. To the south of this feature were two large vertically-set stones arranged in a linear stance. The trench was extended westwards to reveal that the line indicated by these stones continued northwards with a contiguous line of much smaller, but also vertically-set stones that leaned outwards to the west. A further double-pitched line of identical small stones was revealed that abutted the kerbed cairn. The soil between these features appeared to comprise a former earthen mound that included cut turves. This soil deposit produced a small amount of prehistoric pottery sherds, flint flakes, and burnt bone. A small patch of burning was recorded close to the northern limit of the trench on what appears to be an old land surface underlying the turf mound. A further randomly-laid deposit of tightly-packed, angular stones underlay the soil deposit and abut the large upright stones and, eastwards, underlay the circular stone cairn.

Two further trenches were opened to the east of the main trench to try to define the eastern limit of the kerbed cairn. One of these was a 1m. square test pit which uncovered part of the eastern arc of kerbing. However, here the contained stone ‘fill’ was not revetted by dry stone walling but by large vertically-set stone slabs. A further trench was excavated to the east again, and this intercepted re-deposited turf and stone possibly derived from the structures immediately to the west.

The circular stone structure would appear to represent a well-preserved kerbed burial cairn of Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date. Interestingly this monument appears to have been adapted or enclosed by the addition of a small radial wall of double-set stones and by the formation or continuation of a further 'kerb' which does not appear to run parallel to the cairn. Such structures and sequence accord closely with the documented characteristics of early Neolithic long barrows in the 'Cotswold-Severn' tradition; the closest definite example of which is the wrecked chambered cairn known as Arthur's Stone at Dorstone. Additionally there appears to be an earlier phase of stone monument over part of which the circular cairn has been constructed, but the exact date of this is also at present unknown. Further investigation will be needed to characterise this remarkable monument more fully, and to determine whether the successive structures were built in the Early Neolithic or as a series culminating in an Early Bronze Age phase of construction (Hoverd, T., and Ray, K., HAR 269).

WHITCHURCH, New Weir excavations (SO 559 156) [HSM 1589]

Small scale excavations were carried out at New Weir Forge over a four week period during April and May. The main purposes were to provide information that can be used to inform the future management of the site through a Conservation Management Plan; to involve local volunteers in archaeological investigative works; and to provide information for future interpretation of the site. Little work has been carried out on forges of this date both in the county and in the Marches generally, so the information gained will be an important addition to industrial studies both locally and nationally.

Five areas were targeted, based in part on surface evidence and also on the results of a remarkably successful geophysical survey carried out prior to the excavation. Remains associated with the former use as an iron forge were revealed including two areas that may have been sites of the hearths themselves. Work will continue on these areas in 2010. Other remains were identified as possible water-management features and storage areas (Dorling, P., HAR 267).

Geology, 2009

By MOIRA JENKINS

GEODIVERSITY ACTION PLAN FOR HEREFORDSHIRE

In the spring of 2009 Herefordshire's Geodiversity Action Plan (GAP) was published by Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust (EHT). The Woolhope Club is one of the partners in the GAP. Herefordshire's GAP has been uploaded onto the Biodiversity Actions Recording System (BARS). It can be viewed on the website www.EarthHeritageTrust.org and is illustrated with colourful pictures showing the variety of Herefordshire's geological heritage. The GAP has eight objectives:

- to audit and record all the geodiversity resources
- to increase awareness, understanding and appreciation of the county's geodiversity
- to ensure that geodiversity is identified and included in regional and local strategies, plans and policies
- to provide guidance and support to those dealing with geodiversity, e.g. local authorities, landowners, organisations and individuals
- to protect, conserve and enhance geodiversity resources
- to further the opportunities for business involvement in geotourism and geodiversity
- to improve and sustain the links between geodiversity, biodiversity, archaeology and landscape
- to secure the continuity, sustainability and effectiveness of geoconservation and the GAP process in Herefordshire

'CHAMPIONS' PROJECT

The Earth Heritage Trust is also working on the Community Earth Heritage Champions Project. Working with landowners, 10 sites have been chosen in Herefordshire. Local communities will be involved and 'Champions' trained to help with conservation of the geological, biological and archaeological features of the sites. Events such as walks and talks will be organised. The sites in Herefordshire are Croft Castle Quarries, Bradnor Hill Quarry, Whitman's Hill Quarry, Little Doward, Coppet Hill, King Arthur's Cave and nearby quarry, Gardiner's Quarry, Loxter Ashbed Quarry, Rudge End Quarry and Linton Quarry.

WOOLHOPE CLUB GEOLOGY SECTION FIELD TRIPS

The Woolhope Club Geology Section has continued to run field trips to all parts of Herefordshire and adjacent areas. In 2009 visits were made to 'Classic sections in the Llandeilo Area' led by Dr John Davies and 'The First True Silurian' in the Erwood area led by Duncan Hawley. There was also a week-long field excursion to Shetland. This article describes some of the more interesting finds that have been made on field trips within Herefordshire.

In June, a visit by the Section was made to the working quarry at Leinthall Earls followed by a walk through Downton Gorge. Leinthall Earls Quarry works the Silurian Aymestry Limestone[1] and Leintwardine Formation on the south side of the Ludlow anticline. The quarrying

operations provide clear exposures which enable the paleoenvironment at the time of deposition to be studied. These rocks were formed in warm, clear shallow water. Stromatoporoids and corals such as *Favosites* and *Heliolites* with some *Halysites* were found, some of them upside down, showing that they had been ripped off from a neighbouring reef by currents. A rich variety of fossils was found including brachiopods, orthocones, crinoid ossicles, some trilobites, a few trilobites and a gastropod. In the Leintwardine Formation which lies above the Aymestry Limestone some beds have concentrations of shells. The photo shows a ripple marked bedding plane. The water currents, which formed the ripples, washed away the finer sediment and left concentrations of brachiopod shells.

Figure 1. Ripple marked shell bed at Leinthall Earls Quarry

WOOLHOPE DOME FIELD VISIT

In August a trip to the Woolhope Dome was led by Dr Robert Owens of the National Museum of Wales. Many interesting sites were visited in this classic area for geology. A few examples are given below. The earliest of the Silurian limestones in the area is the Woolhope Limestone Formation, which was seen in Rudge End Quarry. In Silurian times volcanoes erupted occasionally, possibly in the Mendips area. Layers of volcanic ash were deposited on the sea floor and covered with later sediments. With time the glass of the volcanic ash was transformed to montmorillonite clay, sometimes referred to as 'bentonite.' In Rudge End Quarry, one of these 'bentonite' clay bands was recorded. The photo shows that the bentonite clay is weaker than the rocks above and below and has been eroded into a cleft on the quarry face. This area of the quarry has been cleared by Hereford Nature Trust since the visit by the Woolhope Club Geology Section, and the geology can now be seen more clearly.

Figure 2. A bentonite band in Woolhope Limestone at Rudge End Quarry

Many rock horizons in the Woolhope Dome are rich in fossils. Brachiopods such as *Leptaena* and bryozoans were found on Shucknall Hill. In a trackside section between Tower Hill and Wooton, a specimen of the gastropod *Poleumita* and a headshield of the trilobite *Dalmanites* were found in the Upper Elton Formation

FIELD VISIT TO WHITMAN'S QUARRY

In October, a visit to look at the 'Geological Evolution of the North Malvern Area' was led by Richard Edwards. It included Whitman's Hill Quarry, which is described in the next article in this volume. Near Cowleigh Bridge is an interesting variety of rocks within a small area. Figure 3 shows a rocky hummock in the field, composed of Precambrian Malverns Complex igneous rocks. This is an isolated slice of the Malvern Hills which has been displaced by geological faults. The effect of the faulting can be seen as slickensides—rock surfaces polished with linear groves and ridges produced parallel to the grinding action of the earth as it moved.

Nearby, at the edge of the field is an exposure of the Lower Silurian Llandovery Cowleigh Park Formation. This consists of sandstones were laid down by a sudden surge of water from the adjacent landmass of the Midland Platform. They consist of coarse quartz conglomerates and pebbly mudstones between sandy layers.

Figure 3. Fault-bounded Precambrian exposure near Cowleigh Bridge

OTHER GEOLOGICAL NEWS

Credenhill Limestone

In August a visit was made to Credenhill with Jeremy Evans of the Woodland Trust to see the Bishop's Frome Limestone. To the north west of Credenhill, quarries along the hillside show the line of the outcrop of the Bishop's Frome Limestone Member. At one point an adit was dug so that the rock could be mined. This has now become unsafe and the entrance is fenced after a rock fall. It is possible to see muddy calcrete, a fossil soil, immediately below massive sandstone bands. Below this is the mature calcrete, the Bishop Frome Limestone. This was formed on an arid landscape about 400 million years ago when lime-rich groundwater was drawn to the surface and evaporated leaving behind concentrations of calcium carbonate as nodules at the base of the soil layer. The limestone on Credenhill is described as mature, meaning that the formation process continued without deposition of further sediment for many hundreds of years until a thick band of this chemical or pedogenic limestone was produced.

Peat on the Black Mountains

On the top of the Black Mountains are deposits of peat formed since the end of the Ice Age. The peat is being eroded by the large numbers of people walking the Offa's Dyke footpath, which forms the border with Wales at this point. In these days of climate change it is important to conserve peat since it stores the greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide. In October 2009, the Brecon Beacons National Park Authority used the picnic site at Black Darren temporarily as a depot for work to repair the damage. The photo (Fig. 4) shows a helicopter hovering there while it left an empty container and picked up one full of grit, which was then flown to the top of the hill. This was a very efficient operation, with the helicopter returning to reload every few

minutes. On the hilltop, a team of workers spread the gravel on the path or used stone blocks to pave it. They covered open peat exposures with netting and turfed some sections. The successful results of this conservation work were shown on the BBC programme Country File.

Figure 4. Helicopter at Black Darren picnic site working to repair the Offa's Dyke Path and to conserve peat deposits

Little Doward Dig

Also in October 2009, an archaeological dig was carried out on Little Doward by Herefordshire Council Archaeological Services. This, as well as features of interest to archaeologists, uncovered a buried limestone pavement in a higher horizon of the Carboniferous Crease Limestone Formation (now called Gully Oolite Formation) than the limestone pavement which had previously been recorded outcropping on Little Doward. The sloping surface of the excavated pavement showed colonial corals *in situ*. Also fragments of rock had been used to create a level surface for the floors of buildings. Among these rocks were remarkably well-preserved specimens of the colonial coral, *Lithostrotion*. The photo shows that the corallites have been closely packed together so that they are polygonal in cross section and look like a miniature columnar basalt. The horizontal septa can be clearly seen (Fig. 5).

Small Landslips

In June and December 2009 respectively Alan Stone and Rosamund Skelton visited Symonds Yat West and Kerne Bridge, to record the landslips which had occurred. There are very steep slopes in the area produced when the river Wye cut a gorge which deeply incises the landscape. The heavy rainfall during 2009 caused the surface layers to become unstable and slippage took place. The photo shows the landslip north of Kerne Bridge which caused a retaining wall to collapse. The road to Walford was closed to traffic until engineers could decide how best to

make this section safe (Fig. 6). Work was also needed to stabilise the hillside above a small road near Symonds Yat West.

Figure 5. Coral fossil found on Little Doward at archaeological excavation

Figure 6. Landslip north of Kerne Bridge

REFERENCES

[1] Geologists continue to employ the 19th-century spelling 'Aymestry' rather than the modern 'Aymestrey' since the former has become established in the international literature and formally accepted as the formation name. It was Murchison who first defined 'Aymestry Limestone' in his *Silurian System* in 1839.

Ball Structures

By MICHAEL ROSENBAUM

Although better known as a large site exposing the Middle Silurian Much Wenlock Limestone Formation which is predominantly composed of limestones with distinct thin bands of volcanic ash ('bentonite'), Whitman's Hill quarry also exposes 12m. of Coalbrookdale Formation mudstones beneath. These mudstones exhibit ball-like structures from 100mm. to over 2m. across (Fig. 1).[1] Similar features are known from sediments of similar age further west, at Wapley Hill.

Figure 1 (above). Large ball-like structure 2m. across in Whitman's Hill Quarry

Figure 2 (right). Ball-like structure on Wapley Hill

Discussion concerning the possible origin of such ball-like structures during a recent Geology Section field excursion to the North Malverns, led by fellow member Richard Edwards, revealed a diverse range of possibilities: spheroidal weathering; chemical reactions at joint intersections; reefs, slumps, loading and compaction were all mentioned, and doubts expressed! Close examination showed that the fissure spacing was much wider within each ball structure than outside, suggesting that the rock within the ball was stronger. Indeed, lightly tapping the rock with a hammer gave a clearer ring within the ball than without, also indicating a greater strength within. The more extensive fractures within the ball mimicked the shape of the ball, but no such fractures existed outside. Stress relief, possibly aided by shrinkage on exposure to the atmosphere followed by drying, is often responsible for causing slight dilation of fractures. This makes their presence more obvious and assists the spalling of loose fragments, a physical weathering process. In this way the shape of a ball structure would become clearer in an old, exposed quarry face.

The most likely explanation for the origin of these ball-shaped structures is localised growth of calcareous cement during early diagenesis. In other words, as mud settled on the Middle Silurian sea floor so creatures living within the mud would eat and digest its nutrients ("bioturbation") and bacteria within the pore water would thrive on the waste. With further burial, perhaps by only a matter of a few metres, the consolidation of the mud would reduce its permeability so much that pore water migration from the open sea effectively ceased and oxygen could no longer be replenished. The larger organisms would no longer be able to survive within the sediment at that depth. Bacteria reliant on oxidation would likewise cease to be able to live but species capable of living in reducing conditions could take their place.

However, the chemical stability of water in reducing conditions is quite different to oxidising conditions and so the solubility of chemicals within the pore water changes. Minerals like calcium carbonate can become less soluble and could begin to precipitate within the sediment pores, thereby beginning to create a cement, holding the mud particles together rather more strongly than can the surface tension and electrostatic attraction between the particles alone. Precipitation would be facilitated by a pre-existing calcite crystal acting as a nucleus for new growth, for instance a shell or coral. The cementation grows outwards, so creating a ball-like shape.

Meanwhile, sediment burial continues on the sea bed and the additional weight causes additional consolidation of the sediment beneath. The cemented sediment, being stronger, is able to resist such compaction more effectively and this exaggerates the ball shape as the platy mud particles outside get stretched around the cemented zone. This, together with the different stress relief patterns revealed by formation of fissures in materials of contrasting strength, helps reveal the presence of early cemented balls of mudstone once the rock has been exposed by quarrying and left to the etching effect induced by weathering for a number of years.

If enough cement is able to precipitate within a muddy sediment then a concretion can be formed. However, this process has not developed to a sufficient extent at Whitman's Hill, so the diagenetic structures have had to await exposure to be revealed.

Such evidence forms part of a wider picture of regional geography in the mid to late Silurian, consistent with this area being on the edge of a continent as the Iapetus Ocean closed. The tectonic forces caused fluctuations in crustal level, reflected by changes in environment of deposition as sea level changed, controlling the circulation of groundwater and thus diagenesis as the sediments became buried. However, there were also global changes in climate taking place due to the change in ocean circulation consequent upon the plate tectonics, in particular the development of glaciation. This locked up water within the glacial ice which caused worldwide falls in sea level. The impact of these various forces on the sediments of Wenlock times has just been re-evaluated using the principles of sequence stratigraphy, essentially by constructing graphs to indicate sea level change from a detailed analysis of the sediments exposed in quarries and boreholes.[2] Sea level change takes place at the same time in neighbouring areas, thereby facilitating a more refined method of correlation than can be achieved by fossil evolution or radiometric dating. Such techniques hold out the promise for more effective correlation between the scattered exposures of our marine Silurian heritage, hopefully enabling a greater understanding of the environmental conditions that affect this area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank members of the Geology Section of the Club for their spirited discussion concerning the evolution of the ball-like structures and to the encouragement from John Payne and Moira Jenkins to submit these ideas for publication.

Please note: Whitman's Hill Quarry is not open to visitors other than by prior arrangement with Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust. A detailed description of this quarry and an application form for arranging a visit can be seen online at: http://whitmanshill.earthheritagetrust.org/default.asp.

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[2] D.C. Ray, C.E. Brett, A.T. Thomas, & A.V.J. Collings, 'Late Wenlock sequence stratigraphy in central England', *Geological Magazine*, 147, 123-144 (2010).

Natural History, 2009

By BERYL HARDING

Again we have continued the work of recording such wildlife as is visible in the Herefordshire churchyards – a project started by Anthea Brian some years ago. This year thirty-three sites were visited in various parts of the county.

23 April: *The church of St Cuthbert, Holme Lacy*
This is situated just above the meadows of the Wye with the largely ploughed-out remnants of the nearby deserted medieval village. The fine medieval church with its 15th-century square tower is rich in 16th and 17th-century Scudamore family monuments. It has a single main body with an equally long south aisle both-covered with plaster tunnel-vaulting of the 1660s. The earliest part is the 13th-century east end.

The churchyard is enclosed with mortared stone walls, partly ivy-clad, with some yew hedging and large sycamores to the north. There is a churchyard cross and the wrought-iron gates came from nearby Holme Lacy House. Many gravestones are still *in situ* and well covered with lichen.

The turf is close-mown but nevertheless is herb-rich with 41 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 10 species of trees including large yews and one small millennium yew.

Bolstone church.
Situated beside Bolstone Court Farm it is amid rolling countryside. It was mostly rebuilt in 1877 by W. E. Martin, and later deconsecrated in 1995. It has no known dedication. This little-used chapel has two lancet east windows of *c*.1200 and a decorated Jacobean octagonal font. Over the north doorway a Norman hood-mould decorated with two monster's heads was incorporated in the 1877 rebuild.

It has a mixture of mortared and dry-stone boundary walls, a war memorial and a truncated 12th-century preaching cross – the same age as the original church. Many gravestones are still *in situ*.

The turf is mown and not very herb-rich with 26 species of herbaceous plants, 2 of grass and 3 species of trees. Coots were swimming in the nearby pool at the Court. Most of the Court roofs and barns are being rebuilt and will have bat lofts installed which will be periodically checked by an environmental officer.

The church of St Dubricius, Ballingham
Also in rolling countryside it is in a nearby village and beside a large farm. Its unusual dedication is met with in south-west Herefordshire. It is situated on a raised circular mound with a small stone tower having carved gargoyles and a recessed spire. The nave is 13th-century with a 15th-century chancel.

It is surrounded by both dry-stone and mortared retaining walls with a churchyard cross and many gravestones still *in situ* to the south with several table-top tombs.

The turf is mown and herb-rich with 37 species of herbaceous plants, (many primroses and cowslips were in bloom), 4 species of grass and 4 species of trees including Scots pine.

The church of St David, Little Dewchurch

In hilly, wooded surroundings it is situated in the village. Apart from the 14th-century west tower and its bell chamber the entire church was rebuilt by Preedy in 1869 although some old materials from the 13th- and 14th-century windows were re-used. There is a 14th-century preaching cross and the site is circular, perhaps Saxon or even Celtic in origin?

To the east is a mortared retaining wall above the road and also to the south, the remainder being dry-stone. The gravestones are variable in type.

The maintenance of the churchyard is closely linked to conservation so the grass is unmown till June to allow flower seed to set. There are snowdrops and wild daffodils in the spring and the later cow parsley or Queen Anne's lace grows tall providing shelter for frogs and slow worms. The several compost heaps below the surrounding trees have mat covers to shelter grass snakes and slow worms that feed on insects, slugs and woodlice. The church has been involved in the 'Watch that Snake' project with the Nature Trust—on 28 March three slow worms were recorded and by 4 April two snakes and eleven slow worms were found beneath the mats.

Thirty-two species of herbaceous plants were recorded by us with 5 of grasses and 6 of trees including both English and Irish yew and conifers. There was evidence of moles but nothing of bats in the church although nearby colonies feed in the churchyard at night. A logbook recording the wildlife seen is in the church—which noted the large influx of waxwings last winter.

The church of St Andrew, Dinedor

In a small village to the south-east side of Dinedor Hill, it lies on a raised mound. Rebuilt in 1867/8 by Kempson, the small west tower has a pyramidal roof and medieval masonry. It has a medieval bell frame.

The surrounding walls are of dry-stone with a drop to fields to the west and east and to the new churchyard, separated by iron palings. Dry-stone walls are obviously better than mortared once the base-soil has settled so providing good niches for wildlife. Most of the older graves have been moved to the edges.

The turf had not yet been mowed and was fairly herb-rich with 32 species of herbaceous plants including wall speedwell and the fern wall rue in the crevices, 2 species of grass, 4 of shrubs and trees including some fine English yew. There were swallows and nesting blackbirds, also evidence of moles and bats.

7 May: *The church of St John the Baptist, Eastnor*

On a Norman site, it was rebuilt by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1852 but retained its 14th-century west tower, Norman south doorway and the 13th-century arches of the arcade. It is situated by Eastnor Castle, within the small village and its green on land of the Somers family.

Surrounded by low mortared walls the square churchyard has a lych-gate and to the north is a large, roofed 3-sided seat with terracotta backing walls which had been moved from elsewhere. The gravestones are of mixed stone with some table-topped graves—most have been moved to the edges of the churchyard.

The turf is both mown and fly-mown and herb-rich with 40 species of herbaceous plants, 6 of grasses and 3 of trees, mostly yew, box and conifer, 6 species of birds were recorded including white doves in the belfry. There was evidence of rabbits and moles with bat droppings in the church.

The church of St Michael and All Saints, Ledbury

It is in the middle of town and regarded by Pevsner as 'the premier parish church of Herefordshire'. It is also the largest parochial church in the county and exceptionally rich in ornament. The earlier church was Norman and built in two phases, as can be seen from the remaining pier bases of the north arcade and the chancel windows, its length then was as long as the present church. Most of the exterior dates from 1280-1340 and inside are fragments of 13th- to 15th-century glass with 16th-century stalls. The present detached tower is 13th-century with lancet windows—one of seven such towers in Herefordshire and probably built for defence.

The boundaries have stone or brick walls - one with English garden wall brick bonding. The graves have a mixed variety of stones with some table-topped—the iron railings around these were removed during World War II as part of the war effort.

The turf is mown with 35 species of herbaceous plants, meadow grass only and 13 species of trees, many ornamental. Chiffchaffs were making their presence known. We were assured that there were no bats in the church; however, there are probably many in the tower.

The church of St Mary, Donnington

This is on an ancient site in a remote situation by Donnington Court farm and its pond. There is a moated site to the south and still further south are the remains of a deserted medieval village with a sunken way to Donnington Hall. There is also an Iron Age hillfort three-quarters of a mile to the south-east. The nave and chancel were probably *c*.1300 but all renewed and given a north aisle in 1862. The Victorian wooden bell turret has carved cut-outs.

The boundaries are marked by mixed hedges and trees with variable stone grave types. The newer graveyard to the east has Ledbury burials now taking place at Donnington.

The turf is closely mown apart from around patches of primroses and bugle. It is herb-rich with 38 species of herbaceous plants, 8 of grasses and 6 of trees and shrubs including the maple, hazel and elder of the hedges plus sycamores and yew trees. Four species of bird were recorded.

The church of St Michael and All Angels, Little Marcle

Situated in a hamlet beside the Roman road (A4172) it was rebuilt in 1870 by J. W. Hugall with a polygonal bell turret with a spire.

Its boundaries are marked with low mortared stone walls on three sides with a mixed hedge to the west. The stones of the graves are varied and most still *in situ* to the east with the new area to the north.

The turf is mown and fairly herb-rich with 36 species of herbaceous plants, 6 of grasses and 8 of trees, some of which are garden varieties. Four species of birds were noted and, as usual, there was evidence of bats in the church.

26 May: *The church of St Bridget, Bridstow*

It is likely that there was probably an early Welsh church on the site and dedicated to St Ffraid – the Welsh for St Bride or Bridget. Of the Norman church, only the chancel arch remains, with a later 13th-century north chapel and the square 14th-century west tower. In 1862 it was restored externally by T. Nicholson. Wilton village and Wilton Castle are part of Bridstow parish but now divided from it by the A40 and A49.

The boundaries consist of mortared stone walls. The gravestones are of varied stone with many moved peripherally to the north and south walls. A new graveyard has been made northward across the road.

The turf is mown and herb-rich with 40 species of herbaceous plants, 7 of grasses and 6 of trees with many sycamores and both English and Irish yews. Ten species of birds were recorded and evidence of moles and rabbits noted.

The church of St Mary, Foy

It is a large church as the parish extends beyond the Wye. Parts are 13th-century with the south porch, most of the windows and the west tower 14th-century. Following the terms of John Abraham's will of 1640, the east window was made in 1673 as a copy of the one in Sellack church. The church also contains one of Herefordshire's largest fonts.

The boundaries consist of hedges and mortared stone retaining walls—one to the east beyond which is the 18th-century vicarage and the other to the south overlooking the flood plain below. From this side is a wonderful view across the Wye to Sellack which we found difficult to leave! The gravestones are of variable stone types with only some still *in situ*.

The turf is mown with 36 species of herbaceous plants recorded, 6 of grasses and 3 of trees including several yews trimmed to ornamental shape. Evidence of bats were found in the porch and church. Twelve species of birds were noted including a spotted flycatcher and great numbers of hirudines (swallows, swifts and house martins) were swooping over the meadows below where feeding was obviously very good.

The church of St Tysilio, Sellack

This is situated opposite across the Wye in a small village. It has an unusual dedication for an English church with reputedly only seven such others in Wales and Brittany. Tysilio is said to be a Welsh prince of the 7th century who became an abbot of Meiford in Powys. With this dedication the site presumably held an early Celtic church followed by a later Norman one, although much of the Norman work on the north side has been obliterated in the Victorian rebuilding. The east window is a complete composition of 1630 including 15th- and 16th-century fragments – which is the one John Abrahams wanted copied. There is an early 14th-century short tower with a spire on very small broaches.

The boundaries consist of hedges, dry-stone and retaining mortared walls particularly to the north beside the Wye flood plain. The gravestones are of varied stone - some table-topped and many still *in situ*.

The turf is fly-mown to the north and east with the cuttings raked up. It is less herb-rich than some with 30 species of herbaceous plants plus the male fern and wall rue, 8 of grasses and 2 of trees including several yews. Eight species of birds were recorded with jackdaws nesting in the tower and swallows in the porch. There were many ant and mole hills.

The church of St John the Baptist, King's Caple

Situated in a large village, the church occupies part of what was the bailey of the Norman castle with remains of the motte across the road, which was part of a Roman road known as Caple Street until this century.

The earliest feature is a late 13th-century window to the south with several 14th-century windows in the nave and chancel and the late 14th-century Aramstone chapel to the north. The tower is of the same age with an upper 15th-century addition topped by a tall recessed spire

and a string course with ball-flower decoration. This steeple forms a prominent landmark to be seen for miles around.

The boundaries consist of wire fencing and mortared retaining walls to the road and to the north above a steep drop to a farm. The gravestones are of varied types, some of which have been re-laid into the main pathway from the gate.

The grass is close-mown with only 28 species of herbaceous plants, 2 of grasses and 8 of trees including yews, sycamore and small-leaved lime. A wildflower area has been left unmown to the north. Nine species of birds were recorded with bat droppings found in the church.

The church of St Catherine, Hoarwithy

This is a chapel attached to Hentland church, originally built in red brick in 1840 to save locals the journey to Hentland. Preb. William Poole was appointed vicar of Hentland parish in 1854. After he had inherited the Homend estate at Ledbury he started to beautify the church, firstly encasing it in local red sandstone and using the architect J. P. Seddon who chose south Italian Romanesque and semi-Byzantine styles, with an east campanile and cloister walk to the south. The east end of the church has an apsidal chancel Byzantine in design with marble pillars and gold mosaic decoration designed by George Fox and copied from the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna.

A hillside site, it is approached by a steep flight of steps from the east with boundaries marked by hedges and trees. The newer churchyard to the north is further up the slope and reached by more steps.

The turf is mown (with some difficulty!) and has 34 species of herbaceous plants, 9 of grasses and 2 of trees and shrubs plus a large monkey-puzzle tree.

9 June: *Putley church*

Another with an unknown dedication, Putley was a Saxon manor and is now a small village but there is no evidence of a Saxon church. The church has Norman origins and was built on or near the site of a Roman villa – it was rebuilt by Thomas Blashill in 1875. Various Norman pieces of masonry were re-used to block the north doorway and some 13th-century details are still visible in the chancel. There is also a fine Jacobean rood screen and pulpit.

The tower has a small steeple. There is also a war memorial and a 13th-century churchyard cross with carvings on each face and considered to be one of the finest of the hundred such crosses in Herefordshire. Unfortunately, it was mutilated either in the reign of Edward VI or by Cromwellian soldiers.

The boundaries are marked by post and rail fences all renewed in 2003. Some gravestones are still *in situ* with some table-topped.

The grass is close mown and herb-rich with 37 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 5 of trees including Scots pines and yews. Eight species of birds were noted including goldfinches. Signs of bats were present in the church.

Aylton church

This is a very small church near Aylton Court Farm and again with no known dedication. It was a chapelry of Ledbury until 1536, becoming independent in 1894. It was in the hands of the Wallwyn family of nearby Hellens then the Harley family from 1619 to 1900.

It is set on a low mound possibly a moated and defensive site with a small bell-turret. It has an unusually small nave 26ft. by 15ft. and chancel 16ft. by 15ft. The nave is Norman with some 13th- and 14th-century parts and a rood screen described by Pevsner as 'wildly assembled'! The south porch of 1654 has steps of sandstone showing excellent ripple marks. The boundaries are hedged with a retaining wall to the south. Some gravestones are still *in situ*.

The grass is close mown and not very herb-rich with 26 species of herbaceous plants, 3 of grasses and 6 of trees including yews. Five species of birds were noted.

The church of St Andrew, Pixley

This tiny 13th-century church is on a slight tump within the farmyard of Pixley and surrounded by orchards. Its nave and chancel are one with a tie-beam roof and a carved rood-screen. The chancel tiles are attributed to William Morris. Fragments of medieval glass remain in the windows and the south doorway has a very large 13th-century hinge! The Victorian bell-turret is of wooden shingles.

The boundaries are marked by hedges and some ivy-covered old walling. It is shaded to the east by a large yew. The gravestones are still *in situ* with a new churchyard made to the east below the tump also bounded by hedges and trees.

The turf is mown to the south but left unmown to the north. There are 34 species of herbaceous plants, 7 of grasses and 5 of trees. Nine species of birds were recorded including goldfinches but no evidence of bats were noted.

The church of St Bartholomew, Munsley

There is a mound to the south-west of the church, now only six feet high, and also the remains of a moat still partly water-filled. It was recorded in Domesday as Moneslie and there is evidence of its Saxon build with long and short work and visible herringbone masonry. The nave and chancel are both Early Norman with some original windows and a plain chancel arch. An illegible inscription slab in the south wall may be Saxon or Early Norman. Other windows and the nave doorways are 14th-century. A Victorian restoration took place in 1863. There is a good unbroken list of rectors displayed from 1305-1980.

The boundaries are marked by iron palings, hedges and retaining walls where needed. The gravestones have been moved out of the way as the turf is now cut by tractor with the mowings left. Even so, there are 32 species of herbaceous plants, 7 of grasses plus horsetails, and 6 of trees including large oaks and an enormous yew 27 feet in girth, considered the second largest in the county after that of Much Marcle, which is hollow unlike this one. Therefore, it was already 200 years old when the church was built and is still sending out new shoots at its trunk base. Five species of birds were noted plus the presence of bats in the church.

The church of St Philip and St James, Tarrington.

This church is situated on a mound on the hillside on the south side of the village. It is a well preserved Norman church, originally having an apse and owing much to its Victorian restorers. It contains fragments of medieval glass and a medieval font. There is a 3-stage 15th-century tower and bell-chamber.

The boundaries are a mixture of hedges and trees and dry-stone walls, some retaining the churchyard to protect the houses below. The 14th-century preaching cross has only its base remaining. Some gravestones are still *in situ* and to the east is the newer graveyard with access via a bridge over a deep sunken way.

The turf is mostly unmown with 38 species of herbaceous plants, 11 of grasses and 5 of trees with only 3 species of bird noted. There was evidence of bats in the church. In the churchyard is a conservation notice listing up to 64 species of herbaceous plants recorded over the year with 6 of grasses and that the churchyard is notable for the presence of grass snakes and slow worms.

The following three churchyards were recorded separately by Janet Parry:

***1* July:** *The church of All Saints, Coddington*
The church lies on a mound mainly surrounded by farmland. The round-headed doorways suggest a date of *c.*1200 and the nave and chancel both have several 13th-century lancet windows. The nave roof with its collar beams could also be of the 1200s. A dedication of three altars in the church took place in 1231. The west tower with its broach spire was built in 1865 by Kempson .

The boundaries are marked by banks surmounted by hedges apart from a low stone wall to the south and by the car park. Most of the gravestones remain *in situ* and there are the remains of a churchyard cross.

The turf is mown regularly with a daffodil patch left longer to the north. It is very herb-rich with 45 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 11 of trees including 7 large yews, 7 species of birds were recorded with bat droppings noted in the porch.

***2* July:** *The church of St John the Baptist, Mathon*
Also on a mound amid farmland. The nave is early Norman with some herringbone masonry visible on both sides indicating an earlier Saxon building, and both doorways have a plain tympanum apart from rope mouldings along the foot.

The boundaries are marked with a mixture of metal fencing and banks with wall rue growing in the spaces of some the old walling. There is one stone retaining wall by the road. Some of the older gravestones have been moved against the wall.

The turf is mown more closely to the south with 33 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 10 species of trees including both English and Irish yews – one of the former being very large. The presence of bats and 5 species of birds were noted.

4 July: *The church of St James the Greater, Colwall*
The church is in a rural setting with woodland around. It was once in the village but many dwellings have gone with the present settlement concentrated nearer the station. This dedication was the third most common in medieval England after St Mary and St Peter, its popularity perhaps due to the great pilgrim church of St James at Compostela. The earlier church was Late Norman as can be seen from work in the south doorway. Both the north and south aisles are 13th-century and there is a fine old 14th-century nave roof with collar beams and two tiers of wind braces.

The tower with square buttresses projects on the south-west corner being 14th-century below and 15th-century above. There is a churchyard cross with steps and shaft base only remaining. The boundaries are marked by iron and wooden fencing combined with mostly hawthorn hedges and a stone wall to the east. Most of the gravestones are still *in situ*.

The turf is mown shorter around the church and left longer elsewhere with a wild daffodil patch. It is herb-rich with 38 species of herbaceous plants, 3 of grasses and 11 species

of trees including hornbeam, large yews and conifers, 5 species of birds and evidence of bats were noted. A wildlife book is kept in the porch for the recording of plants.

7 July: *The church of St Peter, Llanveynoe*
This is a remote church beautifully situated amid the hills of the Olchon valley with views across to the Darrens. The single chamber is medieval but has 19th-century and 20th-century windows. There are two 11th-century panels—one with a very simple depiction of the crucifixion about 4ft. high. Outside there is a bell-cote and a simple Celtic churchyard cross.

The boundaries consist of hedges with a mortared wall to the west almost abutting the church wall. The newer gravestones are to the east.

The turf is mown and very herb-rich with 43 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 9 of trees including Scots Pine, 4 species of bird were recorded with bat droppings in the church but it was too cold for butterflies.

The church of St Mary, Craswall
In a very remote position in the Black Mountains this building has a single nave and chancel with a simple bell turret. The doorways are 13th-century and 15th-century with a 14th-century east window. Outside a seat runs long two sides of the church and there are the remains of the churchyard cross and its base.

The boundaries are of post and fence with hedges and surrounded by trees. There no graves as it is a chapelry of Clodock. The grass is mown but is not very herb-rich with 25 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 10 of trees including beech, oak and whitebeam. Four species of bird were noted and also the presence of bats in the church.

The church of St Michael, Michaelchurch Escley
Within the village this small church consists of a single chamber with a Norman nave and a 16th-century chancel. The wagon roof with small bosses is late medieval. On the north wall is a late 15th /16th-century mural of Christ of the Tools or Trades depicting a figure of Christ surrounded by tools, scissors, shears, axe, plough and flail. This subject is rare and one of fifteen such left in England – it had been lime-washed over by Puritans but since restored. There is also a lovely roof and rood screen with linen-fold panels at its base.

The solid west tower was built in 1897 and the churchyard is surrounded by a mixture of hedges and walls. Most of the gravestones are still *in situ.*

The grass is mown with 38 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 5 of trees with hornbeam and yew, 5 species of birds were recorded and evidence of bats in the belfry noted.

The church of St Mary, Cusop
Although much restored the nave is Norman with a blocked original doorway to the north having a huge lintel. There is also a plain chancel arch. The decorated tub-shaped font is also Norman. The 14th-century roof is heavily timbered with scissor beams and typical of the Welsh Marches. It has a central tower with the west front restored by St Aubyn.

The boundaries consist of retaining walls to the north and west with fences and hedges elsewhere. Many gravestones are still *in situ*.

The turf is mown and very herb-rich with 41 species of herbaceous plants, 4 of grasses and 3 of ferns—wall rue, hart's tongue and polypody. There are 16 species of trees including lime and yews. With so much tree cover 14 species of birds were recorded.

21 July: *The church of St Mary Magdalene, Little Hereford*
A Norman site as can be seen from stone fragments in the north wall, otherwise the nave, part of the chancel and the pyramidal west tower are all 13th-century. The narrow chancel arch has a rood stair within it and the chancel was further extended in the 14th-century with the nave re-roofed.

To the south is the motte and ditch of the adjacent castle. It is said that large earthworks were thrown up around the church, castle and beyond by King Stephen to give a protective enclosure to his army during the civil wars of the first half of the 12th-century .

The churchyard boundaries are mostly wire fencing with hedges. Most gravestones are still *in situ* with a newer graveyard to the north.

The turf is part mown and part rough-cut and very herb-rich with 44 species of herbaceous plants, 6 of grasses and 12 of trees including sycamore, yew and cedar. It was a wet and windy day so birds tended to take shelter in the trees. Evidence of bats were noted in the church.

The church of St Michael, Brimfield
The village was called Brumefelda in Domesday and Bremelfelda in 1123. It has an un-buttressed west tower with a timber-framed upper stage—probably 17th-century. The pyramidal roof, nave and chancel were rebuilt in the 19th century. This type of roof is a distinctive feature of many church towers nearby.

The boundaries consist of railing fences and hedges with some half-mortared walls to the west. Some gravestones to the south west has been moved to the periphery.

The turf is mown and fly-mown with 34 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses and 6 of trees. A badger sett was noted to the north east.

The church of St Bartholomew, Richards Castle
This little-used original parish church lies on a hill above much of the village with wide reaching views. It is beside the castle founded by Richard fitzScrob in 1050 and has a detached tower *c.*1300 to the west, also with a pyramidal roof. The church has a Norman nave with two original windows in the wall. The chancel masonry is probably 1190-1200 but the windows are 14th-century, so too is the south aisle with later additions elsewhere. There are fragments of old glass and a 13th-century coffin lid marked in high relief with a foliated cross.

The church was abandoned in 1893 when the new church was built elsewhere and is now in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust.

The boundaries consist of mortared walls. A newer churchyard has been built to the south below the main site.

The turf is mown with 35 species of herbaceous plants including many snowdrops in the spring, 6 of grasses 3 of ferns and 9 of trees.

By now it was both wet and cold so the idea of any further recording of other churches was abandoned.

4 August: *The church of St John the Baptist, Whitbourne*
It is next to Whitbourne Court with a moated site nearby. The remains of the Late Norman church is to be seen in the south doorway with later work elsewhere from the 13th to the 15th centuries. There is a Norman font decorated with interlocking rosettes. The 14th-century tower has diagonal buttresses and a crenellated top.

Retaining mortared walls mark the boundaries. The lych-gate is medieval and restored in 1915. Some gravestones are *in situ* to the south while the majority have been moved to line the walls.

The grass is mown and herb-rich with 37 species of herbaceous plants, 4 of grasses and 12 of trees including lime, beech, horse chestnut, yew and a gingko altogether giving a parkland appearance to the churchyard. The presence of bats in the church was noted.

The church of St James the Greater, Stanford Bishop

This church stands alone with the faint remains of a deserted medieval village around. Originally Late Norman with two of its windows, two doorways and its font all *c*.1190. The short broad tower with a pyramidal roof has retained some of its narrow Norman windows and is early 13th-century. The nave and chancel is all one with a Jacobean pulpit. A simple chair stands in the chancel, said to have been used by St Augustine at the 2nd synod of AD 603 when he met the British/Celtic bishops to discuss and reconcile the procedural differences between their church and that of Rome—but see *TWNFC*, 1942, pp.179-186, where the chair is considered to be much more recent..

The boundaries of the circular churchyard are marked by hedges and low walls and hedges. By the entrance gate is a narrow standing stone some 3-4ft. above ground.

Some of the grass is mown with 34 species of herbaceous plants, 5 of grasses with some bracken and harts tongue, 11 of trees including oak, wild service trees by the porch and yews one of 24ft. girth and perhaps the fifth largest in Herefordshire. An accurate estimate gives its age as 1,200 years. Evidence of rabbits and moles was noted with a wasps' nest in one old molehill.

The church of St Giles, Acton Beauchamp.

St Giles was a hermit who died *c*.710. This church, like the previous one, also stands on its own and is approached via a steep grassy lane flanked by rowans, all heavy with berries. The short west tower has a pyramidal roof. The original Norman church was rebuilt in 1819 in Georgian style with a single nave and chancel and large windows of plain glass giving a light and airy feel to the building. The re-inserted lintel to the south doorway in the tower is formed from a finely carved 9th-century cross and shaft with various creatures depicted. There is also a 15th-century limestone font with the lid damaged during the Reformation.

The boundaries consist of wire fences and tall hedges**.** Some graves are still *in situ*. The grass is fly-mown and left long around the church but is not very herb-rich with 30 species of herbaceous plants, 3 of grasses and 5 of trees. The many service trees indicate a woodland site in the past with one very fine specimen remaining. In the south-west corner is the tattered remnant of a once large yew that could predate any building on the site.

The church of the Holy Virgin, Much Cowarne

The circular churchyard is on a mound with an apparent ditch and enclosed on three sides. Nearby is the site of three medieval fishponds. There was a Saxon village whose record in Domesday shows it as having the fourth largest number of villagers in Herefordshire. It has been suggested that the mound could have been a Saxon moot or meeting place. The church originally had two aisles but that of the north was demolished leaving arcade remains visible on the outside. The wide south aisle, the chancel and perhaps the vestry are *c*.1300 with a chancel east window of the late 14th century. There is the defaced remains of an effigy of a

knight in armour, and a tomb chest and effigy of Edmund Fox and wife of 1617, against which are the carved kneeling figures of their ten children, with three babes in a cradle at the end.

The west tower is early 13th-century and has louvred shutters and one Norman window, also one central buttress of 1577 with later Victorian ones added. It had a wooden shingle-clad steeple which was struck by lightening in 1840, burning out part of the tower and nave. The boundaries consist of a mix of fences and tall hedges with some mortared walls. There is the remains of shaft and base of the churchyard cross. Some gravestones are still *in situ* to the south with a new graveyard to the north.

The grass is mown around the graves with wild flower areas unmown so it is very herb-rich with 48 species of herbaceous plants, 8 of grasses and 9 of trees. There was evidence of bats in the church and moles outside. Lacking our ornithology expert on this day few birds were recorded, but as it was in August there would have been little bird song as most would have finished nesting and were by now moulting which always means that they 'keep a low profile.'

WHITMAN'S HILL QUARRY

A survey of the quarry was carried out on 28th July to monitor the degree of plant recovery during the last year, after the clearance in 2006 to show the geology more clearly. Access is not available before the end of July when the young peregrines have flown. Three chicks had been observed to hatch and were well feathered by August but only two were definitely seen to leave. There has been some nearby disturbance by youths again this year but, unlike 2008, the nest was not robbed. A buzzard also nested in the quarry successfully rearing two young. The male had been seen earlier looking for an easy meal from the peregrine's nest!

Having been a wet summer, the vegetation had increased considerably in numbers and size of plants with an overall plant count of 67 species compared with 48 in 2008. *Buddleia* is covering more of the inaccessible slopes, several are white-flowered, and there is a good growth of St John's wort, ragwort, ploughman's spikenard and wild strawberry on the lower slopes, the quarry floor and on some bunds. The smaller silver birches are becoming better established with many ash seedlings springing up and a few acorns have taken root. There are 11 species of trees and shrubs and 46 species of herbaceous plants plus 5 of grasses, some of which have appeared this year including tufted hair-grass and fern grass—these will help accelerate soil build up. More woodland plants such as primrose and weld have crept in from the edges with the increase of soil and where it is shadier. Other new plants noted were glaucous sedge, ground ivy, wood spurge, musk mallow, black medick and ivy. Others may have been missed owing to our delayed access to the site.

At the same time, surface and mid-depth sweeps were made in the three ponds for wildlife. Such investigations have been made more difficult since protective bunds were built around them to prevent visiting school children from falling in.

Pond A is very shallow at its entrance but sweeps revealed little life apart from greater and lesser water boatmen and also whirligig beetles at the surface. The greater (*Notonecta*) boatmen species are easily recognised by their habit of swimming upside-down using their hind legs, fringed with long hairs, as their main swimming organs. The lesser boatmen (*Corixid*) species swim normally using their hind legs as oars, but as their bodies are surrounded by fine hairs holding a thin layer of air for buoyancy, they need to cling to plants or

stones to remain below water when desired. They can fly well once they have broken through the water surface layer. Many mosquito larvae had hatched out leaving floating cases so obviously many others had provided food for the surface feeders. Towards the cliff sides the pond was deeper with a growth of bulrushes and *Potamageton* species (probably the broad-leaved pondweed). A dragonfly was observed landing on the plants, possibly to lay eggs. With the aid of binoculars young newts were also observed.

Pond B is a very deep pool and again, with binoculars, young newts were seen but species identification was not possible. Sweeps produced mayfly larvae, *Daphnia* (water fleas), copepods and various small midge larvae which appear as tiny worms, all of which provide the base of the food chain. One sample of stonewort, *Chara*, was retrieved with an unoccupied caddis-fly case attached. As it only grows in calcareous waters the ponds of an old limestone quarry is ideal. Equally in such waters one would expect the presence of various water snails, however, there was insufficient vegetation where we sampled to provide them with food or shelter.

Figure 1. Whitman's Quarry - pond C

Pond C is also much deeper towards the far cliff face. It showed numbers of young newts, mayfly larvae, daphnia and tiny leeches resting on the stones below. Large numbers of leaves falling into these ponds from the surrounding woodland will provide food for bacteria, the true base of the food-chain, upon which the filter feeders such as daphnia will then feed. There has been an improvement in plant and animal numbers.

Whitman's Wood

The woodland is long-established and part of ancient woodlands along the ridge. Overall, there are 22 species of trees and shrubs and 38 of herbaceous plants and grasses. The Herb Paris has continued to increase with 77 spikes noted in May. The greater butterfly orchid has appeared and wild garlic and bluebells continue to make a great display in late April.

Figure 2. Whitman's wood location

Figure 3. Greater butterfly orchid

Being at the edge and above the quarry, visits do not disturb the nesting peregrines so some ten visits have been made by Janet Parry from April into the summer to monitor the bird and dormouse boxes for the fourth year. Three unproductive boxes have been moved further into the shelter of the main woodland. Of the12 bird boxes, 8 were occupied and 10 blue tits plus 46 great tits successfully fledged but no nuthatches this year. Of the 6 dormouse boxes, 3 were used by blue tits producing another 26 fledglings, totalling 82 young. Compared with previous years (89 in 2008, 79 in 2006, and 87 in 2005) an average of 84 p.a. seems satisfactorily constant.

One dormouse nested successfully in a dormouse box and the occupants were regularly seen – two at the same time in August. Another nest was made in a different box while a wood mouse made use of a bird box but the 'owners' of these were not seen. It is largely a matter of luck as to whether the recorder and the occupants are around at the same time. The above records have been passed to the appropriate bodies.

The anticipated fungus foray did not occur as the autumn was dry although quite a few fungi fruited earlier during the wet summer. We may achieve this next year.

Ornithology, 2009

By BERYL HARDING

Early winter in 2009 was unusually cold, wet and windy. January began cold with night temperatures within the county dropping to well below -5ºC, so continuing the coldest early winter for 30 years. Even on the sunniest days cold winds persisted. The 60mm.of rain was spread evenly throughout the month. Then followed the coldest February for twenty years with the first half of the month again having frost, snow and cold winds. The latter half became milder and dry with temperatures even rising to 12ºC.

With the advantage of many eyes to watch out for predators, to locate good feeding grounds, or safe places to settle for the night, flocking is a good strategy. Hundreds of starlings were reported in various parts of the county during January and February in flight before settling down and with their nightly 'murmurations'—600 were noted at Skenhill on 7 January and 40,000 near Pencoyd church on 25 January! Flocks of up to 50 siskins were seen in widespread locations from January to March and a flock of 270 linnets were noted at Garway on 2 January. Reports of the usual large flocks of migrant winter thrushes were reported before Christmas and into the New Year with groups of 150-200 of both fieldfare and redwing plus mixed flocks of both. One report was of 'thousands' of redwing along the Hereford/Shropshire border on 1 November—presumably still arrival flocks before their dispersal into smaller groups. There had been an influx of waxwings over the winter—some fifteen were reported still feeding on mistletoe berries on 5 April, perhaps getting a good last feed before moving northward.

The RSPB Big Garden Bird Watch held during the last weekend in January had over half a million people participating throughout the country, making it the biggest bird watch in the world. For the first time in the survey's thirty-year history the long-tailed tit came into the top ten species recorded—up 88% from the previous count. The house sparrow remained at number one despite having declined by 63% since the survey began in 1979 and the starling remained number two even though its population has dropped by 79% during the last thirty years. Goldfinches dropped out of the top ten despite their numbers steadily increasing. (They must have been elsewhere and not in gardens that weekend!) Wood pigeons have increased by 825% and collared doves by 414% since the survey began. The top ten UK bird species recorded in gardens over thhe survey period were: house sparrow, starling, blackbird, blue tit, chaffinch, wood pigeon, collared dove, great tit, robin and long-tailed tit.

The first two weeks of March were dry and sunny with chiffchaffs heard calling and giving promise of approaching spring although they may have been those over-wintering here from eastern Europe rather than the first migrants. Also, one or two swallows were recorded by Hereford Ornithological Club (HOC) members in mid-month. Were they early arrivals or over-wintering birds?

There had been bumper crops of apples and pears giving windfalls for game birds and the many fieldfares and other thrushes but the bitter new year pushed many other birds into gardens for both shelter and feeding. The Garden Bird Feeding Survey was first launched in 1970/71 by the British Trust for Ornithology (BTO) and still records those species visiting gardens each year. When first launched an average of 16-17 different species came for food with the present average rising to 18-23 species. During the cold snap an impressive 89 species

took food or water provided in gardens with robin, blackbird and blue tit continuing to occupy the three top positions. Those declining in number are the starling, house sparrow, song and mistle thrush while those species increasing in number are the coal tit, goldfinch, long-tailed tit and brambling. The top predator in easily half these sites was the sparrowhawk but the buzzard, raven and even the red kite continue their expansion into gardens.

April was average in temperature but drier than usual. The mildness led to a rise in the insect population which augured well for bird-feeding but the dry weather led to more birds seeking water. It has been noticed that some greenfinches appear lethargic and a little overweight – but these are the characteristics of the disease *trichomonosis.* Infected birds have difficulty feeding because of internal lesions which cause swellings around the throat and producing wet bills. The disease is caused by a protozoan parasite and typically peaks in summer or when it is dry. It was first reported in finches in 2005 and has increased with one in five individuals dying as a result of outbreaks in various parts of the country. It is transmitted by close contact with infected birds, such as when feeding from bird tables or, even more likely, when drinking, so it is essential that feeders and bird baths are kept as clean as possible.

In the first half of May temperatures gradually rose to a maximum of 24ºC by the end of the month, but the two weeks of mid-May had heavy rain which badly affected breeding birds in both open nests and bird boxes. Wet parents can chill the hatchlings while brooding them so if the chicks are not sufficiently well feathered subsequent deaths can occur.

The damp and rainy breeding seasons of the last two years continued into 2009. The nest box results from the Herefordshire Nature Trust scheme were as follows:

Results for last the last nine years. (No recording in 2001 due to foot and mouth disease)

	2009	**2008**	**2007**	**2006**	**2005**	**2004**	**2003**	**2002**	**2000**
Sites recorded	30	29	33	30	27	29	23	16	24
Boxes available	939	961	943	983	825	766	824	567	842
Boxes used	508	519	639	578	510	467	431	282	423
% used	**54.1**	**54.0**	**67.8**	**58.7**	**61.8**	**60.9**	**52.3**	**49.7**	**50.2**

The box take-up has been less for the last two years perhaps due to a population decrease after two fairly poor breeding seasons.

Species Results for 2009

Species	**Sites**	**Nests**	**Eggs**	**Hatched**	**Fledged**	**% Success**
Pied Flycatcher	13	93	525	434	353	67.2%
Blue Tit	29	148	1736+	1473+	1270+	73.1% +
Great Tit	30	200	1320	1190+	994+	75.3% +
Coal Tit	1	1	6	6	6	100%
Nuthatch ,,	7	14	58	56	51	87.9%
Redstart	4	7	35	29	28	80.0%
Wren	1	?	?	?	?	No access

Three further Nuthatch nest boxes were taken up in Lea & Paget's reserve but the results were not monitored so the total number of sites were 10 with 17 nests.

The Trust is grateful to the Recorders for their dedication and for the time taken recording. They cannot always visit all the nests to record each weekly change, hence the + .

Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species

Species	2009	2008	2007	2006
Pied Flycatcher	67.2% - 13 sites	63.0% - 13 sites	41.4% - 12 sites	96.7% - 16 sites
Blue Tit	73.1% - 29 sites	64.7% - 29 sites	63.6% - 33 sites	90.5% - 30 sites
Great Tit	75.3% - 30 sites	68.1% - 29 sites	61.2% - 32 sites	85.5% - 30 sites
Marsh Tit	-	-	50.0% - 1 site	100% - 4 sites
Coal Tit	100% - 1 site	56.2% - 2 sites	100% - 1 site	-
Nuthatch	87.9% - 7 sites	73.2% - 8 sites	77.9% - 11 sites	87.0% - 9 sites
Redstart	80.0% - 4 sites	63.1% - 2 sites	85.7% - 3 sites	100% - 2 sites
Wren	? - 1 site	? - 1 site	Failed - 1 site	50.0% - 1 site
Tree Creeper	-	-	100% - 1 site	100% - 1 site

Some recorders considered that there were poorer great tit results this year compared with blue tits, however others seemed to find both producing average results. At Nupend reserve it was noted with some amazement that there were twenty-two eggs in one box and that both blue and great tit parents were bringing in food. Finally, six great tit and four blue tit young flew successfully. One wonders how that number of young and the parents found room for all this activity within the confines of a single nest box.

Pied Flycatcher only Results

2000	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
2002	14 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
2003	14 sites	109 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
2004	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
2005	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success
2006	16 sites	88 nests	520 eggs	503 fledged	96.6% success
2007	12 sites	107 nests	636 eggs	263 fledged	41.4% success
2008	13 sites	81 nests	582 eggs	367 fledged	63.0% success
2009	13 sites	93 nests	525 eggs	353 fledged	67.2% success

Pied flycatchers take to nest boxes very well and as a result the species range expanded during the 1990s, but now trends show local populations are declining. The figures above show that the number of nests are becoming less since 2006 which could imply that that the change may be due to fewer birds returning from their wintering grounds – whether due to difficulties there or during their flight en route is uncertain.

The fledged results seem average despite this. In some cases, the bigamous males fertilised females who then laid eggs but subsequently lacked full feeding support from their partner so the nest was later abandoned or the chicks died from starvation. At Whitney Wood one ringed male pied flycatcher was observed ‘serving’ two nests with apparent success.

Long-tailed tits are an exception to many songbirds. They had 16% more chicks than normal in 2008 even with that rainy summer so it is to be hoped that this may have happened again in 2009 with its equally wet weather. The reason for this success may be due to their breeding habits – pairs start building their intricate domed nests of feathers, moss, hair and lichen in late February or early March laying 7-12 eggs. The young have then fledged by mid-May and are safely away into woods and gardens before the heavy summer rains experienced during the last two or three years. They are also co-operative breeders, helping to raise the

young of relatives. They are often known by the delightful local names of ‘bumbarrels’ and ‘mumruffins’!

June continued the warm spell of May with temperatures rising to 27ºC which gave much improved conditions for birds trying for later or second broods but July was mostly cool, cloudy and wet with 120mm. rain. It was recorded as the wettest July since 1888 with a national average rainfall of 149mm. Despite the much vaunted ‘barbecue summer’ promised by meteorologists, the weather continued disappointingly overcast and cool into August - so again the caterpillar crop will be adversely affected for next year.

Cuckoos, which seem to be diminishing in number, arrive early in April and, free from the constraints of rearing their young, also leave early moving southward in July and have all departed by September at the latest. Lack of sightings on their migration routes on the North African coast suggests that they may fly directly from the Mediterranean shores to tropical Africa in one journey of perhaps 3,500 km.

In the late 1960s and 1970s summer migrant species such as whitethroat underwent massive declines caused by an extended period of drought in the savannahs of the Sahel (immediately south of the Sahara). Since then weather conditions there have improved and such species are stable, or even increasing in numbers. However, over the last fifteen years those such as the pied flycatcher and wood warbler that winter further south in moist woodlands or forests have undergone a decline of 60% and others such as the spotted flycatcher, garden warbler, nightingale, turtle dove and whinchat are showing worrying recent downward population trends. The BTO and RSPB are now beginning detailed survey work in west African countries to monitor results which should help towards our future understanding of these population problems. This work will be in collaboration with European and African scientists and conservationists

But it is not all bad news, as last year showed a population rise for some of our smallest birds such as the goldcrest and long-tailed tit – possibly due to some milder winters prior to 2008. Both medium-distance migrants such as the chiffchaff and blackcap are doing well and increased by 36% and 57% respectively. Blackcaps are showing a seasonal pattern of garden use which is obviously greatest during the winter period. Those continental birds that arrive here in the autumn seem to be part of a population evolving a different or newer migration strategy moving west rather than south and making greater use of gardens, mostly in south-west England and the west Midlands, and with urban or suburban gardens used more than rural ones, probably related to the ‘urban heat-island effect.’ Last autumn UK observatories recorded firecrests arriving in unprecedented numbers.

In winter all robins, both male and female, are rivals with both sexes singing and any intruder will be ‘displayed at’ or fought. Those robins seen feeding in the winter are not necessarily those that will breed there later although they are still very territorial and quarrelsome. In early spring the female stops singing and when approaching the territory of a singing male will lower her head to avoid advertising her red breast. Once the territory holder sees her submissive behaviour he will recognise her as a possible mate and they can then begin to form a bond and breed. If both adults survive the winter the same pair will often re-mate. Although generally monogamous, up to 20% male robins may father young by more than one female so the several young in one nest may have a different father from the one feeding them.

They are among the fastest nest builders of the bird world often completing it within a day and using unusual nest sites such as shed corners, drawers or discarded kettles and pots. Strangest of all was the WWII robin that built its nest behind the engine of an aeroplane. The

female incubated the eggs while the plane was on the ground and the engine heat continued the job in flight. The young evidently fledged but there is no account of how feeding took place during these sorties!

In spring, urban robins can sing any time of day or night, probably due to the effect of street lighting, or if daytime urban noise is great. It is as if they know they will be heard after dark when noise competition is greatly reduced, consequently their song has often been mistaken for that of nightingales.

With their long scimitar wings swifts are designed to remain constantly in the air, remaining in flight for the first two to three years before being old enough to return northward to nest and breed. Their nest site needs to be high so they can gain momentum for flight as they are unable to take off from the ground and when returning to the nest they have to manoeuvre rapidly to fold their wings at exactly the right time – a bird with a wingspan of 40 cm. can enter a hole only 3 cm across! They return here to their breeding sites in late April/early May and leave once the young have fledged in mid July/August. As far as we know, they winter south of the Sahara although some ringed UK birds have been reported in Tanzania in east Africa across to the Congo.

Swifts are declining in numbers. The reason for this may not be due to difficulties in their over-wintering grounds, although the proposed survey work in West Africa could help to understand this. A recent RSPB. survey estimated that 95% of the U.K. swift population nest in open eaves, under loose roof tiles and in holes in walls, all of which are being eliminated by buildings repairs and the subsequent sealing of eaves. New properties obviously lack such possible sites. Swift nests are protected when in use but can be legally destroyed outside the breeding season. Protection similar to that for bats would ensure their future in what is becoming an increasingly hostile environment.

A four-point plan proposed by the RSPB ‘Swift Protection’ is to:-

a) Preserve existing nest sites.
b) Replace those sites compromised by building work.
c) Build suitable places into as many new buildings as possible.
d) If all else fails, install nest boxes at suitable sites.

September continued the dry conditions of August and caused drying out of grass and plants which were somewhat relieved by the October rain. The dry conditions seemed to cause a rise in the spider population so providing extra food for birds. During the first weekend in October there were westerly winds of up to 70 m.p.h.—in fact the autumn was the third windiest since 1914.

Birds were beginning to flock as winter approached with 200 jackdaws noted in the Gamber meadows at the end of October and 350 at Brockley Lodge on 6 November. On 1 December 100 rooks were feeding on the Gamber Meadows – a nicely damp site with plenty of invertebrate food for those with strong beaks. A mixed corvid flock of 250 jackdaws and rooks were seen on the Wye meadows at Ballingham and also 350 jackdaws on Paytoe Meadows. Pied wagtails are again roosting at Morrison’s in Hereford—350 were noted in December.

Various birds scarce to the area have been recorded by HOC during the year, some of which were: a single long-eared owl was seen at Credenhill Park wood in January; little egrets at Wellington and Bodenham gravel pits in the early winter of November and December and a great northern diver at Wellington in December.

A single day winter visit by HOC members to both gravel pits gave a total of 69 species which confirms the importance of these two sites. A single oystercatcher was also seen which was later joined by one or two others some of which since nested and reared young.

Later in the year a golden oriole was noted in June in Newton Wood and a honey buzzard at Pencoyd church in September. A Harris hawk was seen in October—obviously a trained bird as it had its jess on the leg but was free-flying.

November was again wet with 150mm. of rain but comparatively mild reaching 13°C. The national average rainfall record for the month was 250mm. By 18 December real winter conditions set in with snow, frost, ice and daily cold north and north-east winds. It was recorded as the coldest end of December for fifteen years—a prelude for what was to come.

Research suggests that spring is coming some eleven days earlier than normal, based on the times for fruit blossoming, frog spawning and egg laying. Crocuses are apparently blooming one month earlier than in the 1980s. This seems a fact which is hard to appreciate in the cold of December.

Weather Statistics, 2009

By ERIC WARD

Month	*Max. temp. shade ºC*	*Min. temp. shade ºC*	*Nights frost air/ground*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in 1 day mm.*	*Days with rainfall*
January	11.0	-6.5	14/6	66.4	15.0 (17th)	19
February	12.5	-5.0	10/10	39.3	16.0 (9th)	9
March	15.0	-2.0	4/4	25.5	17.0 (3rd)	6
April	19.5	2.5		54.0	15.0 (16th)	15
May	28.0	5.0		44.4	9.0 (17th)	13
June	30.0	4.0		112.2	46.0 (5th)	12
July	30.0	9.5		179.7	35.0 (29th)	23
August	26.5	9.0		28.6	6.0 (4th)	14
September	23.0	6.0		17.5	11.0 (2nd)	2
October	20.0	2.0		57.6	11.5 (3rd)	17
November	14.5	1.5	1/1	162.3	20.0 (13th)	30
December	10.0	-6.5	13/10	82.5	15.0 (29th)	16
Total				870.0		176

Highest day temperature:	30.0ºC	29th June, 2nd July
Lowest night temperature:	-6.5ºC	18th December

Wettest day:	5th June
Wettest month:	July
Driest month:	September
Nights with frost	air 42; ground 31

Recorded by E.H. Ward at Woodpeckers, Much Marcle.

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