

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

“HOPE ON”



“HOPE EVER”

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME 65

2017

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Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 2018

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List of Officers

2017/18

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List of sub-committees 2017/18

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Proceedings, 2017

SPRING MEETINGS held in Committee Room 1, the Shire Hall

FIRST MEETING: 7 January 2017: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair.

David Whitehead and David Lovelace, both Club members, spoke on 'The Herefordshire Water Meadows Project'.

David Whitehead explained that Historic England had commissioned a report and survey on the survival of historic water meadows. Staffordshire, Norfolk and Wilshire were potential counties but the contract was secured for Herefordshire on the reputation of Rowland Vaughan and several recent notices, as a result of the Hereford Archaeology River Valleys Project, of irrigation systems in the Arrow and Frome Valleys. Mr Whitehead described the different regional mechanisms for flooding water meadows of which the most well-known was the 'bed-work' system adjoining the rivers of the South Country. These were similar to Rowland Vaughan's pioneering work, said to have been implemented in the Golden Valley. However, this was not typical of the surviving systems in Herefordshire, which employed the 'catch-work' technique. This involved running a head-main or 'gutter' (or leat) down a valley to capture springs from the valley-side and distribute the water in a fairly informal manner, using wooden hatches across the meadows. This method was recommended by the author John Beale (1608-83) in his letter to Samuel Hartlib, which was published as *Herefordshire Orchards* (1656). Its use can be detected in most of the river valleys of the county, both large and small.

Mr Lovelace took up the story here and referred to a survey of Eyton, near Leominster, dated 1582, which mentions how flood-water from the Lugg was being used in the winter-time to improve the pasture. The water furrows can still be detected on the Lidar survey and were referred to in the document as 'renes'. He acknowledged the work of Rowland Vaughan (1610) but pointed out that hitherto there was neither archival nor archaeological evidence for his work. Other landowners, however, were active in the 17th century. Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan was draining Wigmore Marsh in 1633 and introduced an extensive irrigation system, which can still be seen on the RAF air photographs of 1946. One of the most extensive systems in the county lies in the Arrow valley below Court of Noke where two leats ran for several kilometres from higher up the valley. The system is referred in the Harley archive as being under construction between 1660 and 1710.

The Shelwick water meadows, on the Lugg to the north of Hereford, were noticed by Richardson & Musson (2003) and appear from the air to be similar in structure to the bed-work systems of the South Country, employing very prominent ridges. The work seems to have carried out in the mid 17th century but the speaker speculated that it was possible that medieval ridge and furrow had been utilised to act as carriers. The system is exceptionally well documented in 1847 when a legal action was taken against the owner of Lugg Mills who had deliberately flooded the land, simply to achieve a larger head of water for his mill. The newspaper report produced much evidence of the management of the water meadows prior to the dispute. The lecture concluded, using fieldwork from the Arrow catchment, of the sad story of the decline in use of water meadows beginning in the 19th century and accelerating during the First and Second World Wars and thereafter with the foundation of the River Drainage Boards who destroyed the mills and the water systems they supported.

There were many supplementary questions from the floor and the president moved a vote of thanks.

SECOND MEETING: 28 January 2017: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair. Stephen Williams gave an illustrated talk on ‘A Heckelphone for Hereford—when Delius visited the Shirehall’.

Stephen Williams had prepared this talk for the next Three Choirs Festival but was happy to give us a preview. He began by stressing how important the Festival had become in the musical calendar of late Victorian and Edwardian England albeit many composers felt a certain amount of trepidation about having their compositions performed in the nave of a cathedral, rather than a concert hall. Generally a distinction was made between secular and sacred music, with the former being performed in the Kemble Theatre or the Shirehall.

Preparations for the 1909 Festival in Hereford began in 1907 with pieces and players gradually being identified. Players were generally local and accompanied celebrity performers. An early entrant on the list of performers was Evangeline Anthony, the violinist and daughter of Charles Anthony, the owner of the *Hereford Times*. She was an international prodigy and would play in Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*. Elgar, Parry and Bantock were also lined up. Bantock also knew Delius and offered to act a go-between with the composer and the Three Choirs committee. The leading light of the event was the Hereford cathedral organist, George Robinson Sinclair, who lived at 20 Church Street with his bulldog Dan who went everywhere with him, even to Birmingham when he conducted concerts there.

Mr Williams outlined Delius’s background; his family had come from Germany to Bradford. Against his father’s wishes the young Delius had given up trade for music and had spent much of his life on the continent where he met Ravel and Stravinsky. Sinclair wrote to Delius and he offered the *Dance Rhapsody*. He did not usually conduct his own work but Sinclair pressed him to do so. One problem was apparent: the *Dance Rhapsody* required a base oboe or more specifically, a heckelphone, which filled the gap between the bassoon and the oboe. It had been first employed by Wagner but by the early 20th century it had been used in works by Bax, Strauss and Moussorgsky. About 150 instruments had been made and its sound had gradually been improved. Sinclair was aware of the difficulties in finding an instrument—and a player—and asked Delius to re-write the piece, cutting out the need for a heckelphone. He refused and began to have second thoughts about the concert. It took a letter from Thomas Beecham to keep him in the programme.

Although the Festival was imminent, Sinclair continued to work on the assumption that a bass oboe could be substituted but even this was an unusual instrument. It was assumed that a celebrity composer like Delius would be accommodated by Bishop Percival at the Palace but this had not been formally arranged and Sinclair had gone on holiday. Delius arrived in Hereford for his concert and was turned away from the Palace by the bishop’s butler. He found the Green Dragon, and other respectable boarding houses, full and feeling slighted, Delius took accommodation in a pub—the King’s Arms and Queen’s Arms in Broad Street both claim the privilege. This was a disaster since Delius was known to be a very insecure and sensitive person. He believed the musical establishment was ‘stuffy’ and was also a non-believer and so boycotted the sacred elements of the Festival. Fortunately, he found solace in the company of Mr Heins, the owner of the Hereford music shop. He took Delius for long walks to Breinton and Dinedor. Eventually he was introduced to Sinclair, a fellow north-countryman, and Elgar. Moreover, when

Bishop Percival learnt of Delius's rejection at the Palace he was mortified and sent his butler immediately to bring his guest's luggage to the Palace.

On Wednesday the concert took place in the Shirehall and a local lady had been employed to play the borrowed base oboe. Without any time to practise the unfamiliar instrument, the result was discordant, with much squeaking. In general the concert was a great success and the *Dance Rhapsody*—with a heckelphone—became a concert favourite and was recorded by Beecham. Delius held no grudges and later made further appearances at the Three Choirs Festival and, on other occasions when his music was played at the Festival and was recorded by the BBC, he listened to it in France.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the president.

THIRD MEETING: 25 February 2017: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair.

Steven Edwards gave an illustrated talk on 'The Man who drowned the Meadows: Rowland Vaughan 1558-1627'.

Steven Edwards explained how the Golden Valley Study Group was founded to investigate on the ground and in documents the claims made in Rowland Vaughan's 'Most Approved and Long experienced Water Workes' or *His Booke* (1610). The focus was very much upon West Herefordshire and especially the Golden Valley. The first challenge was to re-construct the family tree of Rowland Vaughan, which given the ubiquitous presence of the Vaughans in the Welsh Border, produced only tentative results. Rowland's immediate family were domiciled at Bredwardine, probably living in the re-constructed castle, behind the parish church and his younger brother, Henry inherited the Moccas estate, attached to Bredwardine. Rowland was destined to make his fortune as a soldier and was presented at court in 1573 by his kinswoman Blanche Parry. After serving in Ireland with the earl of Essex he returned to Bredwardine and married Elizabeth Vaughan of New Court, Blanche's niece. This provided him with a deer park and an estate that flanked the river Dore. Here he constructed his 'water workes'.

The Golden Valley Study Group discovered that this was a complex and multi-period system, complicated by the successive agricultural changes that have taken place in the valley since the Middle Ages, which saw a predominantly arable landscape change to a pastoral one in the 19th century. Embedded in this were Vaughan's water meadows, which were far removed from the regular system of 'bed-works' well recorded in river valleys of southern England. The Group managed to identify Vaughan's 'Trench Royal' and its subsidiary feeders but this left much else that was unexplained. Indeed, there was no firm means of dating what they had attributed to Vaughan. They suspected that some of the water channels may have pre-dated him and should be attributed to the monks of Dore Abbey, whilst others might post-date him and be linked with the fashion for drowning meadows in the late 17th century. Lidar, however, had proved very useful in identifying systems that were not even visible today but inevitably added to the Group's problems.

Mr Edwards was keen to emphasise that Vaughan had other enterprises that absorbed his time; notably his interest in the Wye Navigation; his iron forge at Peterchurch and his settlement for 'atificiers' near New Court, which he referred to as his 'Commonwealth'. Vaughan's life changed in 1594 when he married his 2nd wife, Anne Jones, who brought the Whitehouse, which allowed him to extend his activities higher up the Dore and especially along the Slough Brook where there are a large number of artificial works. However, his endeavours in this period were interrupted by a long series of court cases in defence of the inheritance of his sister's children.

Mr Edwards finished by stressing that notwithstanding the Group's extensive and detailed investigations they were still uncertain about how much Vaughan actually achieved in the Golden Valley. However, as far as they could see there was no documentary or oral evidence to suggest that any of the channels etc. were created in recent centuries. He finished by noting that waterworks remained popular in the late 17th century and were even taken up by radical groups like the Diggers in the Severn Valley. He also observed that the Woolhope Club had in more recent times tried on several occasions to revive interest in Vaughan and his water works, by publishing articles and speculations.

The president moved a vote of thanks.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 18 March 2017: Rosalind Lowe, the retiring president, installed Janet Cooper as president 2017-18 after thanking the officers of the Club for their work during the year.

Rosalind Lowe gave the presidential address on 'The boundaries of Goodrich: an exploration'. The presidential address is printed in full in these *Transactions*.

The incoming president proposed a vote of thanks.

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 613 ordinary members and 33 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of 2016. Comparable figures for the end of 2015 were 620 ordinary members and 33 institutional members and affiliated societies. Note that the figures for 2015 are different to those previously reported due to the deaths of two members of which notification was received after the end of 2015.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST FIELD MEETING: Thursday 15 June 2017: The churches of Aconbury, Holme Lacy, Much Dewchurch and Kilpeck, led by Joe Hillaby and David Whitehead.

Promptly at 10.00 a.m. 20 members and friends gathered in the farm yard at Aconbury Court, opposite the church. We were met by David Curtis, Land Steward for the Duchy of Cornwall who welcomed us and briefly explained the Duchy's project to bring back into use the redundant church. Joe Hillaby walked us around the exterior of the building, pointing out and dating the features of the Augustinian Priory and the layout of the conventual buildings. Inside, amongst the debris of ecclesiastical furnishings that had been stored here since the 1980s, Mr Hillaby described the foundation of the monastery. It was a penitential act by King John who eight days before his death in October 1216 sought to expiate the role he played in the deaths of William and Matilda de Braose and their children. The land for the convent in the royal forest of Aconbury was given to the surviving daughter, Margaret de Lacy, for the souls of her family. Mr Hillaby also explored the dispute on the nature of the foundation at Aconbury between Margaret and the Knights of St John (the Hospitallers), who took her to the papal court. Finally, attention was paid to the surviving 13th-14th-century coffin slabs with their fine detail—recorded by the Club in an earlier *Transactions*—and the sensitive restoration carried out by George Gilbert Scott (assisted by William Chick) in 1863; especially his interpretation of the existing scroll-pattern wall paintings. The visit concluded with a description, using a model, of the Duchy's proposal to insert a free-standing 'pod' into the west end of the nave, which will provide professional office space, in the midst of the restored medieval fabric. It is anticipated that public access to most of the religious space will be secured, with the collaboration of the Duchy's tenant.

David Whitehead continued the story of Aconbury Priory with an account of the dissolution in 1536, which can be followed in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* and the Augmentation Office receipts and accounts in the National Archives. This was delivered at Holme Lacy at the foot of the monument of the local Receiver of the Court of Augmentations, Sir John Scudamore (d.1571), who was the main beneficiary of the convent's dissolution. It was interesting to note that the last prioress of Aconbury was Dame Joan Skydmore—clearly a relation of Sir John. After lunch the group gathered at St David's church, Much Dewchurch to examine in detail its restoration by the Club's President, the architect, Thomas Blashill, in 1877 which is very well recorded in the local newspapers and the parish records. Mr Whitehead stressed the preservationist nature of Blashill's approach, informed by his deep interest in medieval architecture at home and abroad. Although regularly condemned today for eroding the character of medieval churches, most 19th-century church restorers preserved the best of what they found and saved many churches from imminent collapse. Late in the afternoon a brief visit was made to Kilpeck where Mr Whitehead explored the work of two 19th-century restorers—J. N. Cottingham and J. P. Seddon—who, it has been suspected, may have tampered with the famous Romanesque sculpture. The jury is still out. Tea was taken and encomiums given at the Pilgrim Inn at Much Birch.

SECOND FIELD MEETING: Wednesday 12 July 2017: Caerphilly Castle, Margam Abbey and the Stones Museum, led by Rosamund Skelton.

Nineteen members set off on a sunny day for Wales and first stopped at Maes Manor Hotel for tea and coffee. After navigating some narrow roads around Caerphilly Castle, our coach was finally parked for us to disembark. At the entrance we started our self-guided tour of this castle which was built in 1268 and completed by 1271 by Gilbert de Clare (the Red) Earl of Gloucester and Hereford. It was a defensive castle with moat and lake, which made it difficult to attack with siege engines. Henry IV had the castle garrisoned which protected the castle. Subsequent Lords of Glamorgan maintained one tower for imprisoning felons. In 1593 stone was taken to build the Earl of Pembroke's new home at Y Fan. During the civil war the four towers and the front gatehouse were blown up. Only in 1871 did the 3rd Marquess of Bute re-roof the great hall in order to entertain The Royal Archaeological Society for lunch! Restoration from 1928 to 1947 was funded by the 4th Marquess of Bute to support the local economy during the General Strike and the Depression. In 1950 the largest castle in Wales was taken into state care since when the north and south lakes have been further restored. The views from the towers plus the historical displays within the walls are excellent for visitors of all ages.

After enjoying a picnic lunch on the coach as we made our way to Margam Abbey. In 1147 the Abbey was owned by Robert Earl of Gloucester. It had been an ancient Christian site and some of the carved burial stones preserved in the Margam Stones Museum date from the 6th century. The museum building has also been restored.

During Norman times the Abbey of Margam was a rich place with a colourful history punctuated by revolts by the Welsh, recurrent plagues, floods and disputes. Sir Rice Mansel of Gower acquired the abbey and monastery buildings in 1536 at the time of its dissolution. Subsequently the monastic buildings fell into disrepair, with the exception of the old church nave. Club members admired the St Bernard and St Thomas Chapel as well as the Talbot Chapel with its simple tomb of Mary Mansel's son Thomas Talbot of Laycock (1747 -1813). The south aisle overlooks the site of the monastic cloister. The east end occupies the Mansel Chapel where there are four box tombs of Sir Rice, Sir Edward, Sir Thomas and Sir Lewis.

Our group then moved outside where we admired the site of the abbey and monastery as well as the superb carved burial stones.

A lovely scones tea was enjoyed at the Aberdulais Tin Works, a National Trust property nearby. Many members would have liked more time to explore this and thought it well worth arranging a further field trip.

THIRD FIELD MEETING: Monday 4 September 2017: The President's choice—A visit to Evesham and Pershore.

The meeting was planned to visit the sites of two great Benedictine abbeys of Worcestershire, and of the towns which grew up around them. Both Evesham and Pershore were founded in the early Anglo-Saxon period, although the details of their foundations as recorded in later charters, and particularly in the History of Evesham abbey, are probably largely fictional.

We were lucky with the weather, which remained dry though cloudy and rather humid. We started at Evesham, with coffee at the Royal Oak, a 16th – 17th century building heavily restored in the 20th century. All that survives of the main abbey buildings is the bell tower built in the early 16th century by Abbot Clement Lichfield. The lower part of the Norman north gateway still forms one of the entrances to the precinct; a later wall marks the site of the north wall of the nave. Stones set in the grass of the abbey park mark the approximate position of the choir and chancel and a memorial to Simon de Montfort, killed at the battle of Evesham in 1265, stands near the site of the high altar. The two parish churches, All Saints' and St Lawrence's, which for some reason stood within the abbey precinct, both survive, although St Lawrence's is no longer in use as a church.

We started at All Saints' where our guide told us the story of the abbey as recorded in its History, including the vision of the Virgin Mary seen by swineherd Eof and later by the bishop Egwine who then, on the Virgin's instructions, founded the abbey. This story is told in some of the fine Preedy glass in the church. Preedy was also responsible for the major restoration of the mainly 15th-century church between 1874 and 1876. Opening off the south aisle is a very ornate, early 16th-century chapel with a remarkable fan vault, built by Clement Lichfield c. 1513 when he was prior of the abbey. From All Saints' we walked the short distance to Lichfield's ornate bell tower, built c. 1530-35. Those who felt able climbed the stairs into the ringing chamber whose walls were covered with painted notices, including one addressed to the 'gentlemen' who should ring the bells. Back at ground level, our guide pointed out the heavily weathered springing for a stone vault which can never have been built because the turret for the spiral staircase would have obstructed it. Was this vault part of an earlier plan for the tower? The last visit of the morning was to St Lawrence's church, light and airy Perpendicular in style in contrast to the darker All Saints'. Here too is a south chapel with fine fan vaulting, the chantry of St Clement, also built by Clement Lichfield, who was obviously an energetic man.

After a break for lunch, we assembled at the Almonry Museum, in the former almonry of the abbey. Parts of the building date from the 14th century; much of the remainder is 16th century. The contents are a miscellaneous collection, in many ways typical of small private museums, with many 19th-century agricultural and domestic implements. Others exhibits are more unusual. Our guide pointed out a printed abbey service book which contains a handwritten, eye-witness account of the dissolution of the abbey during Evensong in January 1540; this book has recently been filmed for a BBC documentary. Other abbey relics include a huge chair, perhaps the abbot's, and a door.

We could have spent longer in the museum, but it was time to move on to Pershore. Here our driver's satnav, following the postcode supplied by the tourist information centre, somehow directed him into the Tesco's car park. Fortunately the store was not busy and the coach was able to stay there.

At Pershore the choir and transepts of the abbey church survive because they were converted to parochial use after the Dissolution. Here too we had a guided tour, starting with a brief history of the abbey, said to have been founded by members of the Mercian royal house in the late 7th century. It was suggested that Pershore was then a double monastery, housing both monks and nuns and ruled by an abbess. The house was refounded as a Benedictine abbey in the mid to late 10th century. At that time it was given relics of St Edburga of Winchester, daughter of Edward the Elder, and became a place of pilgrimage. About a century later Edward the Confessor gave a large part of Pershore to his new foundation of Westminster abbey so that from then onwards two abbeys controlled the town. Pershore abbey church was rebuilt c. 1100, but suffered from two disastrous fires in the 13th century. At the Dissolution the nave and the Lady chapel east of the choir were demolished, leaving only the choir until 1848 when an apsidal chancel was added on the orders of the dean of Westminster, Samuel Wilberforce, son of William Wilberforce.

In the course of building works in the 1990s and 2000s, a number of medieval coffins were unearthed, including, in the centre of the choir, one inscribed 'Odda duke', apparently that of the earl Odda who was buried at Pershore in 1056. Below the south arcade a small portion of the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon church was discovered. Among the monuments in the church is the effigy of a late 12th- or early-13th-century knight whose chain mail is shown in such detail that it has supplied armourers with evidence of the way in which such mail was fastened. On the wall nearby is the fine monument to Thomas Haslewood (d. 1624), showing him lying on the ground with his widow and son kneeling at his head and feet. By the west door is a much weathered elaborately carved Norman font, apparently once used as a farmyard water trough. Our tour concluded with a brief look at the outside of the church and at the park, where our guide showed us the positions of some of the monastic buildings.

The day ended with an excellent cream tea at a café in the High Street.

AUTUMN MEETINGS held in Committee Room 1, the Shire Hall

FIRST MEETING: 23 September 2017: Janet Cooper, president, in the chair.

Dr Peter Reavill, Finds Liaison Officer for Shropshire and Herefordshire, gave an illustrated talk on 'Finds from the Field: the work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in Herefordshire'.

Peter Reavill explained the role of the Finds Liaison Officer in the national system of identifying and recording archaeological artefacts or portable antiquities, mainly brought in by those using metal detectors. Nearly 1¼ million objects have been recorded in the West Midlands since the scheme was inaugurated some twenty years ago. All objects are described and photographed but since farmers and landowners are sensitive about the location of objects, find-spots are generalised. Mr Reavill is based in Shrewsbury and Hereford but is often found at Ludlow where he is helped by a number of assistants and volunteers to process the objects. 'Treasure' is the word most often attached to his job but metal detectors rarely find gold and of the 2000 objects he sees each year, no more than 20 have any value.

To indicate the character and quality of the finds brought to his team, he provided us with a whistle-stop tour of artefacts dating from the Palaeolithic era to the early 20th century. First on the agenda were several polished Stone Age axe-heads found via intensive agriculture, such as the fine imported axe found in an asparagus patch at Stoke Edith. Latest of all were the 6 kilos of gold coins, recently found in the base of an upright piano. This story had been taken up by the press and Mr Reavill admitted that media attention had absorbed six months of life. Several of the coins dating from the early 20th century had come from Commonwealth countries and were wrapped in a newspaper of 1936, suggesting that they were hidden on the eve of the Second World War. Notwithstanding much publicity the owner had not been located.

The frequency of some finds enables some generalisations to be made. For example, bronze tankard handles from the late Iron Age and early Roman period are fairly frequent, indicating that 'toasting ceremonies' were frequent in Herefordshire during the age of the hill-forts. Equally the distribution of late Iron Age Dobunnic coins is restricted to Herefordshire and they are rare beyond Leintwardine, indicating a strong link between the Southern Marches and the Cotswolds/Severn Valley region. Dr Reavill explained that the acidity of Herefordshire soil 'eats coins'. Thus, although the Leominster hoard of Roman coins had been deposited in cloth and leather bags, the coins had been welded into a solid lump. In many ways more significant is the presence of Byzantine coins in Herefordshire, which our speaker emphasised were not tourist pieces. Similarly, early Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* (small coins) were unknown in Herefordshire before the Portable Antiquities scheme. Significantly, the distribution of those found so far is entirely to the east of Offa's Dyke. Equally interesting was the information that late Saxon/early medieval coins are unknown on earthwork castle sites. They only arrived later in the Middle Ages along with silver coins. Other frequent medieval finds include personal seals belonging to noblemen, papal seals for indulgences and spur fragments. Finally, Mr Reavill encouraged the Club to illustrate finds on its website, especially curious objects dating from after 1750, which was his official cut-off date.

SECOND MEETING: 7 October 2017: Janet Cooper, president in the chair.

The F.C. Morgan Lecture was given by Dr John Foard, Reader in Battlefield Archaeology at the University of Huddersfield. It was an illustrated address entitled 'From Bosworth to Mortimer's Cross: Battlefield Archaeology and the Wars of the Roses'.

Dr Foard estimated that there were fifteen significant battles in the Wars of the Roses. These engagements involved static armies. This was a long way from Hastings when Norman knights on horseback won the day over the immobile Anglo-Saxon housecarls. By the 14th century the age of the knight was over and at Bannockburn Bruce beat the English knights with pike-men. The French retained their confidence in the knight longer than the English who invested in the longbow. It was a logical step to move from longbow to handguns but the process was slow.

Artillery was useful for battering castles in the 14th century but shoulder firing weapons had many disadvantages. They were slow to fire, were too hot to handle after repeated firing and often exploded. The secret was better and lighter castings in bronze and a wooden stock. The battle of Pavia 1525 was the first battle where artillery, musketeers and pike-men were employed. However, the English were behind the times and still had confidence in the longbows that were employed alongside handguns in the Scottish Wars of the 1540s.

Thus, the battles of the Wars of the Roses took place at a critical time. The potential of battlefield archaeology was demonstrated when the site of the battle of Towton (1461) was excavated and several mass graves were found filled with lots of 'bling'. Nothing like this has ever been found at Bosworth because of the difficulties in locating the exact site of the battlefield. Over the years four different sites have been proposed and one of them was adopted prematurely in the 1960s for the site of a rather permanent interpretation centre. It is known from documentary sources that artillery and handguns played a part in the battle but no trace had been found. Dr Foard and his students reinterpreted the evidence and opted for a new site, straddling the Fosse Way. With careful field-walking a number of artefacts were found including a 40mm cannonball, grooved from use, together with coins, rings, badges and sword guards. Few musket balls were found, but there was also an absence of arrow heads, which were found in large numbers at Towton.

Dr Foard was confident that his team had located the correct site at Bosworth but work needs to be done at Mortimer's Cross to see how the artefacts there relate to Towton and Bosworth and, more pertinently, to see if handguns were present. He was also keen to get the battlefield defined topographically to provide an accurate map for Historic England who would be asked to register the site. This, he hoped, would act as a deterrent for metal detectorists who have looted and disturbed many battle-sites in Britain.

At the end of his talk Dr Foard asked Mrs Patricia Potheary to explain the role of the Mortimer's Cross Battlefield Trust, which has just been awarded a substantial Lottery grant to begin preliminary investigations in 2018. The Trust would be looking for volunteers from the Woolhope Club to investigate the site and directed our attention to its website.

THIRD MEETING: 11 November 2017: Janet Cooper, president in the chair.

Dr James Bowen, Contributing Editor, VCH Herefordshire, gave an illustrated talk on 'The Victoria County History of Herefordshire: the Colwall Project'

Dr Bowen felt privileged to be commissioned by the VCH Herefordshire to research and write the parish history of Colwall. He listed some of the reasons why, for Herefordshire, it was a rather special parish. It had a famous tunnel through the Malvern Hills; it produced mineral water commercially for 150 years; it developed in the late 19th century as a resort village; several schools had flourished there in the past; it had an early telephone system; a race course and many gentry-houses. Returning to an earlier period he explained how Colwall was part of an extended area of woodland that stretched down the west side of the Severn from Wyre Forest to the Forest of Dean. At an early date much of this, west of the Malverns, came into the hands of the bishop of Hereford, who designated much of it as a 'chase'. Settlement in Colwall was scattered and is reflected in the development of a number of discrete estates e.g. Hope End, Brockbury etc. In agricultural terms in the Middle Ages this meant dispersed open fields surrounded by ancient enclosures. When evidence becomes available in the 16th century the farmland was producing some arable crops, combined with animal production including some dairying, cattle breeding and fattening, and some wool from sheep. There were also many smallholders, especially on the hill-side, keeping pigs, making honey and involved in various woodland activities e.g. cutting hop-poles and hurdles. Later brick-making occurs and in the 19th century a good deal of informal quarrying.

Dr Bowen admitted that he found the 19th century social history of the parish especially interesting. Football and cricket clubs developed early, including a cricket club for women. There was a proliferation of alehouses as Colwall became a resort centre. He mentioned here the Colwall church ale house, which in the early 17th century offended Puritan sensibilities in the area. The 19th century also saw the growth of boarding schools in the parish as the railway brought holiday makers from the Midlands who considered Colwall a very safe environment for their children. The presence of well-to-do residents and visitors meant that the parish was well endowed with charitable institutions. As a bishop's manor Colwall generally attracted articulate and well-qualified churchmen. In the 18th and 19th centuries they played a large role in the social, as well as religious, history of the parish. The presence of small holders and artisans in the upper part of the parish stimulated non-conformity. Finally, our speaker explored the development of orchards in the 19th century—again stimulated by the railway. Many of the orchards developed on smallholdings, creating a wood-pasture economy for the less well-off. However, many large landowners also saw new opportunities and developed large orchards. The Ballard family, for example, sold fruit products to the great names in confectionery in the late 19th century, like the Cadbury Company and Terry's of York.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 25 November 2017: Janet Cooper, president, in the chair.

Ian Luke Bass, Vice-Chancellor Postgraduate Scholarship doctoral student at the Manchester Metropolitan University, and a Club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'The Miraculous Cult of Thomas de Cantilupe and the Marches'.

Ian Bass shared the fruits of research conducted between 2014 and 2016, some of which is now being prepared for publication. His intention was to shed light on the oft-neglected cult of St Thomas de Cantilupe—also known as St Thomas of Hereford—and the extensive, extant manuscripts which record the individual miracles of pilgrims to the shrine in the north transept of Hereford Cathedral between 1287 to 1317. On this afternoon he confined his talk to the stories from the miracle collections that can be synthesized to explore the aftermath of the Edwardian conquest of Wales and the subsequent rebellion of Rhys ap Maredudd. As part of his research he has studied the supposed connection to the Knights Templar put forward regarding the shrine in the north transept. He explained that the first association had come in G. Hartwell-Jones's 1912 book, *Celtic Britain*, as a means to rationalise the construction of the shrine. In 1920 this theory was compounded when Bishop Hubert Hensley Henson and Dean Reginald Waterfield founded the Cantilupe lodge of Freemasons and used the shrine on their official banners. Any medieval source material, however, is remarkably lacking. Extensive searches in the episcopal registers for entries regarding the Templars shows little contact outside regular diocesan administration occurred. Additionally, the canonisation inquiry in 1307 was held after Pope Clement V had issued the bull calling for the arrest of the Templars in Europe, and the canonisation jury included William de Testa, papal collector for the Holy Land subsidy.

In July 1287, the saint became the unofficial patron of the English army assembled by Edmund, earl of Cornwall and cousin to Edward I, in order to dismantle the rebellion of Rhys ap Maredudd. Some 1,800 infantrymen had been assembled in Hereford. In front of the crowd that had assembled in Hereford Cathedral, including John Kirkby, bishop of Ely, and Edmund of Cornwall, a Worcestershire knight presented his revived falcon to the shrine. Another miracle witnessed by this crowd included the healing of a penitent cleric, whose hands had been crippled

when he had publically insulted Cantilupe's life and reported miracles. Mr Bass posited that these miracles may have been the reason why John de Havering, one of the leaders of the English forces, sent a man from his household to be cured of his deafness. In August 1287, the force finally reached Dryslwyn castle, Rhys ap Maredudd's main base. The castle was besieged and a plethora of miraculous escapes happened to those who swore to Bishop Thomas, including a knight who suffered an arrow in the eye; a knight who was crushed by masonry from the botched undermining of the castle chapel and some knights who only just managed to escape death as the Welsh forces fell on them.

One peculiar miracle in the aftermath of the siege related to the death of a goat which wandered off the battlements of Dryslwyn castle after the installation of the Plukeneth family. The postscript of the miracle included a newly discovered dispute in 1310 regarding the manor of Kilpeck between the family and the knight who survived the arrow to the eye. Roger Mortimer of Chirk, who escaped the capture of Newcastle Emlyn by Rhys ap Maredudd after the siege of Dryslwyn, appeared at the shrine in 1290 with his falcon whose head had been smashed by a stone. Two further miracles occurred relating to the events of the Welsh wars and rebellions: in one, a knight's only option for escape was to ford the dangerous river Wye, miraculously making it across 'as if carried by a ship'; in the other, a toddler fell into the dry moat at Conwy, and, in the presence of John de Havering, was resuscitated when the crowd dedicated him to Bishop Thomas of Hereford.

Mr Bass's research has also found that there were two specifically Welsh miracles related to the participants in the rebellion or Welsh wars. The first, regarding William Cragh—which has been explored at length by historians such as Michael Goodich and Robert Bartlett—who was hanged three times for his participation in the burning of Oystermouth castle, the principal residence of the Braose family. The first two attempts ended with the rope and crossbeam of the gallows miraculously breaking, the third time succeeding except that he revived as his relatives were burying him. The second concerned Griffin ap Madok from Cardigan, who came to the shrine in 1296 having been wounded by an arrow in the war. He offered his best cow if the surgeons could extract the arrow still lodged in his side and save his life. It is recorded that they did so successfully at the shrine, with Griffin miraculously experiencing no pain. Of interest too, is the fact that Rhys ap Maredudd was related to Bishop Thomas having married Ada de Hastings, Bishop Thomas's great-niece.

Mr Bass concluded that Cantilupe's cult was uniquely placed to unite people from England and Wales in the joint venture of pilgrimage to a holy place. More than that, the cult of St Thomas of Hereford was seen by many as something that everyone could interact with, from peasant to knight due to the memory of the personality of Bishop Thomas when he was alive.

There were many supplementary questions from the audience and a vote of thanks was moved by the president.

Editorial Message

I would like to record my thanks to the members of the Publications Committee for their participation in selecting papers for this volume and for copyediting and proof reading tasks. I am also grateful to Gerry Calderbank for help in preparing some of the images for publication.

Farewell and welcome to Club Recorders

The regular reports prepared by specialist recorders to *TWNFC* are invaluable in demonstrating the wide-ranging interests of the Woolhope Club.

Few people will ever match the contribution made by Ron Shoesmith who has been responsible for the annual report of the Recorder for Archaeology since 1988. Ron's involvement with the archaeology research section began in the 1960s and he authored the first Archaeological Research Section Newsheet (HAN) in December 1966. In addition to these regular contributions to the Club's publications, he has written many articles based on his research for *TWNFC*. His report for this volume, completed with the help of Dr Keith Ray, will be his last. The Club would like to record its gratitude to Ron for his outstanding contribution over many years.

We are fortunate that Keith Ray has kindly agreed to become the Recorder for Archaeology and to take full responsibility for the annual report from 2018. For the 2017 volume we also welcome Jo Weightman as the new Recorder for Mycology and Rachel Jenkins as Recorder for Ornithology. Brief details of the expertise and interests of these recorders are included in the 'Biographical details of Contributors'.

Improved online access to *TWNFC*

The recent launch of the new website for the Woolhope Club has significantly improved online access to *TWNFC* for members and the wider public. Our thanks to Rosalind Lowe, who has acted as project manager, and to Orphans Press who have completed the technical work. Among other features, the website will be a portal for access to the digitised volumes of *TWNFC* (not all copies are available in electronic form as yet) and HAN thereby making the Club's work available to a worldwide audience. Please refer to the website for details, woolhopeclub.org.uk.

It is also very welcome news that the Woolhope Room in the Museum and Library in Broad Street, Hereford reopened in autumn 2018 after having been closed for some three years due to flood damage.

Access to local research collections

Continuing funding constraints for Local Authorities contributed to the decision taken by Herefordshire Council in June 2018 to outsource provision of its museum, library and archive services. Uncertainty over the future of these services, and the associated county collections, for everyone interested in Herefordshire's natural and cultural heritage reinforces the continued relevance and value of the annual *TWNFC*. I hope you enjoy the 2017 edition.

Jane Adams, November 2018

Muriel Tonkin - congratulations

Members of the Club offered congratulations and best wishes to Muriel Tonkin on the occasion of her one hundredth birthday on 22 January 2018.



Biographical Details of Contributors

Biographical details of the following authors have appeared in previous issues of the Club's *Transactions* as indicated; Colin Boylett (2015), Rosalind Lowe (2007) and John Eisel (2005). John served as President of the Club for a fourth time in 2011-12.

Katherine (Kate) Andrew was Principal Heritage Officer—the head of museums for Herefordshire Council—between 2002 and 2012. Between 2013 and 2017, she was the part-time project manager for the 'A Thousand Years of Building With Stones' project run by Herefordshire & Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust and also the part-time project officer for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in Herefordshire and Worcestershire on the Church Maintenance Co-operative Project. She now works as church buildings project manager for the Diocese of Worcester. Kate has a first degree in geology, a master's degree in museum studies and is an accredited conservator.

Ian L. Bass is a PhD Candidate and Associate Lecturer in History at the Manchester Metropolitan University. He was awarded a Vice-Chancellor PhD Scholarship for three years' doctoral research (2016–19). His thesis is titled, 'The Crozier and the Cross: Crusading and the English Episcopate, c.1170–1313', supervised by Dr Kathryn Hurlock. He graduated with a BA (2012) and MA (2014) in Medieval Studies from the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David, Lampeter. He has since worked in Hereford Cathedral as an exhibition volunteer with the Mappa Mundi and Chained Library and as a retail assistant in the Cathedral Shop. In 2015 he was appointed as a Research Affiliate at the University of Nottingham, working under the supervision of Mr John Freeman, on the Professor Jim Wilkes- and British Academy-funded English Place-Name Society survey of Herefordshire.

Celia G. Kellett, was born in Nottingham, but grew up, married and had her children on Merseyside. She started work as a laboratory technician, working in industry and education, and also studied with the Open University (OU). Promotion for her husband, Charles, in the mid 1970s led to a move to the West Midlands. Celia studied Pharmaceutical Chemistry at the University of Aston and, after qualifying as a pharmacist in 1980, worked in various hospitals and community pharmacies for the next twenty-six years. Charles and Celia 'downsized' and moved to Ledbury for their retirement. Celia became involved with the Herefordshire VCH's 'England's Past for Everyone' project which had just started in the town, and continues to work as a volunteer researcher with them. She completed her MA History with the OU—her dissertation concerned the removal of the Ledbury Butcher Row. She is the Hon. Historian of the Friends of the Master's House and deals with historical queries for Ledbury Civic Society.

Rachel Jenkins (nee McDougall) is Recorder for Ornithology for the Woolhope Club and serves on the Club committee. She grew up at Burley Gate, Herefordshire, the eldest daughter of the Burley Gate schoolteachers who were both keen ornithologists. She was exposed to ornithology and other wildlife throughout her childhood, but at that stage was more interested in botany which had the advantage of not moving while it was identified. Her father, Peter McDougall, was an early member of the Hereford Ornithological Club, a bird ringer for the BTO, established and monitored pied flycatcher nest boxes in Moccas Park during the 1960s, and conducted a

groundbreaking survey of farmland birds in Burley Gate, which is published in the TWNFC (1973). Rachel left Herefordshire to go to university and medical school but moved back to the county in 2011. She is on the committee of the Herefordshire Ornithological Club and is a life member of the Herefordshire Wildlife Trust. She continues the monitoring of the pied flycatcher nest boxes in Moccas Park.

W. R. (Roger) Pye joined both the Woolhope Club and the Radnorshire Society in 1958. He was a founder member of the Woolhope Club's Archaeological Research section, serving as its chair in 1973 and has been a member of the Council for British Archaeology since 1968, serving on its committee 1973-1983 and as vice-chair 1980-83. His many noteworthy finds include the first Mesolithic microburins in the central Welsh area, 4,500 flints on Dorstone Hill that led to the original excavation there in 1965-72, and the first complete Pompeian mill to be found in Britain. He has written numerous articles in the *TWNFC* and the *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*.

Keith Ray, Recorder for Archaeology for the Woolhope Club, was an archaeological officer in local government in Oxfordshire and Plymouth for ten years before coming to Herefordshire as County Archaeologist in 1998. Between 1976 and 1988 he specialised in the archaeology of sub-Saharan Africa, working mostly in Nigeria and Cambridge, and gaining a Cambridge University MA and PhD. In 2007 he was awarded an MBE for services to archaeology in Herefordshire; he had earlier been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Member of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists. Since leaving Herefordshire Council in 2014 he has been a part-time archaeological consultant, and has also published widely, including three recent books: *The Archaeology of Herefordshire: An Exploration* (Logaston Press, 2015), *Offa's Dyke: Landscape and Hegemony in Eighth-Century Britain* (Windgather, 2016), and *Neolithic Britain: The Transformation of Social Worlds* (Oxford University Press, 2018). He also has a busy volunteering life including being Hon. Secretary for the Herefordshire VCH Trust, co-director of the Dorstone Hill Neolithic project, and a convener of the Offa's Dyke Collaboratory.

Edward Webley was born, brought up and educated in Gloucester. His interest in the weather surfaced about 1960 aged 12, and in 1961 he started keeping weather records. His passion really blossomed when experiencing and documenting the record-breaking severe winter of 1962/63. He worked at the Ministry of Defence Meteorological Office department based at RAF Little Rissington from 1966 till 1969. After moving to work for Lloyds Bank he continued studying the weather as a hobby. Edward started his own weather station in Bromyard in 1980 and has been recording ever since. He also loves the countryside and its wildlife.

Jo Weightman, Recorder for Mycology for the Woolhope Club, is a member of the British Mycological Society and panel member for *Field Mycology*. Her interest in mycology developed while she was living in Kent where she lectured in mycology and botany for Kent Adult Education service, worked as a site monitor for Kent Wildlife Trust and, from 1979-2012, was Mycology Recorder for the Orpington Field Club. She worked as translator on the English edition of *Mushrooms and Toadstools of Britain and Europe* by R. Courtecuisse and B. Dunhelm, published as a Collins Field Guide by Harper Collins in 1995. Jo moved to Herefordshire in 2012. She has been the Recorder for the Herefordshire Fungus Survey Group since 2009 and is manager of the Herefordshire Fungus Records Database.

Presidential Address, 2017

The boundaries of Goodrich: an exploration

By ROSALIND A. LOWE

The manor of Goodrich in Herefordshire is fortunate in that the origin of its name can be dated fairly precisely to its holder as given in the Domesday book in 1086.¹ The geographical extent of the manor and the reason for this extent is much less clear. This paper approaches the subject by considering, from both topographical and historical viewpoints, what lies outside the manor boundaries as well as inside. Although historical records and maps have been available for many years, the advent of LiDAR² has enabled a new perspective on how the physical conformation of the land may have influenced man-made features and boundaries, in particular Offa's Dyke.

1. INTRODUCTION

The manor of Goodrich lies in south-west Herefordshire and most of the demesne land of the lord had been sold off by the 1920s. Some 43,000 people visited the castle in 2016, making it one of the most popular in the Welsh Marches.

In general, the manor is the most important entity to be considered in this paper, the ecclesiastical parishes within the manor less so and the modern civil parishes hardly at all. The extent of the *lordship* of Goodrich is rather more difficult to define, as the terms *manor* and *lordship* were often used indiscriminately in documents. The position is confused even more by the changing ownership of the manor over the centuries. It was acquired by inheritance, marriage with heiresses and grants by the crown, and the holding increased by means such as exchange. Even so, the extent of the manor has been relatively stable over the centuries. Although evidence from as late as the early 20th century will be used, in general the main period under discussion will be pre-1600.

The topographical approach was suggested by the paucity of early documents about the area, apart from the Llandaff charters, of which more later. The manor included land in the parishes of Goodrich, Whitchurch, Ganarew and parts of Llangarron and Llanrothal. Plate 1.1 shows the LiDAR scan of the whole area from Garway in the north-west; the Monnow valley in the south west; the Ross area in the north-east and Lydbrook in the south-east. This high-level view is necessary to understand the possible interactions of topography and the boundaries of manors, parishes and, possibly, Welsh *trefs* or estates. To help with orientation, Plate 1.2 shows the complexity of the ecclesiastical parish boundaries at the time of the tithe maps compiled c. 1840.

2. GOODRICH: DOMESDAY AND AFTER

In view of its name, the history of 'Goodrich' as such cannot be said to have existed before 1066 or, to be more accurate, before 1086 when Godric Mappesone or 'Mapes sone' held the manor of *Hulla* from King William. This is the time to clear up any confusion over the name *Hulla*, as some authors and respected online sources still identify it with Howle [Hill] in Walford.³ Balliol College holds a copy of the Herefordshire *Domesday* entries, made at the latest 1160-

70, though the annotations are in later hands; *Hulla* is identified as *Castellum Goderich*, which remained the name of the manor for some centuries (Plate 1.3).⁴ Surprisingly, some authors who took notice of the Herefordshire *Domesday* entry did not alter the identification of *Hulla*, and so discussions about the early castles along the southern March have often excluded Goodrich castle.⁵ Its very name shows that a castle was there by the time of the Herefordshire *Domesday* annotation and very likely much earlier, else why call it *Castellum Goderich*? The name also implies that, unlike other Herefordshire manors, there was no convenient settlement in the area of the castle to attach it to, though *Pencreic* (modern Pencraig) appears in the Llandaff charters and has evidence of Roman occupation. The castle looms over the ancient crossing of the Wye, presumed ancient because of the place name *Walford* on the other side of the river, but there is no visible topographical evidence of earlier settlement at the castle site.

The manor called *Hulla* had a fishery (unlikely for Howle Hill). As New Weir, located just downstream from the settlement of Symonds Yat, was by 1282 presumably the 'weir under Dowarthe' belonging to the lord of Goodrich, we may assume that the *Domesday* fishery was that at Old Weare, across the foot of Huntsham Hill.⁶ The most important *hulla* in Goodrich manor is probably the Doward, though Huntsham Hill is a candidate and is discussed later. The Great Doward was a very valuable source of iron ore; the fields all over the area yield iron slag. There is evidence of Roman occupation at Whitchurch, and their iron-rich slag was excavated and used in smelting there from the 16th century onwards. The Little Doward hill fort was equally important, large enough to pasture a number of animals in safety (Plate 1.4).

Nothing is known about Godric Mappesone. It is curious, though, that the only other Mappesone reference in *Domesday* is to Aluric Mappesone, who held half a hide at [Droit] wich in Worcestershire in the time of King Edward, with 11 burgesses and a saltpan and a half rendering 32 'mittas' of salt.⁷ In 1086 Roger de Lacy held them and the holding belonged to Roger's 'manor of Hereford'.⁸ Given that Goodrich is a reasonably substantial manor, there is a possibility that some arrangement was made when de Lacy was granted the holding.

Both *Domesday* entries for Goodrich state, quite clearly, that in the time of King Edward 'Taldus held it'. There is the suggestion that Taldus is derived from the Latin form *Artaldus* of the French name Artaud.⁹ 'Taldus held it'; this is common form in *Domesday*, but what 'it' was is rather more of a puzzle and the purpose of this paper.

3. WILLIAM fitzBADERON AND MONMOUTH PRIORY

Within a relatively few years Godric Mappesone was succeeded at Goodrich. At some time between 1090 and 1101 William fitzBaderon, lord of Monmouth, with the consent of his wife Hadwise and daughters (or step-daughters) Iveta and Advenia, granted the land of *Chachebren* to the priory of St Mary of Monmouth.¹⁰ The priory had been founded 1075-83 by Withenoc, fitzBaderon's uncle, as a daughter house of St Florent, Saumur.¹¹ Fortunately gifts to St Mary were recorded in the cartulary of St Florent and these have been published both in the original Latin and in translation.¹² *Chachebren* has been identified as New Court, now in Marstow parish.¹³ Hadwise and her daughters may have been Mappesone's heirs, or he may have died without one, when the disposition of the manor would have returned to the crown. A later version of this charter states that Hadwise had also received land from King William at the time of her marriage, and gave it and the revenue of the church *de castello Godrici* to Monmouth priory.¹⁴ fitzBaderon also held the manor of Ruardean facing the manor of Welsh Bicknor across the Wye,

the latter being sub-infeudated to the lordship of Monmouth. fitzBaderon was devout, and the revenues from a number of the churches on his manors were likewise given to St Mary.¹⁵ One of the most complete lists of the churches dependent on Monmouth priory is in the St Florent cartulary dated to 1140-50.¹⁶ Apart from Goodrich, the churches of *Bichenrovia*, *Langara*, *Album Monasterium* (i.e. Whitchurch, but translated by Round as Oswestry!), St Roald of Treget with its chapel of St Michael and others, all of which were 'in the diocese of Hereford'. Plate 1.6 shows locations of some of the churches concerned with an indication of the boundaries of the manors of Goodrich and Wormelow.

An annotation in the Herefordshire *Domesday* concerning Archenfield is at the head of folio 11 *recto* (Plate 1.5). The annotation reads '*Hic incipit consuetudines de manerium de Wormelow in Archenfeld infra comitatu Herefordie*'. This illustrates the difficulty sometimes faced with the use of 'the manor of Wormelow' and 'the hundred of Wormelow'.¹⁷ In 1346 the lord of Goodrich, Richard Talbot, and his wife Elizabeth received from the king, Edward III, in exchange for the manor of Hertynghfordbury, 'the land and hundred of Irchyngfeld and the manor of Wormelowe, co. Hereford, with the homage and service of Reginald de Grey for the manor of Wilton and of Thomas de Dagworth and Eleanor his wife and their heirs for the manor of Kilpek.'¹⁸

It has been difficult to find an early detailed account of the bounds of Wormelow manor, as opposed to the later hundred which includes Goodrich. Hereford library has an account which looks from the handwriting to be 17th-century;¹⁹ Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre (HARC) has two documents, one a transcription of the bounds in 1816,²⁰ the other a record of a court leet and court of survey with a detailed perambulation of the bounds.²¹ It has been possible by combining information from tithe maps and the LiDAR scans of the area to draw the southern boundary of Wormelow manor as given by the 1816 survey.²² Plate 1.6 is the end result of this process. It is just possible to see the tiny names of the major Llangarron farmsteads in red and boundaries marked by miniscule dots, especially noticeable where the Gwatkin parish boundaries are slightly adrift from the perambulation instruction e.g. following a watercourse. Wormelow manor is bright green, Goodrich manor bronze and Wilton blue - the latter being less confidently drawn. It is gratifying that the church of St Roald in Llanrothal, gifted to Monmouth priory by fitzBaderon, lies within Goodrich manor as one would expect.

If the 1816 Wormelow manor bounds can be relied on, perhaps a pre-parochial structure can be detected in Plate 1.6. The jumble of parts of parishes from Marstow northwards may be partly explained by some involved land grants by Henry II to Hugh de Longchamps and Richard Talbot in the 1150s.²³ Marstow is often ignored in discussions about the manor of Wilton, but it was a detached part known as Little Wilton or Wilton Parva. Plate 1.7 shows the complexity of the boundary between the detached parts of Goodrich parish.

4. BOUNDARY FEATURES

In general, in areas which may be termed *Welsh*,²⁴ watercourses were preferred for important boundaries between estates (*trefs*) and between major tribal holdings. One of the exercises carried out in researching this paper was to compare local boundaries (manors, parishes, estates) with the path of the local watercourses as seen on the LiDAR scan. Unfortunately the geographical spread of the area means that a single illustration cannot show enough detail, so it has been broken up into smaller areas of interest. What is obvious is that neither relief maps nor aerial photographs can convey the effect of ancient water flow rates on boundary features. Streams

which are now barely trickles except in flood have considerable valleys which would serve as boundaries. This is particularly obvious in Plate 1.1 if the whole path of the Garron is traced. Plate 1.8 shows the course of the Garron in the lower part of its course just before it reaches the Wye at Old Forge. The historic flow rate of the Garron, calculated from the size of the meanders, was about the same as the Wye currently.²⁵ Note the tributaries' valleys, which mark the boundaries between major farmsteads and sometimes parishes. The LiDAR scans also reveal that where boundaries seem to ignore watercourses there may be a geological explanation. For example, Plate 1.8 illustrates the deposition of material on the Huntsham peninsula; after floods considerable bands of stony material are left. The loop has clearly shifted to the west (left) but will probably never threaten the Romano-British farmstead built on the slightly higher ground. Plate 1.9 shows where the Dixton parish boundary takes in a riverside meadow on the north side of the Wye, near Wyaston Leys on the south of Little Doward. Mr M E P Watkins advanced a historical reason for this anomaly.²⁶ The LiDAR view shows that the Wye has changed its course several times, leaving the riverside meadow to the north.

5. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE MANOR OF GOODRICH

5.1 From Ganarew to Symonds Yat rock and fort

Excepting the part of Dixton parish seen in Plate 1.9, to the south of the manor of Goodrich its boundary follows the midline—the thread or *filum*—of the river Wye as far as the settlement currently called Symonds Yat East. From here the boundary climbs the slope in the direction of Symonds Yat Rock and then descends diagonally towards the Wye at a place called *Jeotelinde*.²⁷ The exact course of the boundary was a matter of dispute between the manors (and parishes) of Goodrich (to the north) and English Bicknor (to the south) for many years. The disputes led to legal actions for which maps were drawn up by the respective parties. Plate 1.10 is part of a map made in 1728 for Mr Hall of English Bicknor;²⁸ there is a matching map made for the Duke of Kent.²⁹ One of the main reasons was the disputed ownership of Weare Hill, on part of which works for the lock for Kent's New Weir seem to have encroached. There may also have been issues about timber-felling to fuel the forge there.

In 1718 the Duke of Kent had commissioned a survey of the manor of Goodrich, made by Edward Laurence. Most of it survives as a volume of maps of the demesne lands and details of the freeholders and tenants.³⁰ Unfortunately the map(s) of the Dowards are missing, probably extracted when the land was sold to His Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, forerunner of the Forestry Commission. Figure 1 shows part of the 1718 map of Weare Hill.

It is clear from both maps that the original 'Symonds Yat' was sited at a place where a natural or man-made breach in the steep line of rocks allowed a road to descend from the English Bicknor plateau towards Huntsham. Contrary to some sources, the Yat or gate was not named after an 18th-century landowner, as *Symundeszate* was one of the places mentioned in a survey of the bounds of the bailiwick of Bicknor in 1282.³¹ Also in 1282, the survey says 'the vill of *Honsom* [Huntsham] is within the boundaries of the Forest and is taken from the Forest...', but the men from there had never appeared before the steward nor attended court.³² It seems that although the Wye separated Huntsham from the rest of Goodrich, it had been part of a land holding to the north of Symonds Yat for a very long time, maybe from Roman times, of which more later. One only has to consider the nature of the fortification at Symonds Yat. Figure 2 shows the scale plan of the earthworks drawn by Clarke for the 1898 *Transactions*.³³

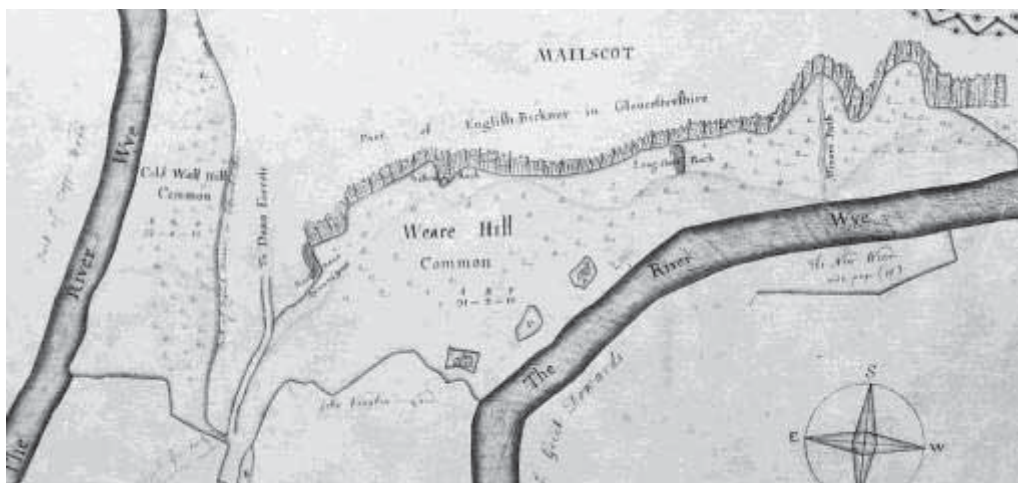


Figure 1. Part of the 1718 manorial map of Weare Hill, showing the New Weir on the bank of the Wye opposite the 'Minors Path'.

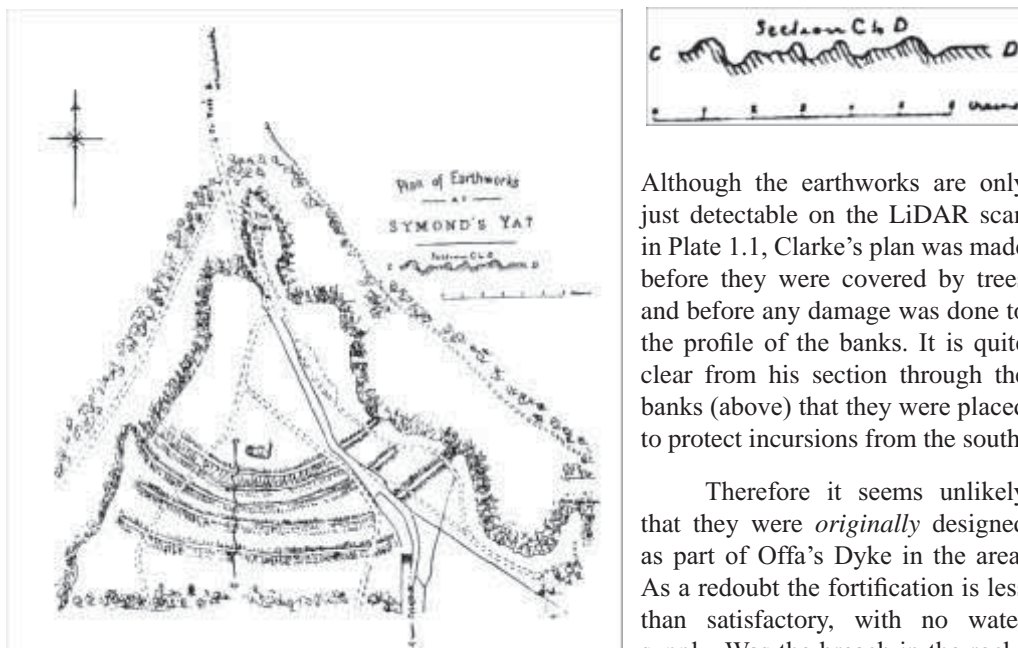


Figure 2. Clarke's plan of Symonds Yat earthworks, 1898.

Although the earthworks are only just detectable on the LiDAR scan in Plate 1.1, Clarke's plan was made before they were covered by trees and before any damage was done to the profile of the banks. It is quite clear from his section through the banks (above) that they were placed to protect incursions from the south.

Therefore it seems unlikely that they were *originally* designed as part of Offa's Dyke in the area. As a redoubt the fortification is less than satisfactory, with no water supply. Was the breach in the rocks contemporary? Who was on the Huntsham side?

5.2 Symonds Yat to Bishopswood via Offa's Dyke

Plate 1.10 shows the location in the Wye of the Three Counties boundary stone. The Goodrich parish boundary ascends Coppet Hill from this marker, leaving Welsh Bicknor to the south, until it descends to the Wye again on the east opposite Bishopswood on the east bank of the Wye (Figure 3).

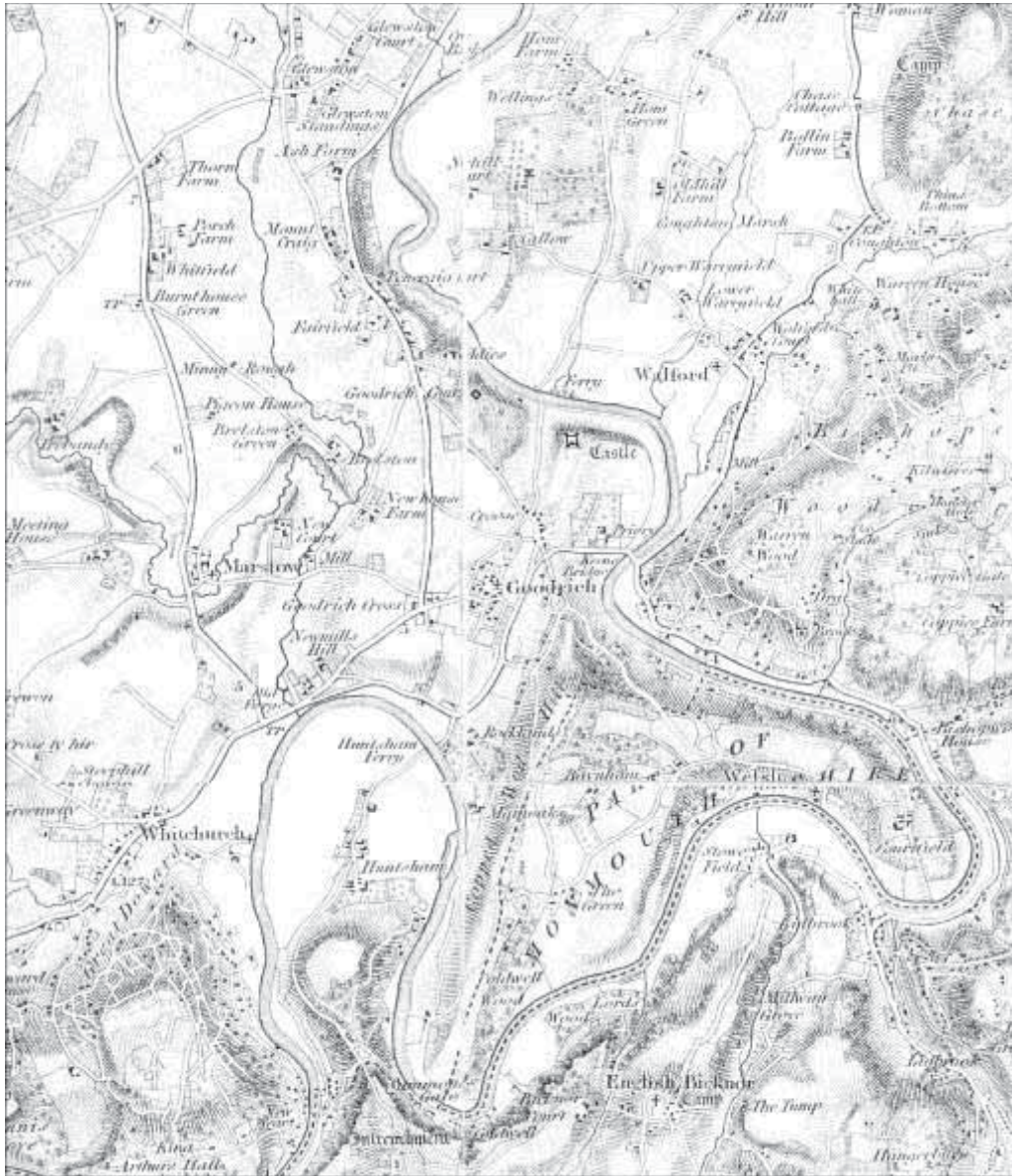


Figure 3. 1st edition OS map showing parish boundaries around Welsh Bicknor and Goodrich

Offa's Dyke

The most important earthwork boundary running between Symonds Yat and Bishopswood is Offa's Dyke. The changing nature of this earthwork as it runs parallel to the Wye on the south suggests strongly the location of one of the most important early Welsh churches in the area, *Lanncusthennin garthbenni in Ercicg*, usually thought to be in Welsh Bicknor.

Some accounts of Offa's Dyke in this area either deny its existence, dissociate it from Offa or ignore it. Certainly it has been destroyed in many places, mainly by industrial developments from the late 18th century onwards, and it is not respected even now. The Archaeological Research Section of the Club visited it in 2000 and identified a section where the ditch, although being used to dump garden rubbish, was still some 5m. deep.³⁴ In fact, this is the section of Dyke which was no doubt always higher—for a political reason. Keith Ray, in his recent book on the Dyke, points out that although its height varies along its length, it is noticeable that its highest parts face buildings or fortifications which are important to the peoples on the non-Mercian side.³⁵ The highest section locally runs across a northwards curve of English Bicknor near Stowfield, facing Welsh Bicknor across the Wye, indicated by three red arrows in Plate 1.11. The current site of Welsh Bicknor church lies somewhat to the east of the apex of the curve. There is some evidence that the river is gradually shifting in the same direction. Almost all of Welsh Bicknor parish lies on carboniferous limestone, and along its boundary with the Wye this has been progressively eroded, probably by frost action, as large boulders have fallen down towards the river, as can be seen in Plate 1.1.

Other evidence to support the *Lanncusthennin* suggestion is that 'Stowfield'³⁶ is an ancient name also, as Robert of *Stoufeld* appears in the Bicknor section in the 1282 regard of the Forest of Dean.³⁷ One of the earliest of the Llandaff charters concerned a grant by King Pebiau, son of Erb, of the manor of *Garthbenni* to *Lanncusthennin in Ercicg* 'as far as the black marsh between the wood, and field, and water, and the property of King Cystennin, his father-in-law, beyond the river Wye.'³⁸ This implies that Cystennin's property lay to the south of the Wye and that *Garthbenni* was to the north. There is a 'Crowmarsh' or 'Holywell Brook' towards the Symonds Yat end of the Stowfield land—see Plate 1.10.

There is no clear agreement on the meaning of *Garthbenni*, some suggesting a doubtful 'cart enclosure', other that '*benni*' is the plural of 'horns' or 'beaks', which does describe the shape of Welsh Bicknor as seen from across the Wye. As 'Bicknor' means 'ridge with a point'³⁹ it would seem that *Garthbenni* and Bicknor describe the same physical location, the major feature of which is the ridge of Welsh Bicknor. It is clear that the charter c.575 pre-dates the building of the Dyke, but also that the creation of that boundary was responsible for the sundering of 'Bicknor' into Welsh and English—with Stowfield on the 'Welsh' side initially—though the Bicknor name came later. The 'Welshness' was respected for more than a thousand years until Welsh Bicknor became part of Herefordshire in 1844.

It's not clear whether Cystennin's property included all the area of English Bicknor. Originally this ran right up to the Lyd brook but was decreased when Lydbrook parish was formed. Although *Lanncusthennin* retained its importance for hundreds of years, its location right on the border must have made it insecure and the last Llandaff charter mentioning it is dated to 743.⁴⁰

The other observation made by Keith Ray is that the Dyke seems to cross valleys in its path by going some way up the valley until a convenient crossing point was reached. There is evidence of this in the Symonds Yat to Bishopswood stretch, the only place where it is not true

is where it crosses a sunken field just to the south of Stowfield Farm where the more impressive part of the Dyke starts. The red arrows on Plate 1.11 from the east show the Symonds Yat earthworks, then the next to the east seems to show the Dyke going around a small valley. The position becomes difficult as Lower Lydbrook is approached because the railway and tramways have either destroyed or reused the original path. The tramway built towards Bishopswood drops down to the Wye at the end of its course, and with the eye of faith traces of the Dyke can still be seen until it peters out, significantly perhaps, opposite the boundary between Welsh Bicknor and Goodrich parishes/manors. No comprehensive measured survey has been made of the possible path of this part of the Dyke, but with modern GPS technology it should be possible.⁴¹

5.3 Symonds Yat towards Bishopswood via Coppet Hill

One of the most striking features seen by travellers along the A40 from Ross to Monmouth is the virtually treeless flank of the common of Coppet Hill. Other woodland in the area such as the Dowards is now tree-covered and it costs no little volunteer effort to keep Coppet Hill as it had been for hundreds of years, as was the other woodland. One of the earliest form of the name (1372) is *Coppyngwode* which is probably derived from ‘crested’ [with trees] rather than ‘coppiced’, as it still looks today. The boundary between the manors/parishes of Welsh Bicknor and Goodrich has been disputed for many years. In the 1718 map of survey typical funnel-shaped exits from the common are shown, but in the early 19th century Vaughan of Courtfield built a stone wall straight along the ridge. A fuller description of the boundary features is available elsewhere.⁴² On the east the boundary drops down to the Wye to a ‘White Oak’ opposite to a hedge of the Countess of Kent on the other side of the Wye.⁴³ Offa’s Dyke on the east bank of the Wye seems to fade out at this point.

For the most part the boundary runs along the division between the carboniferous limestone of Welsh Bicknor and the sandstone of Goodrich. The ridge path follows the same route and was anciently used, as a Roman dodecahedral gaming piece, now in Hereford museum, was found there.

Roman settlements and boundaries

As it seems that (Welsh) Bicknor was a *maenor* in the later 6th century, there is the possibility that the boundaries of local manors have some connection with Romano-British ‘estates’. A Romano-British farm has been excavated near Hadnock in Dixton parish; Club members have excavated the farm on Huntsham; evidence of Roman occupation e.g. part of a mortarium has been found next to Courtfield in Welsh Bicknor.⁴⁴ A number of Roman coin hoards have been found locally. Wright reports that one was found on Coppet Hill in 1817, and another at Lydbrook during quarrying operations in 1848.⁴⁵ In 1895 a major Roman coin hoard was found at Bishopswood consisting of at least 20,000 coins.⁴⁶ It is believed they were deposited some time after 337CE. Is there any significance in the place of deposit?

Although no definite Roman occupation site has been found along the Wye between Goodrich and Ross, there are attractive sites which lie just above the floodplain, as at Dixton and Huntsham e.g. Flanesford—though only plough soil Roman pottery has been found there—and on the east bank.

5.4 Welsh Bicknor boundary to Crow Brook

Excepting a small field on the eastern bank of the Wye, the Goodrich boundary runs along the middle of the Wye until Crow or Holywell Brook⁴⁷ (just downstream of Weir End in Bridstow) enters the Wye to the east of Glewston Court. Alternative names for the land at mouth of the brook here are Crowmarsh or Kirmarsh.⁴⁸ The shading on the 1815 map (Plate 1.7) implies that although parts of Marstow parish come down to the Wye they do not reach into the river. There is an exception to this: the ferry crossing below Goodrich castle and a small amount of land belonged to the manor of Monmouth. This is commonly said to be because when Henry IV there heard of the birth in 1386/7 of the future Henry V at Monmouth he granted it to the ferryman, though this is not necessarily correct.⁴⁹

5.5 The northern boundary of the manor from Crow Brook

The traces of the valleys of insignificant streams visible on LiDAR have shown a marked correspondence with the boundaries of the two detached northerly portions of Goodrich parish (and manor). See Plates 1.1, 1.12).

The northernmost detached portion starts from the Wye at the mouth of Crow Brook. It follows the stream along a field boundary then crosses under the A40 in a north-westerly direction. It passes a small lake until, before it reaches the Man of Ross, it follows a very small valley branching west, crosses a road and drops down to the valley of the Luke Brook, which it follows until the same latitude as Pencraig, when it rejoins the Wye (Plate 1.12).

The next detached portion is fully shown on Plate 1.7; there is some indication on the LiDAR of minor stream valleys flowing south-west here, with the Luke Brook again a boundary.

The boundary of the main part of Goodrich parish on the south-west runs along a clearly marked valley into the Luke, which it then follows until it joins the Garron and then to the Wye. However, the manorial boundary leaves the Garron near Old Mill well before it reaches the Wye, now delineating Llangarren parish. It rejoins the Garron after passing Marstow old church. Shortly after passing under the main road a valley joins the Garron from the south-west. The valley marks a finger of Whitchurch parish which obtrudes into Llangarren, clearly shown on Plate 1.8. The south of the block of Llangarren around the valley is designated as the chapelry of Llandunnoch.

From this point anticlockwise around the boundary of Goodrich manor clues have to be obtained by combining title maps and the boundary of Wormelow manor as given in 1816. With a magnifying glass it is possible to see the correlation of the dotted lines marking boundaries with stream valleys, given the unavoidable slight discrepancy with the Gwatkin map. To a certain extent it has been possible to identify properties known from manorial court records to belong to Goodrich manor to confirm the boundaries. For example, Treworgan is in the south-west of Llangarren parish but in the manor of Goodrich. The Monnow forms part of the boundary of the manor in the far west, and the grant of St Roald church to Monmouth priory by fitzBaderon implies that, before the grant of Wormelow manor to Richard Talbot in 1346, the southern parts of Llanrothal and Welsh Newton were part of Goodrich manor.

'Welsh Newton' is in itself an indication that the original inhabitants may have been pushed into less hospitable lands by incomers. Certainly the heights of Welsh Newton are often snow-clad when Goodrich is clear. A number of major farms in the southern parts of Wormelow manor have been marked on Plate 1.6, and it is possible to see that their lands seem to be delineated in a number of instances by stream valleys. This may be a reflection of their original Welsh ownership structure.

6. THE MANOR AT *DOMESDAY*

If the demesne land of the manor is plotted using the 1718 survey, it is obvious that much of the area consists of woodland (Plate 1.12). Apart from the Flanesford Priory estate next to the castle, there are only isolated closes, much of it pasture or meadow, with only a small proportion of the land in the open fields. At *Domesday*, the lord had only two ploughs and four ploughmen, but there were 12 villans (free), 12 bordars (unfree) and 11 ploughs. It would seem from this that a sizeable amount of arable land was under cultivation, of which the Huntsham peninsula and the flat lands to its west was probably the major part.

The earliest manorial court records go back to 1505.⁵⁰ In 1522/3 the manor was divided into two bailiwicks; *ultra garan*, ie. outside the Garron which possibly did not include the Dowards, as there the ‘bayly’ collected both the lord’s rent and the perquisites of court and *citra garan*, where the bayly only collected the perquisites of the court but the reeve collected the rents.⁵¹ This division may reflect alterations in the manorial boundary over time—or just the amount of work and distance to be travelled by the bayly.

The earliest court roll which gives a list of suitors dates from 1564 shows that at that time there were at least 20 suits, but it is not obvious whether any correspondence can be made with the 12 villans at *Domesday*.⁵² Some properties may have been split by *gavelkind* which was stated as one of the customs of the manor even in the 17th century, long after it had been outlawed in 1536.

7. REVIEW

This largely topographical journey around the boundaries of Goodrich has suggested that pre-*Domesday* organisational structures can perhaps be glimpsed, however shadowy, from the lie of the land and some later historical records. These can be summarised by looking at various historical periods:

Prehistoric

The Dowards have evidence of transient human occupation in Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods; there may be more evidence now buried by landslips on the flanks of Huntsham Hill and Welsh Bicknor. The field on the top of Huntsham Hill, overlooked by the Symonds Yat ‘fort’, has furnished evidence of a lithic factory. There have been finds ranging from a mesolithic adze on Huntsham to a Lake District-sourced neolithic axe in Goodrich.

The Little Doward hillfort and the Symonds Yat ‘fort’ command extensive views over the land within Goodrich manor and between them protect the valuable iron resources of the Great Doward. The next hillfort upstream on the Wye, Chase Hill, has a similar wide-ranging viewpoint, especially with regard to iron-working areas. The landscape can almost be viewed as a series of bowls, commanded by a local tribe or leader.

Roman and post-Roman

There is every reason to suppose that the local Romano-British iron-working activities merely superseded a well-established Iron Age industry. It is not clear how the ironworks at Whitchurch were managed, but there were reports in the 19th century of a mosaic floor near Ganarew, probably now under the A40 dual carriageway; a dolphin-shaped Roman brooch was found nearby at Croker’s Ash.⁵³ This location is more suitable for someone looking after the ironworks than the Huntsham establishment, as it is not cut off from the Dowards by the Wye. The pre-

Roman inhabitants of the area may have been pushed to the margins at this time, but it is likely that many carried on their normal occupations of animal husbandry or iron-working and an under-lying tribal structure remained. If Eryng-Archenfield is the direct successor to Ariconium it seems just as likely that a pre-Roman kingdom gave its name to Ariconium, although this suggestion is contentious.

Even given the doubtful dates of some of the Llandaff charters, it seems clear that Christianity was present in the area only two hundred years or so after the Roman governance disappeared. From its style at this time it appears to have come from the west rather than being a Roman relic. One question which has not been satisfactorily answered is why the churches we know about were located in that position? As well as the possible Roman proximity to early churches at Dixon, Welsh Bicknor and Pencraig, Ganarew is mentioned in the charters and has the nearby Roman site mentioned earlier.

Offa's Dyke until Domesday

The Anglo-Saxon advance may have divided the Bicknor landholding but it is not clear what happened on the eastern boundary of Goodrich. Modern surveying methods should show exactly to what extent the Dyke exists between Symonds Yat and its possible terminus somewhere near Bishopswood and whether, in fact, it really does disappear completely there.

The *Ordinance concerning the Dunsæte* is a document concerning the protocols of movements across a border between the English and presumably a Welsh people, the *Dunsæte*, usually translated as 'the hill people'. It exists only as later copies, and the original date is unknown, though it is variously supposed to be sometime in the last three quarters of the 10th century.⁵⁴ There is no academic agreement as to who the *Dunsæte* were and the area they lived in and/or controlled, but the supposition has been that they lived in the south of Herefordshire in all or part of the area known as Eryng, later as Archenfield. Ray gives the arguments for the status of the *Dunsæte* with regard to Mercia.⁵⁵

From a topographical point of view, if '*Dun-*' does mean 'hill', there are plenty to hand and *Hulla* is only a century away! Seriously, it is likely that at that time the land which later became Goodrich manor had a mixed English and Welsh population and that this continued until the mid 11th century, but it seems the Welsh were concentrated to the west.⁵⁶

8. CONCLUSION

Topographical evidence seems to show that, although Goodrich acquired its name post-Conquest, the manor's southern boundary at least may reflect those of much earlier land-holdings. There is reason to suppose that for some time pre-Conquest it had at least one lord of non-Welsh origin and that its position within a soon-to-be fragmented Eryng-Archenfield is debatable. It remains to be seen whether modern archaeological techniques can clarify its position in history.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ *Domesday* will be used as a convenient abbreviation for the ‘Domesday survey’.

² LiDAR stands for ‘Light Detection and Ranging’ and is the laser equivalent of aerial photography. It has the advantage that it maps small variations in height and can ‘see’ through tree cover. The images can be manipulated to exaggerate height variations to emphasize features. Environment Agency LIDAR data was released in 2015 as an open data set and is used by licence at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/>. The data is available from the Flickr website. Use the grid reference finder at <http://gridreferencefinder.com/osfs/> to ‘pin’ a location to the map, right-click on the pin and a grid reference panel will come up. For Goodrich village the Grid Ref is SO 57098 19410. To access the LiDAR information you just need SO51 i.e. the first digit of the easting and northing. For every SO reference there are 4 ‘tiles’ i.e. SE, SW, NE, NW. For clarity, the main rivers have been coloured light blue and subsidiary rivers dark blue.

Go to <https://www.flickr.com/photos/environmentagencyopensurveydata/sets/> and look for the correct albums.

³ For example, <http://opendomesday.org/place/SO6020/howle-hill/>, <http://pase.ac.uk/index.html>.

⁴ Balliol, MS 350, f.11v. Images of the Herefordshire *Domesday* are available online

⁵ Kay Richardson, in her 2001 thesis ‘*Anglo-Norman Defence Strategy in Selected English Border and Maritime Counties, 1066 - 1087*’ which deals with the area, ignored Goodrich (text available online).

⁶ Hart, *The Regard of the Forest of Dene* in 1282, (1978), 53.

⁷ There were 160 salt pans at [Droit]wich at *Domesday*, belonging to various places and people. King Edward and Earl Edwin between them and derived rents from them totalling £76. King William had them in demesne in 1086. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 253-4.

⁸ The Phillimore edition of *Domesday* gives Godric’s surname as ‘Mapson’, the Great *Domesday* ‘Mappesone’ and the Balliol *Domesday* ‘Mapes sone’. The *Aluric Mappesone* who held Droitwich in 1066 is recorded at http://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=view_records&st=location_local&value=645&level=1&lbl=Droitwich. He was succeeded by Roger de Lacy. The entry has been added at the base of the *Domesday* page and can be seen at <http://opendomesday.org/book/worcestershire/10/>.

⁹ Higham, Nick, ed, ‘Britons in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Journal of English Philology*, V128, (Jan 2010)..

¹⁰ See Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206*, available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp395-420>

¹¹ St Florent was a popular foundation. William I endowed it from before 1066. William ‘de Braiosa’ was another major donor.

¹² The cartulary starts with a donation from William I before the Conquest.

¹³ Lowe, ‘*Villa Chachebren* or New Court, Marstow: a Monmouth Priory estate’, *TWNFC*, (2007), 112-7.

¹⁴ The National Archives (henceforward TNA), E 210/4437. This later copy cannot be relied upon as items could have been added to the original. Note that ‘*de castello Godrici*’ does not mean that this was the chapel inside the castle.

¹⁵ The translation and proposed dates for the charters are not necessarily wholly reliable.

¹⁶ Round, p.111 no.1145.

¹⁷ See a discussion of the Wormelow manor/hundred conflict in ‘The Welsh Border: Political Geography’, by Frank and Caroline Thorn. An early version of their text is available at <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:505/content>.

¹⁸ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, v. 5. A.D. 1341-1417, 51. Online at <https://archive.org/details/calendarofcharte05greauoft>.

¹⁹ Hereford Library, Herefordshire MSS (volume which originally belonged to James Hill, then to John Allen 1818, then to R B Phillipp of Longworth,) 117.

²⁰ Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre (HARC), A2/1, volume with Wormelow manor papers;

²¹ HARC, A19/2. This has a detailed list of the various suits and hamlets within the manor, including a number of places such as Tregate and Evaston called ‘manor’.

²² A sample of the survey gives an idea of the detail: ‘Jury present bounds - their perambulation begins at a mere tree in the parish of Peterstow near the old turnpike road leading from Ross to Hereford along a road leading to the New Inn to a watercourse dividing the parishes of Peterstow and Hentland...thence to a meer dividing the Manors of Wilton upon Wye and Wormelow to an ancient thorn growing on the thorn green down to Stone Bridge..thence to Welsh Newton thence to the Moyld [Maylo] Cross thence to the Comb

[Cwm] leaving it on the left to a watercourse to the river Monnow thence up to Tregetts bridge thence up to Lanrothal (except such lands as are parcel of the manor of Goodrich if there should be any such)...’.

²³ See Coplestone Crow, ‘The early history of Wilton castle and manor, Herefordshire’, *TWNFC*, (2009), 110-7.

²⁴ Throughout I shall use the term *Welsh* in preference to *British*.

²⁵ Personal communication from Paul Oliver.

²⁶ Watkins, ‘The Lordship of Monmouth and the Herefordshire-Monmouthshire Border’, *TWNFC*, (1961), 73-6.

²⁷ Hart, *The Regard of the Forest of Dene* (1987), p.36.

²⁸ Gloucester Record Office (GRO), D23/35.

²⁹ HARC, O68/Maps/7 (the Duke of Kent’s map).

³⁰ HARC, AW87.

³¹ Hart, *The Regard of the Forest of Dene* (1987), p.36.

³² *Ibid.*, 21.

³³ *TWNFC*, 1898, opp. p.115.

³⁴ Lowe, ‘Field Meeting to Lydbrook & Ruardean, Gloucestershire’, *Herefordshire Archaeological News (HAN)* 71, 2000, 39-43.

³⁵ Ray, *Offa’s Dyke: Landscape and Hegemony in Eight-Century Britain*, Oxbow (2016), Ch.5 & 275-6.

³⁶ This would seem to imply ‘church land’.

³⁷ The National Archives (TNA), E32/30, rot.18; Hart, *The Regard of the Forest of Dene* (1987), 14.

³⁸ This charter may be a later statement of the foundation tradition. It has been dated from the witness list. Images of the *Liber Landavensis* are available online at <https://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=1667>. The *Lanncusthennin* charter quoted is on page 105. The translation text quoted is the early one by Rees. See Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm* and Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, for a fuller explanation.

³⁹ Old English; Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place Names*, 2004), 55.

⁴⁰ Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 173.

⁴¹ There may be some reference to the earthwork in the accounts of the building of the tramway.

⁴² Lowe, ‘Field Meeting to Huntsham & Coppet Hill, Goodrich’, *HAN* 73, 2002, 9-25.

⁴³ Court of survey of Amabel, Countess of Kent, 1655, which gives further details of the boundary. The 1718 manorial map shows that a piece of land on the east bank of the Wye near Bishopswood belonged to the manor.

⁴⁴ Lowe, ‘Field Meeting to Welsh Bicknor’, *HAN* 70, 2002, 27-36.

⁴⁵ Wright, *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, 14. See www.forgottenbooks.com/en/books/WanderingsofanAntiquary.

⁴⁶ A full description of a large number of the coin found is in *TWNFC*, (1895), additional supplement 1-22, reprinted from an article by Mary Bagnall-Oakeley in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* In 2010 1661 coins from the hoard plus the pottery vessel found together with a display case sold for nearly £47,000, see <http://www.coinnews.net/2010/06/21/bishops-wood-hoard-of-roman-coins-realize-46964-in-baldwin-auction/>. Hereford Museum has a considerable number, but many were scattered to other institutions.

⁴⁷ HARC, O68/III/22.

⁴⁸ HARC, O68/II/29.

⁴⁹ Lowe, ‘Upmouths, cruckles and gillyns: some notes on Wye fisheries between Ross and Monmouth’, *TWNFC*, (2008), 99-110.

⁵⁰ HARC, G38/I/1, Court Roll 8 Oct 1505.

⁵¹ HARC, G38/I/3.

⁵² HARC, G38/I/14 f1. The court roll is in poor conditions so there may have been more suitors.

⁵³ Lowe, ‘Field Meeting at Whitchurch’, *HAN* 78, 2007, 6.

⁵⁴ The website <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/ii-atr/#print-editions> gives access to online images of the documents which are attached to an Ethelred/Olaf treaty and to the Liebermann transcription. Look in a drop-down list for the pages or folios for ‘Duns’.

⁵⁵ Ray, *Offa’s Dyke: Landscape and Hegemony in Eight-Century Britain*, Oxbow (2016), 266-274.

⁵⁶ Recent DNA studies have shown that people whose four grandparents were born either on one side or the other of the current Welsh-English border show a similar and definite polarisation between Welsh and English origins.

‘What Lies Beneath?’: The Swinfields of Hereford Cathedral¹

by IAN L. BASS

With the advent of the Heritage Lottery funded repair works to St John’s Walk at Hereford Cathedral in 2015, a fragment of the ledger stone which once marked the grave of Gilbert de Swinfield, chancellor of Hereford Cathedral 1287–99, was found; it had been used as a paving slab. As part of the HLF project a research group was set up to re-interpret and examine the history and various finds from the repair work. The research which forms the basis of this article was used in the 2016 ‘What Lies Beneath?’ exhibition held at Hereford Cathedral’s Mappa Mundi and Chained Library Exhibition, and culminated in a talk at the 2016 ‘St John’s Walk Conference: Green Men & Griffins’ examining Gilbert’s life and career. This article is an extension of that talk, providing a detailed examination of the two Swinfield brothers, Gilbert and John, who became chancellor and precentor respectively. In addition to this it examines the relationships other family members had under the guiding influence of Bishop Richard de Swinfield (1283–1317). Because of the genesis of the miraculous cult of St Thomas de Cantilupe (bishop of Hereford 1275–82, canonized 1320) focus has generally rested on Bishop Richard and his conscientious promotional campaign. Instead, this article turns attention to his close relatives who were placed into the heart of the chapter at Hereford Cathedral and assesses their impact on the cult and cathedral around them: an impact still apparent in the 21st century.

INTRODUCTION

Looking around Hereford Cathedral today, it is easy to take for granted the impact that the Swinfield family had on the fabric. The grand Swinfield scheme of rebuilding started in the north transept with the shrine of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe (1275–82); it is from here that all other works flow.² The shrine was constructed in 1287, and was the catalyst for the development of



Figure 1. The tomb of Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford 1283–1317. Photograph by Gordon Taylor. (Engraving from H. T. Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, 1881), plate IV.

a devotional cult that would place Hereford Cathedral as a central English pilgrimage location into the 14th century. The rebuilding scheme began sometime after the realisation of Cantilupe’s miraculous powers on Maundy Thursday (3 April) 1287,³ under Bishop Richard de Swinfield (1283–1317), Cantilupe’s successor, and his canons, including three of Bishop Richard’s nephews. This ensured that pilgrims could flock to Hereford Cathedral *en masse*. Elsewhere in the cathedral, physical echoes

remain of the family: in what is now the Cathedral Shop stock room, in the north-east transept, is the ruined monument to Bishop Richard; traces of the crucifixion scene can still be made out after the tomb was destroyed in the Reformation (Fig. 1).

In the retro-choir, at the entrance to the Lady Chapel, is the colourful monument believed to be that of Bishop Richard's nephew, John de Swinfield. John had been archdeacon of Shropshire, then treasurer and precentor of Hereford Cathedral (Plate 2.1). His monument is adorned with playful pigs eating acorns and his feet rest firmly on a boar, forming a rebus on his name. Both funerary monuments follow similar trends in tomb design. The location and style of these two monuments has been interpreted as 'a desire to found a Swinfield family mausoleum at the east end' of the cathedral.⁴

There are, however, at least two other ecclesiastics missing from this 'family mausoleum': Gilbert de Swinfield and Richard de Swinfield, also nephews of Bishop Richard. With the advent of the Heritage Lottery Funded programme of excavation and repair works to replace the roof tiles and flagstones in the 15th-century cloister, known as 'St John's Walk', an upturned ledgerstone bearing the inscription 'GILBERTUS DE SWINF' was found (Fig. 2). Yet who was Gilbert and what role did he have in the cathedral? This paper addresses these two questions and explores the wider context of the Swinfield family in Herefordshire during this time. In doing so, this paper charts the careers of three of Bishop Richard's nephews and their respective roles in Hereford Cathedral and their uncle's *familia*. The records which survive can be drawn together to highlight the fortunes of the Swinfield family and thus provide biographies, albeit short ones when compared to their uncle. The appendices to this article include a biographical list of the family in Herefordshire and a family tree.



Figure 2. The discovered ledgerstone of Gilbert de Swinfield, chancellor of Hereford Cathedral 1287–99. (Photograph by Gordon Taylor).

A FAMILY VENTURE: THE SWINFIELDS IN THE RECORDS

Bishop Richard's three nephews, Gilbert, John, and Richard, appear in the records throughout his episcopate. Unfortunately, there is no record of when Gilbert, John, or Richard were born, nor do we actually know where they are from. Historians such as Canon William Wolfe Capes, Julia Barrow, and Robert Swanson have all suggested that Bishop Richard and his immediate family might have come from Swingfield, near Folkstone in Kent, both by the toponymical association and the fact that Bishop Richard filled Hereford Cathedral's chapter with men who came from the surrounding areas.⁵ It is possible that Gilbert, John, and Richard might have been from there too. We know that Bishop Richard's father and brother, both named Stephen,

relocated to Herefordshire: the former died at Bosbury in 1282 where his fragmentary memorial is displayed on the south wall of the church; the latter was given care of estates and wardships, and the surviving household roll for 1289 and 1290 reveals that he received fine clothing, and was even sent to London to have his brother's favourite drinking cup repaired.⁶

There is, however, a little confusion over whether Stephen the younger joined the Church in later life. Joyce Horn, in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541* for Hereford, noted that the prebend of Inkberrow was granted to 'Stephen de Swinfield' on 21 September 1294. Horn also notes her uncertainty, since Le Neve-Hardy gave no authority for the statement regarding the appointment of 'Stephen Swinfeud'.⁷ Julia Barrow also asserts in her *1066–1300* volume of the Hereford *Fasti* that it was Stephen de Swinfield who was assigned to this prebend and indicated that he perhaps lived until 1319, when Master Richard de Vernon was installed to the benefice.⁸ The register of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester (1268–1302), names 'Stephen de Graveshende, subdeacon', as being assigned the prebend of Inkberrow at the nomination of Bishop Richard.⁹ Counter to this thesis, however, is the fact that in 1295 Bishop Richard reiterated a grant of the guardianship of Walter I de Dunre's heirs to Stephen de Swinfield and Stephen's daughter, Margery, with no mention of any ecclesiastical rank: he is merely '*Stephano dicto de Swynefeud*'.¹⁰ Furthermore, no receipt of a bequest to Stephen appears after Bishop Richard's death. Therefore, it is likely that Stephen de Gravesend is a completely different person.

Richard, son of Stephen, also appears in the household roll, and is claimed by John Webb to have been an associate of Walter II de Dunre, the heir Stephen de Swinfield was given charge of by Bishop Richard.¹¹ It seems that he formed an association with the heir his father was given charge of, since both Walter II de Dunre and Richard de Swinfield were given shoes worth 14*d* as well as other gifts together.¹² It is likely that Gilbert and John were also sons of Stephen the younger. They might have come with their father and grandfather in the hope of ecclesiastical patronage, as well as forming a familial core around Bishop Richard. There is one mention of a female Swinfield in the record too. In 1295, Bishop Richard repeated the grant which he had given on 25 September 1287. Both grants conferred the guardianship of Chilstone manor, Madley, and the wardship of the heirs of Walter I de Dunre to Stephen de Swinfield, and, in the repeated grant eight years later, Stephen's daughter, Margery, is included. The witness lists of both grants show that this was very much a family affair with Master Gilbert appearing first in the witness list as chancellor (*cancellario*), and Lord (*dominus*) John appearing just five names later as a canon of Hereford, endorsing this act (Fig. 4).¹³

One final named Swinfield appears in the records: Brother Thomas de Swinfield, *custos* of Bristol. His relationship to the other Swinfields is uncertain. He could be a nephew of Bishop Richard who had another patronage stream, or, considering that he already had a high ranking ecclesiastical position by the time he appears as a witness in 1289, he could be brother to Bishop Richard and Stephen. He appears twice in Bishop Richard's register in 1289 and 1291 as a witness to episcopal *acta*, and it is made clear that he is a brother and *custos* of the Franciscan Order at Bristol (*frater Thomas de Swynefeud, custos Bristollii ... socius suus, ordinis fratrum minorum*);¹⁴ this could be why a letter dated to 1280 from Richard, minister of the Franciscans in England, to the warden of the friary at Bristol survives in Bishop Richard's register.¹⁵ Could Brother Thomas also be the same as Brother Thomas who appears in the household roll, who worked at Bosbury, the bishop's favourite manor, and was paid for his work as a carpenter?¹⁶ The same Thomas appears again as a writer, and seems to have resided at Bosbury during this time.¹⁷

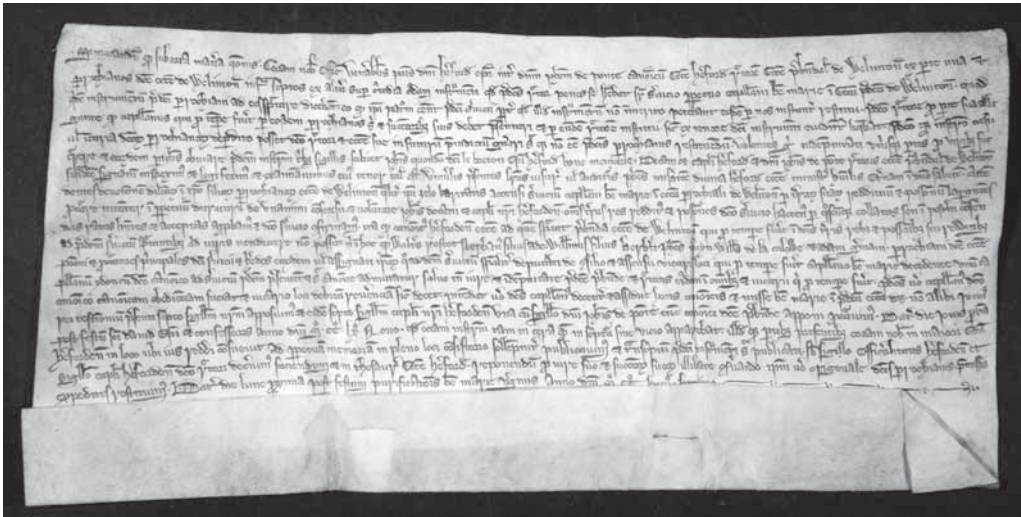


Figure 3. Dispute between Lord John de Ponte, canon and rector of Wellington, and the parishioners. Sealed by the bishop's official and the dean and chapter of Hereford Cathedral. Gilbert's duties included sealing documents for the dean and chapter, this is the first surviving document that he is likely to have sealed. HCA 2316. (Photograph by Gordon Taylor).

It would also account for why Brother Thomas appears as a witness to the bishop's *acta* in 1289 and 1291. He also received an expensive wardrobe of garments from Bishop Richard worth 23s. 6d. in total, although there is debate about the quality or colour of the garments.¹⁸

Thomas Frederick Tout and Philippa Hoskin, who have written *Dictionary of National Biography* entries for Bishop Richard, highlighted his patronage of and close association with the Franciscans; a surprising turn, considering the difficulties faced by his predecessor and idol, Thomas de Cantilupe.¹⁹ There is a possible relationship with Peter de Swinfield (variably Swynsfeld) who was the seventh provincial minister of the Franciscans by 1264.²⁰ The dating of his ecclesiastical career as minister between c.1264 and 1272 would possibly place him as an uncle to Bishop Richard and Brother Thomas; the former was only just entering the household of Master Thomas de Cantilupe in that same year. Considering, then, that two relatives were Franciscans, his sympathies and close association with the order are perhaps easily explained.

Other familial associations also occur in the records. For instance, in the receipt dated 17 July 1317 of the distribution of a bequest of 10 marks from Bishop Richard's will, we find one 'Margery de Brok', daughter of Isabel de la Dane, formerly sister of the late *dominus* Richard'.²¹ The de la Danes feature prominently within *acta* witness lists. The sons, Thomas and Richard, became a deacon and acolyte and were presented by Bishop Richard to the churches of Hampton Bishop (1288) and Tugford (1302) respectively.²² There is a Thomas de la Dane who played a prominent role in the bishop's household too, acting as one of his representatives on occasion, who could perhaps be the husband of Isabel and father of Thomas and Richard. Webb categorises him as Bishop Richard's 'paymaster and representative of his lordship in Kent'.²³ Disentangling the two Thomas de la Danes present in the record is a delicate, complex and extremely difficult task; for example, there is a case where a pair of boots was obtained for the use of Thomas de la Dane who Webb categorises as a beneficed clerk although it seems that he cannot write his own

accounts.²⁴ Accounting for this, it would make sense that the elder Thomas de la Dane who was recorded amongst the laymen in May 1288 remained as such, with a scribe in his employ to write his accounts as became evident, whilst his son, also Thomas, became a deacon in December 1288, clerk of the bishop, and eventually his chaplain in 1290.²⁵ It is clear that not only did the ‘mainline’ Swinfield family receive patronage, but the familial core that Bishop Richard chose to surround himself with was one that he rewarded greatly. Clearly, by the late 13th century the Swinfield family had embedded itself into the local tenorial, political, and familial networks.

RICHARD DE SWINFIELD’S CAREER

Bishop Richard himself has already been the subject of a biography by the Reverend John Webb in 1854 and 1855 when he published his two volume edition of the *Roll of Household Expenses* which survives for 1289 and 1290.²⁶ Canon Capes, who transcribed Bishop Richard’s register declined to offer a revision of the biography. A modern biography is needed; however, with some revisions Webb’s account still stands, and was utilised greatly by Tout and Hoskin for their biographical entries for Bishop Richard.

It will be useful here to give a quick precis of his career before becoming bishop of Hereford here to enable the narratives of the rest of his family to be put into context and to allow some revisions of the accepted story to be made. Richard was educated at university and upon his election and consecration to the see of Hereford in 1283, William Rishanger described him as: ‘Doctor of Sacred Theology; a man who was wise in his words and esteemed preacher’ (*Sacrae Theologiae Doctor; vir jocundus in verbis et egregius praedicator*).²⁷ Although, when he achieved the degree of doctor of divinity is unknown, he was certainly educated sufficiently to be ranked *Magister* upon the inception of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe’s episcopate in 1275.²⁸ From his own account he joined the household of Master Thomas de Cantilupe in 1264, and as such would have stood by his master throughout his political career during the aftermath of the Second Barons’ War.²⁹ It is therefore unsurprising that Bishop Richard’s register contains a copy of a 1265 Magna Carta ‘sealed by the hand of Master Thomas de Cantilupe, our chancellor’ (*data per manum magistri Thomae de Cantilupo cancelarii nostri*) on 11 March 1265.³⁰

It is likely that Richard accompanied Cantilupe to the university of Paris in 1267 or 1268, and to Oxford upon Cantilupe’s return in 1272 or 1273 when Cantilupe attained a doctorate in Theology.³¹ Perhaps during this time Master Richard also attained his doctorate in theology. In 1277 Bishop Thomas promoted Richard to an unidentified prebend of Hereford Cathedral, and to another in 1279.³² He also cultivated preferment in another diocese, being appointed prebendary of St Pancras in 1281 and archdeacon of London in 1282.³³ There is no evidence that he was chancellor of Lincoln as is often claimed by biographers.³⁴

It also appears that Richard did not join Bishop Thomas, and the *familia* present, on his fateful journey to Italy at the height of his dispute with Archbishop John Pecham.³⁵ Although many biographers of Cantilupe and Swinfield make this claim, even in more modern historians such as Hoskin and Philip Weaver, it was recognised in 1982 by Ronald Finucane that:

[T]here is no evidence that Richard Swinfield, Cantilupe’s successor, was in charge of the bones, nor indeed is there any evidence that he accompanied Thomas to Italy or, consequently, was present at his death and burial service, as is often claimed.³⁶

Cantilupe had arrived at Orvieto in June 1282 to find Pecham's proctors petitioning that, as he was excommunicate, he should not be received by the pope.³⁷ An enquiry into this excommunication dragged on for two months, until Cantilupe died on Tuesday 25 August 1282.³⁸ Richard, on the other hand, was busy answering and observing the mandates of Archbishop Pecham, not least in the case between Edmund, earl of Cornwall, and the executors of the late bishop of Exeter, Walter Branscombe (1258–80); the archbishop perhaps frustrating any attempts made by Archdeacon Richard to travel to his ailing friend in June and July.³⁹ Furthermore, the notarial instrument drawn up on 31 August 1282, recording receipts of bequests immediately distributed upon the death of Bishop Thomas, does not mention Richard in either his capacity as executor or the recipient of a bequest.⁴⁰ Finucane in particular cites the evidence from the 1307 canonization inquiry, where Bishop Richard's own testimony records that he received 'the details of Thomas' death, return of the bones to England, and eventual burial, at second hand, *dixit ex relatu . . . audivisse*.⁴¹

Upon consecration to the see of Hereford in March 1283, Bishop Richard busied himself with the business of the diocese. In 1287 he translated the bones of his predecessor to a new tomb in the north transept of the cathedral which sparked a miraculous devotional outburst. Some 455 or more miracles were attributed to Bishop Thomas and recorded over the course of the cult, and, whilst Bishop Richard died three years before his efforts bore their final, intended, fruit, Thomas de Cantilupe was enrolled as a saint on Thursday 17 April 1320.⁴² The fostering of the cult and the cultivation of the chapter is the likely reason why Bishop Richard appointed his nephews and kinsmen to positions of power as soon as the vacancies became available.

THE CAREERS OF GILBERT, JOHN, AND RICHARD DE SWINFELD

Richard de Swinfield was elected bishop of Hereford on 1 December 1282 and was consecrated at Gloucester on 7 March 1283.⁴³ Almost immediately his nephew, Gilbert, appears in his register. During the first month of his episcopate, on 6 April 1283, Bishop Richard visited Leominster Priory and one *Magistri Gilbertus de Swynefeud* appears as the fifth name in the witness list recording the visitation.⁴⁴ This provides two interesting pieces of information. First, his prominence in his uncle's *familia*, or household—those secular and domestic officials and clerks who assisted the bishop directly—was already quite significant; the placement of his name just behind the abbot of Wigmore, the archdeacon of Hereford and two canons of the cathedral indicate the rate at which Gilbert had risen through the ecclesiastical hierarchy under his uncle's patronage.⁴⁵ Second, and more importantly, he was already educated. As a *Magister*, or Master, Gilbert would have already spent six years of his life studying for his Master of Arts, and a further two lecturing in the faculty, covering the topics of grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, like his uncle, we do not know where Gilbert studied.

A few months later, on 27 September 1283, Gilbert was appointed to the prebend of Gorwell and Overbury, better known as Woolhope, which would have granted him an income of £7 8s. 9d.; this seems to have been enough to sustain him for a few years.⁴⁷ His brother, John, was installed to the rectory of Hampton Bishop a few days later on 10 October, providing £6 13s. 4d.⁴⁸ This ensured that both Gilbert and John were now canons in the chapter. The historical record is quiet on their activities, although they probably devoted time to accompanying their uncle about his business. They next appear as witnesses together two years later on, 25 February 1285,

witnessing an appeal by the bishop against action by papal delegates, and then in July the same year in a royal brief to the sheriff of Herefordshire, describing them as ‘*Gilberti de Swynefeud, et Johannis de Swynefeud, similiter canonicorum ecclesie memorate*’ (Gilbert de Swinfield and John de Swinfield, in like manner canons of the said church).⁴⁹ The brothers often appear together in the record mostly with Gilbert being differentiated by his learned rank of ‘*Magister*’, and his brother as ‘*Dominus*’. This differentiation has caused some confusion. Michael Burger, in his comprehensive study of bishops and diocesan governance, stressed that Master John de Swinfield is ‘[n]ot to be confused with the bishop’s brother (*dominus* John de Swinfield)’.⁵⁰ There is, however, no indication that *Dominus* John is indeed a different person from *Magister* John; for example, on 25 February 1285 the witness list names ‘*Magistro Gilberto, et domino Johanne de Swynefeud, canonicis Herefordensibus*’.⁵¹ John was erroneously referred to as *Magister* in his appointment to the archdeaconry of Shropshire and in one episcopal *actum* in 1289; however, it appears that he did not officially assume this title until 1304.⁵²

On 14 October 1285, John was installed to an unknown prebend, believed to be Withington Parva, which he retained until January 1287.⁵³ Gilbert and John witnessed one *actum* in 1286 relating to the marriage of Margaret de Neuville and John Giffard de Clifford, and were both present with their uncle on 23 June 1286 when poachers from the woods at Colwall sued for absolution.⁵⁴ The same year Bishop Richard’s brother, Stephen, appears as the seventh name in the witness list to a quitclaim.⁵⁵ The Swinfield family was now fully assimilated into Herefordshire, under the guiding influence of Bishop Richard.

The year 1287 heralded the beginning of peaks of ecclesiastical patronage for the Swinfield nephews. On 20 January, Gilbert’s career accelerated upon his appointment to the chancellorship of Hereford Cathedral, a position he would hold until his death in 1299.⁵⁶ As chancellor, Gilbert held a range of duties that had been laid down in the cathedral statutes of 1246 to 1264. These were: care of the cathedral books, to write and seal the chapter’s charters and writs, and to collate readings for services.⁵⁷ This appointment to one of the highest ranks in the cathedral chapter coincided with the promotional campaign that was about to begin. On Maundy Thursday, 3 April 1287, Thomas de Cantilupe’s bones were translated from their resting place in the Lady Chapel to a new tomb in the north transept where miracles began to occur.⁵⁸ The significance of this event and the need for a supportive cathedral chapter cannot be overstated. The first folio of Oxford, Exeter College MS 158 records:

Quinta igitur feria in cena domini videlicet .iiij^o. Nonas Aprilis. Anno gratie. M. CC^o. lxxx^o septimo et a transitu dicti Episcopi ab hac uita anno quinto: Cum dominus Ricardus dei gratia eiusdem Ecclesie Episcopus proximusque ipsius successor ossa serui dei predicti de loco ubi prius sepulta fuerant ob causas uarias et legitimas secundum ordinationem illorum qui quondam fuerant executores testamenti eiusdem. ac de uoluntate et consensu Capituli Ecclesie supradicte in loco alio competenciori in eadem ecclesia sepelisset: ac iuxta sepulcrum nouum ipsius in presentia sua missam que communiter celebratur pro defunctis . celebrari fecisset[.]

Hence, on a Thursday, namely, the Lord’s Supper on the third Nones of April in the year of grace 1287 [Maundy Thursday, 3 April 1287], and the fifth year since the passing of the aforementioned bishop [Thomas de Cantilupe] from this life, a

mass was celebrated next to the new sepulchre in his presence which was jointly celebrated for the dead, after Lord Richard, by the grace of God the next bishop of the same church and his successor, had moved the bones of the aforementioned servant of God from the place where they had been previously buried to another more agreeable place, on account of various and proper reasons and *following the decree of those who once had been executors of his will as well as by the desire and agreement of the chapter of the aforementioned church*.⁵⁹ [Author's emphasis].

Gilbert would have been privy to the personal correspondence flowing between his uncle and other bishops attempting to promote this new miraculous Thomas.⁶⁰ Bishop Richard appointed Gilbert to the prebend of Bartonsham on 15 June 1287, leaving him with a total income of £39 19s. This placed him on the same level as a middling knight and gave Gilbert the ability to enjoy a semi-aristocratic lifestyle suitable for his position.⁶¹ This position, however, did not come without dispute. King Edward I had been trying to install two royal clerks into prebends at Hereford Cathedral, as was customary, but Bishop Richard declined his requests.⁶² He stood firm against the idea of royal encroachments into diocesan jurisdiction. Edward shifted his position slightly, requesting benefices, including Bartonsham, to be given to one of his royal clerks. The bishop stated his intention to consult with his chancellor (Gilbert), who would wish to appoint the next available prebend to the archdeacon of Shropshire (John), since he had not yet been appointed to one in line with the statutes of the cathedral.⁶³

Almost immediately after this appointment Gilbert witnessed a settlement between his uncle and Luke de Bree, treasurer of the cathedral (1277–92), regarding a 'release, in consideration of ten marks, of all his grove and arable land lying between the enclosure of the bishop at Sugwas and the way towards the mill of Sugwas, which grove and land the said Luke bought of John Amfrey.'⁶⁴ Whilst it is dated to between 1287 and c.1288, this is the first official document Gilbert witnessed as chancellor which survives. *Dominus* John also appears as the fourth name in the witness list. The first extant document that Gilbert would have sealed as part of his duties is a memorandum, dated to the same time: the dispute between Lord John de Ponte, a canon and rector of the prebendal church of Wellington, against his parishioners. The bishop's official published the deed in the cathedral and had 'a transcript made for the said rector under the seals of the official and chapter of Hereford', depositing a copy in the treasury (Fig. 3).⁶⁵ Gilbert thereafter prosecuted his duties with aplomb, with multiple documents surviving throughout the years of his chancellorship.⁶⁶ At this time he witnessed disputes between varying factions of the dean and chapter, payments for the crusades and their various ecclesiastical tithes,⁶⁷ the threat of interdiction regarding the debts of Master Alan de Creppinge,⁶⁸ the payment and correspondence with the proctors in Rome attempting to secure Bishop Thomas's canonization,⁶⁹ as well as other general matters.⁷⁰

It is from the appointment as chancellor onwards that the name of Gilbert starts to appear first in the witness lists, often with that of his brother John very close by.⁷¹ John also received promotion in January 1287. He vacated the prebendary of Withington Parva to which he had been appointed in 1285, and on 29 January 1287 was appointed to the prebendary of Putson Major which he kept until 1291.⁷² On April 13 1287 he was granted the fruits of the vacant church at Hampton Bishop, which had been his original appointment, and in 1288 he was in London where

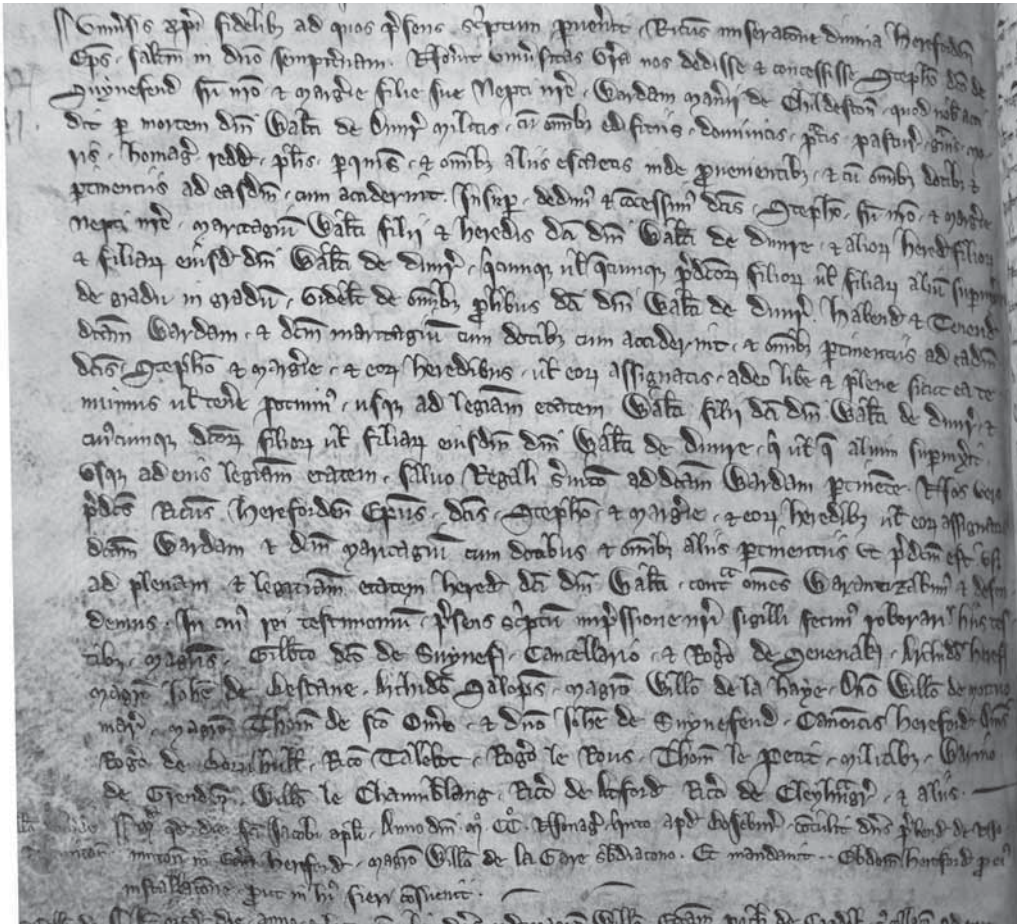


Figure 4. 1295 confirmation of the grant of 1287 granting Stephen de Swinfield and his daughter Margery guardianship of the manor of Chilstone in Madley and over the heirs of Walter I de Dunre (Dinedor) (HAS AL19/2, f.113v). (Photograph by Rhys Griffiths).

he witnessed the formal appeal of Bishop Richard to the pope against the archbishop's attacks on his episcopal jurisdiction.⁷³ John's major promotion came on 20 October 1289, when, whilst having only taken the vows of a sub-deacon and having not yet finished his education, he was appointed as archdeacon of Shropshire and was referred to as '*Magister Johannes de Swynefeud*'; such preferment must have raised some eyebrows.⁷⁴ Yet, unlike the nepotistic appointments made by his Savoyard predecessor, Peter d'Aquablanca (bishop of Hereford 1240–68), Bishop Richard never received any castigating scorn even though he abused his position to a greater extent. Nigel Yates calculated that between 18 and 26 per cent 'of the chapter, came from the bishop's home county of Kent, and that of these a third were related to the bishop.'⁷⁵ The right to appoint canons and cathedral officials, with the exception of the dean, fell to the bishop, giving rise to preferment such as this and chapters made up of sympathetic followers.

On 25 September 1287 the name of Bishop Richard's brother, Stephen, appears again in the record when he was granted the guardianship of Chilstone and the disposal of the heirs of Walter I de Dunre.⁷⁶ This benefited him immediately as he was able to levy a fine on Giles Don for marrying, without licence, Walter's widow.⁷⁷ Both Gilbert and John witnessed this grant of wardship by their uncle in their respective positions.⁷⁸ Again, Bishop Richard's sympathetic provision for his kinsmen allowed his elder brother to obtain an income to sustain himself in Herefordshire; however, Stephen seems to have never assumed any knightly or lordly rank in society, especially since the grant was to '*Stephano, dicto de Suynefeud, fratri nostro*' (Stephen, called de Swinfield, our brother) with no title of '*dominus*' afforded to him. This is made explicit when both Stephen and John witnessed the formal assent of interested parties to the ordinance of the bishop in July 1289 when he is referred to as '*Stephanus de Suynefeud, frater domini episcopi*' (Stephen de Swinfield, brother of the lord bishop).⁷⁹ Stephen did, however, go on to witness more of Bishop Richard's legal disputes, including the full submission of Pontius de Cors, who had been charged with 'intruding himself into the prebend of Hinton' and in front of the crowd of witnesses at this tribunal he 'submitted himself to the jurisdiction of the said tribunal, and in token thereof surrendered his glove to the bishop.'⁸⁰ Perhaps for his role as witness to several of the bishop's *acta*, or just for the familial bond they shared, Stephen was lavishly dressed by the bishop, receiving a tabard worth twelve shillings and six pence, and three furs for his hood worth five shillings and two pence.⁸¹ Along with several other high ranking members of the *familia* Stephen also received some other expensive clothing.⁸² Bishop Richard thought well enough of his brother to allow him to have a servant, named Roger, to wait upon his needs during his time with the household.⁸³

Stephen also made himself indispensable in other ways. Bishop Richard held silver items in his properties as befitted a bishop—such as when he received a silver cup and jug from the executors of Luke de Bree.⁸⁴ Stephen was tasked with taking Bishop Richard's favourite cup to London to be repaired.⁸⁵ Could this cup be the vessel which was said to have procured a miracle by his predecessor, Thomas? This apocryphal and anecdotal event is related by Richard Strange, the 17th-century Jesuit who authored the only hagiographical Life of St Thomas. During the early years of Bishop Richard's episcopate he was apparently so struck down with pain from 'the stone that both Physitians and others lookd on him as a dyingman'. His chamberlain had secreted a relic of Thomas—'it was the first ioynt of his right thumb'—into his possession and held it as one of his prize possessions. During one night of Bishop Richard's painful illness, a disembodied voice told the chamberlain to wash his relic 'in the wine which in a siluer Cruett stands in the window' and give it to Bishop Richard to drink. He ignored the voice for two nights before St Mary and the virgins of heaven descended and told him 'take the wine aboue mentioned, and if though doest it not, at they peril be it.' The chamberlain approached Bishop Richard's confessor and physician the next day and told them all. They approved of the measure, and gave three spoonfuls of the relic-enhanced wine to the ailing bishop, as he signed himself with the cross. Bishop Richard was so invigorated that he rose immediately, went to the chapel at his residence to hear mass, and then remained free from pain for the next year 'as if he had neuer bin molested ther with.'⁸⁶ Whilst perhaps not a likely connection or wholly true story since it was written so long after the fact, it would account for the bishop holding a favourite cup. Could this cup also be the one bequeathed to John de Kemeseye, Bishop Richard's accountant and close friend,

along with six silver spoons, ten bench covers, and three cushions?⁸⁷ Unfortunately we will never know, but it is a touching story which brings the humanity of our subjects to bear.

In 1290 Gilbert embarked upon the next step in his career, and went to study at Oxford whilst retaining his chancellorship.⁸⁸ As chancellor, Gilbert was heavily involved in the funding of the bishop's students at Oxford as was customary in ecclesiastical benefices.⁸⁹ Bishop Richard's household roll reveals that the brothers Richard and Robert Kingswood—who went on to hold benefices in the diocese after 1300—had been chosen for funding at university. Over forty weeks their expenses totalled £13 19s. 2d. for board, lodging, clothing, masters and travel.⁹⁰ After this, money was also distributed to Stephen de Thanet who kept the accounts of these students and several others funded by the bishop, including Gilbert.⁹¹ The esteem his uncle held him in must have been high, considering that his income was already the equivalent of a middling knight. Oxford, however, was just a stopping point as Gilbert made preparations to travel to Paris. Bishop Richard settled his nephew's debts (19s. 1d.), which had accrued when buying his winter clothing in 1288, and raised a sum of money for him before he set sail in 1290.⁹² He did a similar thing for John, who also journeyed to Paris, preceding his brother, having prepared in 1288 and arrived there sometime in late 1289 or early 1290, perhaps accounting for his brother's haste and debts.⁹³ At some time during Gilbert's stay in Oxford the abbot of Westminster, Walter de Wenlock (1283–1307), 'promised him wood, coal and litter for his feast' from the abbot's manor of Islip, but told Parson Richard and the provost to 'go to the Chancellor's residence in Oxford and tell him to fetch these things with all speed'.⁹⁴ The abbot's foresters would not, apparently, permit the cartage of wood or coal within fifteen days either side of the feast of St John.⁹⁵ Gilbert was also allowed to collect up to 'four or five cartloads' of thorns and twigs for making enclosures, but again was to fetch them himself since the abbot's carts were engaged with other business.⁹⁶ Gilbert was back in Hereford by 30 July 1290 when he witnessed the amicable settlement of a dispute between the rector of Ross and the rector of Newent over the tithes of Kingstone.⁹⁷

John was granted letters dimissory by his uncle on 4 February 1290, allowing for three years of study in France.⁹⁸ There is no record in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* for John having sought permission from the king. On the other hand, on 6 September 1290, Gilbert was granted royal letters of protection for three years in order to go overseas to study and Bishop Richard funded the cost for 6s. 2d.⁹⁹ By 3 April 1291 Gilbert was certainly in Paris with John, presumably for study.¹⁰⁰ This, however, was cut short upon the death of Gerard de Eugines in April 1291, and Gilbert was charged with the disposal of Gerard's money. Gerard had made himself of great use to Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe as bailiff of Prestbury, rector of Colwall, an auditor of accounts, and a confidant who handled issues with sensitivity and the necessary secrecy.¹⁰¹ Under Bishop Richard he seems to have just maintained his clerical benefice at Prestbury. On 24 January 1291 Bishop Richard granted Gerard a licence of absence and vowed to protect his property whilst abroad, and Gerard, seemingly of infirm health and age, desired that in the event of his death Bishop Richard was to dispose of his lands and tenements.¹⁰²

The death of Gerard likely brought both Gilbert and John home in order to discharge their duties. Sometime during or after 1291 John vacated the prebend of Putson Major in Hereford and was appointed to the prebendal portion and stall of Nesden under St Paul's Cathedral, London.¹⁰³ John's great advancement came on 21 March 1293 when Bishop Richard appointed him to the treasurership of Hereford Cathedral after the death of Luke de Bree in 1292. On 29 January

1294 the final ecclesiastical Swinfield nephew, Richard, was appointed to his first position in the Church, and held the prebendal portion at Bromyard.¹⁰⁴ John's tenure as treasurer was short lived.¹⁰⁵ There could perhaps have been some brotherly tension after this appointment. The chapter's relationship with the previous treasurer had soured somewhat with the rise of Cantilupe's cult, especially when the treasurer had pressed his historic right to claim the income from wax tapers left at the shrines in the cathedral.¹⁰⁶ This income had increased dramatically with the genesis of Cantilupe's saintly cult in the north transept, and Bishop Richard had been called in several times to decide on the matter. His ruling was to allow the treasurer two thirds of the income, and the chapter the other third. In 1291 this income was recorded at £13 6s. 8d.¹⁰⁷ Upon his appointment to the treasurership, in 1293, John faced the same problems as his predecessor. It transpired that, perhaps with Gilbert's and other kinsmen's help, he convinced the dean to submit the judgement of the dispute to Bishop Richard.¹⁰⁸ Bishop Richard's ruling remained the same as it had been for Luke de Bree; two thirds was to remain in possession of the treasurer, the other was to go to the chapter.¹⁰⁹ This was not the last time that Bishop Richard had to reiterate his ruling, doing so again on 8 April 1295.¹¹⁰ On 21 September 1294, John was promoted to the highest paid job in the cathedral hierarchy, that of precentor.¹¹¹

Little else is found of Gilbert in the historical record after this point. John's duties were wider ranging than those of Gilbert according to the 13th-century statutes and the brothers likely busied themselves with the business of St Thomas's cult, and the diocese. These were: to begin the sequences and *Gloria* during Holy services, to assist the bishop during services, to appoint a deputy to support the bishop both day and night, and to repair the books for singing.¹¹²

John was certainly resident in the cathedral after this appointment. In a 1294 account of sums of money distributed to canons as mass-pence according to the number of services each had been present at, the unnamed precentor had been present at 231 masses.¹¹³ There is, however, no mention of Gilbert as part of the residentiary team of canons receiving this mass-pence. Gilbert and John appear together in one other *actum* in 1295 when their father was reconfirmed in the grant that Bishop Richard gave in 1287 relating to the heirs of Walter I de Dunre, endorsing their sister, Margery, whose name was added, to assist with this business (Fig. 4).¹¹⁴

John seems to have also taken his task as patron of learning seriously and in 1296 gifted a manuscript to Great Stockwell Hall—the site which was to become Queen's College, Oxford. The surviving manuscript is now held by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 73. The manuscript is a copy of Justinian's *Institutes* with Acursius's gloss and has an Italian provenance. It survives together with a copy of Frederick II's *Constitutiones Feodorum*, also with Accursius's gloss, having been rebound together. At the end of Justinian's *Institutions* is a pencilled inscription on f.225v:

Caucio domini pre[centor]is Herefordie exposita pro aula de Stokwelle maiori in parochia sancti Petri in oriente in uigilia Sancte Brigide in manibus Roberti de Rollstone tunc temporis procuratori anno Domini m^o cc^o no(nogesi)^{mo} vi^o.

(Warranty of the Lord Precentor of Hereford expounded for the court of Great Stockwell in the parish of St Peter-in-the-East on the vigil of St Brigit, into the hands of Robert de Rollstone then proctor in the year of our Lord 1296).¹¹⁵

On 14 October 1297, Bishop Richard moved Richard from the prebend of Bromyard, appointing him to Hinton, and appointed Gilbert, in Richard's place, to Bromyard.¹¹⁶ Both of these appointments coincided with the vacancies created by Pontius de Cors. It seems that Gilbert seemingly slipped out of the life of the Dean and Chapter with many of the documents 'by the hand of' someone other than Gilbert, with Lord William called the Young, the chapter's receiver and chaplain, often receiving documents in his stead from about 1297.¹¹⁷ This is at odds with the mass-pence rolls from Michaelmas 1297 to Michaelmas 1298 which records that Gilbert attended 243 cathedral masses and John attended 226, indicating that the brothers took a proactive approach to their cathedral duties.¹¹⁸

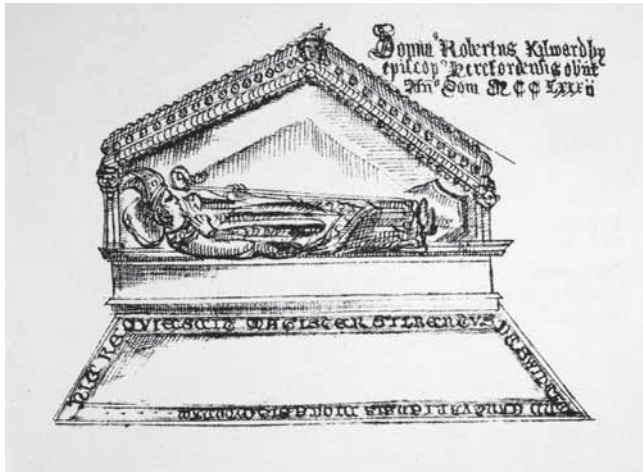


Figure 5. Sketch of Bishop Rynelm's tomb with Chancellor Gilbert's ledger stone from Thomas Dingley's *History from Marble*, p.183 (CLXXVII). The legend runs: HIC RECQUIESCIT MAGISTER GILBECRTVS DE SWINDEFUOD CCANCVLIANSIS DIOCCASIS [CYONNAM]. Havergal's transcription renders it: 'Hic requiescit Magister Gilbertus de Swinfield Cantuariensis diocesis quondam' (Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p.64).

One year later, by 4 August 1299, Gilbert de Swinfield was dead and his grave rested next to Bishop Reinhelm's (1107–15) in St Katherine's aisle (the north choir aisle)—just outside where the Stanbury Chapel would be built—between the shrine of Thomas de Cantilupe and where his uncle would lie. In his *History from Marble*, Thomas Dingley erroneously identifies Reinhelm as Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury (1272–8) and cardinal bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina (1274–9) (Fig. 5).¹¹⁹ In the 1840s Gilbert's grave was opened and Dean Merewether wrote a paper on its contents, an extract of which Francis Havergal copied into his *Fasti Herefordensis* in 1869. In Havergal's later

Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford, he included a colour sketch of the open grave and the contents inside, including Gilbert's remains (Fig. 6).¹²⁰ Gilbert's skeleton was found, along with the remains of his leather shoes, a woven braid which stretched the length of his body (all that remains of the ecclesiastical vestments he was buried in), and a pewter paten and chalice; all of which are preserved in the archives and treasury of Hereford Cathedral (Plate 2.2). The ledgerstone had once been carved with the representation of an ecclesiastic on it, 'but the constant wear of those who for centuries passed over it, had almost obliterated the whole, and at that time it was not found practicable to decipher the inscription'.¹²¹ The stone was on display in the north-east transept until at least 1871 and was later broken into usable pieces to be employed as paving in St John's Walk, where a fragment was discovered in January 2016.

On 4 August 1299 Bishop Richard appointed Canon Richard to the prebendary of Bartonsham, and on 30 September gave him the canon's house which had been in Gilbert's possession during his tenure as chancellor.¹²² There is little further trace of Richard in the historical

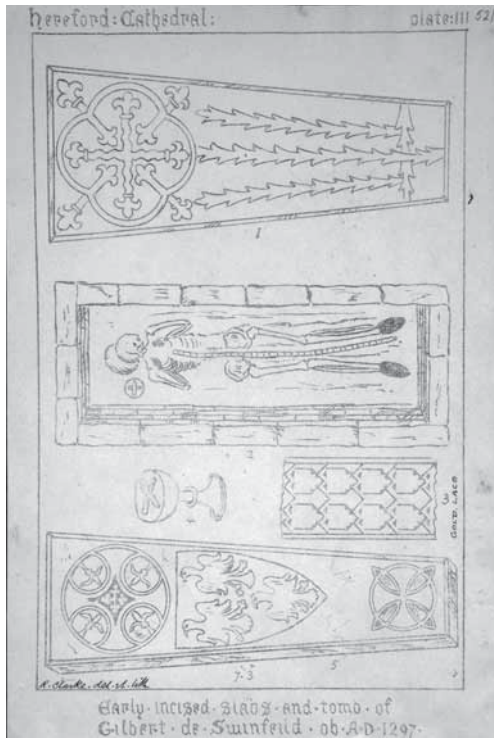


Figure 6. Sketch of the contents of Chancellor Gilbert's tomb, including detailed drawings of the paten, chalice, and tablet-woven braid which were also preserved. These items are now in the treasury and archives of Hereford Cathedral (Havergal, *Monumental Inscriptions*, plate 3).

John de Swynfeld and Thomas de Cobeham, canons of the church of St Paul, London', brought the news of the death of Richard Gravesend, bishop of London (1280–1303) to King Edward, and were given letters of licence to elect the next bishop.¹²⁹ Ralph Baldock was elected bishop of London (1304–1313), and reconfirmed John's appointment as a canon of St Paul's. Baldock would later visit Hereford as the chair of the canonization inquiry which was held between July and November 1307 in London and Hereford.¹³⁰ The other two commissioners chosen were William Durand, bishop of Mende and William de Testa, papal nuncio: the main burdens fell on Durand, since Baldock became busy with the death of Edward I and his duties as chancellor, and Testa's time was taken up with the collection of the tenth and other crusading matters.¹³¹ According to the surviving papal mandates, Bishop Richard was not a commissioner as has otherwise been claimed.¹³² John had already been appointed to the prebendal portion of Nesden sometime during or after 1291, and was professed again as canon of St Paul's in 1309.¹³³

John died by 25 March 1311, and by 3 August 1311, Canon Richard was also dead, leaving Bishop Richard as sole survivor.¹³⁴ Stephen, his brother, had faded into obscurity, and was surely dead by 1317, since there is no document of any bequest granted to Stephen after Bishop Richard's death.¹³⁵ There is, however, great difficulty in piecing together Bishop Richard's

record and his move from the prebendal portions of Bromyard to Hinton to Bartonsham seem to have been enough for him. He appears in the mass-pence rolls having attended four masses in 1299 and just two in 1300.¹²³

Precentor John, conversely, went from strength to strength. From 1301 he began patronising priests to be installed to benefices related to his prebendal portion.¹²⁴ In 1302 John was appointed by Bishop Richard as his proctor in parliament, after having sent letters of apology to Edward I and the archbishop for non-attendance because of ill health.¹²⁵ The same occurs in 1308, perhaps accounting for the gaps in John's appointments at St Paul's London.¹²⁶ John also attended 199 masses at Hereford between Michaelmas 1307 and Michaelmas 1308, with Richard attending only 33.¹²⁷ Perhaps the first appointment as proctor spurred John to greater things, since by 1304 he had been sufficiently educated to be ranked as '*Magister*'; this, though, is confused by the conferral of this rank in 1289 upon his appointment as archdeacon of Shropshire and witnessing an episcopal *actum* when it was used.¹²⁸

John's attendance at Parliament in his uncle's stead brought him into contact with the king. We see that on 13 January 1304 'Masters

will. Like St Thomas's, the document which the executors referred to has not survived or been discovered and as such its contents have to be viewed from the remaining receipts held at Hereford Cathedral.¹³⁶ Walter II de Dunre seems to have come of age, and was given all the documents and records concerning his lands and buildings in Eastnor, Bromyard, and the surrounding areas.¹³⁷ Margery, Stephen's daughter, also does not appear in these bequests; however, a conveyance and confirmation of a grant of land, dated 2 and 3 November 1346, by Richard de Dunre, reveals that Margery had likely married Walter II. The confirmation specifies that the grant to the cathedral was to fund two chaplains at the altar of St James to pray '*pro anima bone memorie domini Ricardi de Swinefeld, quondam episcopi Herefordensis, matris dicti Ricardi de Dunre, avunculi*' (for the soul of Lord Richard de Swinfield, of blessed memory, late bishop of Hereford, uncle of the said Richard de Dunre's mother).¹³⁸

We also find several other family members who had ingrained themselves in the social, political, and tenurial landscape of Herefordshire. One 'poor kinsman', Henry de Eastnor, received his bequest on 15 April 1340. Henry had embedded himself within the *familia* of Adam de Orleton, Bishop Richard's successor in 1317, who was appointed bishop of Winchester in 1340.¹³⁹ Two years later on 5 April 1342 we find Juliana Schort of Eastnor, a poor kinswoman '*in secundo gradu consanguinitatis*' (in the second degree of consanguinity) to Bishop Richard, who was resident in the household of Lord Roger de Breinton, canon of Hereford and executor of the will.¹⁴⁰ The degree of consanguinity would possibly place her as another sister of Bishop Richard. Roger of Breinton had dealt with both bequests from the will, and the shared nature of being kinsfolk to Bishop Richard with the shared toponym of Eastnor could, potentially, place them as relatives to one another.

Others to the degrees of third and fourth consanguinity also received their bequests in the 1340s, including the family of Roger Racy of Bosbury. Alianora appears first on 5 May 1317, receiving one robe lined with black sindon and five garments and hoods.¹⁴¹ In the presence of Philipp de la More, clerk of the diocese of Exeter and notary public, a bequest was drawn up on 9 April 1342 recording a receipt given by Alianora, wife of Roger Racy of Bosbury, and Richard, Roger, Juliana, and Alice, their children, 'for the legacies bequeathed to them by *dominus* Richard de Swynesfeld', late bishop of Hereford, who was their kinsman.'¹⁴² One of the Racy's was related in the third degree of consanguinity, which Charles and Emanuel suggested could be Juliana, placing her and her siblings as nieces and nephews of Bishop Richard and Alianora and Roger as sister and brother-in-law.¹⁴³ Juliana extracted the full and final payment of her portion and the rest of the items bequeathed to her and her other kinsmen on 8 January 1346.¹⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

Under the patronage of Bishop Richard, the Swinfields left a lasting impression on Hereford Cathedral and Herefordshire. The careers of the Swinfields offer us a glimpse into the familial networks present within the secular ecclesiastical spheres of England; in particular the three younger Swinfield brothers are inextricably linked with the development of the fabric of the cathedral. Gilbert and John were installed at the time when Hereford Cathedral was converted into a pilgrimage centre on the level of Canterbury, with around 250 miraculous cures being reported at the shrine of Thomas de Cantilupe between 1287 and 1300.¹⁴⁵ Bishop Richard's efforts culminated three years after his own death when Pope John XXII canonized Thomas de Cantilupe as a saint on Thursday 17 April 1320. The family members witnessed the single

most transformative moment in the history of Hereford Cathedral since its destruction at the hands of the Welsh in 1055 and assisted their uncle with his grand rebuilding scheme, much of which can still be seen today. Under their dutiful watch the north porch was remodelled, the north choir aisle was reshaped, the central tower was enlarged and adorned with its now famous crocketing or ball-flower design, and the effigies and burials of the previous bishops were disturbed and reburied with contemporary 14th-century effigies along the south choir aisle (only Peter d' Aquablanca's monument escaped). Yet, their contribution and history is forgotten in the story of Hereford Cathedral. For Gilbert in particular this is all the more poignant. From the excavations and attitudes of the Victorians, no physical monument now remains, unlike those of his brother and uncle, and much of the legacy of St Thomas is attributed solely to the promotion spurred forward by Bishop Richard. However, Gilbert and John would have had a great impact upon this time as members of the cathedral chapter. Specifically, they neutralised the threat which the chapter held as an opponent to Bishop Richard and ensured that his episcopate was one of relative calm in the diocese. Gilbert and John specifically witnessed several of their uncle's *acta* over their ecclesiastical careers; Gilbert witnessing nine and John witnessing ten in total, with seven witnessed by both brothers together.¹⁴⁶ Gilbert and John also fostered the learned reputation of Hereford at Oxford with the provision of the bishop's poor students there under the chancellor's direction and the donation of manuscripts to other institutions.

Other family members had an impact too. Bishop Richard's brother, Stephen, seemingly played a large role in the *familia* that Bishop Richard kept and seems to have helped his brother in whatever capacity he could. Brother Thomas, the Franciscan, also benefited from working with Bishop Richard, seemingly employed as a carpenter and writer at the bishop's Bosbury estate. Bishop Richard did not shy away from showering gifts upon his family, and it is evident that Stephen and Brother Thomas were well clothed and provided for. Bishop Richard's sisters married, with one brother-in-law and his sons becoming permanent fixtures in the bishop's *familia*; the sons becoming clergymen appointed by the bishop to various parishes, and young Thomas de la Dane rising to become the bishop's chaplain in 1290.¹⁴⁷ Stephen's daughter, Margery, married the heir that had grown up with her father, uncle, and brother—a relationship perhaps fostered in the bishop's household. The impact that the Swinfield family had upon the local Herefordian ecclesiastical circuit, as well as the political, tenurial, and familial networks within Herefordshire was significant. Bishop Richard was indeed the main driving force of the successes of the medieval Swinfield family, but the roles which others held were also essential. It is often easy to become absorbed by the great events of the Middle Ages: microhistories such as this offer food for thought since we can study in great detail the lives of those who witnessed these events, even if they are 700 years removed from us today.

APPENDIX ONE: A BIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF BISHOP RICHARD DE SWINFIELD'S KNOWN FAMILY

The following list provides a biographical precis of the traceable direct relations to Bishop Richard. The list is arranged alphabetically by surname, or accepted toponym, and then by forename; hence, Richard de la Dane appears above his father Thomas I de la Dane, or Juliana Racy above her father, Roger Racy. The references appear in abbreviated form, with most having already been expanded in the endnotes. Those which have not already been noted have only their publication information expanded in the endnotes at the first time of reference since page

references are included here. For Gilbert, John, Richard, and Peter de Swinfield see also Alfred Brotherston Emden's entries in his *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 vol. III* and *The Bodleian Library Record VII*.¹⁴⁸

Margery de Brok'

Daughter of Isabel de la Dane and Thomas I de la Dane(?); at Canterbury 13 July 1317 received 10 marks from a bequest made by Bishop Richard in his will (HCA 1018; *Muniments II*, 786). From the 'de Brok' rather than 'de la Dane' surname she was likely married.

Isabel de la Dane

Née Swinfield, sister to Bishop Richard; dead by 1317, 'formerly sister' (HCA 1018; *Muniments II*, 786); possibly married to Thomas I de la Dane, a higher official in Bishop Richard's *familia* accounting for the close relationship between Bishop Richard, Thomas I, and Stephen. Issue: Thomas II de la Dane, Richard de la Dane, Margery de Brok'.

Richard de la Dane

Nephew of Bishop Richard, son(?) of Thomas I de la Dane and Isabel de la Dane. Acolyte. Instituted to Tugford 2 September 1302 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 534); dispensation for absence of one year from Bishop Adam de Orleton 1319 (*Reg. Orleton*, 390); dispensation for absence of two years 'for good reasons' from Bishop Thomas Charlton 2 June 1330 (*Reg. Charlton*, 90); vacated benefice by 30 March 1332 (*Reg. Charlton*, 77).¹⁴⁹

Thomas I de la Dane

Brother-in-law(?) of Bishop Richard through Isabel de la Dane (née Swinfield) accounting for close relationship to Bishop Richard and Stephen. Likely from the manor of Dane in Wingham, Kent (*Household Roll*, 121–2; 'Parishes: Wingham').¹⁵⁰ Listed with laymen (*Reg. Swinfield*, 14–15); witnessed *acta* in May 1288, recorded amongst the names of other laymen including Stephen II de Swinfield and William de Cantilupe (*Reg. Swinfield*, 182); was the bishop's paymaster and representative 1289 (*Household Roll*, I, 145, 177, 186); on the bishop's business in London and Kent 1289 and 1290 (*Household Roll*, I, 42–3, 92, 112, 115, 121–5, 129–34, 177, 185–6); Easter 1290 deposits £13 6s 8d from the bishop for John de Swinfield for study, with the merchants of London (*Household Roll*, I, 131); business in London 1291 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 275); had a servant (*Household Roll*, I, 171); cannot write (*Household Roll*, I, 137–9).

D. Thomas II de la Dane

Nephew of Bishop Richard, son(?) of Thomas de la Dane and Isabel de la Dane. Deacon. Instituted to Hampton Bishop 20 December 1288 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 527); 28 February 1289 agreement with chapter that male parishioners of Hampton whose goods exceed 6s. in value at death shall be buried in the cathedral, all others, including women, will be buried in Hampton churchyard, the rector will pay 12d. yearly for the concession (*Reg. Swinfield*, 213); 5 September 1290 appointed as bishop's chaplain (*Reg. Swinfield*, 242); listed along with other members of clergy 11 August 1292 as *Dominus* (*Reg. Swinfield*, 282); vacated benefice by 2 September 1302 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 534); mentioned in the approbation by Bishop Richard of the agreement of 28 February 1289 (HCA 1975; *Muniments II*, 734).

Walter II de Dunre (Dinedor)

Heir of Walter I de Dunre and ward of Bishop Richard and Stephen II de Swinfield (*Reg. Swinfield*, 91–2, 154, 328; HARC AL19/2, f.113v); possible kinsman named Richard who was a canon of Hereford Cathedral (*Reg. Swinfield*, 380, 532; *Reg. Orleton*, 241, 247, 388). Walter was heir to Chilstone manor, near Madley, owing the bishop feudal service (*Reg. Swinfield*, 403); placed under the guardianship of Stephen II de Swinfield 25 September 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 154); part of the household of Bishop Richard and well provided for with clothing and money (*Household Roll*, I, 132, 141, 143, 182, 184); association with Stephen II's son, Richard (*Household Roll*, I, 141, 182); met Margery de Swinfield when she was granted co-guardianship of Walter and Chilstone with her father, Stephen II, potentially married Margery after 1295 (HARC, AL19/2, f.113v); performed homage to the earl of Hereford for the lands held of him 1303 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 390); given letters, documents, writing, and other records relating to his lands in Eastnor, Bromyard and other areas upon Bishop Richard's death 1317 (HCA 1009, 1025; *Muniments II*, 772–3). Issue: Richard de Dinedor.

M. Richard de Dunre (Dinedor)

Possible kinsman of Walter II de Dunre. Master. Installed in the prebend of Bromyard 15 January 1300 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 380, 532); installed in the prebend of Nonnington 24 March 1304 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 535); died before 16 July 1322 (*Reg. Orleton*, 241, 247, 388).

Richard de Dunre (Dinedor)

Great nephew of Bishop Richard, son of Walter II de Dinedor and Margery de Swinfield (HCA 2291; *Muniments III*, 943; Capes, *Charters*, 224–5); granted land to the Cathedral and funded two chaplains to say mass for the souls of Bishop Richard, and his parents (Walter and Margery) at the altar of St James in the Cathedral 2–3 November 1346 (HCA 2289, 2291; *Muniments III*, 942–3; Capes, *Charters*, 223–5; *CPR 1445–48*, 38); married to Agneta.

Henry [Schort?] de Eastnor

'Poor kinsman' of Bishop Richard 15 April 1340 (HCA 1069; *Muniments III*, 919). Clerk. Presented to bishop of Winchester in 1324 by Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford, to be appointed to the office of notary public (*Reg. Orleton*, 277–8); within *familia* of Adam de Orleton, who was bishop of Winchester by 1340 (HCA 1070; *Muniments III*, 925). Bequest was handled by Roger of Breinton, one of Bishop Richard's executors. Possibly relation or son of Juliana Schort of Eastnor on basis of shared toponym and degree of consanguinity.

Juliana Schort of Eastnor

Sister(?) of Bishop Richard; 'Poor kinswoman' in second degree consanguinity, *in secundo gradu consanguinitatis* (HCA 1070; 925); resident in household of Roger of Breinton, one of Bishop Richard's executors; still alive 5 April 1342 when she received her bequest. On the basis of the shared toponym and degree of consanguinity it could be possible that she was related to or mother of Henry de Eastnor.

Walter de Scorene [Shorne]

Nephew of Bishop Richard (*Household Roll*, I, 143–4). Likely issue from a sister of Bishop Richard who had married based on surname; hailed from Shorne in Kent ('Parishes: Shorne');¹⁵¹

visited his uncle in October 1289; received a gift upon the visit (*de dono*) of 6s 8d; his companion, *garcio*, received 6d; does not appear again in either *Reg. Swinfield* or *Household Roll*.

M. Gilbert de Swinfield

Nephew of Bishop Richard, possibly through Stephen II de Swinfield. Master. *Magister* by 1283 when attending Bishop Richard's visitation of Leominster priory (*Reg. Swinfield*, pp.14–5); instituted to the prebend of Gorwell and Overbury (Woolhope) 27 September 1283 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 524; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 40); instituted to chancellorship of Hereford Cathedral 20 January 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 526); instituted to the prebend of Bartonsham 15 June 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 526); first *actum* witnessed as chancellor, settlement between treasurer, Luke de Bree, and Bishop Richard (HCA 1067; *Muniments II*, 579); first document sealed as chancellor (HCA 2316; *Muniments II*, 582–3); drew expenses from Bishop Richard for study at Oxford, clothes, debts, and royal letters of protection 1288 to 1290 (*Household Roll*, I, 129–31); granted royal letters of protection for three years to go overseas for study 6 September 1290 (*CPR 1281–92*, 381, 384; *Household Roll*, I, 130–1); in Paris presumably for study 1291 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 251); charged with distributing money of Gerard de Eugines 3 April 1291 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 252, *Household Roll*, I, 212–3); instituted to prebendal portion of Bromyard 14 October 1297 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 531); dead by 4 August 1299 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 547); buried in the north choir aisle (Dingley, *History from Marble*, 189 (clxxvii); grave opened in 1840s (Havergal, *Fasti*, 198; *Monumental Inscriptions*, 83, pl.3); fragment of ledgerstone discovered in St John's Walk January 2016.

Legend: Hic requiescit Magister Gilbertus de Swinfield Cantuariensis diocesis quondam... <cancellarius Herefordensis> (Here lies Master Gilbert de Swinfield of the diocese of Canterbury late... [chancellor of Hereford]).

D. John de Swinfield, later M.

Nephew of Bishop Richard, possibly through Stephen II de Swinfield. Lord; later Master (1289/1304–1311). Appointed to the rectory of Hampton Bishop as a clerk, 10 October 1283 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 524); appointed to unnamed prebendary 25 August 1285 suggested to be Withinton Parva (*Reg. Swinfield*, 525; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 60; Emden, *BLR VI*, 160); appointed to Hampton Bishop again 14 October 1285 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 525; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, omits this; Emden, *BLR VI*, 160 has Withington Parva); Withington Parva vacated by 28 January 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 526; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 61); appointed to prebend of Putson Major, '*Dominus Iohannes de Swynefeld' habet prebendam de Potteston*', 29 January 1287 (*Taxatio*, 'PUTSON MAJOR'; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 57–8; *Reg. Swinfield*, 526 n.6 gives 'Fownhope', yet Canon Capes's notation gives 'Fowechurch', Vowchurch which was part of the portion of Putson); Bishop Richard granted John the autumn fruits of the vacant benefice of Hampton Bishop 13 April 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 137); in London 1288 witnessed an appeal of the bishop to the pope (*Reg. Swinfield*, 173–5); appointed to Archdeaconry of Shropshire as sub-deacon 20 October 1289 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 528; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 29); 1290 received £13 6s 8d off Bishop Richard for study through Thomas de la Dane (*Household Roll*, I, 131); in Paris late 1289 early 1290 for study (*Household Roll*, I, 119–20, 210–11); letters dimissory from Bishop Richard 4 February 1290 (*Household Roll*, I, 210–11); appointed to the prebendary of Nesden in London c.1291 (Horn, *Fasti 5, London*, 49); instituted to the treasurership of Hereford

Cathedral 21 March 1293 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 529); dispute with dean and chapter over wax tapers left at Thomas de Cantilupe's shrine 1293 (HCA 1418; *Muniments II*, 595; Capes, *Charters*, 167; *Reg. Swinfield*, 297–8); appointed to prebend of Ledbury and instituted to precentorship of Hereford Cathedral 21 September 1294 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 529; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, 16 has 29 January [*sic*]); deposited Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 73 1296 (Oxford, CCC, MS 73, f.225v; *Descriptive Cat. MS CCC Oxford*, 38–9); last *actum* witnessed with his brother, Gilbert, 1295 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 328; HARC, AL19/2, f.113v); *Magister* by 1304 (*CPR 1301–7*, 206); canon of London and prebendary of Nesden still in 1304, reconfirmed as canon 1309 (*CPR 1301–7*, 206; Horn, *Fasti 5, London*, 49); vacated Ledbury by 29 April 1311 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 540); dead by 29 April 1311, probably buried in retro-choir of Hereford Cathedral at entrance to Lady Chapel (Fig. 2); last mentioned as '*Dominus Johannes de Swynefeude, quondam precentor Herefordensis*' on 11 February 1319 upon the resignation of Nicholas de Aka of the prebendal portion of Ledbury (*Reg. Orleton*, 104–5).

Margery/Margaret [Margerie] de Swinfield

Niece of Bishop Richard, daughter of Stephen de Swinfield (HARC, AL19/2, f.113v); assists Stephen with the guardianship of the heirs of Walter de Dinedor and the manor of Chilstone, Madley (HARC, AL19/2, f.113v); seemingly married Walter II de Dinedor and had a son, Richard, who granted land to the Cathedral and funded two chaplains to say mass for Bishop Richard and his parents (HCA 2289, 2291; *Muniments III*, 942–3; Capes, *Charters*, 223–5, *CPR 1445–48*, 38). No bequests in HCA receipt sequence.

Peter de Swinfield

Uncle(?) of Bishop Richard; acted as a tutor to Brother Geoffrey Boydin de Rya at Paris (Emden, *Biographical Register*, III, 1832); '*specialissimus amicus*' and lent a bible (Emden, *Biographical Register*, III, 1832); seventh provincial minister, *Septimus Minister*, of the Franciscans in England by c.1264 (*Collectanea*, 45); attended General Chapter at Assisi 1269 (*Franciscan Papers*, 191); dead c.1272, buried at Greyfriars, Leicester (*Franciscan Papers*, 191).

M. Richard de Swinfield, bp. Hereford

Son of Stephen I de Swinfield (*Bosbury History Resource*, no. 23),¹⁵² brother of Stephen II de Swinfield, uncle of Gilbert, John, and Richard de Swinfield as well as other family members. Master; Lord. [*Dominus*] *Ricardus dei gratia episcopus Herefordensis*, [Lord] Richard by the grace of God bishop of Hereford (title based on HCA 2161, episcopal seal of Richard de Swinfield, and episcopal register). Because his career trajectory was focussed on the Church he was likely the younger brother of Stephen II. Entered household of Master Thomas de Cantilupe in 1264 with whom he spent 18 years and became his secretary (*Reg. Swinfield*, 234); possibly accompanied Cantilupe to Paris in 1267 or 1268, and to Oxford in 1272 or 1273 (Catto, 'Academic Career', 51–4); *Magister* by 21 December 1277 when appointed to an unidentified prebendary (*Reg. Cantilupe*, 155); promoted to another May 1279 (*Reg. Cantilupe*, 204, 211); [No evidence for appointment to chancellorship of Lincoln Cathedral (Emden, *Biographical Register*, 1833; Greenway, *Fasti 3, Lincoln*, 15–18)]; appointed to prebendary of St Pancras, London, 1281 (Greenway, *Fasti 1, London*, 70); promoted to archdeacon of London 1282 (Greenway, *Fasti I, London*, 12); did not attend Cantilupe in Orvieto (*Reg. Pecham*, II, 45–6, 148); Doctor of

Divinity by 1282 (Rishanger, *Chronica*, 102–3); elected bishop of Hereford 1 December 1282, temporalities 8 January 1283, consecrated Gloucester 7 March 1283 (*CPR 1281–92*, 54; *Reg. Swinfield*, 273); predeceased by ecclesiastical nephews, died 15 March 1317 at Bosbury (Emden, *Biographical Register*, 1833); buried in the north-east transept of Hereford Cathedral (Fig. 1); tomb destroyed by Reformationists 1540s. Located in what is now the Hereford Cathedral Shop stock room.

Inscription: HIC : REQUIESCIT : RICARDUS : DICTUS : DE : SWINEFEUD : CANTUARIENSIS : DIOCESIS : QUONDAM : EPISCOPUS : HEREFORDENSIS

(Here lies Richard called de Swinfield of the diocese of Canterbury late bishop of Hereford).

A note on age: We know for certain that he lived between 1264 and 1317 meaning he was at least 53 years old by his death. A realistic estimate of 62 or older as likely age at death since he would have entered Master Thomas de Cantilupe’s household during his teens or early twenties because of his progression within it. *Magister* by 1277 indicates numerous years in the universities, perhaps with Master Thomas.

Richard de Swinfield

Son of Stephen II (*Household Roll*, I, 141, 182, 192); assigned to prebendal portion in Bromyard 29 January 1294 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 529); assigned to prebend of Hinton 14 October 1297 for M. Gilbert to be appointed to Bromyard (*Reg. Swinfield*, 531); assigned to prebend of Bartonsham 4 August 1299 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 531); given canon’s house formerly held by Gilbert 30 September 1299 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 547); dead by 3 August 1311 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 540).

Stephen I de Swinfield

Died 1282, Bosbury. Memorial stone found 1796 ‘behind a pillar in the wall of the southern aisle of the nave.’ (*Bosbury History Resource*, 23).

Inscription: Hic iacet Stephanus quondam pater venerabilis patris dm Ricardi de Swinefield dei gratia epi Herefordensis ad MCCLXXXII. (Here lies Stephen the late father of the Venerable Father Lord Richard de Swinfield by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford 1282).

Stephen II de Swinfield

Brother of Bishop Richard (*Reg. Swinfield* 223–4). Layman; remained secular, perhaps elder brother. Member of the household of Bishop Richard with Thomas de la Dane, a kinsman; gifted clothes (*Household Roll*, I, 112, 114, 184); had a servant named Roger (*Household Roll*, I, 171, 196); witnessed several bishop’s *acta* (*Reg. Swinfield*, 222–3, 248–9; HCA 769; *Muniments II*, 587); given wardship over the heirs of Walter I de Dinedor and Chilstone manor, Madley, 25 September 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 154); took his brother’s favourite cup to London for repair (*Household Roll*, I, 112, 114); daughter Margery present in 1295 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 328; HCA, AL19/2, f.113v); dead by 1317(?) (no bequests in HCA receipt sequence).

Fr Thomas de Swinfield

Brother(?) of Bishop Richard and Stephen de Swinfield. Brother. *Custos* of Greyfriars Bristol perhaps by 1280 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 23–5); witness to two *acta* in 1289 and 1291 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 226, 276); possibly at Bosbury as a carpenter and writer during 1289 to 1290, if he is indeed the same *Frater* Thomas (*Household Roll*, I, 134–5, 142); received an expensive wardrobe from

Bishop Richard worth 23s. 6d. (*Household Roll*, I, 193); dead by 1317(?) (no bequests in HCA receipt sequence).

Alianora Racy of Bosbury

Sister(?) of Bishop Richard; wife of Roger Racy of Bosbury (HCA 1005; *Muniments II*, 775); suggestion by Charles and Emanuel that their daughter, Juliana Racy, had third degree consanguinity, i.e. great-grand child, niece, or aunt (HCA 1072, 1925; *Muniments III*, 926, 944); alive in 1342 (HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, 925). Since Bishop Richard had spent time in the household of Thomas de Cantilupe, an ascetic and celibate so strict he did not even kiss his sister during his episcopacy, the only logical explanation is as sister and not grandchild. Issue Richard, Roger, Juliana, and Alice.

Alice Racy of Bosbury

Niece(?) of Bishop Richard; daughter of Alianora and Roger Racy of Bosbury (HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, 925). Does not appear independently in the HCA bequest receipt sequence.

Juliana Racy of Bosbury

Niece(?) of Bishop Richard; daughter of Alianora and Roger Racy of Bosbury (HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, 925); suggestion by Charles and Emanuel that she had third degree consanguinity to Bishop Richard, i.e. great-grandchild, niece, or aunt (HCA 1925; *Muniments III*, 944). This suggestion is based on the fact that on January 8 1346 or 1347 a notarial instrument was drawn up and attested by the clerk of Canterbury, in which Juliana 'summoned for a full and final payment of her portion of the residue of the possessions of the said bishop bequeathed to her and the other kinsmen of the bishop' which also acknowledges the receipt of 40s. delivered by *Dominus* Roger de Breinton, sole surviving executor of Bishop Richard (HCA 1072; *Muniments III*, 945). HCA 1925 dated to 1347 is a notarial instrument drawn up and attested by the clerk of Hereford, in which ... Racy de Bosbury 'related in the third degree ... acknowledges receipt from *dominus* Roger de Breynton' ... of the legacy bequeathed to her by the said bishop.' (HCA 1925; *Muniments III*, 944). The link in wording suggests this to be the same person. Siblings Richard, Roger, and Alice do not appear independently in the HCA bequest receipt sequence.

Richard Racy of Bosbury

Nephew(?) of Bishop Richard; son of Alianora and Roger Racy of Bosbury (HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, 925). Does not appear independently in the HCA bequest receipt sequence.

Roger Racy of Bosbury

Brother-in-law(?) of Bishop Richard; husband of Alianora Racy; suggestion by Charles and Emanuel that their daughter, Juliana Racy, had third degree consanguinity (HCA 1072, 1925; *Muniments III*, 925, 944–5). Issue Richard, Roger, Juliana, and Alice. Tenant in Bosbury in c.1288 entered into *The Red Book* holding land from the bishop for knight service as 'Rogerus Lacy [*sic*]' (*The Red Book*, 22);¹⁵³ Roger held one virgate of land from the bishop owing knight service as a vassal 1304 (*Household Roll*, I, 221).

Roger Racy of Bosbury

Nephew(?) of Bishop Richard; son of Alianora and Roger Racy of Bosbury (HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, 925). Does not appear independently in the HCA bequest receipt sequence.

APPENDIX TWO: SWINFIELD FAMILY TREE by Dr Geoff Swinfield, based on Appendix One.

(See insert at end of volume).

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The title is taken from the 2016 exhibition held at Hereford Cathedral's Mappa Mundi and Chained Library and is an extended version of my talk, 'Hereford's Forgotten Chancellor: Gilbert de Swinfield, His Life and Career', given at the 'St John's Walk Conference: Green Men & Griffins' held at Hereford Cathedral on 15 October 2016. Whilst revising this article, some of the research was used for a BBC Hereford & Worcester feature on 'Herefordshires Pigs... in Blankets' (3 December 2017), in reply to Tom Dyckhoff's piece, 'Let's move to Hereford: "Its hayday is yet to come"', <<https://www.theguardian.com/money/2017/nov/24/lets-move-to-hereford-tom-dyckhoff>> [Accessed: 15/01/2018].

² See P. E. Morgan, 'The Effect of the Pilgrim Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral', in M. Jancey (ed.), *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Hereford, 1982), 145–52; R. K. Morris, 'The Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London, 2000), 203–40, pp.219–24.

³ I have taken this date from the contemporary chronological list of miracles in Oxford, Exeter College MS 158, *f.1r*. Other miracles supposedly occurred in late March 1287, R. Finucane, 'Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their "Miracles"', in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 137–44, pp.137–8.

⁴ R. Morris, 'The Remodelling of the Hereford Aisles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 38 (1974), 21–39, pp. 26–27; N. Coldstream, 'The Medieval Tombs and the Shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral*, 322–30, pp.324, 326.

⁵ W. W. Capes (ed.), *The Register of Richard de Swinfield: Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1283–1317)* (Hereford, 1909), p.i (hereafter, *Reg. Swinfield*); J. S. Barrow (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 8, Hereford* (London, 2002), p.7 n.18; R. Swanson and D. Lepine, 'The Later Middle Ages, 1268–1535', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral*, 48–86, p.56 and n.43; P. Hoskin, 'Swinfield, Richard (d. 1317)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26843> [accessed: 03 March 2017].

⁶ J. Cooper (ed.), *The Victoria County History of Herefordshire: Bosbury* (London, 2016), p.79. Wardships granted to Stephen, *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.154–5, 328; for clothing and the cup, J. Webb (ed.), *A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, during part of the years 1289 and 1290*, Camden Series (2 vols., London, 1854–1855), I, pp.112, 114, 139 (hereafter, *Household Roll*). Webb reproduced the roll in its heavily abbreviated form. When quoting the roll I have expanded the Latin. Any such mistakes made in the expansion is my own.

⁷ J. M. Horn (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: 1300–1541: Volume 2, Hereford Diocese* (London, 1962), p.30 and n.1.

⁸ Barrow, *Fasti* 8, *Hereford*, p.47.

⁹ J. W. Willis Bund (ed.), *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester, Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd 1268, to January 26th 1302. Part II. 1273 to 1284*, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford, 1899), II, p.447; *Reg. Swinfield*, p.529.

¹⁰ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.154, 328; Hereford, Herefordshire Archives Service, AL19/2, f.113v.

¹¹ Household Roll, I, p.192. 'R. filius Stephani'.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.141. 'In caliger et soltularus emptus ad opus Ricardi filii Stephani et Walteri de Dunrus per / R. de Furch' / xiiij.d.'

¹³ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.154, 328.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.226, 276.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.23–5.

¹⁶ Household Roll, I, p.134–5. 'In carpentera per fratrem Thomam .ijj.d. apud Bosebur'

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.142; 'In incausto et quibusdem aliis ad opus fratris Thomas .ij.d. obligationis'.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.193.

¹⁹ Hoskin, 'Swinfield, Richard'; T. F. Tout, 'Swinfield, Richard de', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900*, 55, pp.232–4 <[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Swinfield_Richard_de_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Swinfield_Richard_de_(DNB00))> [accessed: 03 March 2017]; H. D. Emanuel, 'The Will of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 5 (1948), 286–90, p.289. For the deposition of the Franciscans on Thomas de Cantilupe, for example, see: A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1998), pp.555–8.

²⁰ G. E. Weare, *A Collectanea Relating to The Bristol Friars Minors (Gray Friars) and their Convent (Bristol, 1893)*, p.45; A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents (Manchester, 1943)*, p.191; 'Septimus Minister. Petrus de Swenfield, jacet Leycestriae'.

²¹ Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Archives, 1018 (hereafter, HCA); B. G. Charles and H. D. Emanuel (compilers), *A Calendar of the Earlier Hereford Cathedral Muniments (3 vols., Aberystwyth, 1955)*, II, p.786 (hereafter, *Muniments* with volume number).

²² *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.15, 182, 243, 275, 527, 534.

²³ Household Roll, I, p.123.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.137–8.

²⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.182, 242.

²⁶ Household Roll, II.

²⁷ William Rishanger, H. T. Riley (ed.) *Chronica et Annales, Regantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo, A.D. 1259–1307 (London, 1865)*, pp.102–3.

²⁸ Hoskin, 'Swinfield, Richard'; R. G. Griffiths (ed.) *The Register of Thomas de Cantilupe: Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1275–1282) (Hereford, 1906)*, pp.155, 204.

²⁹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.234, 'quia fui de familia servi Dei predicti circiter decem et octo annos'. D. Carpenter, 'St Thomas Cantilupe: his political career', in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe, 57–72*; S. T. Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community in England, 1213–1272 (Oxford, 2017)*, pp.147–83.

³⁰ This sealing clause was unfortunately missed by Swinfield's registrar: Hereford, Herefordshire Archives Service, AL19/2, f.107r. For the quote see C. Pullin, *The Magna Carta at Hereford Cathedral (London, 2017)*, pp.20–1. See also Ambler, *Bishops*, pp.179–80.

Canon Capes wrote that 'this reissue does not exactly correspond to either of the forms given in Stubbs' documents ... but the differences are not material.' *Reg. Swinfield*, p.313. Upon my discovery of the copy in the register in 2014, David Carpenter and the Magna Carta Project team realised that this was a copy of the engrossment from 1265. D. Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort's Changes to Magna Carta in his 1265 Parliament: The reliefs of the earl and the baron', *The Magna Carta Project: Feature of the Month December 2014*

<http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature_of_the_month/Dec_2014> [accessed: 03 March 2017]. See also, S. T. Ambler, 'Magna Carta: its confirmation at Simon de Montfort's parliament of 1265', *English Historical Review*, 130 (2015), 801–830, p.801–2, n.2 in particular.

³¹ J. Catto, 'The Academic career of Thomas Cantilupe', in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 45–56, pp.51–4.

³² Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.41; *Reg. Swinfield*, p.i; Hoskin, 'Swinfield, Richard'.

³³ D. E. Greenway (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 1, St Paul's, London (London, 1968)*, pp.12, 70.

³⁴ Hoskin makes no mention of it in 'Swinfield, Richard', nor is he in List 4 'Chancellors', D. E. Greenway (ed.) *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 3, Lincoln (London, 1977)*, pp.15–18. For claims to the contrary see *Reg. Swinfield*, p.i; Tout, 'Swinfield, Richard de'; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, volume III P to Z (Oxford, 1959)*, pp.1833.

- ³⁵ See R. Finucane, 'The Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 103–23; *Register Thomas de Cantilupe*, pp.xlvi–li.
- ³⁶ Hoskin writes clearly that Swinfield 'had been present at Cantilupe's death, at Fiascone on 25 August 1282, and was responsible for returning the bishop's heart and bones to England'. P. Weaver, *Dictionary of Herefordshire Biography* (Almeley, 2015), p.376; Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham', p.121.
- ³⁷ C. T. Martin (ed.), *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (3 vols, London, 1882–1885), I, p.276.
- ³⁸ Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham', p.118; *Register of Thomas de Cantilupe*, p.li.
- ³⁹ D. Douie (ed.), *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–1292*, Canterbury & York Society LXV (Torquay: The Devonshire Press, 1968), II, pp.45–6, 148; Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham', p.121.
- ⁴⁰ HCA, 1414; *Muniments II*, pp.559–60; F. N. Davis (ed.), *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–1282*, Canterbury & York Society LXIII [sic. LXIV] (Torquay, 1969), I, p.197.
- ⁴¹ Finucane, 'Cantilupe-Pecham', p.121 n.118.
- ⁴² HCA 1445; *Muniments II*, p.814.
- ⁴³ Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.7; *Reg. Swinfield*, p.273.
- ⁴⁴ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.14–15.
- ⁴⁵ There are many more nuanced points that could be drawn out here if wordcount permitted. See, M. Burger, 'Officiales and the *familiae* of the bishops of Lincoln, 1258–1299', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), pp.39–53.
- ⁴⁶ Based on Catto, 'Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe', p.46.
- ⁴⁷ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.524; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.40; J. Denton *et al.* (eds.), *Taxatio*, 'Benefice of GORWELL AND OVERBURY (Prebend)' <<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.05P>> [accessed: 03 March 2017].
- ⁴⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.137, 524–6; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, pp.60–1. *Taxatio*, 'Benefice of HAMPTON BISHOP' <<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.26>> [accessed: 03 March 2017].
- ⁴⁹ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.94–5, 97. The royal mandate is copied in W. W. Capes (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford* (Hereford, 1908), pp.153–5 (hereafter, Capes, *Charters*).
- ⁵⁰ M. Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge, 2012), p.87 n.33.
- ⁵¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.97.
- ⁵² Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.16; A. B. Emden, 'Additions and Corrections to *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Supplemental List no. 2', *Bodleian Library Record*, vii (1964), 149–64, p.160.
- ⁵³ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.525.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.112–13.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.128.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.113–14, 526.
- ⁵⁷ H. Bradshaw (arr.), C. Wordsworth (ed.), 'Consuetudines Chori ecclesie Hereford' in *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Part II containing early Customs of Lincoln, Awards, Novum Registrum, &c. with documents of Salisbury, York, Lichfield, Hereford and Truro (Cambridge, 1897), 62–78, p.71; for the importance of Hereford Cathedral School see, N. Orme, 'The Cathedral School before the Reformation', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral*, 565–78.
- ⁵⁸ For the cult that sprouted after this see: R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1997), pp.173–88; Finucane, 'Cantilupe as thaumaturge', pp.137–44.
- ⁵⁹ Oxford, Exeter College MS 158, f.1r.
- ⁶⁰ The results of which are preserved in the indulgences granted by many bishops: HCA 1420–1433; *Calendar of Muniments II*, pp.571–3, 577; for a modern examination of indulgences see R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007).
- ⁶¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.526; *Taxatio*, 'Benefice of BARTONSHAM (PREBEND)', <<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.05O>>; 'Benefice of CHANCELLORSHIP OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL' <<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.02>> [accessed: 3 March 2017].
- The income for the distraint of knighthood had been set at variable levels, in 1278 it was set at land worth £20, and in 1282 those with land worth £30 were to provide a horse and armour for themselves. For the distraint on knighthood see M. Morris, 'Edward I and the Knight of the Round Table', in P. Brand and S. Cunningham (eds.), *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records Edited in Honour of David Crook*, Borthwick Texts and Studies 36 (York & London, 2008), 57–76, pp.62–3. The bishop had to perform knightly service just like any other baron, see, *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.333–5 for the case of whether Thomas de Cantilupe had distrained his service in 1282.

⁶² Reg. Swinfield, pp.150–3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.153.

⁶⁴ HCA 1067; *Muniments II*, p.579.

⁶⁵ HCA 2316; *Muniments II*, pp.582–3.

⁶⁶ The documents cover many different accession numbers. *Muniments II*, pp.583–617.

⁶⁷ HCA 2646, 1057, 2531, 2533, 2648; *Muniments II*, pp.585, 588, 591, 593–4.

⁶⁸ HCA 746; *Muniments II*, p.586.

⁶⁹ HCA 1419; *Muniments II*, p.603.

⁷⁰ HCA 2530, 2046, 2700, 622, 2540, 2743, 1062, 1061, 2538, 2544, 2548, 379, 772, 2550; *Muniments II*, pp.589, 593, 596, 597, 599, 600, 601, 607–8, 610, 611, 616. HCA 2046, 1061 and 722 are also recorded in Capes, *Charters*, pp.165–6, 127–8, 171–2.

⁷¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.182; HCA 1067; *Muniments II*, p.579.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.526 lists this as Fownhope. Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, pp.58, 61 and *Taxatio*, 'Benefice of PUTSON MAJOR (PREBEND), list it as Putson Major:<<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.05U>> [accessed: 3 March 2017]; Horn, *Fasti 2, Hereford*, p.45.

⁷³ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.137, 173–5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.225–6, 525, 528; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.27.

⁷⁵ J. Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056–1269', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral*, 21–47, p.46; see also N. Yates, 'Bishop Peter de Aquablanca (1240–1268): a reconsideration', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 303–17, pp.311–12.

⁷⁶ Reg. Swinfield, p.154.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.154–5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.155. 'Magistris Gilberto de Suynefeud, cancellario ... domino Johanne, dicto de Suynefeud, canonicis Herefordensibus'.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.223–4, witness list p.224.

⁸⁰ HCA 769; *Muniments II*, p.587; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.248–9; Capes, *Charters*, pp.158–9.

⁸¹ Household Roll, I, pp.112, 114. 'Item. per .j. tabardo ad opus Stephanus fratris domini .xij.s. .ix.d.'; 'In .iij. furus ad capucum Stephanus fratris domini. Thomas et Reginaldi et fururus predicti Stephanus performiendum .v.s. .ij.d.'

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.184. 'In pannis predictis retendendum. vestibus domini. Magistri Rogeri / Stephani fratris domini. Thome de la Dane. Reginaldi de Baklaund' / cindendum et consuendum / vna cum ligatara laquis serico ad robas eorumdem .xxij.s. .vj.d.'

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.171. 'Item Rogero garcioni Stephani xvij.d.'

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.334–5. 'unum picherium argenteum et unam cuppam argenteam'.

⁸⁵ Household Roll, I, p.139. 'In cuppa domini domini de quo bibit frequentur emendum London' .iiij.s. .vj.d. per manum Stephanus fratri domini'.

⁸⁶ Richard Strange, *The Life and Gestes of S. Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford and some time before L. Chancellor of England extracted out of authentique records of his canonization as to the maine part, anonymus, Matt. Paris, Capgrave, Harpsfeld, and others (Gant, 1674)*. Early English Books Online Editions, pp.251–4.

⁸⁷ HCA, 1028; *Muniments II*, p.776; Emanuel, 'The Will of Richard de Swinfield', p.287.

⁸⁸ *Household Roll*, I, pp.116–20.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.116–20, 129–31, 133, 188.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.117.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.117–18.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.129–30.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp.119–20, 131.

⁹⁴ E. H. Pearce, *Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster* (London, 1920), pp.77–8

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.78.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.78.

⁹⁷ Reg. Swinfield, p.240–1.

⁹⁸ *Household Roll*, I, Appendix IV, pp.210–11. This entry should also be in *Reg. Swinfield*, between pp.251–4; however, it seems that Capes missed the entry.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.130–1; Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I A.D. 1281–1292 (London, 1893), pp.381, 384.

¹⁰⁰ Reg. Swinfield, p.251; Household Roll, I, p.212.

¹⁰¹ Register Thomas de Cantilupe, pp.25, 86, 260–2, 272.

- ¹⁰² Reg. Swinfield, p.252.
- ¹⁰³ J. M. Horn (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: Volume 5, St Paul’s*, London (London, 1963), p.49.
- ¹⁰⁴ Reg. Swinfield, p.529.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.529.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.230–1.
- ¹⁰⁷ For the value of the wax: *Taxatio*, ‘Benefice of TREASURERSHIP OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL’, <<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.HE.03>> [accessed: 3 March 2017].
- ¹⁰⁸ HCA 1418; *Muniments II*, p.595; Capes, *Charters*, p.167.
- ¹⁰⁹ Reg. Swinfield, pp.297–8.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.315–6; HCA 1062; *Muniments II*, p.600; Capes, *Charters*, p.170.
- ¹¹¹ Reg. Swinfield, p.529.
- ¹¹² ‘Consuetudines Chori ecclesie Hereford’, p.63.
- ¹¹³ Capes, *Charters*, pp.168–9.
- ¹¹⁴ Reg. Swinfield, p.328. Canon Capes did not write out this writ again, thus reference has been made to HARC, AL19/2, f.113v.
- ¹¹⁵ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 73, f.225v, in R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.38–9.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.531; Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.42.
- ¹¹⁷ William called the Young: HCA 2538, 2651, 2652, 2543, 2701, 2702, 2546, 2547, 2551, 2552, 2653, 2654, 2703; *Muniments II*, pp.601, 604, 607, 609, 610, 612, 614, 615, 617. Many other documents were ‘by the hand of’ someone else during Gilbert’s tenure. The others traced (based off *Muniments II*) are: HCA 2651, 2539, 2652, 2541, 2542, 2744, 2543, 2545, 2701, 2702, 2546, 2547, 2551, 2552, 2653, 2654, 2549, 2557, 2703, 2553; *Muniments II*, pp.601–17.
- ¹¹⁸ HCA R388.
- ¹¹⁹ T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, Camden Society (London, 1867), p.189 (clxxvii).
- ¹²⁰ F. T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses and other Antiquarian Memorials of Hereford* (Edinburgh, 1869), p.198; *Idem.*, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, 1881), p.83 and plate 3.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.198.
- ¹²² Reg. Swinfield., p.547.
- ¹²³ HCA R389.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.532, 533, 539.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.383.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.441.
- ¹²⁷ HCA R393.
- ¹²⁸ Barrow, *Fasti 8, Hereford*, p.16; A. B. Emden, ‘Additions and Corrections to *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Supplemental List no. 2’, *Bodleian Library Record*, vii (1964), 149–64, p.160.
- ¹²⁹ Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I, A.D. 1301–1307 (London, 1898), p.206. For the wider issues of episcopal election see K. Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England, c.1214–1344: From Episcopal Election to Papal Provision* (Abingdon, 2016).
- ¹³⁰ HCA 1441, 1442, 1439, *Muniments*, p.692, 696, 714; see R. Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004).
- ¹³¹ HCA 1441; *Muniments II*, p.692; For an account of the process see: P. H. Daly, ‘The Process of canonization in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries’, in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 125–36, p.129. For the commissioners, Bartlett, *The Hanged Man*, pp.106–17.
- ¹³² Hoskin, ‘Swinfield, Richard’.
- ¹³³ Horn, *Fasti*, London, p.49.
- ¹³⁴ Reg. Swinfield, pp.540; Horn, *Fasti, Hereford*, pp.8, 14.
- ¹³⁵ HCA 1069–1072; also, Emanuel, ‘The Will of Richard de Swinfield’, pp.288–9.
- ¹³⁶ Emanuel, ‘The Will of Richard de Swinfield’, pp.286–90; namely HCA 1001–1047.
- ¹³⁷ HCA 1009, 1025; *Muniments II*, p.772–3.
- ¹³⁸ HCA 2289, 2291; *Muniments III*, pp.942–3; Capes, *Charters*, pp.223–5; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III, A.D. 1345–1348* (London, 1908), p.38. My thanks to Professor Emeritus Nigel Saul for the reference in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*.
- ¹³⁹ HCA 1069; *Muniments III*, p.919.
- ¹⁴⁰ HCA 1070; *Muniments III*, p.925.
- ¹⁴¹ HCA 1005; *Muniments II*, p.775.

¹⁴² HCA 3163; *Muniments III*, p.925.

¹⁴³ HCA 1072, 1925; *Muniments III*, pp.925, 944–5.

¹⁴⁴ HCA 1072; *Muniments III*, p.926.

¹⁴⁵ Oxford, Exeter College MS 158, ff.1r–33v.

¹⁴⁶ HCA 1067; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp.14–15, 95, 97, 112, 115, 154, 175, 182, 223, 226, 240, 297–9.

¹⁴⁷ *Reg. Swinfield*, p.242.

¹⁴⁸ Emden, *Biographical Register*, III, pp.1832–4; *Idem.*, Emden, ‘Additions and Corrections’, p.160.

¹⁴⁹ A. T. Bannister (ed.), *The Register of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1317–1327)* (Hereford, 1907); W. W. Capes (ed.), *Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. MCCCXXVII–MCCCXLIV [1327–1344]* (Canterbury and York Society (London, 1913).

¹⁵⁰ E. Hasted, ‘Parishes: Wingham’, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 9* (Canterbury, 1800) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol9/pp224-241>> [accessed 13 March 2017].

¹⁵¹ E. Hasted, ‘Parishes: Shorne’, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 3* (Canterbury, 1797) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-kent/vol3/pp442-456>> [accessed: 13 March 2017].

¹⁵² B. Sharples, Bosbury History Resource: Bosbury Church Memorials, no. 23

<<http://www.bosburyhistoryresource.org.uk/bosbury-church-memorials.html>> [accessed: 03 March 2017].

¹⁵³ A. T. Bannister (ed.), ‘A Transcript of “The Red Book”’, *Camden Miscellany Vol. XV*, i–ix, 1–36 (London, 1929).

The First World War altar and reredos¹ memorial in Hereford Cathedral

by KATHERINE ANDREW

The ‘A thousand years of building with stone’ project, organised by the Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, ran between 2013 and mid 2017. The project had four aims; to re-discover local building stone quarries, to research the skills, techniques and people involved in exploiting this resource, to raise awareness and appreciation of local stone, providing people with a sense of place and to create a database linking stone to quarries and particular buildings.

This article describes how research into the business records of W. Clarke of Llandaff, builders and stone masons based in Llandaff, Cardiff, led to greater recognition of a World War I memorial in Hereford Cathedral and understanding of how and why it came to be created. Prior to this research the memorial was not on the national database of First World War memorials nor marked or interpreted within the cathedral. It is now listed as WM Ref: 32514 and on 1 December 2017, Hereford Cathedral held a memorial service for Basil Webb, who is commemorated by the monument, one hundred years to the day after his death in France.

THE ‘A THOUSAND YEARS OF BUILDING WITH STONE’ PROJECT

The research and recording elements of stone buildings and quarries was targeted in over eighteen cluster areas and, whilst time consuming, was fairly straightforward thanks to a significant volunteer input. Close to 4,700 buildings and 712 quarries were recorded during the project onto a bespoke web database that can be found at www.buildingstones.org.uk. Given that there are no working building stone quarries in Worcestershire and only two working quarries and some delves in Herefordshire, this represents a significant increase in the level of knowledge pertaining to quarry sites in the two counties.

EHT has an established track record for outreach and engagement. Unfortunately, local authority funding cuts and closures of some local museums, libraries and archives during the period of this project had an adverse impact on its ability to undertake research and deliver events with some of the organisations and sites originally planned. Despite this, the project achieved a significant level of public engagement with over 14,000 face-to-face interactions at some seventy events and activities.

The outcome connected to ‘researching the skills and techniques used to exploit building stone resources’ was rather more difficult to achieve. The project team were able to visit two working quarries, several stone masons’ yards and a live building conservation project and organised volunteer training on stone preparation and letter cutting. In addition it explored historic extraction techniques at Hadley Quarry and even located documented medieval wedge pits in the moat at Goodrich Castle.

Archival evidence of the skills and techniques of stone masonry and building with stone proved to be very scarce as very few relevant records have been deposited at archives. The exceptions were the account books from the construction of some eighteenth-century country houses, including Croome Court, Worcestershire and the occasional set of plans and specifications

for other building projects. A co-operative link was established with Michael Statham of the Welsh Stone Forum who was researching Penarth alabaster and through this the project gained access to valuable material from the company archives of W. Clarke of Llandaff. This family stone masonry and building firm was established in the late nineteenth century and is still operating today from premises in Llandaff. The company used Penarth alabaster extensively and Michael was working his way chronologically through their archive researching this. Michael offered to forward any references to work undertaken by W. Clarke in Herefordshire or Worcestershire in return for help with his research. In return this project kept an eye open for previously unrecorded uses of Penarth alabaster in Herefordshire and Worcestershire and organised EHT volunteers to visit and photograph Penarth alabaster artefacts in the two counties.

W. CLARKE OF LLANDAFF COMPANY HISTORY

Michael Statham's detailed work on the company archives has provided the following history and family background of the company.² W. Clarke of Llandaff was founded by William Clarke in the later part of the nineteenth century. The firm is now run by his great great grandson, William Michael Clarke. William Clarke (1853 -1923), whose working career spanned the period 1871 to about 1915, was born in Llandaff, Glamorgan, the son of Edward Clarke (1821-1878), a wood carver and sculptor who came to Llandaff in 1852 to work on the cathedral for John Prichard. He died after a fall from scaffolding at Llandaff Cathedral, as did his first-born son, Edward Henry (1841-58). William's surviving older brother, Robert (1849-1915), was an architectural sculptor who ran a business in Hereford from about 1881 to 1911. Robert Clarke's son, William E. M. Clarke (known as Eddie), was a mason and sculptor and his son, William Ernest H. Clarke, became the Hereford Cathedral Architect in about 1920.

William Clarke ran his building and a sculpture business from a yard in Llandaff (Fig. 1). His son, Wyndham Jenkins Clarke (born c.1881, Canton, Cardiff) was apprenticed as a sculptor in the family firm. Wyndham's brother, Thomas Guy Clarke (known as Guy) (1882-1942) (Fig. 2), who was a qualified quantity surveyor, took over the running of the firm from his father a little before the start of World War 1. William Robert Pritchard Clarke (1918-2000),



Figure 1. Clarke's yard in Llandaff (copyright W. Clarke, Llandaff).



Figure 2. Guy Clarke (copyright W. Clarke, Llandaff).

Guy's son, took over after serving in the armed forces in World War II and the firm is currently run by his son William Michael Clarke (known as Mike).

The company archives include a series of day book ledgers covering the period 1899-1946 (1904-05 is missing) which record the progress on all live schemes, bill books covering the period 1892-1929, which record the invoices issued to clients, company accounts books covering the period 1900-1946, a series of Guy Clarke's notebooks relating to site visits to discuss potential designs, some photographs of completed works, and a large number of drawings and sketches for some of their projects.

W. CLARKE WORKS IN HEREFORDSHIRE

W. Clarke undertook occasional pieces of work in Herefordshire, often working with their sister company R. Clarke and using A. W. Wellington as a subcontractor. Three projects have been identified in the company archives.

W. Clarke lifted the Roman mosaic excavated at Kenchester (Magnis) and re-mounted it in the stairwell of Hereford Museum and Art Gallery between August and October 1913 under the instruction of Mr A. J. Morgan, the curator. The work took almost 600 hours to complete, Robert Clarke was a member of the research committee and his firm supplied some materials. The expertise came through William Clarke, a keen archaeologist who later went on to help found the National Museum of Wales. Although the excavations are recorded in a series of papers in the *TWNFC* and a coloured illustration of the mosaic forms the frontispiece to the report on excavations over the 1912-1913 season, the detail of how the mosaic was lifted and the materials used to mount it were previously unknown.³

In 1924, the company worked on a project at Hereford Cathedral described in detail below. The last entry for a Herefordshire project by the business was the erection of a granite monument at Tupsley for Mrs Whilside in 1937, presumably at St Peter's Church. The Rubislaw (Aberdeen) Granite monument was supplied by William Kirkpatrick Ltd (Manchester Granite & Marble Works) and delivered to Hereford Station. Records shows that (William) Dare (letter cutter and mason, see below) spent only eleven and a half hours on the project which suggests that the monument was ordered as pre-cut sections and Clarkes simply cut the inscriptions which were infilled with lead. A.W. Wellington, who also worked on the reredos project, installed the monument.

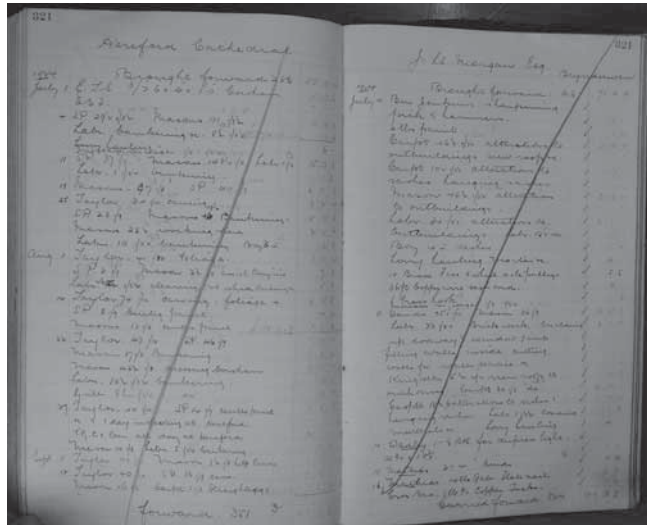


Figure 3. Second page of entries concerning the project from Day Book 15, July to September 1924 (copyright W. Clarke, Llandaff).

THE HEREFORD CATHEDRAL REREDOS

The first reference to a significant Herefordshire stone masonry project came in the form of four pages of sketches and measurements in Guy Clarke's notebook for 17 March 1924. Headed 'HEREFORD', this mentioned an altar but was very difficult to interpret.⁴ Supporting pages in the daybook confirmed the project was to be in Hereford Cathedral.⁵ With billable costs extending to three pages of the ledger from April until October 1924 this was clearly a major piece of work (Fig. 3). The bill book invoice for £344 of October 1924 indicated that the client was Sir William G. John RA and that the work undertaken was a reredos and inscription (Fig. 4).⁶

A visit to the cathedral established that the project was a stone altar and reredos located in the crypt of Hereford Cathedral, recognisable from the design of the caps on the gable of the central panel sketched by Guy Clarke in his notebook (Fig. 5).

Digital images of the handwritten archival documents were forwarded by Michael Statham as he came across them. Once the handwriting and names of employees became familiar and the approach to the record keeping was understood, it was possible to transcribe the entries and build up a very detailed picture of the working practice of the firm and the detail of progress on this piece.

The reredos team and their pay

Seven named members of staff, including masons, labourers, boys, and various subcontractors are listed in Day Book 15, either with initials or a surname.

T.G.C.—Thomas Guy Clarke, known as Guy, the family member in charge of this project. He was recorded as visiting Sir W. Goscombe John in London and inspecting work at Hereford. (Fig. 2)

Taylor—the master carver, paid 1s 4d an hour. He was William Willingale Taylor (1851-1935), examples of whose work can be seen at the Insole Court and the Old Library in Cardiff and

Date	Description	Quantity	Price
16 April	30 cub sand	1.17	3 3 9
	1 bag cement	1.17	1 17 4
	1 bag cement	1.17	8 .
23	1 bag cement	1.17	9 4
	1/2 of plank	1.17	1 .
			6 13 6
12 Oct	To account for making reredos including inscription and fixing in Hereford Cathedral		
			300 .
19 Oct	1 lb stone	1.17	8 .
	4 lbs	1.17	12 .
	3 lbs	1.17	9 .
2	11 lbs	1.17	3 6 .
3	9 "	1.17	2 14 .
4	19 "	1.17	5 14 0
			12 18 0

Figure 4. The bill for the client Sir Goscombe John, Bill Book 12, October 1924. The text (middle item) reads 'To account for making reredos including inscription and fixing in Hereford Cathedral' (copyright W. Clarke, Llandaff).

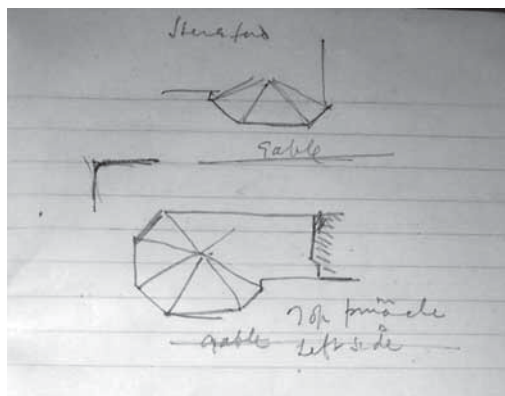


Figure 5. Sketch of gable caps from Guy Clarke's 1924 notebook (copyright W. Clarke, Llandaff).

many other locations; he was regularly employed by Clarke's but also operated as a freelancer and regularly worked on pieces designed by Sir Goscombe John (Fig. 6).⁷

S.P. — (Sidney Pollard) the senior staff member and mason on this project. He was paid 1s 9d an hour. The 1911 census reveals that Sidney Pollard (1860-1928) was a stone mason who lived about a mile from the company yard. Other census and company records show that his father Fred Pollard, originally from Monmouth, was also a stone mason and had worked for Clarke's.

Masons were paid 1s 8d an hour for banking and although not normally named in the daybook, specific tasks are ascribed to:-

(William) Dare, the letter cutter and mason, 1s 8d an hour.

Gale, a fixer mason, paid 1s 8d an hour.

Kingston, paid to construct the packing cases for this job also at 1s 8d an hour. Judging from other projects in the daybook, he was a specialist carpenter.

Dare, Gale and Kingston were entrusted with packing up the finished pieces prior to transportation.

William (Bill) Grills, a long serving employee of the firm was responsible for loading and unloading the company lorry and supervising the transport. He drove to and from London taking twenty-two hours to collect the maquettes of the piece from the sculptor. He was paid 1s 4d an hour. A number of mainly unnamed labourers plus Grills were paid 1s 3¼d per hour for sawing stone blocks. The yard also had several boys (or apprentices) paid at 6d an hour.



Figure 6. William Taylor with his wife and grandchild (courtesy of Michael Statham and Lyndsey Stuart).

Suppliers

Corsham stone (from Wiltshire) was supplied by E. Turner and Sons (of Corsham Down, near Warminster in Wiltshire) the company also ordered samples of Painswick Stone. Bath stone ashlar was used for the plainer areas, also supplied by E. Turner and Sons. In 2005,

Cliveden Conservation identified the Bath stone as the Monk's Park variety.⁸

Cross Brothers supplied the zinc sheet to make the templates. A boy was paid 4d for an hour of work two weeks later to fetch some more, so there may have been a slight miscalculation of how much was needed.

Subcontractors

Sparkes, presumably a haulage contractor, made two journeys to Hereford.

Fergusson was paid for hauling plant back to the yard near the end of the job.

Ben Jenkins was paid to sharpen the tools either at the beginning or end of each job.

A.W. Wellington was paid £17 14s 4d for assisting with the project in Hereford and supplying materials.

Working practices

Most work was carried out in the company yard at Llandaff, but several members of staff had to work on-site in Hereford at the fixing stage and received out of pocket expenses for the period away from home.

Working hours were long. Taylor the carver clocked up seventy hours one week, Sid Pollard, the senior mason regularly recorded sixty-three hours in a week. Dare the letter cutter spent sixty-nine hours working *in situ* in the final week of the job and Gale sixty-eight hours on fixing.

Staff were paid weekly for the hours worked on each job. Staff received a pay rise of a few pence an hour about a third of the way through the project, recorded in red ink in the daybook, the pay rates listed above being after the pay rise (Fig. 3). The 1937 job showed that Dare was still earning the same hourly rate thirteen years later. Pay rises were clearly a rare occurrence.

Progress of the job

The first record of the project was the sketches and measurements made by Guy Clarke in his notebook, dated 17 March 1924. They are hard to interpret but seem to include both measurements made in the crypt in order to site the altar correctly between existing projections on either side of the east window and sketches and measurements of the design, including the caps on the tops of the gables of the reredos (Fig. 5).

Work began in earnest April 1924 with a visit by Guy Clarke to Sir W. Goscombe John's studio in London, presumably to discuss the project and for Grills to collect the models or maquettes of what was required.⁹

The company ordered samples of two types of oolitic limestone, Painswick and Corsham stone, from E. Taylor and Sons and prepared examples in May. By June approval for using Corsham stone must have been given by Sir Goscombe John as the zinc for the banker masons to use as templates was bought from Cross Brothers and Sid Pollard was paid for eleven hours of work making the templates.

The specific sizes of stone blocks were ordered from E. Turner and Son and paid for on 20 and 27 June and the haulage bill was paid on 27 June. Bath stone ashlar was noted to be delivered later. More stone arrived in July with a second haulage bill.

Blocks were sawn up and the labourers and masons engaged in dressing blocks to a rough shape and banking (working the blocks to an accurate shape on waist-high workstations or banks) using a zinc template to check that the desired profile had been achieved.

By 18 July, Taylor, the senior carver had started work and by 7 August, after a clean and tidy up in the shed, he had moved on to the fine work of carving foliage. Sid Pollard was at work on the rear panel of the reredos too.

The number of workers paid in August and the hours worked suggested that it was all hands on deck. Only when work was nearly complete did Dare spend three hours planning the laying out of the inscriptions. On 29 August Guy Clarke travelled by car to Hereford Cathedral, possibly meeting the cathedral architect, his uncle, William (Eddie) Clarke. Work continued in Cardiff to finish the sections and pack them up for transportation to the cathedral. By the week ending 11 September, Grills had spent four hours loading the lorry and £4 was spent on timber for packing crates.

The fixing team arrived on site in Hereford at the end of September, supported by A. W. Wellington, the company's regular Hereford based subcontractor. Once the piece had been assembled, Dare cut the lettering in the week beginning 10 October, spending sixty-nine hours on the task. Gale and Dare were re-funded their expenses for staying in Hereford on 17 October. The final billed job, for 5s, was re-sharpening the tools for the next piece of work.

In total, 1,601 hours of work are recorded in the daybook by six named workmen plus unnamed masons, labourers and boys. Three days of Guy Clarke's time were also spent on the project. The accounts record expenditure as £239 17s 11d (not including the senior staff's time) with the client billed for £344. The account was settled within three weeks of work being completed.

A description of the piece

The company archives did not include any images of the work, so until a site visit was made to Hereford Cathedral, the nature and scale of the monument being created remained unknown. The completed piece is a stone altar with an integral upright back panel, correctly a reredos, but referred to in the company documents as a reredos.

It is located in the crypt of Hereford Cathedral and is approximately eight feet long, two feet deep and seven feet tall, with the altar top three feet from the floor. The piece stands about four feet away from the east end of the crypt wall, so it is possible to walk all around it. It is signed on the back on the lower part of the right hand column 'W. Goscombe John RA'. The inscription on the back panel of the reredos indicates that it is a memorial to Lieutenant Basil Webb of the Welsh Guards and of his comrades in the regiment, killed in action at Gouzeacourt, France on 1 December 1917, commissioned by Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Webb Bart, MP.

The reredos is in the form of a triptych with two plain arcades and a central panel lettered underneath '*Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax*' (Glory to God in the highest and on earth, peace). The central panel contains three figures, a Roman soldier on the left, St Michael in the centre and St Ethelbert on the right (holding a building, representing his foundation of the cathedral at Hereford) (Plate 3.1). The figures are the work of William Taylor. A band of stylised foliage, carved by Sid Pollard, runs all around the reredos close to the top edge. Birds, possibly doves, sit in foliage between the arches of the triptych. The lettered dedication cut by Dare is on the back of the reredos (Fig. 7).

The Roman soldier figure (Fig. 8) bears a close resemblance to the features of Goscombe John's 'The Boy Scout' sculpture for which Basil Webb posed.¹⁰ A photograph of Basil on the Winchester College web site

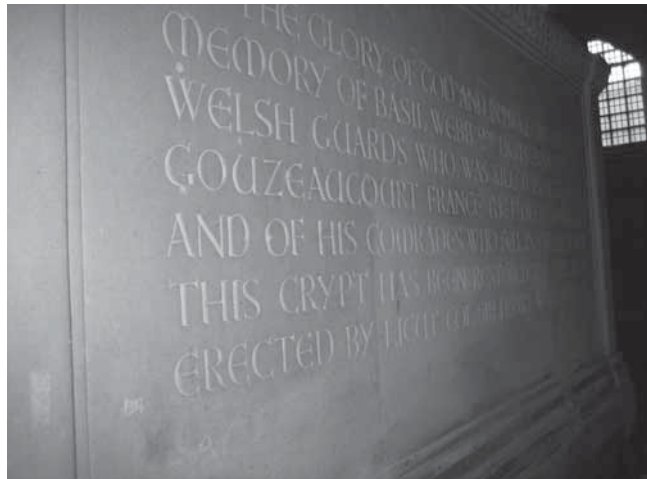


Figure 7. View of the rear of the reredos with the dedication, letter cutting by William Dare (photograph K. Andrew).

confirms the resemblance¹¹ which was also described by a contemporary report of the opening ceremony in the *Hereford Times*.¹²

Basil Webb is also recorded on three other First World War memorials in England, the village memorial at Ballingham, Herefordshire, the Recording Angel memorial in Westminster Hall and the Winchester College War memorial, as well as at the Gouzecourt New British Cemetery in France and on his gravestone there (Grave VI.G.19).



¹³ Figure 8. Detail of Basil Webb portrayed as a Roman Soldier—illuminated by sunlight around noon on 1 December 2017 (photograph K. Andrew).

The Hereford Cathedral monument, together with the restoration of the crypt by Caroes was intended to become a memorial chapel to all Hereford men lost in the First World War. It was commissioned and funded by Basil's father, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Webb Bart. Plans were well underway by early 1920.¹⁴ Originally it was intended to inscribe the names of the fallen of Herefordshire on tablets in the restored crypt, but at a meeting in March 1920, it was decided that with over 2,000 names to record, space would not allow this and it was proposed that a vellum memorial volume be displayed in a desk case instead.¹⁵

Memorials to Major Wilfrid Townshend Carless and to former pupils of Hereford Cathedral School were dedicated within the Cathedral in August 1920¹⁶ and December 1921 respectively.¹⁷ In January 1923, a war memorial to the men of The Hereford Regiment was also dedicated.¹⁸

The dedication of the memorial to Basil Webb and his comrades and the Herefordshire memorial chapel in the refurbished crypt took place on Tuesday 14 October 1924 in a ceremony led by the Bishop of Hereford. The first celebration of Holy Communion using the altar took place the following day.¹⁹

THE WEBB FAMILY LINKS TO HEREFORDSHIRE AND HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

Working in the South Wales coal industry as a mining engineer, Sir Harry had become a very wealthy man. Known for his good humour, he made many well-publicised philanthropic donations over his lifetime. The family of his first wife, Ellen Williams, also made their money from the South Wales coal industry. In 1919, her personal estate was valued at £75,000.²⁰ Sir Harry's own estate, left to his second wife and widow, was valued at around £105,000 in 1941.²¹ Although he lived around Cardiff in his later life, Sir Harry chose to commemorate his son in Hereford, perhaps because of his own early family links to the county as well as it being the site of Basil's childhood home. As someone who had raised regiments and commanded men in the county, he would have been well aware of the losses suffered by families in Herefordshire in addition to the men commemorated on the Herefordshire Regiment or Hereford Cathedral School memorials.

Webb family history

Sir Harry was born in Kington in 1866, the son of Henry Webb and Hannah possibly Jones. His origins were humble, published sources offer conflicting information and primary research was needed to unpick the family history.

His grandparents were Thomas Webb, a tailor, and Mary Collins, listed as a draper's wife, both born in Kington. The family attended the Particular Baptists Lower Chapel at Kington, with all three sons Thomas, Henry and William baptised on 11 January 1837. Their elder daughter Mary had also been baptised there. Harry's father Henry started his working life as an ironmonger's assistant and by 1861 was a coal merchant. In 1871 he was recorded in the census as a clothing salesman and, in 1881, as a retired clothier. In 1891 his occupation was recorded as a rate collector working with his son John. In 1901 he was listed as living on his own means with his wife and unmarried daughter Annie.

Census records show that in 1861, William Webb, the younger brother, was living in London at his brother Thomas's Kensington house with their mother Mary. Mary appears to have separated from her husband as she was listed as married rather than widowed, her husband Thomas continuing to live in Kington with his daughter Mary and son Henry.

No records of a marriage of a Henry Webb to a Hannah in the Kington area could be located; nor the baptisms of their children. However, census records show that Henry and Hannah had four children in total, John William, 1864-1941, Annie Isabel 1865-1922 and Harry 1866-1940, all born in Kington, and Mary born in 1869 in Ewyas Harold. The family had moved with the three youngest children to Paganhill in Stroud by 1871, leaving John William with his grandmother Mary in Kington. By 1881, John William was living with the family again in Stapleton, Stroud. In 1901, John William Webb was back in Kington working as a mason and in 1911 he was the landlord of the Crown Inn in Dilwyn. Henry and Hannah Webb moved with Annie some time before 1901 to Horfield in the northern suburbs of Bristol. Annie Isabel Webb's probate in 1922 was to her brother Sir Henry Webb.

The Times report of his baronetcy²² states that his father was 'the late Mr Henry Webb of Bristol': however, *Who Was Who*²³ records him as the second son of the late Henry Webb, Kington. Two sisters, Alice and Mary Webb were reported as attending his first wife's funeral in 1919. Although Henry had two sisters, those referred to were in fact his wife's sisters, so Williams, not Webbs.²⁴

The 1881 census shows Harry, aged fifteen living at Talworth House, Castle Road, Cardiff with his uncle, Thomas Webb, and his aunt Elizabeth who did not have children of their own. At the time of the 1891 census he was a visitor at his future wife's house at 2, Glossop Terrace, Adamstown, Cardiff and in 1901 was recorded as still living with his uncle at 30, Broadwater Down in Tunbridge Wells.

Thomas Webb started life as a railway clerk, later becoming a colliery agent, then manager and finally a colliery proprietor before retiring to Tunbridge Wells whilst maintaining a London home at Albert Hall Mansions, Kensington. At the time of his death in 1908, his estate was valued for probate at just under £4,000.²⁵

Sir Harry's life story

Sir Harry followed in his uncle's footsteps, said to be educated privately (possibly in Cardiff), then Lausanne and Paris. He trained in colliery affairs under Messrs Forster, Brown and Rees

as a mining engineer and in later life became Director of four coal companies in and around Merthyr and the Rhondda Valley, taking a seat on the board of the Ocean Coal Company on the death of his uncle. Further confusion is created by the newspaper naming his uncle as Basil rather than Thomas.²⁶

A personal friend of Lloyd George, he stood unsuccessfully as Liberal candidate for the South Hereford seat in 1910, by which point he owned a house and farm at Kilforge near Ballingham. He was a proprietor of the *Westminster Gazette*, as part of the consortium of Liberal politicians and business men that bought the influential Liberal clubland paper in 1908.²⁷ From 1920 to 1929 he was patron of the living of Ballingham with Bolstone.²⁸ He also owned Llwynarthan, built in 1878 and situated between Cardiff and Newport (now the St Mellons Hotel), from at least 1906 until at least 1929. Clarke's archives indicate the firm regularly worked for him at this location. Following the death of the sitting MP, he represented the Forest of Dean from 1911 to 1918, served as a Whip, was a Junior Lord of the Treasury (1912–1915) and between 1923 and 1924 served as MP for Cardiff East.²⁸

He and his wife presented Lady Goscombe John, wife of the artist Sir William Goscombe John, at Court on 13 February 1914.²⁹ They also attended a Court Banquet, posing for photographs beforehand at The Lafayette Studios in Bond Street in their court dress.

Sir Harry played an extremely active recruiting role in the First World War, raising and commanding two 'Pioneer' battalions, the 13th Gloucestershires (raised in Malvern) and—entirely at his own expense—the 14th Worcestershires. He also commanded the 23rd (Works) Battalion that transferred to Hereford from Prescott, Lancashire in March 1917 and the Western Command Labour Centre, often training and equipping men at his own expense. He was made a baronet on 28 January 1916 in recognition of this service.³⁰

His wife Ellen was also very active in the war effort, supporting and running their home at Llwynarthan as an auxiliary hospital for injured troops and creating a soldiers' club in Oswestry. She was awarded the MBE in recognition of her work.³¹ She died at Oswestry in January 1919 and was buried alongside her daughter in Tunbridge Wells, Kent.³² Her will included a number of bequests to support soldiers and nurses, and two to the Welsh Guards, one of which was to the choir. Her picture by John Hoppner, 'The sisters', was left to her husband for life and then to the National Museum of Wales.³³

In the summer of 1919 Sir Harry married Helena Kate de Paula, the sister of one of his son Basil's close friends.³⁴ Sir Harry later became a major benefactor to what is now the University of Cardiff and had previously supported the Basil Webb ward of the King Edward VII Hospital in Cardiff and The Dilke Memorial hospital at Cinderford.³⁵

His interests in *Who Was Who* are listed as fishing, shooting, riding, motoring and agriculture, other records reference his interest in breeding short horn cattle.³⁶ He served as High Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1921 and was also a JP in Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. By the time of his death in 1940, he was living at Caerleon in Monmouthshire. It appears that with no direct living heir, and having moved from Kilforge House, Bolstone by 1926, Sir Harry's links with Herefordshire were forgotten.³⁷

Basil Webb

Thomas Harry Basil Webb (1898–1917), known as Basil, was the only son and, at the time of his death, the only surviving child, of Sir Henry and Lady Ellen Webb. He was killed in action in

World War I, on 1 December 1917, at the age of nineteen. His, presumed older, sister had died in 1900 and his mother was later buried in the same grave as her daughter.³⁸

Aged twelve, Basil had been the model for a bronze sculpture, 'The Boy Scout' by the renowned Welsh artist and family friend, Sir William Goscombe John RA.³⁹ This was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1910 and was donated to the National Museum of Wales in 1952 by his father's second wife.⁴⁰ Around 1900 Basil also composed an amusing poetic prayer, later adopted by Chester Cathedral refectory, which was printed on cards and sold as a popular memento from the 1920s onwards. On-line references erroneously credit the restored crypt as being at Chester Cathedral.⁴¹

Basil Webb attended prep school at Sandroyd School, Cobham, Surrey before going to Winchester College where he was described as a good all-round athlete. He was gazetted into the Welsh Guards and left for France on 9 August 1917 with his school friend, 2nd Lieutenant George C. S. Tennant. Sadly, George Tennant was killed on 3 September 1917 and Basil served for only a few more months before being killed himself.⁴²

The action in which he died was at Gouzecourt on the Hindenburg Line. It was an attempt to regain trenches in woodland lost to enemy forces and should have been supported by tank back up. The action took place in daylight on 1 December 1917 at 6.30 am according to one account,⁴³ or more likely in the early afternoon.⁴⁴ Within three minutes, fifty-seven of the 369 men in the leading companies of the assault had been killed—including all but one officer—with a further 190 wounded. The enemy machine gunners aimed at the legs of the men as they crested a shallow ridge moving towards Gonnellieu near Chambray in France. Although the promised four tanks did not arrive the men were ordered to advance in line with fixed bayonets. The injured and dying Welsh men sang to each other as they lay sheltering in shell holes awaiting rescue at dawn the following morning.⁴⁵

A single tank did appear later in the day, knocking out the machine gun post, taking a number of prisoners and enabling the lost ground to be re-gained; it was this later action that was reported in the *Times* the following day, not the earlier massacre.⁴⁶

Basil Webb and his comrades were initially buried very close to where they fell but were later re-buried in the military cemetery at Gouzecourt. His is one of the few graves resulting from the action with a named headstone and, at the request of his father, bears the inscription 'He fought the good fight'.⁴⁷

THE MONUMENT AND ITS PLACE IN HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

The story of the memorial in Hereford Cathedral was forgotten until uncovered through this project. Knowledge of its commissioning and creation as a site-specific monument for the crypt had been lost and it was regarded as rather in the way—so much so that in 2005 Cliveden Conservation worked up a project to re-locate the altar to an external position protected by a bronze canopy.⁴⁸ Research completed during the 'A Thousand Years of Building with Stone' project rediscovered the significance of the crypt as memorial of the men of Herefordshire serving in WWI, the dedication and story behind the creation of the reredos as well as its artistic value as a piece by the sculptor Goscombe John.

CONCLUSION

This research project provided a rare opportunity to understand the detail of production of an historic stone-built artefact, helping to deliver what proved to be the hardest outcome of the

‘A Thousand Years of Building with Stone’ project—to research the skills, techniques and people involved in exploiting this resource—as well as uncovering the moving story of sacrifice in World War I that lay behind its commissioning.

Harry Webb’s funding for the monument and restoration of the whole crypt was intended as a memorial to all those from Herefordshire who were killed in the First World War. The centenary of Basil Webb’s death offered a fitting opportunity for commemoration and on 1 December 2017 a very moving service of memorial and re-dedication, led by The Dean, was held in Hereford Cathedral (Fig. 9).



Figure 9. Re-dedication service in the crypt of Hereford Cathedral, 1 December 2017 (photograph K. Andrew).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my thanks to the following for help with this project:-

The Heritage Lottery Fund for supporting the ‘A Thousand Years of Building with Stone’ project; Michael Statham provided scans of the W. Clarke company records, the company chronology and information about W. Clarke’s staff members. W. Clarke of Llandaff supplied the image of Guy Clarke. Jenni Waugh searched contemporary newspaper articles, archives documents and additional web sources which enabled some of the many gaps to be filled. Robert Kilgour, Hereford Cathedral Architect supplied a copy of the 2005 Cliveden Conservation proposal. Lastly, my thanks to The Very Revd Michael Tavinor, Dean of Hereford Cathedral, for organising the centenary re-dedication service.

Thanks too, to Jane Adams for editorial input and to Gerry Calderbank for help with preparing images for publication.

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¹ The monument is referred to as a reredos in the records of W. Clarke and this term is used in this article even though the monument is, more correctly, a retable.

² M. Statham, 2018, Family Tree of the Clarkes of Llandaff, personal communication.

³ G. H. Jack with contributions by A. J. K. Hayter ‘Excavations on the site of the Roman-British town of *Magna*, Kenchester, Herefordshire during the years 1912-1913’, *TWNFC*, 1912-13, pp. 170-240, pp.181-2. The coloured frontispiece to the 1912-1913 volume shows the tessellated pavement.

⁴ Guy Clarke’s notebook from 1924, four un-numbered pages, W. Clarke of Llandaff archives.

⁵ W. Clarke of Llandaff daybook 15, pp.286, 320, 350, W. Clarke of Llandaff archives.

⁶ W. Clarke of Llandaff Bill Book 12, p.365, W. Clarke of Llandaff archives.

⁷ M. Statham, 2018, ‘Identification of a Master Sculptor at work at Insole Court in 1899’, unpublished research paper, Insole Court Research Group, Cardiff.

- ⁸ Cliveden Conservation, 2005, unpublished report and proposal to re-locate the reredos into the former chapter house protected by a bronze canopy.
- ⁹ The National Museum of Wales holds a portrait of the artist in his studio (NMW A 2550), working on clay maquettes for a figurative sculpture, suggesting that modeling in clay was his usual approach.
- ¹⁰ This can be viewed on the National Museum of Wales on-line catalogue, accession number NMW A 126.
- ¹¹ Photograph of Basil Webb in the uniform of the Welsh Guards <https://www.winchestercollegeatwar.com/archive/thomas-harry-basil-webb/>
- ¹² 'Dedication of restored Cathedral crypt and altar – impressive ceremony, *Hereford Times (HT)*, 18. Oct. 1924.
- ¹³ Details of Basil Webb's grave <https://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/248856/webb,-thomas-harry-basil/>.
- ¹⁴ G. E. Aylmer and John Eric Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (2000), p.285.
- ¹⁵ *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 20 Jan. 1923.
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- ¹⁷ 'Hereford Cathedral School War Memorial', *Gloucester Echo*, 17 Dec. 1921.
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- ¹⁹ 'Cathedral Crypt, new altar erected after restoration', *Hereford Journal*, 8 Oct. 1924; *HT*, 18 Oct. 1924.
- ²⁰ 'Local wills', *GJ*, 3 May 1919.
- ²¹ National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administration), 1941.
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- ²³ *Who Was Who*, 1929-1940, Webb, Lt-Col, Sir Henry, 1st Baronet, cr. 1916. <http://global.oup.com/whoswho/about/whowaswho/>.
- ²⁴ *Kent and Sussex Courier*, 10 Jan. 1919.
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- ²⁸ P. A. Lushington, Rev. (editor), Herefordshire Diocesan Register, volumes for 1919 to 1930, (HAS), Reference?
- ²⁹ 'Their Majesties' Court', *The Times*, 14 Feb. 1914.
- ³⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Henry_Webb,_1st_Baronet.
- ³¹ *The London Gazette*, Supplement 30460, 4 Jan. 1918, p.407.
- ³² *Kent and Sussex Courier*, 10 Jan. 1919.
- ³³ '£50,000 for charities – Mother's bequests to friends of her dead soldier son', *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 19 Apr. 1919; *GJ*, 3 May 1919; National Museum of Wales on-line catalogue to the art <https://museum.wales/art/online/>. It was acquired by the museum in 1941 (NMW A492), and is now attributed only to 'British School'.
- ³⁴ *Who Was Who*, 1929-1940, Webb, Lt-Col, Sir Henry; *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 19 Apr. 1919.
- ³⁵ '£56,700 for Welsh University', *The Times*, 21 Nov. 1923, p.7; *Who Was Who* 1929-1940; 'Dilke Memorial Hospital', *GJ*, 11 May 1918.
- ³⁶ *Who Was Who*, 1929-1940.
- ³⁷ 'Bolstone', *Kelly's Directory for Herefordshire*, 1917, p.21; 1922, p.27; 1926, p. 28.
- ³⁸ *Kent and Sussex Courier*, 10 Jan. 1919.
- ³⁹ Sir Harry Webb https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Henry_Webb,_1st_Baronet.
- ⁴⁰ National Museum of Wales on-line catalogue to the art <https://museum.wales/art/online/>. (Accession number NMW A 126).
- ⁴¹ Sir Harry Webb https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Henry_Webb,_1st_Baronet.
- ⁴² <https://www.winchestercollegeatwar.com/archive/thomas-harry-basil-webb/>.
- ⁴³ 'Sec. Liet. Thomas Harry Basil Webb', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 29 Dec. 1917.
- ⁴⁴ <https://www.winchestercollegeatwar.com/archive/thomas-harry-basil-webb/>
- ⁴⁵ Account of the action at Gouze court from the Granddaughter of a survivor <http://annisbetweenworlds.blogspot.co.uk/2013/08/investigating-our-first-world-war-story.html>
- ⁴⁶ 'Story Of German Onslaught', *The Times* [London, England] 3 Dec. 1917: 9+. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2018; 'The German Counter-Thrust', *The Times* [London, England] 4 Dec. 1917: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 1 May 2018.
- ⁴⁷ <https://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/248856/webb,-thomas-harry-basil/>
- ⁴⁸ Clevedon Conservation, 2005.

A selection of recent notable fungi records

By JO WEIGHTMAN

The Herefordshire Fungus database holds records running from the heady mid-nineteenth-century days of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club's Forays among the Funguses to the present day. Most of the historic data was researched and collated by Edward Blackwell, Herefordshire Fungus Recorder for the British Mycological Society (1993-2008). In the 1990s he formed the Herefordshire Fungus Survey Group (HFSG) whose first objective is to visit sites across the county and record the fungi present. Species recorded may be common or, more excitingly, new to the site, to the county, to Great Britain, even to science. Members of the Group and other interested persons contribute records from non-foray locations across the county. The fungi mentioned below are just a few of the interesting, unusual or rare species found in Herefordshire in recent years.

The report of the recorder for Mycology for 2017 can be found later in this volume.

Cantharellus melanoxerus (Plate 4.1) in bare soil under beech *Fagus*, Haugh Wood South, 23.09.2016, coll./det. JW. First county record. Listed as Vulnerable on the Red Data List (2006). K.¹

This species is closely related to the much better known and bright golden yellow Chanterelle *Cantharellus cibarius* but the colours are much paler and have violaceous tones. This collection consisted of a colony of several clumps each composed of many, tightly clustered fruit bodies which blacken on drying.

Clavaria zollingeri (Plate 4.2) under horse chestnut *Aesculus hippocastum* in woodland, Croft Castle Estate, 05.10.2016, HFSG foray. Last recorded at this site in 1998. Known from only three locations in Herefordshire, occasional nationally.

A very beautiful, violet, coral-shaped fungus that can also occur in grassland. Once seen, never to be forgotten. It is on my personal wanted list—there is nothing quite like finding your own, field mycologists being inspired by the hunt as well as by aesthetics and science.

Loreleia postii in gravel, Kentchurch Court, 19.10.2016, HFSG foray. Second county record.

This thin-fleshed, red-brown species with markedly decurrent gills, formerly in *Omphalina*, was last recorded in Herefordshire on charcoal heaps in Downton Gorge during a Woolhope Naturalists' Club foray in 1873. Rarely recorded nationally.

Neohygrocybe ovina (Plate 4.3) in grass, Kentchurch Court, 19.10.2016, coll/det. HFSG foray. Third county record, occasional nationally.

Waxcaps usually bejewel their grassland habitat with brilliant red, orange, yellow, pink and green colours but this species is the odd one out, being a grey relatively stout species, with flesh that reddens when damaged.

Polyporus umbellatus, (Plates 4.4 & 4.5) under oak *Quercus* and sweet chestnut *Castanea sativa* in broad-leaved woodland South Herefordshire 19.06.2016. First Herefordshire record. Rare. Listed as Near Threatened on the Red Data List (2006).

Polyporus species usually occur on dead wood but this one appears at first glance to grow terrestrially. To find it is to be surprised—by its timing in midsummer, by its football-like size and by its bonsai-like form—the trunk several times branching with brown/grey caps centrally poised on the tip of each ultimate branch, the edges of each cap close or overlapping. Two of these clumps were found in different parts of the wood, one of the two exhibiting magnificently its special character as it could be seen to arise not from the ground but from a black, coal-like mat. Much of this mat was buried or half buried and large chunks lay around that had been damaged or fallen off with age. Such a mat is called a sclerotium, a mass of hard packed hyphae that acts as a kind of survival kit. Many years ago I saw this fungus with its sclerotium on the Kent/Surrey border and marvelled that the sclerotium at that site was well over a metre across. Stepping this one out gave a diameter of five or more metres! Just how old was that?

Rugosomyces chrysenteron (Plate 4.6) in spruce *Picea* litter, Haugh Wood North, 19.09.2016. First county record. Listed as Vulnerable on the Red Data List (2006). K.

It was already being an exciting September afternoon. I had entered the wood low on its western slopes only to find to my dismay that what I had expected to be an area of broadleaf woodland soon degenerated into a stand of mature spruce. My attitude was pardonable as conifer woodland usually comes to fungal life in late November. So much for arrogance. This patch was ‘jumping’ with a common milkcap *Lactarius* and an uncommon *Russula* so I persisted. My eye was then caught by a very bright yellow agaric (toadstool-shaped fungus) growing in a tumble of litter and woody debris. Every part, cap, gill and stipe was golden yellow. It was unknown to me but I expected it to be one of the brown-spored genera—but not so, as it gave a white spore print. Some other *Rugosomyces* species also exhibit beautiful colours, *R. carnea* being pink while *R. ionides* is violet.

Suillus cavipes (Plate 4.7) with larch *Larix*, Lord’s Wood, Great Doward, first recorded at this site in 20.09.2015, again in 04.10.2016, and at numerous locations within the wood 21.08.17. First Herefordshire record.

Most *Suillus* species are slimy-capped but *S. cavipes* is an exception having a felted to scaly cap, rich brown in colour contrasting with a yellow stipe and pores. These pores are decurrent, irregular in shape and have smaller pores inside them. The specific name derives from the cavities or chambers within the stipe. Like all boletes it is mycorrhizal, meaning that has a mutually beneficial relationship with its host which in this case is always larch. Records are distributed across the UK but most are in Scotland.

Sarcodontia crocea (Plates 4.8 & 4.9) on damaged part of living trunk *Malus* cv. Warners King, Awnells Farm, Much Marcle 06.11.2014. First Herefordshire record. K.

This fungus could have been found by the nose before the eye. A rich fruity odour leads to a large rather spongy yellow growth with soft hanging spines emerging from a crack in the bark of an old, living apple tree. The mycelium lives on the dead heartwood, only fruiting when the tree is damaged or a crack appears providing a way out to the outside world and thus to the opportunity

to fruit and shed spores. It was first recorded, as a fully mature specimen, quite late in the year on 06.11.2014. It failed to appear in 2015 and 2016 and is back again as I write in late August 2017, suggesting that it has an extended fruiting season. The tree was a Warner's King thought to have been planted in the 1930s. There must be many suitable host apple trees in the county in old orchards and gardens, raising hopes for further records.

Geastrum britannicum (Plates 4.10 & 4.11) under yew *Taxus baccata*, in a churchyard 15.02.2013, the earliest Herefordshire collection of a new British and world species.

At the time I collected this earthstar, it did not match up properly to any known species. I thought it was perhaps an aberration but kept the specimen anyway. A further collection in December the same year of this same earthstar, also under yew from another churchyard, also failed to match any known British species, so I submitted a specimen to Kew. Exhaustive search of all British and European studies of *Geastrum* species led nowhere. A close look in the Fungarium at those species that were clearly closely related to the Herefordshire material turned up three specimens collected in Norfolk that were identical to mine. They had been assigned to *G. quadrifidum* (cf.) that is with affinities to *G. quadrifidum*. It now appeared certain that we were dealing with an undescribed, ie, new-to-science, earthstar.

In 2009, DNA-ITS sequences from those three specimens had been added to Genbank along with sequences from many collections in the Fungarium. A group working on *Geastrum* in Spain requested a loan of these three specimens and in 2015 Zamora *et al* published a paper describing some new earthstars worldwide that included 'our' earthstar and naming it *Geastrum britannicum*.² Further sites for this new species have since been found both in Herefordshire and further afield. The essential field characters are:

A neck below the sac

A drooping, collar-like bottom edge to the sac

A granular, somewhat glistening surface to the sac

A well-defined ridge around the central opening

The opening may have a somewhat raised, fibrous mouth, but this is definitely not a strongly grooved beak

The (4) 5-7 rays, are very strongly reflexed so that they appear to be standing on their toes on the edges of a debris-encrusted 'saucer' of mycelium. This 'saucer' may be broken or nearly lost but fragments often hang on to the tips.

Postia guttulata (Plate 4.12) on rotting conifer stumps in a conifer plantation, Haugh Wood North 27.09. Rare. First Herefordshire record. K.

This rare species grows as a more-or-less fan-shaped, almost stalked, faintly zonate poroid bracket up to about 150mm across but often less. When fresh, the edges can have slightly translucent droplets, hence the specific name. I have observed that these can stain the flesh reddish if damaged but that has not been otherwise reported. Certainly the rough whitish surface can have red-brown stains. The texture is tough. It has since been found at a further seven sites in the county. Nationally there have been only a small handful of sightings. In Europe it occurs primarily on spruce *Picea* stumps within the natural range of the host.

Entyloma chrysosplenii (Plate 4.13) on living leaves of alternate-leaved golden saxifrage *Chrysosplenium alternifolium*, Brilley Green Dingle 18.04.15. K. First Herefordshire collection. Nationally rare. Vulnerable on the Red Data List (2006). Collected again at this site in 2017. First find the plant!—in itself a triumph—and then search for white spots on the underside. There are usually tell-tale discolorations on the upper side.

Agathomyia wankowiczi on *Ganoderma applanatum* (Plate 4.14) on a fallen poplar *Populus* trunk, Croft Castle Estate 10.08.2017. First Herefordshire record.

Finally, this is not a fungus but a fly—but one dependent on a fungus—a relatively common fungus supporting a rare fly. The fungus forms a large hard perennial bracket on living or dead wood. The fly seeks it out—only this species of fungus will do—and lays its eggs in the underside. The fungus reacts, forming a conspicuous gall from which the insect eventually eats its way out. When I find the bracket I always run an experimental finger along the underside to feel for the galls but until now have always been unsuccessful. The first finds in Shropshire were also this year so perhaps the fly is moving north and west from its occasional sites in the south east.

Conclusion

This dip into recent notable records is far from exhaustive. New vice-county records do occur quite often³ and new site records frequently, such is the unpredictable nature of fungal fruiting and the chance element of the finder being in the right place at the right time. The first and second *Geastrum britannicum* collections were first brought to my notice by interested but inexperienced observers—will you be next? Please do contact me with your finds—ALL records are welcome, not just the ‘specials’.

HFSG website: www.herefordfungi.org

HFSG Secretary: Mike Stroud, 01874 730263

Abbreviations

Coll.	Collector
det.	Determiner
HFSG	Herefordshire Fungus Survey Group
K	Deposited in the Fungarium at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Red Data Lists provide a comprehensive inventory of the conservation status of fungi, plant and animal species. They use a set of criteria to evaluate the extinction risk of thousands of species and subspecies. For the Red Data List of fungi in Britain, go to: [www.red list for fungi](http://www.redlistforfungi.org) for Great Britain – JNCC.

² J. C. Zamora, F.D. Calonge & M.P. Martin, (2015), ‘Integrative taxonomy reveals an unexpected diversity in *Geastrum* section *Geastrum* (*Geastrales*, *Basidiomycota*)’ in *Persoonia* 34: 130-165.

³ For recording purposes, Great Britain was divided into vice-counties in the nineteenth century, each given a name and number. At the outset for most counties the vice-county boundary corresponded to the administrative county boundary although larger counties were divided into two or more vice-counties. Over time, the administrative county boundaries have been altered in places but the vice-county boundary is constant. Nearly all Herefordshire is in VC36.

Some Herefordshire Stone Axes

By W. R. PYE

This article describes three Herefordshire Stone axes. All are good examples of the skilled craftsmanship of their makers. The Scandinavian-influenced polished flint axe from Lyonshall is on loan to Kington Museum where it can be viewed by members of the public.

An exceptional stone axe from Dorstone

During the late summer of 1984, I was, through the good offices of Mr Alan Lloyd, History Master at Lady Hawkins School, Kington, given access to the above axe by Mr Martin Lewis of Bodcott Barn Farm, Bredwardine (now of Bargates, Leominster).

He had found the axe in a potato harvester on his farm, whilst it was at work there, on the edge of the parish of Dorstone, on the top of the ridge between that parish, and the parish at Bredwardine, at N.G.R. SO.32354275, at a height of 840 ft. (227 metres) above sea level, and approximately midway between the King Arthur's Stone long barrow and the Dorstone Hill occupation site at SO. 326423.¹

The axe measures some eleven and one eighth by two and seven eighths inches, (28.3 x 7.2 x 3.5 cms), and has a weight of 2 pounds four and a half ounces, (1.03kg.).

It is a complete axe of the Neolithic period, being beautifully flaked overall, appearing to be visually of the Group VIII rock, to be found in the Preseli² area of Pembrokeshire, and originally of a greyish-yellow colouration.

It has had a few flakes knocked off it in antiquity, and these show a blackish interior. They were not caused by recent damage, but during the usage period of the axe, of which there are signs on the blade.

The size, and the general refinement of the axe would suggest a ritual, or ceremonial usage rather than a utilitarian one. Material of this type of stone, found at Llandegai, in the Houlder (1976) excavations, show a dating of 2,790 plus or minus, 150 years, although its usage goes back into the earlier Mesolithic period (8,300-4,500 B.C.) at Trwyn Du, Aberfraw, Anglesey.

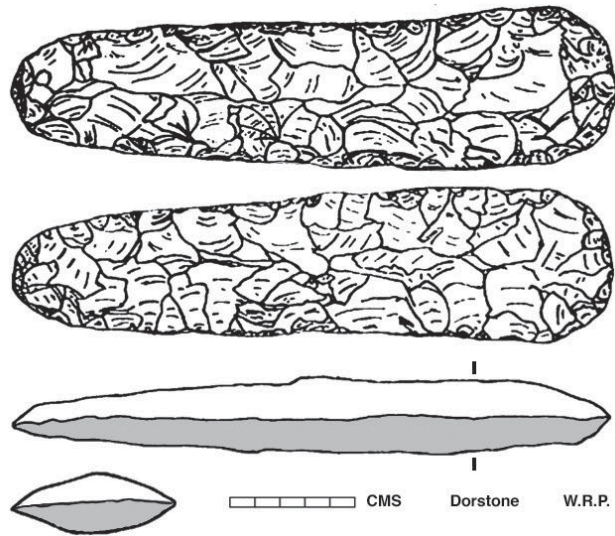


Figure 1. Neolithic stone axe found at Dorstone.

Stone axes of the Group VIII type are found in Herefordshire at Dinedor, Dorstone, Eardisley, Fownhope, Orcop, Peterchurch, Tupsley and Vowchurch. The axe was returned to the finder.

A patinated polished flint axe from King's Pyon

Around 1974 Mr G. W. C. Powell of Chapel Cottage, Mansell Lacy, near Hereford, found a polished flint axehead. The site of the find was at N.G.R. SO. 44605200, (Roman Field), and midway along the hedge on the north-westerly side of the field, and some 20 paces from it.

At the time Mr Powell was using a drainage bucket some four inches wide, and he recalls that some bones came up at the same time, although, due to their poor condition, they were not retained. He kindly loaned the axe to Herefordshire Museum Service (HMS), where I was able to examine it.³ It has a length of 131mm. (5.2 inches), a width of 26mm, (1 inch), and a depth of 54mm (2.15 inches). The axe was later returned to the finder.

The axe is an excellent specimen, polished overall, with all of the flake scars at least partly smoothed, with the exception of those at the butt end of the implement. The facets marking the cheek of the axe being particularly pronounced on the one side, although the axe as a whole is very symmetrical. The colour is creamy-brown with mottled effect, and it appears to have one whiteish / cherty inclusion, and is somewhat reminiscent of the east/ south-east., with very slight patination.

Another axe of the same patination found in 1958 at Hyatt Farm, Sarnesfield, was a patinated blade of possibly upper Palaeolithic type. Other axes found locally include one from Great Langdale found at Dinmore Manor Fruit Farm, a flint axe from Sutton Walls, and fragments of polished stone axe type XXI from the Lley Peninsula, found at Staunton-on-Arrow, and the Moor Farm, Presteigne. Another flint axe was found on Shobdon Airfield in 1994.

Mr Powell can indeed count himself fortunate to have found

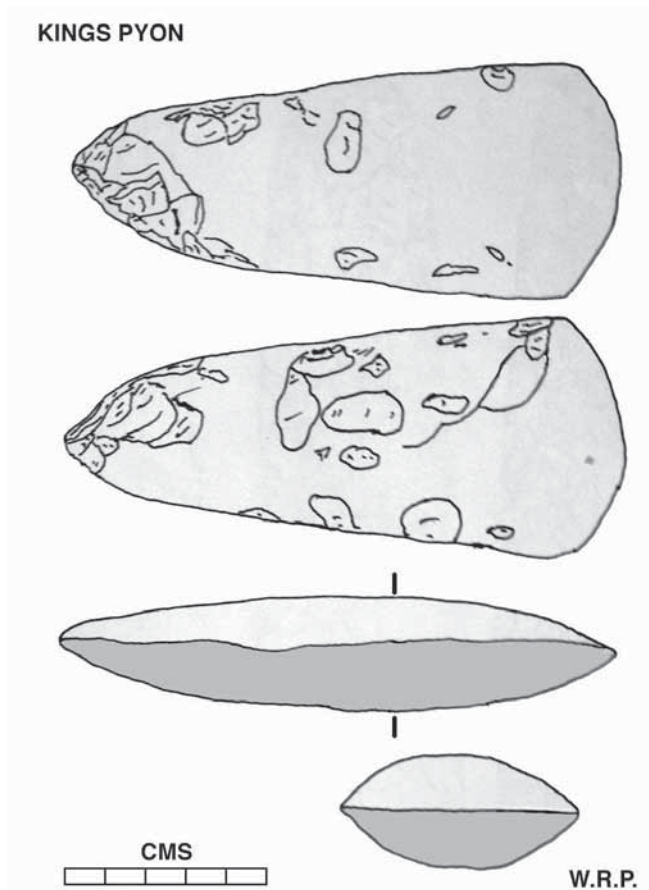


Figure 2. Stone axe found at King's Pyon c. 1974.

such an excellent specimen axe. I would like to thank the late Ann Sandford, former curator of HMS, for making it available to me.

A Scandinavian-influenced polished flint axe from Lyonshall

During the spring of 1989, Mrs Anne Sayce found a polished flint axe in a rose bed at her home the Laurels, Lyonshall.

The site of the find is just above a steepening of the ground at 600ft. above sea level and at N.G.R. SO. 3300513, overlooking the valley of the Curl Brook. The soil is a medium loam, overlying a boulder clay subsoil.

The axe is some 150mm in length, the width 32.3 mm, and in height it is 66mm. It weighs 520 gms (eighteen and one third ozs).

Composed of flint, it has a golden/ livery/patination over a dark-grey body, which shows the more recent flake scars. Primarily polished, it has some flake scars, mainly on the distal end, and with the exception of two unpatinated recent flakes on the one side of the blade, the other being completely flaked, probably re-touching damage, and there is also a single re-patinated flake there. A single flake on the cutting edge shows signs of lustre, as does a section in the centre of the axe, perhaps showing the position of the hafting.

The facets of the axe are extremely wide, up to 15mm and 130mm long, giving an overall flattening to it, and giving a clear indication of the Scandinavian influence to its design.

Of a rare type locally, the Scandinavian type is known in Herefordshire from a single specimen found during the construction of a railway cutting in Colwall in the 19th century, which now resides in Hereford Museum⁴, although another possible variant was found at Fownhope in the 1970s. Only a single specimen is noted in Grimes', 'The Prehistory of Wales.'⁵

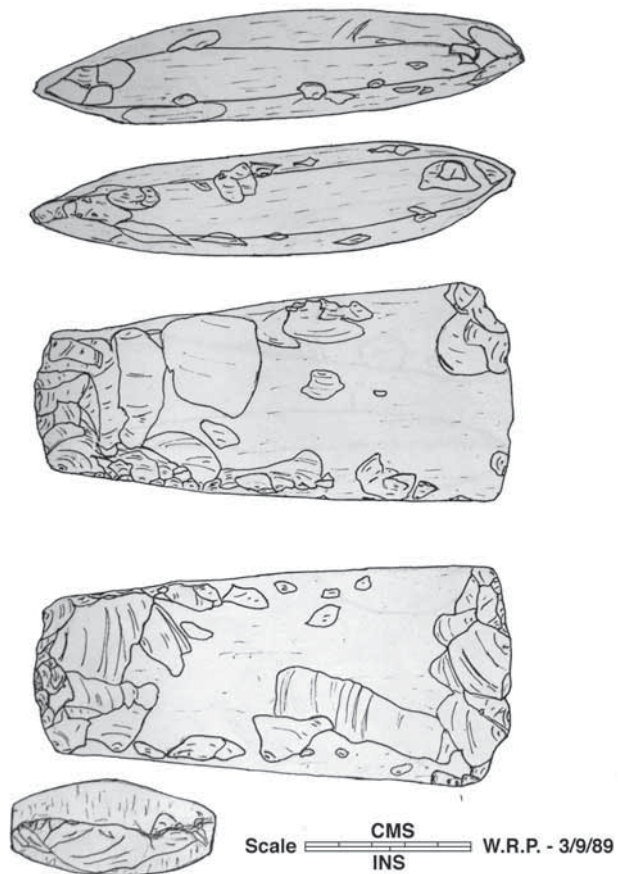


Figure 3. Polished flint axe from Lyonshall, showing Scandinavian influence (on loan to Kington Museum).

This type of patination is by no means common, in colouration it resembles other axes from Weobley, Sarnesfield and Kings Pyon areas.

Flint for the manufacture of such axes is found in a limited number of British sources, the nearest being Wiltshire, and, although flint is occasionally found in glacial drift in this area as well as in coastal pebble, it is not normally of the quality required for a large implement.

Polished axes have been found locally at Bradnor Hill, Kington; Gladestry, Sarnesfield, Weobley, King's Pyon, Moccas, Almley, Broxwood, and the Radnor Valley; the source of stone for these being Preseli, Cumberland, North Wales, and Cornwall.

It would seem that this axe, fairly remote from its point of origin, is also an important link with continental styles of manufacture, and although thought to be of Scandinavian influence, due to the more faceted style, can also be shown as a variant to be found frequently in northern France.

Of presumably Neolithic manufacture, it can be attributed to the mid-early Neolithic period (c. 3,000BCE), and could be an important factor in the understanding of this period.

Mrs Sayce is to be congratulated on an extremely interesting find, which is currently on display at Kington Museum. I would like to thank her for allowing me to prepare this report, the late Ann Sandford for information concerning the Colwall axe, and Alan Lloyd of Kington for his help.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to Gerry Calderbank for work in preparing these images for publication.

REFERENCES

- ¹ T. H. McKClough and W. A. Cummins, C.B.A. Research report No. 67 'Stone axe studies'. Vol. 2 (1984)
- ² Preseli (Welsh) is Prescelly in the English spelling.
- ³ This axe was loaned to Herefordshire Museum Service (Ref. L144) on 22-10-1974 and was returned to the owner on 19-2-1977.
- ⁴ Records at Hereford Museum indicate their specimen was found in Colwall in 1931. Hereford Museum Service, Museum Accession number 1306. Flint Adze, of Scandanavian type. Found 1931, near the Colwall Tunnel.
- ⁵ W. F. Grimes, 'Guide: The Prehistory of Wales' (National Museum of Wales, 1939), pp. 134-141.

The Domesday Book settlements of Eardisley: a consideration of the evidence

By COLIN BOYLETT

This paper seeks to untangle some of the assumptions regarding Eardisley's early history and presents documentary evidence not taken account of in earlier studies. 'Herdeslege' is mentioned in three separate entries in the Domesday Book (DB) of 1086. One of these refers to the existence of a 'domus defensabilis', a structure assumed by many to have evolved into Eardisley's castle. This paper argues that this location is unlikely, a hypothesis supported by evidence from 14th-century documents which establish that Eardisley Park was not the 'park of the castle'. Confusion has been compounded by a documentary reference first used by Watkins which is some 200 years awry but has been repeated in later studies by David Whitehead and Malcolm Mason.¹ The likeliest part of Eardisley to account for a second Domesday entry was to the north-east of the current village, around Eardisley Wooton. The existence of an early mill at Holywell Dingle and documents relating to chantries is presented to support this view. Bruce Coplestone-Crow's assignation of the third Domesday entry to the Woods Eaves area is endorsed.²

INTRODUCTION

The village of Eardisley lies four and-a-half miles south of the market town of Kington in north-west Herefordshire, fifteen miles west of the city of Hereford. It is mentioned on three occasions in Domesday Book (DB) as 'Herdeslege'. Coplestone-Crow concurs with Ekwall³ that the name is derived from 'Aegheard's clearing'. This interpretation begs the question as to which of the three DB entries related to 'Aegheard'? The castle existed by 1184 when Richard de Esketot had custody of the 'Castelli de Ardelay'⁴ and its church of St Mary Magdalene by 1142.⁵ As discussed below, it is improbable that the castle site was the first occupation base in Eardisley as the 'domus' pre-dates it. Clapham suggested that churches dating from 1140-1160 'were commonly placed immediately outside the bailey of the castle, and it is a fair inference that they were built in immediate sequence to the castle to serve the settlement that sprang up without its walls'.⁶ The earlier recorded date for St Mary's does not therefore mean that the church pre-dated the castle.

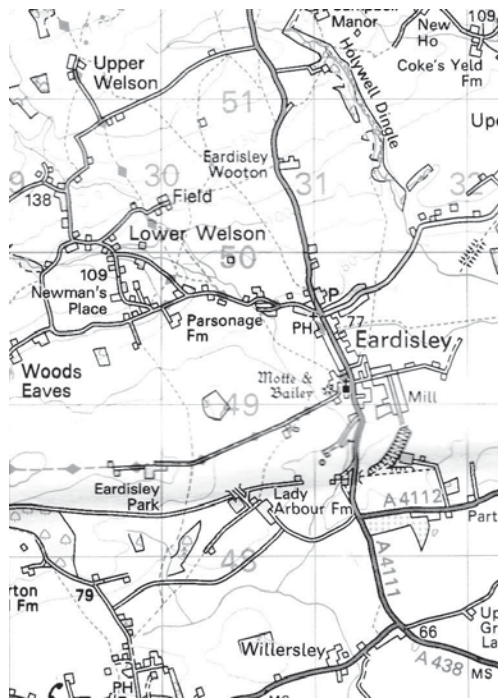


Figure 1. The area west of Eardisley, 2007, OS Landranger No. 148 (© Crown copyright).

‘Herdeslege’/‘Eardisley’ has been confused with ‘Irdesleg(e)’/‘Irdesley’/‘Yrdesley’. The latter are interpretations of the ‘lost’ DB manor of ‘Curdeslege’.⁷ The only other ‘domus defensibilis’ referred to in Domesday, ‘Walelege’, lay between ‘Herdeslege’ and ‘Curdeslege’.

Using the modern map at Figure 1, ‘Walelege’ would be based upon ‘Welshwood Farm’; ‘Curdeslegh’/‘Irdeslegh’ would include ‘Cwmmau’ and ‘Fernhall’. These and ‘Kintley’, were properties owned by Sir James Baskerville in 1572.⁸ Robinson is amongst many historians to have mistaken ‘Irdeslegh’ for ‘Eardisley’ when claiming incorrectly that ‘Walter de Baskerville acquired the lordship of Eardisley from Humphrey de Bohun in 1252 (*Close Rolls, 36 Hen III*)’.⁹ The roll referred to is discussed later. Close rolls dated 1376 & 1377 refer specifically to both ‘the manor of Erdesley [*sic*]’ and ‘the lordship of Irdesley and Bollynghulle’ as discrete entities.¹⁰

DOMESDAY BOOK ENTRIES

The DB entry that many consider relates to Eardisley Castle reads as follows using the translation by Veronica Sankaran in the Phillimore edition edited by the Thorns:-

EARDISLEY. Robert holds from him. Edwy held it; This land does not pay tax, nor gives any customary dues nor lies in any Hundred. It is situated in the middle of a wood; a fortified house is there. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves. 1 Welshman who pays 3s. [Value...].¹¹

The ‘him’ here is Roger de Lacy and the ‘Robert’ is Robert de Baskerville, whose descendants held Eardisley until the late 17th century. The latter was a major under-tenant of the former and held many other Herefordshire lands.

There is only one other entry in Domesday for a ‘domus defensibilis’. This also falls under ‘Elsdon Hundred’ and relates to ‘Walelege’.¹² Coplestone-Crow identifies ‘Walelege’ as ‘Welshwood Farm’ (in today’s Brilley parish) to the north-west of Eardisley, as did the late Dr Margaret Gelling.¹³ “Walelege’ is not represented by modern Ailey as previously thought...this has a different etymology’.¹⁴

The subject of ‘situated’ at Eardisley is ‘this land’. This was an ‘assart’, a clearance out of virgin woodland. The land was arable, hence the ‘1 plough’. There must have been a message to house the ‘Welshman’ and the slaves with their likely families. Evidence presented below points to this settlement being in what became Eardisley Park.

A further Domesday reference to ‘Herdeslege’ is brief:- ‘In ELSDON Hundred Harold also held EARDISLEY. 2½ hides waste.’¹⁵ It has been established from new LiDAR evidence, proving the existence of a mill, and research into chantry lands, that this refers to Eardisley Wooton. The third DB mention relating to ‘Herdeslege’ is¹⁶:-

Land of Hugh Donkey
In ELSDON Hundred
in EARDISLEY ½ hide which pays tax. Earl Harold held it.
It was and is waste.

Coplestone-Crow identified this as lying at Woods Eaves in the 14th century. Using deeds and documents from the 16th and 17th centuries it has been possible to follow Baskerville succession through time until the family line was extinguished.¹⁷

The assart referred to in the DB entry for Eardisley was typical of many other local settlements that existed prior to the survey including those to the north at Chickward, Empton (DB *Ulfelmestune*), and Bredward.¹⁸ There are only four mentions of ‘essarz’ in the Domesday Book, all in Herefordshire.¹⁹ Weobley²⁰ and nearby Fernhill²¹ had ‘land for 1 plough’. At Marcle there is reference to ‘58 acres of land reclaimed from the wood’.²² In addition to these, there are other entries ‘which suggest reclamation, if not from woodland, at least from waste land’.²³ The ‘one hide = 120 acres’ computation is applied by most historians to the Eardisley area. ‘There is certainly no generally applicable ratio of plough-teams to hides’ but there is a fairly common ratio of 2 plough-lands per hide, particularly ‘on the western border’.²⁴ The figure of ‘60 acres’ is used in the inquisition referred to below.²⁵

EARDISLEY WOOTON

This section presents evidence that Eardisley Wooton is the 2½ hide waste manor mentioned in DB.



Figure 2. Eardisley Wooton in 1936 (F. C. Morgan) (© TWNFC).

Endowments

The many gifts made by the Lacys to religious causes almost certainly made it impossible for their tenant, a Baskerville, to avoid endowing a local church. Walter de Lacy died in c.1084 and was succeeded by his son Roger who was banished after rebelling against William II. He died in 1106. His lands were given by the king to his brother Hugh, who became the 3rd Baron de Lacy. It is probable that Hugh helped to found the Augustinian Llanthony Priory (Prima) in the Vale of Ewyas, Monmouthshire c.1108.²⁶ The significance of the religious donations, including the chantry lands of St Mary’s, Eardisley becomes apparent below.

The chantry returns for St Mary’s after the Dissolution were made in 1547 by John Incke in his capacity as collector of Wigmore, Wolphey and Huntington hundreds.²⁷ Eardisley is unusual in having two returns; one entitled ‘Huntington: Eardisley: Priest’; the other ‘Huntington:

Eardisley: Our Lady Service'. In Eardisley's case all chantry lands were 'gevyn by Master James Baskerfeld knyght to fynd a priest in Yerssley [*Eardisley*]', In his will dated 1572 Sir James Baskerville of Eardisley bequeathed to Charles Baskerville, alias Harris, 'his base son', son of Elizabeth Harris, the messuages and tenements in the parish of Eardisley that he bought from Edward VI, 'sometime belonging to the chapel or chantry of our Lady in the aforesaid parish church'.²⁸ Also bequeathed to Charles was Baskerville's lease of the parsonage of Eardisley. The income from the rectory at Eardisley had been donated to Llanthony Secunda in Gloucestershire and amounted to £7 yearly.²⁹ It is probable that Sir James purchased the chantry properties at the same time as he signed the lease, i.e. in c. 1551. He died on 28 September 1573.³⁰

There is a patent roll dated 23 April 1553 detailing Eardisley chantry properties granted to John Harford and John Farley for the sum of £1,717 8s. 41/4d.³¹ From this, and the list of chantries from 1547, it is possible to work out which were acquired by Baskerville. Eardisley Wooton is the 'chantry' property bequeathed to Charles. The identity of the property is confirmed in Chancery cases dated 1655 and 1680.³² These reference fields belonging to Eardisley Wooton that retained similar names in the 1839 tithe apportionments. The Chancery cases refer to Charles Baskerville 'deceased' (by 1655) and a 99 year lease on the property taken by James Foot(e) the elder and his family. The later case refers to a loan made in 1675 to Thomas Baskerville with 'the decayed messuage or tenement or toft...known by the name of the Chantery [*sic*] House' as security. The inventory of James Foot(e) of 'Wootne' [*sic*] dated 1674 confirms that his family lived at Wooton.³³ All the above lands formed chantry properties relating to St Mary's. The contributions to the church's endowment included a 'mesuage' [*sic*] and a farm at Eardisley Wooton with a rent of 23 shillings 4 pence annually tenanted by Thomas Gybbons. He is listed in the musters of 1539-1542.³⁴ The fact that St Mary's was built before 1142 implies that it must have been endowed by then. It follows that one or more of the chantry properties listed in 1547 was probably established before 1142. It is most likely that this was Eardisley Wooton as it had the highest rent and there is a documented reference to 'Hamelandes Wotton' in 1262. The same suit also mentions 'Walston' (Welson), which had an association with Weobley.³⁵ A document dated 1303 confirms that Richard Baskerville then held Eardisley of the honour of Weobley for 1 fee.³⁶

Mill

The field name 'Mill Meadow' on the tithe map of 1839 (648) (Fig. 6) indicates the site of an early mill that would have been accessed by a holloway leading from Eardisley Wooton farmhouse east to Holywell Dingle and its stream. The top left-hand quadrant of Figure 3 shows the farmhouse, a substantial cruck-framed building that almost certainly dates from the first half of the 15th century. This may have been the 'decayed' 'chantry house' referred to in the Chancery cases.³⁷ If the Eardisley Wooton holding was a chantry property from c.1140 until c.1551, the details would not be recorded in Baskerville material. Only the lord of the manor could establish a mill in normal circumstances but, as a chantry facility, this may not have applied. The mill may have operated c.1140-1350, possibly falling into disuse after the Black Death. Alternatively, there could have been a mill here prior to c.1050 that ceased operation before, or when, the land became 'wasted', the folk memory giving 'Mill Meadow' its name. The mill does not appear on Taylor's map of 1754.³⁸ A visit to the likely site—just to the north of where the two footpaths meet at the Dingle stream in Figure 7—by Alan Stoyel, mill historian, in 2004, confirmed the

existence of a dry leat extending some distance upstream of the mill, a filled-in pond and scattered stone adjacent to the site of the waterwheel which ‘was clearly overshot’. Stoyel estimated the head as approximately ‘14-15 feet.’³⁹ I visited the site in August, 2017.

The new LiDAR images at Figure 4 and Plate 5.1 clearly show the mill leat and the mill site has been indicated. The now defunct holloway heading from Eardisley Wooton all the way to the mill shows as a deep feature.

On the OS map the track deviates to the south once it reaches field no. 606. The land to the east of the dingle lies in the parish of Almeley. There are references to ‘2 water-mills’ in Eardisley in a fine dated 1553.⁴⁰ It is probable that one of these was at Eardisley Wooton and related to the re-purchased chantry property. If so, it might have ceased to operate in favour of the mill at the castle. The inquisition taken in 1549, after the death of Sir James Baskerville (senior), only refers



Figure 3. Eardisley Wooton, north at top, A4111 at left; June 2009 (© Google Earth).

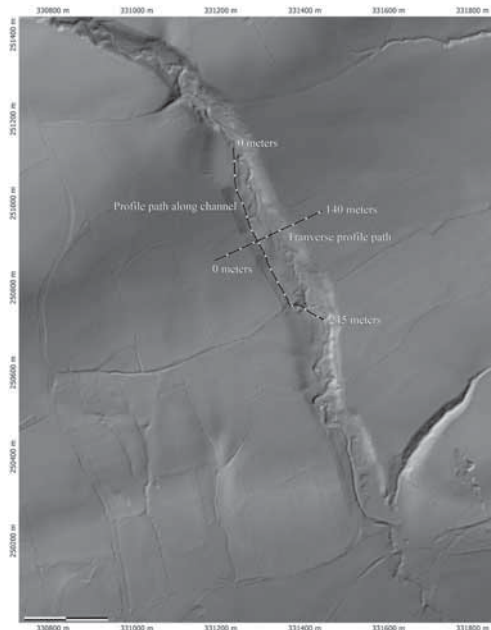


Figure 4. LiDAR image of Holywell Dingle showing mill leat marked; mill located where ‘245 meters’ [sic] indicated. North at top (© D. Lovelace).



Figure 5. OS Map based upon 1884 survey, north at top, mill located at ‘621’ (© D. Lovelace).

to ‘one water-mill’. Sir James (junior) did not buy the chantry lands until c.1551. According to the *Victoria County History* map reproduced later there were two mills close to the castle site, but one of these was a ‘modern’ ‘saw mill’.

Field systems and settlement patterns

The existence of a mill and a common field system marked on the tithe map (Fig. 6), remnants of which are clearly visible in the aerial view, point to early settlement. There is sufficient land to account for the settlement bearing in mind that the Upper House holding owned by Elizabeth Foley recorded in the 1839 tithe apportionment was some 339 acres.⁴¹ This straddled the main road. A document dated 1574 relating to ‘concealed church lands’ references “all those seven ‘les ridges of our land lying in le Wheteland in Eardesley’ now or late in the tenure or occupation of James Huys [sic]”.⁴² The Hughes family leased Eardisley Wooton. James Hughes made his will in 1545 and died in 1547. They were substantial property and stock owners, related by marriage to the Whitneys and Kedwards, who were related to the Baskervilles.⁴³ ‘Wheteland’ was almost certainly corrupted to ‘Wetlands’ on the tithe apportionment (631) and was situated on the western side of the highway to Kington, confirming that the Wooton holdings crossed the road. The reference to ‘ridges’ refers to ridge and furrow ploughing with its distinctive markings that sometimes survive in the landscape.



Figure 6. Extract from 1839 tithe map, Eardisley Wooton (© G. Gwatkin).

The area known as ‘The Pitts’ (381 & 382) to the west of Eardisley Wooton is recorded on the tithe map of 1839 and was specifically surveyed by EHG. It shows evidence of marl pits. ‘Marl is a mixture of clay and limestone that is often formed by the erosion of other rocks’.⁴⁴ It was used to improve the land until the labour-intensity of digging it became too expensive and farmers found it cheaper simply to purchase & spread lime. Apart from the pits specifically marked on the early OS maps, there are countless others that have left depressions on local farms, where these frequently resulted in the formation of ponds.⁴⁵ Ms. Smith refers to one such ‘oval feature’ that shows in an aerial photograph at Bollingham.⁴⁶ The tithe apportionments confirm the field highlighted was called ‘The Marlements’ (244). What is noticeable about the survey of ‘The Pitts’ is that it records evidence of ridge and furrow ploughing as well as several common field systems. ‘The Field’ to the west (385 & 386) and ‘Common Field’ (652-655) are obvious examples, but there are

many others that can be assumed from the odd kinks in some fields. The pits are surrounded by evidence of medieval ploughing and the tithe map, aerial photographs, and LiDAR images all confirm this.⁴⁷

This evidence shows that Eardisley Wooton was important in Eardisley's development and suggests that the DB 'two-and-a-half hide' 'waste' settlement flourished before the Conquest. DB '*Burardestune*' (which became 'Bollinghill/Bolileg' by the early 13th century, then 'Bollingham'), situated nearby, was settled before 1086 and makes it probable that the area to the south was too. The word 'marl' is incorporated into several place-names in Herefordshire (e.g. Marlbrook near Leominster). 'Marland' is listed within a group of chantry lands purchased in 1553 amongst the named Wooton, Upper & Lower Spod, Welson etc. placing it in the area of 'The Pitts'.⁴⁸ As Smith points out, there is a mature oak within one of the pits indicating that 'quarrying' had finished when this took root. Marling wound down around the mid 18th century and the tree in question appears to be c.200-250 years old. Marl pits could be quite deep as borne out by an account in the Slaugham (Sussex) parish register which, in 1645, records that one John Peacocke drowned in a marl pit.⁴⁹ It may be the case that the common field system at Eardisley Wooton functioned as part of a pre-Conquest agricultural holding before being brought back into use in the 12th century. Sir James Baskerville bequeathed a 'messuage or tenement that I bought of Philip Raphe alias Hughes, glover', to his brother Humphrey Baskerville for life. This property is probably Upper House in Eardisley which came to be owned by Sir Thomas Duppa and was likely the site of the capital messuage of the Wooton holding. Philip 'Raphe/Hughes' was a member of the family of that name who held a lease on the farm.⁵⁰ It is common locally for capital messuages to sit on the edge of estates; farmhouses being more centrally located. Examples of this arrangement can be found at Empton, Lilwall, Chickward, Bollingham and Pembers Oak/Moseley (DB '*Stiuingeurdin*'). Tree-ring dating of the hall at Upper House has given a date of c.1510, but it abuts an earlier service wing that has failed to yield a date.⁵¹ The granary building formerly owned by Upper House contains many re-used timbers including sections of a cusped cruck-frame dated to 1409-33.⁵² In a Chancery case dated 1680, Thomas Baskerville confirmed that, in 1675, he demised and sold by indenture of lease for 500 years 'all that decayed messuage or tenement or toft... called or known by the name of the Chantry House' to Henry Wellington as security for a loan of £120.⁵³ This was the present-day Wooton farmhouse. Several fields are named belonging to Eardisley Wooton and a former tenant, James Foote, is identified. The Baskerville ownership of Wooton at this time is confirmed and 'ownership' can be traced from an early date, albeit with various disruptions, through the chantry status, and leases granted to the Hughes, Kedward and Foote families.

The two-and-a-half hide Domesday entry for 'Herdeslege', 300 acres by the usual yardstick, can only have been sited in a handful of places in the parish. Quebb and Upper Welson are possibilities in terms of acreage. Some of the area to the west of today's A4111 was boggy and not ideal for ploughing. If one considers the suitability of the land for agricultural use then the area surrounding Eardisley Wooton is promising. The fields around Lemore (or 'Lower Moor'), had a high proportion of arable land recorded in the Eardisley tithe apportionment of 1839, unsurprisingly as it was on higher ground. The original holding stretched across today's main road. In 1655 a Chancery suit refers to a lease dated 1617 granted by Sir Humphrey Baskerville of Eardisley to James Foot, the elder. The lands were described as 'the Chantry House, and the closes and parcels of arable lands, meadows...'. Amongst the named fields are 'Guttur Field'

(620 on the tithes), 'Kearsley' (372, 374, 375) and 'Ox Leasows' (376 'Ox Pasture') all to the west of the A4111. Other fields are to the east of the road such as 'Naxe' (635 as 'The Natt').⁵⁴ The LiDAR image at Figure 6 shows evidence of ridge and furrow. The fact that this area includes 'Mill Meadow' adjacent to the watercourse running through Holywell Dingle is likely to be significant as are the remnants of a common field system. The chantry records confirm the gift of Eardisley Wooton to St Mary's, Eardisley. It is probable that Ralph de Baskerville endowed the church from its establishment because it would have been expected of him as the mesne lord. This points to the chantry being endowed before 1142 (when the church is first mentioned) with the implication that the Eardisley Wooton farm was productive then.

WOODS EAVES

Coplestone-Crow believes that the ½ hide settlement was at Woods Eaves: 'As lord of Radnor Roger [de Mortimer] was heir to Hugh Donkey for the manor he held at Woods Eaves in Eardisley in 1086 (DB) and which in 1374/5 Richard Baskerville held of Edmund Mortimer (Ipm)'.⁵⁵ This inquisition does not mention 'Woods Eaves', but one taken in 1377 refers to 'Wodesevese' and confirms the details.⁵⁶

According to Robinson 'Woodseaves' was held by a junior branch of the Baskervilles throughout the 17th century and their pedigree, as entered in the 1683 *Visitation*, commences with Ralph Baskerville who died in 1633 'aet 70 years of age, son of James, who was a younger son of the house of Eardisley'.⁵⁷ Parish records of 1651 record the simultaneous existence of two 'Thomas Baskervilles'. The hearth tax return for 1662 has two 'Thomas Baskervil[ie]' entries; one for five hearths, the other for a 'Parkehouse'[sic] with four hearths.⁵⁸ The first 'Thomas' entry should have been under 'Burrough', not 'Forren', as it relates to buildings at Eardisley Castle. In later returns it is re-classified.⁵⁹ In 1670-72, the entry for the 'Parkehouse', then listed under 'Middleland & Hurstway', shows as 'Thos. Baskerville Esq. in a voyd house not paid' [sic] which confirms the location in the Woods Eaves area.⁶⁰ The implication is that the house was vacant at this time. By 1670-72, a 'Humphrey Baskervil[ie]' was taxed upon nine hearths - '7 hearths where he lives & 2 hearths at the Causway head' and resided in Upper House. He was buried at Longhope, Gloucestershire in 1689. His gravestone in All Saints' churchyard records his age as '72'. Joanna was buried in Eardisley in 1680.⁶¹

EARDISLEY PARK

Most histories of Eardisley assume that the '*domus defensabilis*' in DB refers to a fortified site that developed into Eardisley Castle. This interpretation has persisted even though no documentary evidence has been found which directly links the 'fortified house' to the castle. This paper offers an alternative view, arguing that the '*domus*' lay in an area which was later developed as Eardisley Park. When James Perry listed his Eardisley Estate details in 1787, the 'Park Farm' was 384 acres.⁶² When the Eardisley Estate was sold in 1918, 'Eardisley Park Farm' consisted of some 373 acres.⁶³ My research has indicated that the boundaries of Eardisley Park barely changed until the 20th century. These figures can be related back to a 1378 Chancery case referring to 360 acres. None of these particulars included the castle or its environs.

Holden makes the point that the 'Herdeslege' '*domus*' was 'no doubt a manor house surrounded by a ditch and wooden stockade'.⁶⁴ The '*domus*' site is the only 'Herdeslege' entry indicating occupation in 1086. In the aerial image in Figure 9, north is at top. The cropmarks

are to the east of the curtilage of Eardisley Park, marked by the hedgerow, and lie upon land owned by Eardisley Park Farm, a separate entity today. Might these enclosures actually have formed part of the 'fortified house' site? The re-use of habitation sites locally is common. As discussed below, Barnesley's Eardisley Park was built upon the site of the Baskervilles' 'Great Lodge'. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that and the latter may well have been a successor building to the DB 'domus'.⁶⁵



Figure 7. Aerial view of Eardisley Park, 2009 (© TWNFC/Chris Musson).

Westwode to deer park

A papal bull issued on 30 April 1142 by Pope Innocent I to William, prior of Llanthony Abbey, at the request of the bishop of Hereford, confirmed its possessions. Listed are 'the churches and chapels of the land of Ralph de Baschavill, with all their appurtenances, namely, 'of Ardesle [*Eardisley*]...as by Robert, bishop of Hereford, and Bernard, bishop of St Davids, were reasonably granted to them...'.⁶⁶ Ralph I de Baskerville was born in *c.*?1059-1075 and died *c.*1136-1148.⁶⁷ The cartulary of Llanthony Priory contains a 'Charter and confirmation of Lord Richard, king of England, to the church of the Blessed Mary of Lanthony, made about divers possessions and liberties'. Made in *c.*1350 this entry is a re-confirmation of one dated 1189-99. The translation of a Latin extract from this is 'From the gift of Ralph de Baskervill all tithes pertaining to his rights and power. And the church of Herdesleya with 12 acres of land with part of the grass below the churchyard... The assart of Herdesleia with part of the grove, just as separately show...'.⁶⁸ It is likely that the 'assart' referred to is that in Westwode/Eardisley Park, i.e. that it was the '1 plough' landholding held by Robert de Baskerville in Domesday that contained the 'domus'. Baskerville's gift of the Eardisley assart may have pre-dated 1189 by some margin. In 1199, a charter of King John confirmed Llanthony's benefactions.⁶⁹ The Augustinian Llanthony Priory in Monmouthshire was founded *c.*1108-1118 with the aid of members of the Lacy family. The Baskervilles held Eardisley from the Lacys and the assart may have been part of the initial endowment made only a few years after Domesday.⁷⁰

Further evidence is provided by a fine dated 10 April 1323 (Fig. 8) in which Richard 'de Baskreuil' and Philippe, his wife' were querents relating to 'the manor of [Erdes?]leye'. The deforciantes are named as Edmund fitz Johan [John] and Adam Lucas. This contains the following:-

Edmund and Adam have granted to Richard and Philippe the manor, excepting 12 acres of land and 300 acres of wood in the manor, and have rendered it to them in the court, to hold to Richard and Philippe, of the chief lords for the lives of Richard

and Philippe. And after the decease of Richard and Philippe the manor shall remain to Richard, son of Walter de Baskreuil', and Joan, daughter of Nicholas Poyntz, and the heirs begotten by Richard on the body of Joan, to hold of the chief lords forever. In default of such heirs, remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Richard de Baskreuil [sic].⁷¹

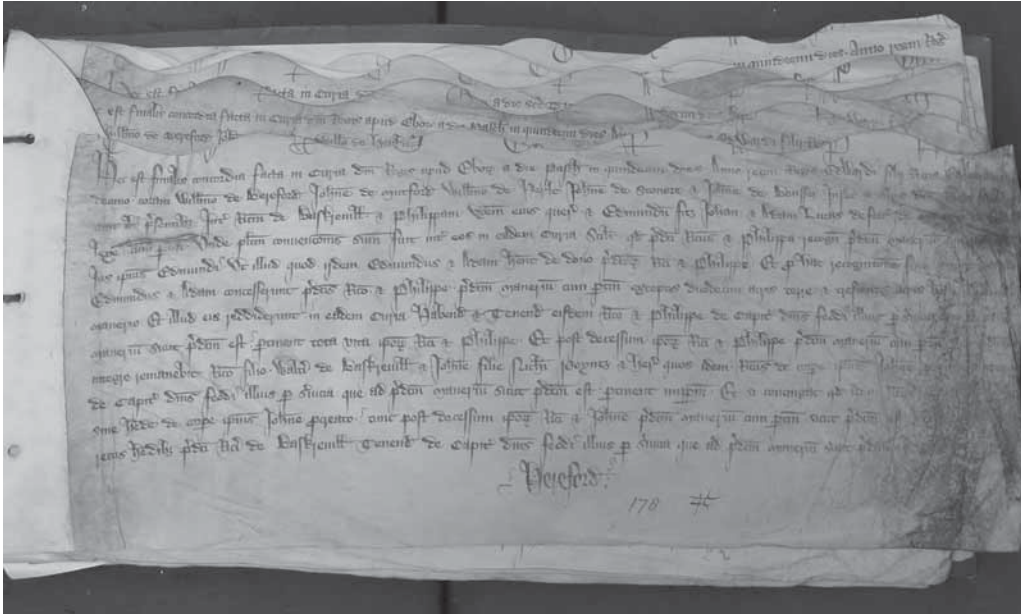


Figure 8. Feet of fine, 1323 re Eardisley (TNA CP 25/1/82/35, no. 178).⁷²

The only place in Eardisley where there is mention of '300 acres' of wood in one holding, is in the context of 'Westwode'. The confirmation of Llanthony's lands of c.1350 would appear to confirm that they still held the assart income at that time.⁷³ It is likely that the '12 acres' was the part of 'the grove' mentioned with the assart in the re-confirmation of Llanthony's possessions. This is the earliest document specifically mentioning '300 acres' of wood.

In 1378, Richard II ordered the sheriff of Hereford to carry out an enquiry 'about certain causes upon the manner and cause of the taking of 60 acres of land and 300 acres of wood called Westwode with appurtenances in Erdesleye by John ap Rees, late escheator of lord Edward, late king of England, our grandfather'.⁷⁴ Richard's escheator, John Lucy, certified to the king that 'the aforesaid 60 acres of land and the aforesaid wood called le Westwode, containing 300 acres of wood, were taken into the hands of our same grandfather by the aforesaid late escheator, on account that it is found by the inquisition taken before the aforesaid late escheator that Richard Baskervill, knight, lord of Erdesleye, died seised in his demesne as of fee of a moiety of the manor of Erdesleye with appurtenances, whereof the aforesaid land and wood are parcel'. TNA also hold a document dated 1373 detailing the inquisition taken by John ap Rees.⁷⁵ These documents offer important evidence in determining the likely location of the '*domus defensibilis*'. This area and the 60 acres of arable land were developed as a formal deer park at some time between 1378-1553.

The 360 acres have to have been situated in the area later developed as Eardisley Park. Mention of 'Westwode' gives a location relative to the church which is known to have existed by 1142.⁷⁶ There is insufficient land in this area to account for 360 acres without it overlapping Eardisley Park to a substantial degree. This supposition is confirmed by the 1839 tithe map.⁷⁷ At the westernmost edge of the Park, at Redgates, we enter the former manor of 'Walelege'. The latter abutted 'Curdeslege' now part of Brilley, which came to be called 'Irdesley' in many documents.⁷⁸ 'Irdesley', and variants, have frequently been confused with 'Eardisley'. In 1255 a perambulation was ordered to be made between lands of Humphrey de Bohun in 'Brunleye' [Brilley] and Walter de Baskerville III's land in 'Hyrdeslegh' in order to settle a dispute.⁷⁹ Brilley did not abut 'Eardisley' then, hence 'Hyrdeslegh' had to have been the former 'Curdeslege', now integrated with it. Coplestone-Crow refers to 'Hyrdeslegh' here as 'Eardisley', which cannot be the case.⁸⁰ In 1540 a list of chantry obligations due to Llanthony from James Vaughan of Kington, who held the manor of 'Nether-Hergest', paid £11 6s. 8d. from the farm of 'tithes of all corn at... Moholne, Chicwarden, Yrdesley and Brymley... belonging or pertaining to the rectory at Kington in Wales...'.⁸¹ 'Yrdesley' here cannot be 'Eardisley', because the Baskervilles did not donate the rectory at Kington and the Vaughans did not donate that of Eardisley. Mahollam and Chickward, three miles to the north, were adjacent at this time as the intervening manor of Empton (DB 'Ulfelmestune') had been absorbed into the latter.⁸² Brilley, part of Welsh Huntington, assimilated the former manor of 'Curdeslege'. Irdesley is sometimes called 'Yersley'.⁸³

The significance of the identification of 'Walelege' as 'Welshwood' in today's Brilley, and 'Curdeslegh'/'Hyrdeslegh'/'Irdesley'/'Irdeslegh'/'Yrdesleye'/'Yersley' as that part of Brilley containing Cwmmau and Fernhall, is crucial. It makes it possible to define the western boundary of Eardisley in the 13th century, and, by implication, at the time of Domesday.⁸⁴ Curdeslegh was a manor then held by Gruffydd, son of Maredudd.⁸⁵ This was the 'Cyrdesleah' [*sic*] referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 1016-35.⁸⁶ The broad boundaries of the DB 'Curdeslege' and 'Walelege' can now be defined, particularly those to the east which abut Lower Welson and Woods Eaves.

The development of Eardisley Park

The 1934 Royal Commission Report on Eardisley Park refers to 'the barn [*which*] incorporates some 16th-century timbers'.⁸⁷ Statements made in the Barnesley v Barnesley Chancery case 1718-19, provide evidence for a date of imparkment in the 16th century.⁸⁸ Evidence given by Henry Badham avers that the 'great park' was 350 acres all told with 250 deer. There is a reference on the tithe map of 1839 to a 'Dear [*sic*] Pen' (879) just to the south of Eardisley Park house (Fig. 9). A pen would no longer have been required in 1839, as the park had been converted to farmland by then. The deer pen would have been close to the 'Great Lodge'. Bryan Reese, who entered service with the Baskervilles c.1688 and called himself 'keeper of the Parks' (note the plural) refers to 'an old low building in the Park called the Great Lodge about three rooms... where this deponent lived'.⁸⁹ Thomas Fletcher referred to '[T]he timber used in such building [*of Eardisley Park*], apart from the materials in the old building that were pulled down...'.⁹⁰ Badham refers to the orchards planted 'near the Park' by Barnesley (merchant). The orchards within the Park surround the site of Eardisley Park. It is probable that the old orchard at Great Lodge was retained as part of Barnesley's development of the site.

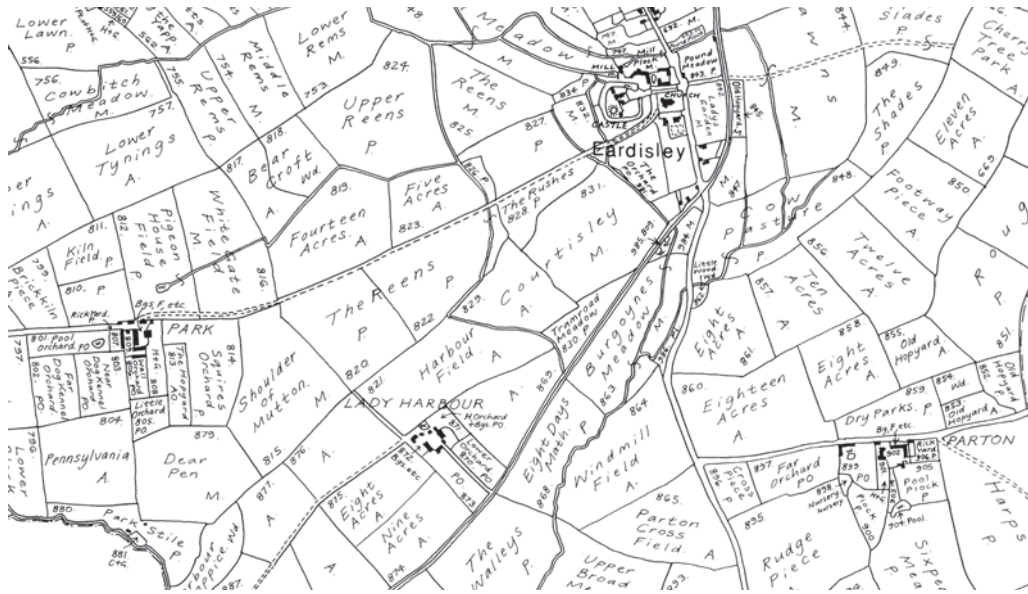


Figure 9. Extract from tithe map, 1839, Eardisley Park west (© G. Gwatkin).

When purchased by William Barnesley *c.* 1700 ‘there were considerable head of deer in the Park, these were so destroyed or frightened that none were left when the complainant came’.⁹¹ A document in the Foley Archive dated *c.* 1695 identified by David Whitehead contains the first known reference to a ‘hunting park’⁹²

The 1787 map in the Herrick collection in HAS was drawn for James Perry who purchased the manor in 1783 (Figs 10 and 11).⁹³ It was found amongst uncatalogued material during preparations for moving the archive collection to the HARC in Rotherwas in 2015. A significant feature is that there is no road connecting the castle with Eardisley Park. Access to the latter was from Woodseaves Road in the north, down a track that ended at White Gate Field. The western lodge, today’s ‘Redgates’, shown on the 1839 tithe map, is not shown.

Of particular interest are the ‘Upper Grove’ and ‘Lower Grove’ entries in 1787 which may refer to

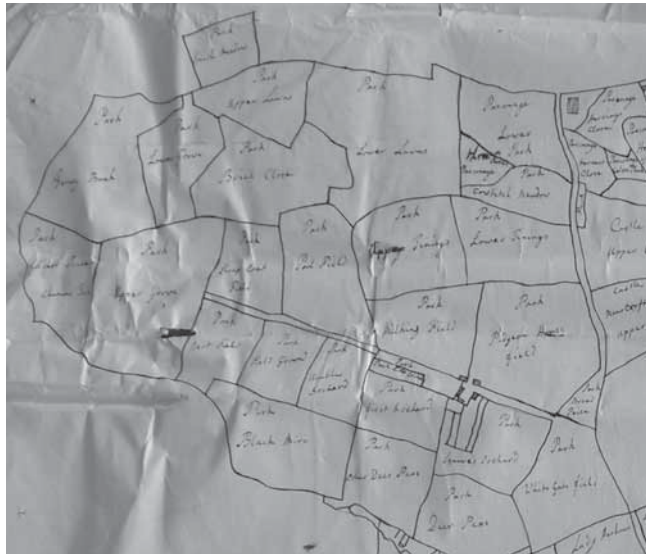


Figure 10. Eastern map section, 1787, showing Eardisley Castle (HAS, AB49).

The park mentioned in an inquisition of 1377 could not have included Westwode because the latter was still called that in an inquisition dated a year later.¹⁰⁰ The amount of demesne land attributed to the castle in 1377 was only ‘40 acres’ and one would have thought that any ‘hunting park’ should have been included within this. Cantor refers to medieval hunting parks as ‘part of his [the lord of the manor’s] demesne lands’. These were ‘usually fairly small, being perhaps between 100 and 200 acres in size’ and ‘consisted typically of wooded land...on the edge of the manor’. Eardisley Park does not fit the bill. There is no bank and ditch enclosing it today and their absence is more consistent with 15th century and later imparkment.¹⁰¹ Paradoxically, the inquisition taken in 1378 refers to ‘Westwode’ as being ‘parcel’ of land held ‘in demesne as of fee of a moiety of the manor of Erdesleye’ by the deceased Sir Richard Baskervill(e). The jurors at the inquisition distinguished between the 60 acres of ‘land’ and the 300 acres of ‘wood’ in Westwode and described both as ‘in the common’, inconsistent with a formal ‘park’.

What appears to have occurred is that a large swathe of common, mostly woodland, was turned into a hunting park by the Baskervilles. Originally this area included a 60 acre assart tenanted by the ‘Welshman’ in 1086, which was pledged to Llanthony Priory. The Baskervilles regained this and, some time between 1553 and 1577, they created what came to be known as ‘Eardisley Park’, although that exact term does not appear until the early 18th century. The will of Sir James Baskerville (junior), of 1572, shows he acquired chantry lands from Edward VI between 1547-1553.¹⁰² It also refers to a lease on the parsonage of Eardisley dated to ‘the fourth year of King Edward VI’, implying that Baskerville purchased the lands in c.1550-51.

In 1553 Sir James was the deforciant in a fine where Francis Savage, esquire and John Baskerville, gentleman were the querents. Sir James conveyed the properties to them for a sum mentioned as £1600, a very significant amount at the time.¹⁰³ Fines in the ‘Feet of Fines’ were records of fictitious legal actions used to document a transfer or mortgage of property. In this instance the fine detailed a loan verifiable by later documents confirming that the Baskervilles retained the properties.¹⁰⁴ The lands included the castle and manor of Eardisley, two water-mills, and thousands of acres in the parish. The places listed include all those containing the chantry estates mentioned in the return of 1547. The date of the fine makes it probable that Sir James was borrowing to fund his purchase of the chantry lands. Whether he bought the assart given to Llanthony back from the king at this time is not known, but there is no suggestion in any subsequent



Figure 13. Extract from Saxton's 1577 map of Herefordshire (British Library).

document that 60 acres inside the Park became a separate entity. The income from the rectory at St Mary's was assigned to Llanthony and the reference in Baskerville's will to the lease of 'the parsonage of Eardisley' effected in 1551 appears to confirm that the family regained this. Saxton's map of 1577 clearly shows a 'park-like' enclosure just to the west of 'Erdesley' (Fig. 13).

The cropmark in the centre of Figure 14 occurs in 'Upper Lawn' (760) on the tithe map. A LiDAR image confirms that it is a rectangular feature (Fig. 15).¹⁰⁵ It is next to a pool hidden by trees, close to a brook. This could be the site of a former windmill, brick kiln, hunting lodge or, perhaps, an alternative site for a 'fortified house'.

In 1252, a fine mentions 'Rugwode' in the context of a transfer of common of pasture in 'Brunley and Irdesley' by Walter de Baskerville to Humphrery & Alyenora de 'Boun' (Bohun). The

land in question is 'Roughwood', part of Welshwood Farm, not 'Kingswood' as given in Parry's *History of Kington*.¹⁰⁶ Parry's version totally alters the geography as the latter is three miles to the north. An inquisition taken at Hereford in 1589, after the death of John Baskerville, refers back to the will of his grandfather, also John, made in 1577. It is stated that, when he died, John the grandfather 'was seised of the castle of Erdisley and the manor of Erdisley, and of two parks...in Erdysley and Yearsley and Bullyngell, Heref....'¹⁰⁷ The 'two parks' is telling. There was no park at 'Bullyngell' ('Bollingham').¹⁰⁸ 'Yearsley' here is 'Irdesley', the DB 'Curdeslegh' that included Fernhall and Cwmmau. The latter was wild at this date, with heath and moorland predominating.¹⁰⁹ The will of Sir James Baskerville, dated 1572 does not mention the castle, presumably because his successor would inherit this automatically. However, it does bequeath 'To brother Humphrey keeping of the Park and all the deer with all profits for life'.¹¹⁰ This is patently a separate entity to the castle's park where there is nothing to indicate formal management of a herd of deer either in the documentary or map records.



Figure 14. Cropmark north-west of Eardisley Park, 2013: SO 29365 48941 (© Google Earth).

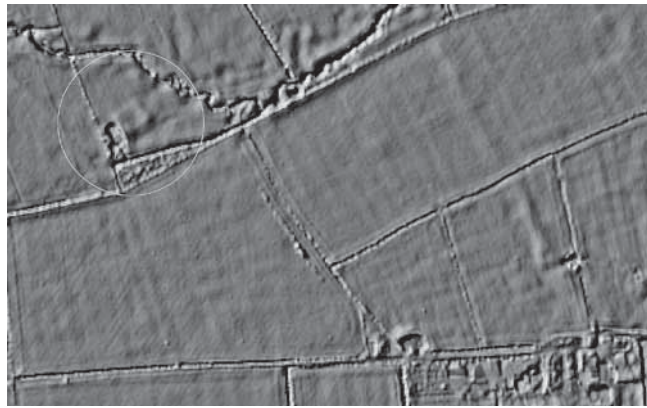


Figure 15. Lidar image of cropmark north-west of Eardisley Park, 2015 (© D. Lovelace).

EARDISLEY CASTLE AS A POSSIBLE SITE OF THE DOMUS DEFENSABILIS

The first known reference to the castle is in 1184.¹¹¹ In 1188, the sheriff of Hereford accounted for profits of land at Eardisley for 2 ¼ years after Ralph's death.¹¹² Walter I de Baskerville, son of Ralph, was a minor when his father died in 1186.¹¹³ Subsequent references confirm that the Baskervilles continued to hold the castle, albeit with some hiatuses, until the late 17th century.¹¹⁴

Topographical considerations

The castle site was unsuitable for habitation due to its setting on low-lying ground. Eardisley 'lies at a height of between 70m and 75m OD [ordnance datum]' according to an archaeological assessment undertaken in 1994-5.¹¹⁵ Eardisley Park (the house) is situated at around 87 metres OD, and the western segment of the Park is even higher.¹¹⁶ An inquisition in 1378 regarding Westwode refers to the 60 acres of land as being only worth 10s. per annum 'because the land is mountainous', in other words 'higher', making it more suitable for ploughing.¹¹⁷⁻

Stephanie Ratkai makes the point that the '[castle] kitchen stood on waterlogged ground.'¹¹⁸ In her report on archaeobotany at the castle, Longford states:— 'Given...the proximity of the watertable to the present surface, it is not a surprise to find later levelling-up to create more space and dryer living conditions'.¹¹⁹

Today's Park Road climbs gently to Eardisley Park from the castle and church. According to a writ dated 1377, nearby Parton's value was demeaned 'because it is hilly' yet it is the same height as Eardisley Castle.¹²⁰ Parton may have stayed above the regular flooding at nearby Letton sufficiently often to have been considered 'hilly' and the farm does not flood today.¹²¹ The fact that, in 1727, some fields opposite Parton Farm (no. 1 in Fig. 18) were called 'Drie' ['Dry'] appears to confirm this. It is clear from this map that 'The Parks' relate to 'the park of the castle' immediately to the north as they bear no relationship to 'Eardisley Park'.

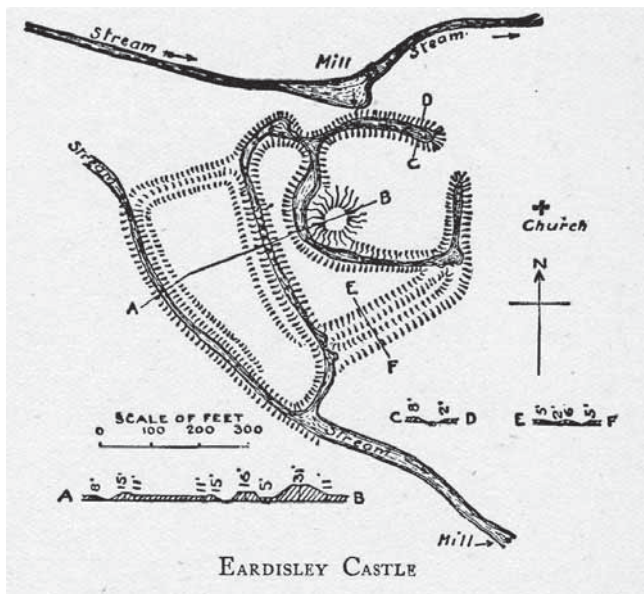


Figure 16. Eardisley Castle (Victoria County History, London, 1908).



Figure 17. Eardisley Castle motte in March, 2011 (© C. Boylett).

Eardisley's motte was unsuitable for habitation as were the other similar, local, features. Nor could it have held out for long against attack. The essential requirements for a 'fortified house' would have been a palisade and one or more ditches around the main dwelling. The lack of substantial archaeological investigation militates against dating any of the mottes at present. In Eardisley's case, the existence of arable land in the Domesday entry relating to the 'domus' predicates the presence of oxen for the plough-team as well as a domestic dwelling for the farmer and his slaves. Mason states that 'Other evidence does support the view that the early house was on this [castle] site' citing the fact that there is a 'subtle west-east ridge' that is occupied by the castle and church.¹²² However it is not clear how this area could have accommodated 60 acres of arable land and there is no consideration that the immediately surrounding land was unlikely to be 'wood', given its waterlogged nature.

Eardisley is described by Buteux as 'situated on low-lying ground on either side of a tributary of the River Wye'.¹²³ The soils are 'typically slowly permeable' and 'prone to waterlogging' and 'generally unsuitable for arable cultivation without some form of drainage'.¹²⁴ A stream ran through the market place opposite 'The Tram Inn' which is shown on the tithe map (Fig. 19). The castle site was effectively a sump, drawing water down from the north. Eardisley had causeways at both ends of the 'town'. In 1594, Christopher Hergest left 20s. in his will 'towards the making and mending of one causey in the Burrow of Erdisley ledinge to[wards the parishe of] Wyllersley'.¹²⁵ Walter Hughes gave 2s. 6d. in his 1601 will 'unto the reparations of the cowse of Erdisley'.¹²⁶ In 1959 the market



Figure 18. Map section of Parton Farm, 1787, north at top (Herrick collection, HAS, AB49). North at top.



Figure 19. Extract from tithe map of Eardisley, centre of the village, 1839 (© G Gwatkin).

square in Eardisley was flooded to a depth of four feet.¹²⁷ Flooding occurred in 2007 and 2012 and, in 2014, a flood protection scheme was announced.¹²⁸ There may well have been compelling strategic reasons for the castle to be where it is. It is inconceivable, however, that ploughland was in the immediate vicinity of the castle.

Archaeological evidence

Archaeology carried out during the construction of Millstream Gardens, to the east of the main road established that this area has been occupied from the 12th century onwards.¹²⁹ It is likely that the current road existed by 1086. Between Eardisley and Bollingham are several properties whose origins can be traced to medieval times, at Eardisley Wooton, Lemore, Queest Moor and Quebb. As argued above Eardisley Wooton was almost certainly settled by 1142. The likelihood of most of the roadway not existing in 1086 is negligible. Eardisley flourished in the 13th century and its market pre-dated that of Kington by some 40 years. LiDAR confirms that there is no other roadway heading north from the castle site.¹³⁰ We know that the first church was established before 1142. The castle developed into a group of substantial masonry buildings and was severely damaged in the Civil War. Foley's notes and depositions in the Barnesley litigation confirm this.¹³¹

In 2011 an excavation was carried out at Eardisley Castle by the Eardisley History Group and Herefordshire Archaeology.¹³² Pottery finds assessed by Stephanie Ratkai suggested occupation of the excavated section in 'the late 12th to early 13th century'.¹³³ A comment by the report's main author, Nigel Baker, is significant:-

Depending on the form of the bailey defences around the foot of the motte and its encircling ditch, found by the geophysical survey, it seems unlikely that the bailey interior would have been able to accommodate buildings much more extensive than the present farmhouse. Clearly, the early castle was a fortress and not merely a defended household.¹³⁴

The report contains many expert comments that undermine the idea that the castle site was occupied as a '*domus*' in 1086'.¹³⁵ Given the marshy ground and flooding, it is not likely that the area immediately surrounding the castle was 'wood' in 1086 in the way that the drier, higher, lands to the west were. The predominant tree in the Eardisley area was oak, a species which does not tolerate sustained flooding. The fact that there is a reference to 'the assart of Herdesleia' relating to the gift to Llanthony by Ralph de Baskerville in 1142, which patently refers to 'Westwode', speaks for itself.

The park of the castle

Figure 20 shows part of a map detailing four elements of the Eardisley estate as set out by James Perry—'Park', 'Castle', 'Parsonage' and 'Lady Harbour'. It pre-dates the building of Park Road which today links the castle site with Eardisley Park to the west (the left in the image). Each plot is allocated to its holding. 'Castle' holdings are separate from 'Park' holdings and the former are outlined heavily by myself. What is immediately obvious is that the castle and its park form a coherent entity, the former being surrounded by the latter. The fact that fields to the south-east carry names such as 'Cherry Tree Park', 'Dry Parks', 'Upper' & 'Lower Lawns' provide a strong

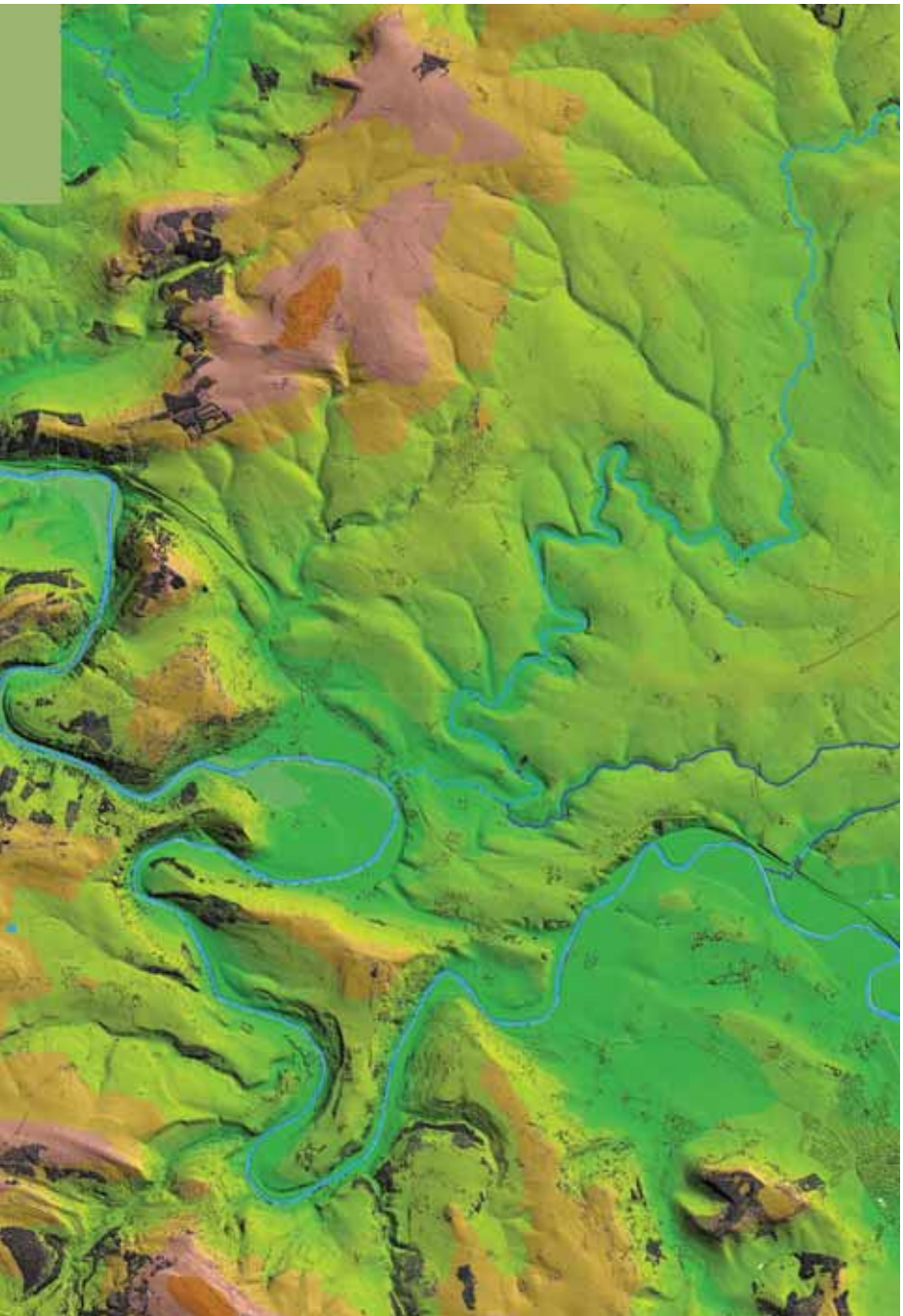


Plate 1.1. The LIDAR image of the area under discussion, made from individual 'tiles' obtainable online. North to the top. The unmistakable loop of the Wye around Welsh Bicknor lies to the east, (bottom right); next left is the Huntsham loop, left again the Downards. The path of some rivers highlighted with blue.

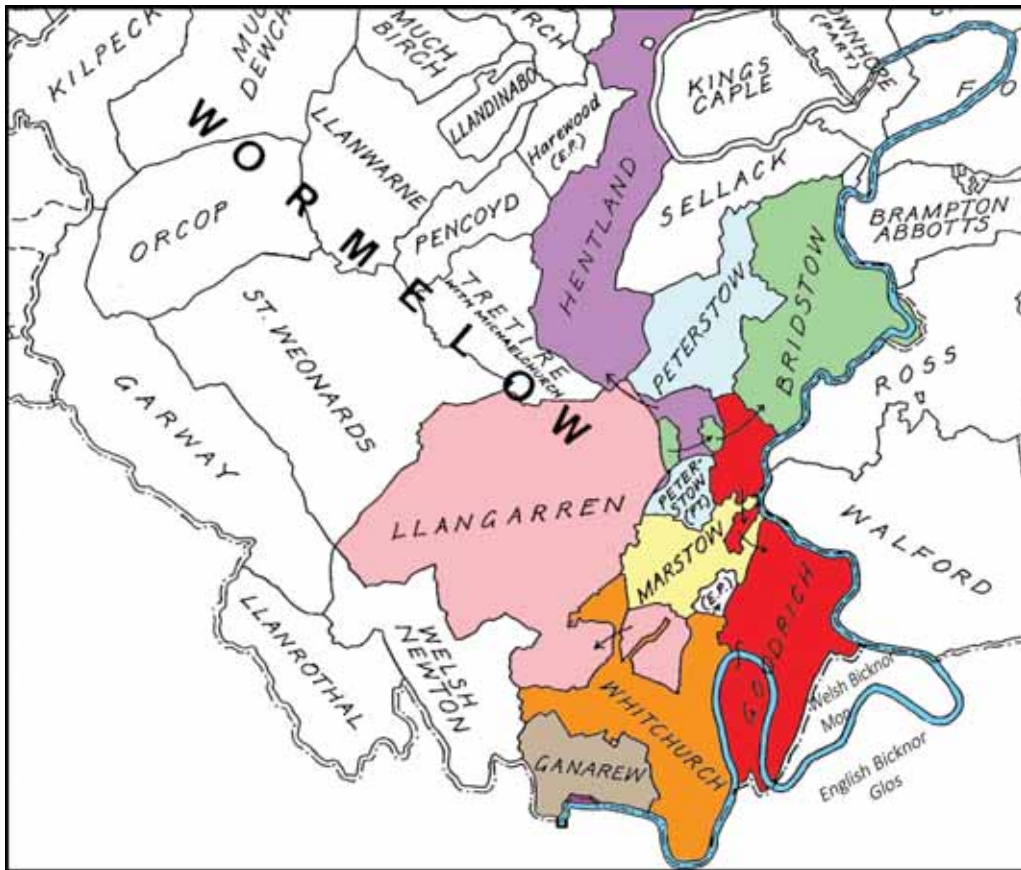


Plate 1.2. The parochial boundaries in the south of Herefordshire from the tithe maps, c.1840, courtesy Geoff Gwatkin ©. The extra-parochial land (E.P.) within Marston is *Chachebren*.

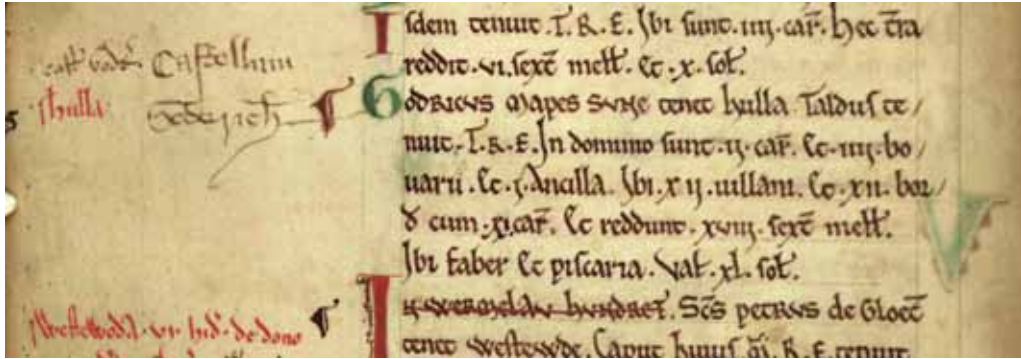


Plate 1.3 The Goodrich entry in the Herefordshire *Domesday*, by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford. © (MS 350 f.11v)



Plate 1.4. The LiDAR view of, from the left (west), the Little Doward hill fort with visible ramparts; the bulk of the Great Doward; the Huntsham peninsula with its promontory fort facing south. The Dowards and Huntsham are in Goodrich manor.

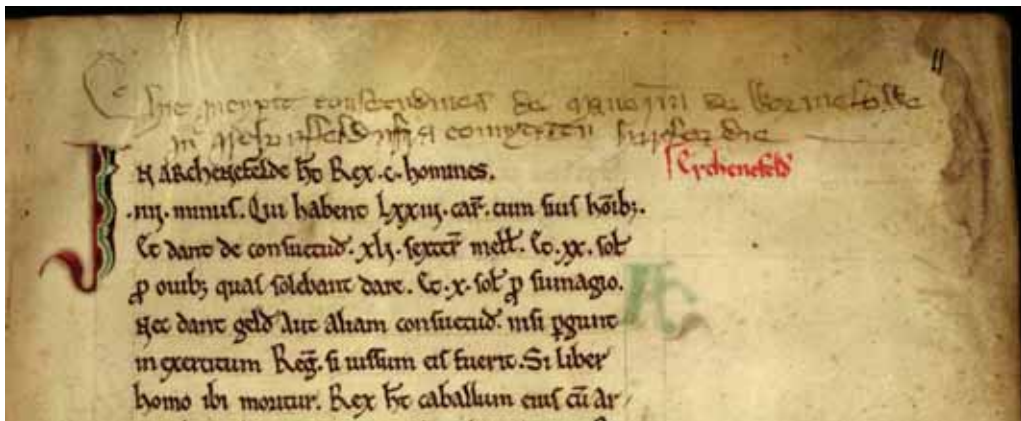


Plate 1.5 The heading of the folio showing the king's possessions in Archenfield in the Herefordshire *Domesday*, by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford. © (MS 350 f.11r)

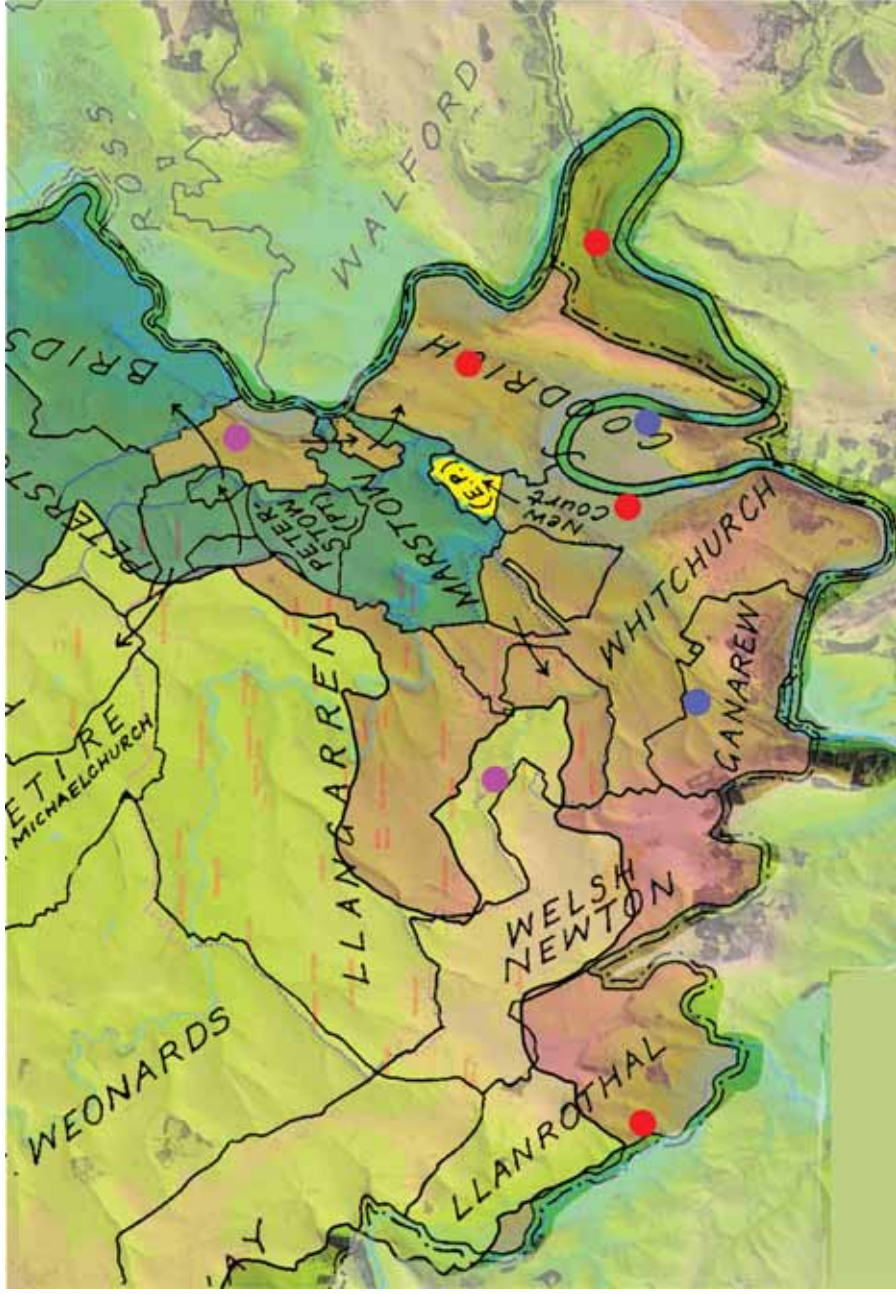


Plate 1.6. A composite of the Gwatkin parish boundaries overlaid on the LiDAR view of the area. Best guess of the area of Goodrich manor is shaded bronze; Wilton manor on the west of the Wye blue; Wormelw manor in 1816 yellow. The red dots are churches 'given' to Monmouth priory by fitzBaderon; magenta signifies additional churches mentioned in the Llandaff charters; purple other churches/chapels in the early 12th century.

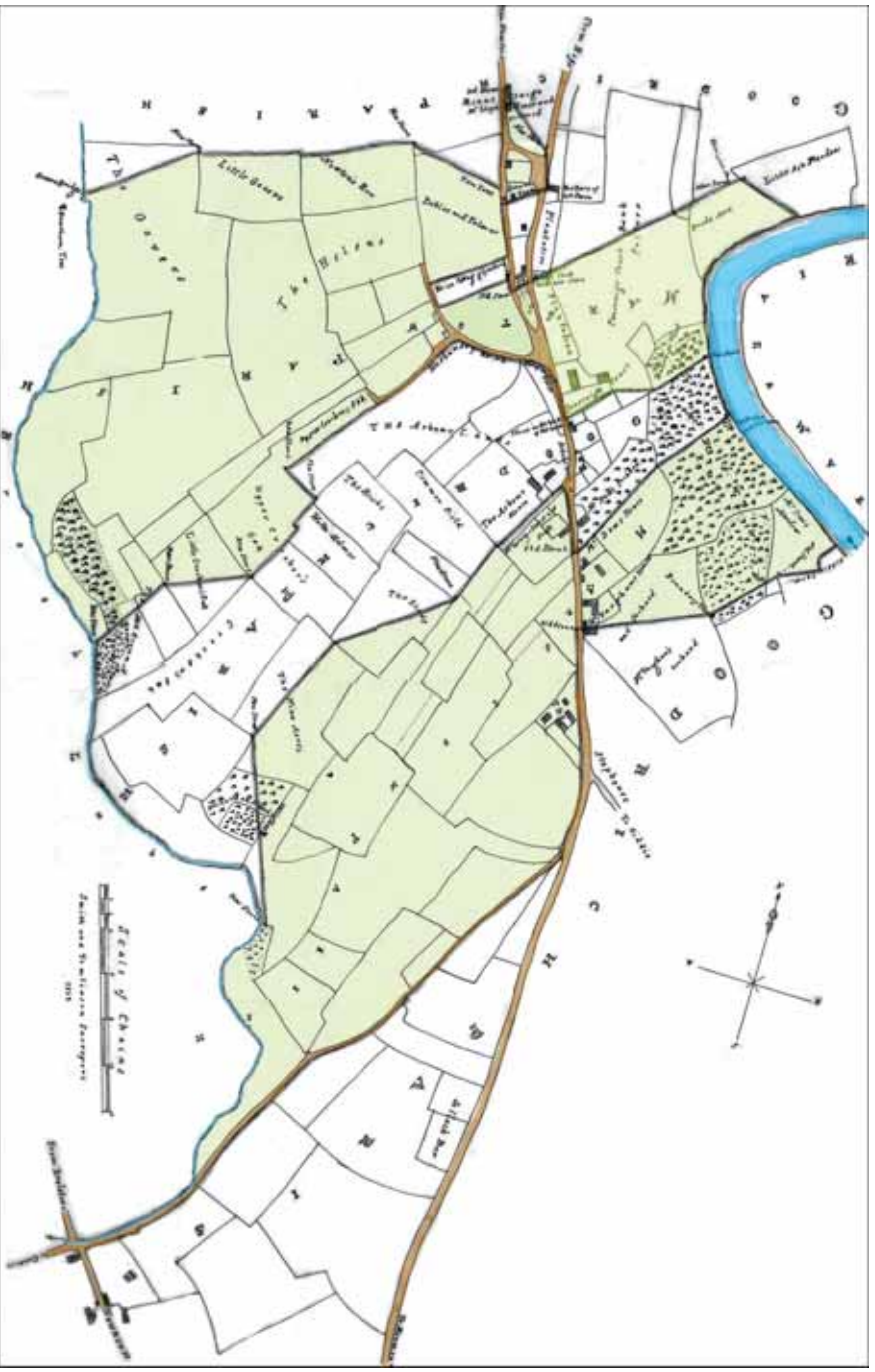


Plate 1.7. A detailed map made to accompany a survey of the boundaries between Goodrich and Marstow parishes in 1815, from a private collection. Green shading shows the area of the detached parts of Marstow within Goodrich. There is no easy explanation for the boundaries which bisect fields. The Luke brook, though tiny, was an important boundary. There is a significant boundary bank where it is approached through some woodland in the middle right of the map. The Arbour Elm is shown in the middle of the main road which runs north-south between Ross and Monmouth.

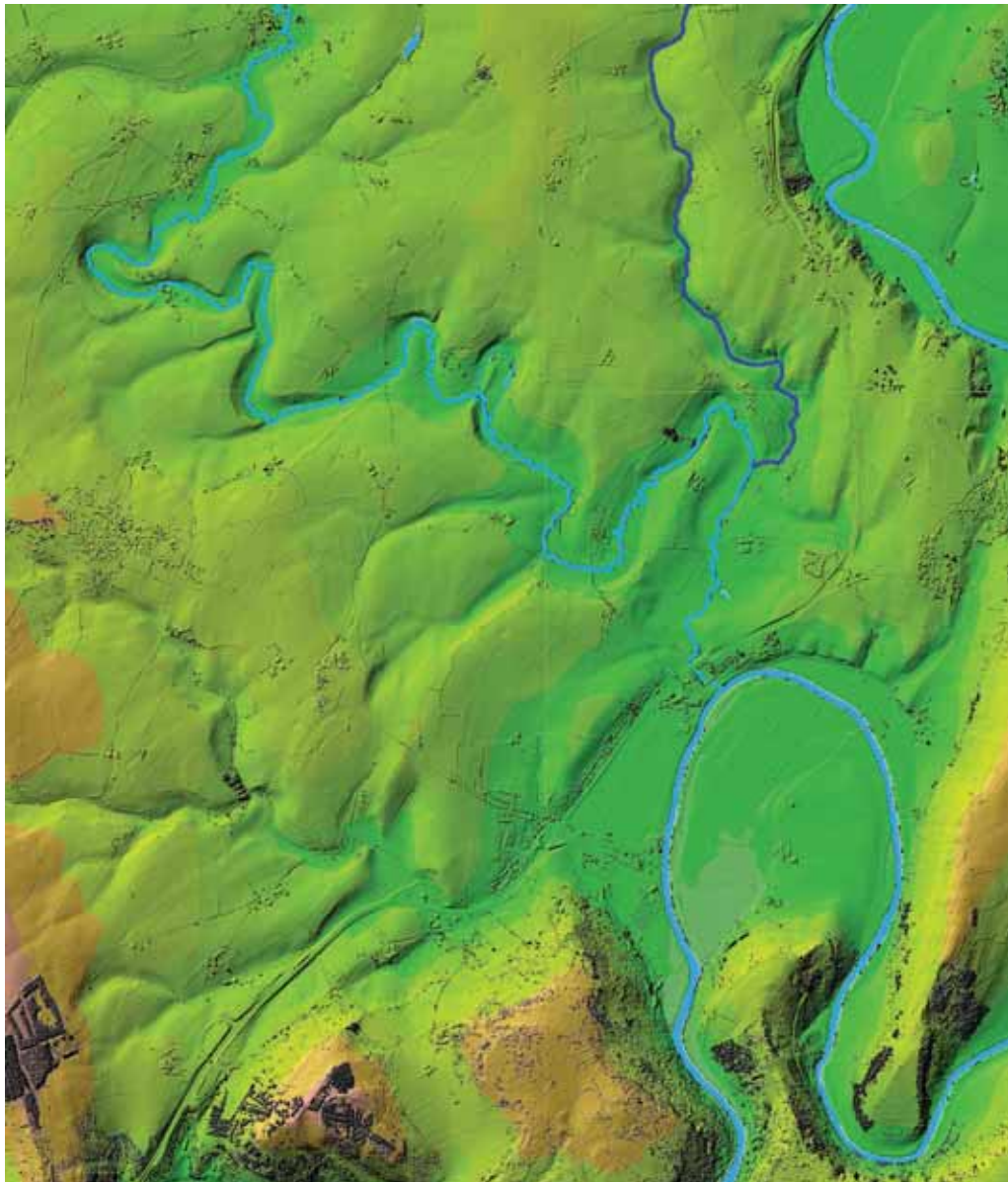


Plate 1.8. The top left shows the meanders of the Garron, its flow shown in bright blue, with tributaries marking farmstead boundaries. The Luke brook in dark blue joins it on the right before it enters the Wye. Pencraig can be seen towards the top right. Other tithe map lands e.g. the chapelry of Llandunnoch are demarcated by the valleys on the left. Note that the Wye is gradually raising the level of the Huntsham peninsula by depositing material to the north-west of the loop, while eroding the northern bank at Old Forge at the Garron mouth.

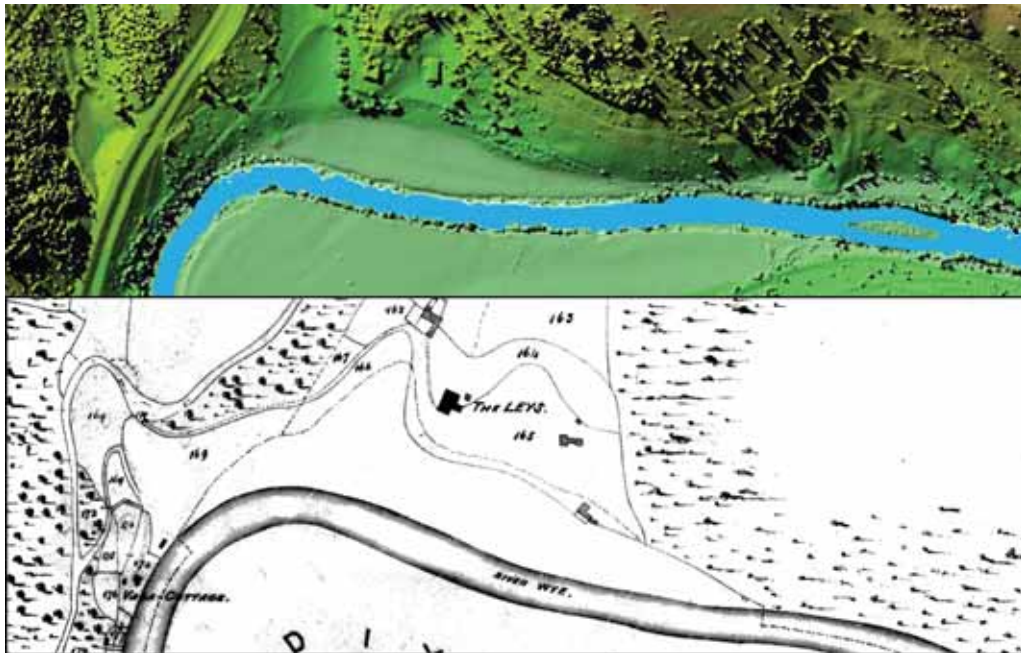


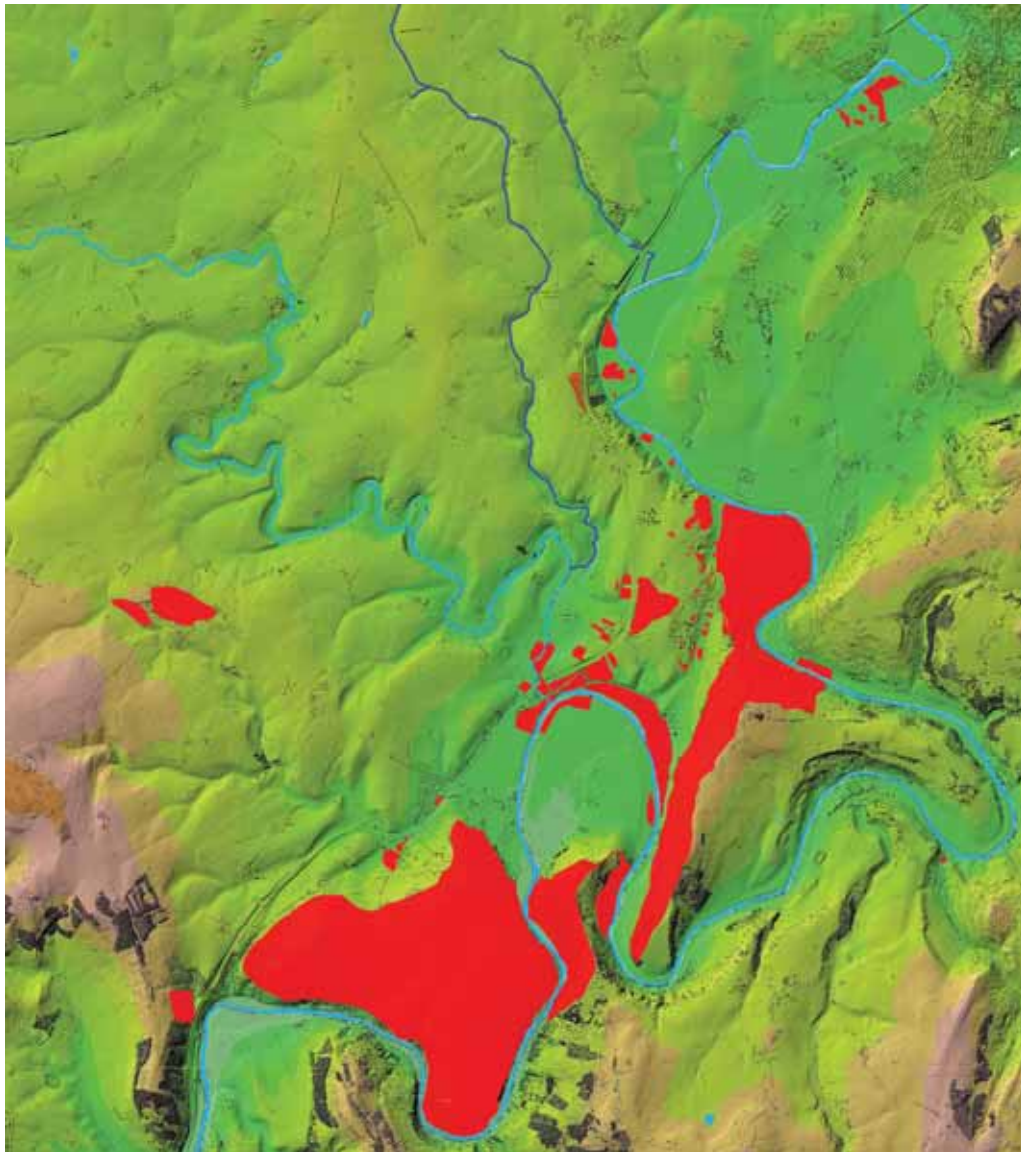
Plate 1.9. The LiDAR view of the Wye at the Ganarew-Dixton boundary (top) and the 1845 Dixon tithe map (below) showing the detached part of the parish to the north of the river.



Plate 1.10. 1728 map of the disputed boundary between English Bicknor and Goodrich. Note the small black asterisk showing the position of 'Symonds Yat' as the road passes over the edge of the escarpment. The 'Slow Path' on the east forms the eastern boundary of Goodrich, and leads to the 'Three Counties Stone' in the river, marked with a P. Note also Crow Marsh or Holywell Brook, a possible boundary for the land grant to *Lanncusthennin garthbenni*.



Plate 1.11. The LiDAR view of (from the left) Huntsham and the Symonds Yat earthworks to the south; the parish of Welsh Bicknor to the north of the Wye to the top, with the parish of English Bicknor to the south. The arrows point to the path Offa's Dyke from Symonds Yat to the Stowfield area. Beyond that most has been destroyed or reused by industry, though possible traces remain up river valleys. (LiDAR manipulation by David Lovelace)



1.12. Demesne lands of Goodrich manor, based on the 1718 manorial survey, marked in red. A major part of the land is woodland, the land around Flanesford priory being the largest arable portion. Note there is relatively little demesne land on the rich Huntsham peninsula. The large area to the north-west is Long Grove (now Llangrove). The northernmost portions lie adjacent to Wilton bridge.



Plate 2.1. The probable tomb of John de Swinfield, treasurer (1293) and precentor of Hereford Cathedral 1294–1311. Photograph by Gordon Taylor.



Plate 2.2. Pewter paten and chalice from Chancellor Gilbert's grave displayed alongside the silver paten and chalice from Bishop Richard's tomb. These items were displayed during the 'What Lies Beneath?' exhibition, 2016. Photograph by Gordon Taylor.



Plate 3.1, General view of the front of the altar and reredos (photograph Kate Andrew)



Plate 4.1. *Cantharellus melanoxerus*, in beech *Fagus* litter, Haugh Wood.



Plate 4.2. *Clavaria zollingeri*, part of a larger specimen. Clumps can be up to 8cms across.



Plate 4.3. *Neohygrocybe ovina*, showing the red discoloration where damaged.



Plate 4.4. *Polyporus umbellatus*, centrally attached, massed caps with a decurrent hymenium.



Plate 4.5. *Polyporus umbellatus*, half-buried sclerotia.



Plate 4.6. *Rugosomyces chrysenteron*, grows in troops and small clusters in conifer litter.



Plate 4.7. *Suillus cavipes*, an untypical *Suillus* with a dry cap, associated with larch.



Plate 4.8. *Sarcodontia crocea*, part of a much longer fruit-body on an old apple tree.



Plate 4.9. *Sarcodontia crocea*, close-up of the spines.



Plate 4.10. *Geastrum britannicum*, a newly described species usually found under yew *Taxus baccata*.



Plate 4.11. *Geastrum britannicum*, close-up showing the crystalline surface of the spore sac and the raised rim.



Plate 4.12. *Postia guttulata*, a young specimen with transparent droplets or guttules near the margin.



Plate 4.13. *Entyloma chrysosplenii*, a rare smut on a scarce plant, alternate-leaved golden saxifrage *Chrysosplenium alternifolium*.



Plate 4.14. *Agathomyia wankowiczi*, on the artist's fungus *Ganoderma applanatum* – underside of the bracket with exited galls on the older pore layer. The new pore layer has stained brown where it has been touched.

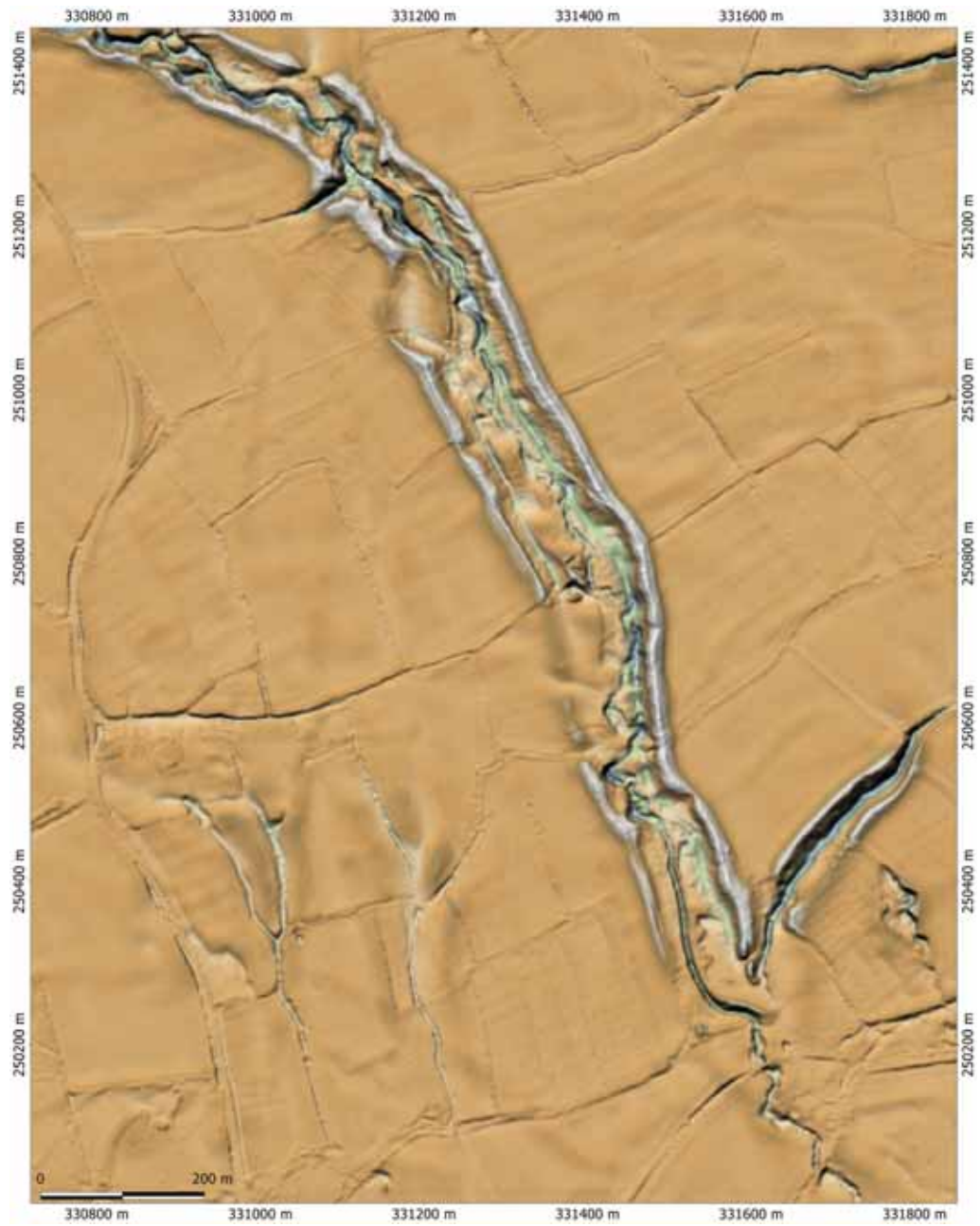


Plate 5.1. Enhanced LiDAR image of Holywell Dingle. Mill site shown in Figure 4. (© D. Lovelace)



Plate 6.1, Watercolour by an unknown artist, c. 1820. Looking north from outside the Royal Oak in the Southend to the High Street, where centre left is John Webb's double-gabled butcher's shop at the southern end of the Butcher Row, The Market House is centre right. (Courtesy of Hereford Museum and Gallery, Herefordshire Museum Service (HMS 815)).



Plate 6.2. The Butcher Row Museum, Church Lane, Ledbury. The building dates from c. 1581 (photograph C. G. Kellert).



Plate 6.3. The upper part of this small building was part of one of the houses in Butcher Row; now in Skipp Alley, Homend, Ledbury. Note the bresummer beam above the ground floor window was inserted upside down.



Plate 7.1. Brobury and Monnington. Later Iron Age or early Romano-British cosmetic mortar. (PUBLIC-
FEA7E1).



Plate 7.2. Upton Bishop. Anglo-Saxon
(Anglo-Scandinavian) metal harness fitting
(incomplete). (PUBLIC-82F405)



Plate 8.1. Small-flowered Buttercup (*Ranunculus parviflorus*).



Plate 8.2. Yellow-flowered Strawberry (*Potentilla indica*).



Plate 9.1. Graptolites in the Upper Elton Formation, Mortimer Forest.



Plate 9.2. The red sun caused by dust raised by Hurricane Ophelia.



Plate 10.1. *Suillus tridentinus*, an uncommon golden to rusty coloured bolete usually associated with larch. Note the suggestion of a ring.



Plate 10.2. *Boletus calopus*. A white reticulum over a red stipe is characteristic of this species.



Plate 10.3. *Stropharia albonitens*. An uncommon grassland species with a viscid cap cuticle.



Plate 10.4. *Gymnopilus dilepis*. This alien species occurs on warm wood chip piles. It has also been recorded in greenhouses.



Plate 11.1 Linnets were seen at various locations throughout the year.



Plate 11.2. Yellowhammers were a common sight throughout the year.



Plate 11.3. A hobby was seen in September at Dorstone, Wellington and Bodenham gravel pit.



Plate 11.4. Hobby in flight.

indication that these belong to the 'Castle Park', as distinct from 'Eardisley Park' to the west which is separated in part by a track leading to 'Lady Harbour'.



Figure 20. Section of Perry map of Eardisley estate, 1787, north at top (Herrick Collection, HAS, AB49).

Consideration of the siting of St Mary's draws out another anomaly. If the castle site was 'in the middle of a wood' in 1086, and the church is adjacent to it, then the church was also in this wood. Evidence of field names from 1839 indicates the area to the south-east of the church appears to have been mainly moorland, meadow & pasture: Some, such as 'Crank Moor', can be traced to the 'Crukemore' in a document dated 1374.¹³⁶ The Llanthony endowment included 12 acres of land to the south of St Mary's described as 'grass' not 'wood'.¹³⁷ Willersley's church, only a mile south of Eardisley's, dates from the mid 12th century.¹³⁸ It is not likely that the area between the two was heavily wooded half a century before these buildings were erected because there would have been two churches 'in the middle of a wood', an even more improbable scenario.

The name 'Parton', which refers to a farm to the south-east of the castle, is probably derived from 'park town'. Coplestone-Crow suggests that this name relates to 'Eardisley Park' which 'is nearby'.¹³⁹ As the crow flies, it is 1.5 miles from Parton to Eardisley Park, a substantial distance in medieval times. Parton is, however, adjacent to 'Dry Parks' (859 on the tithe) and near to 'Rough Parks' (851, 668, 667 & 663) as can be seen on the extract from the tithe map at Fig. 21, making it much more likely that it took its name from 'the park of the castle' than from 'Eardisley Park'. A reference to 'Drye Parke' in a deed relating to Eardisley property dated 1615 and to 'The Rough Parke' in a roll dated 1619 pre-date the earliest maps by a century and a half.¹⁴⁰ In 1727 the Parton lands then included some of 'The Parks'.

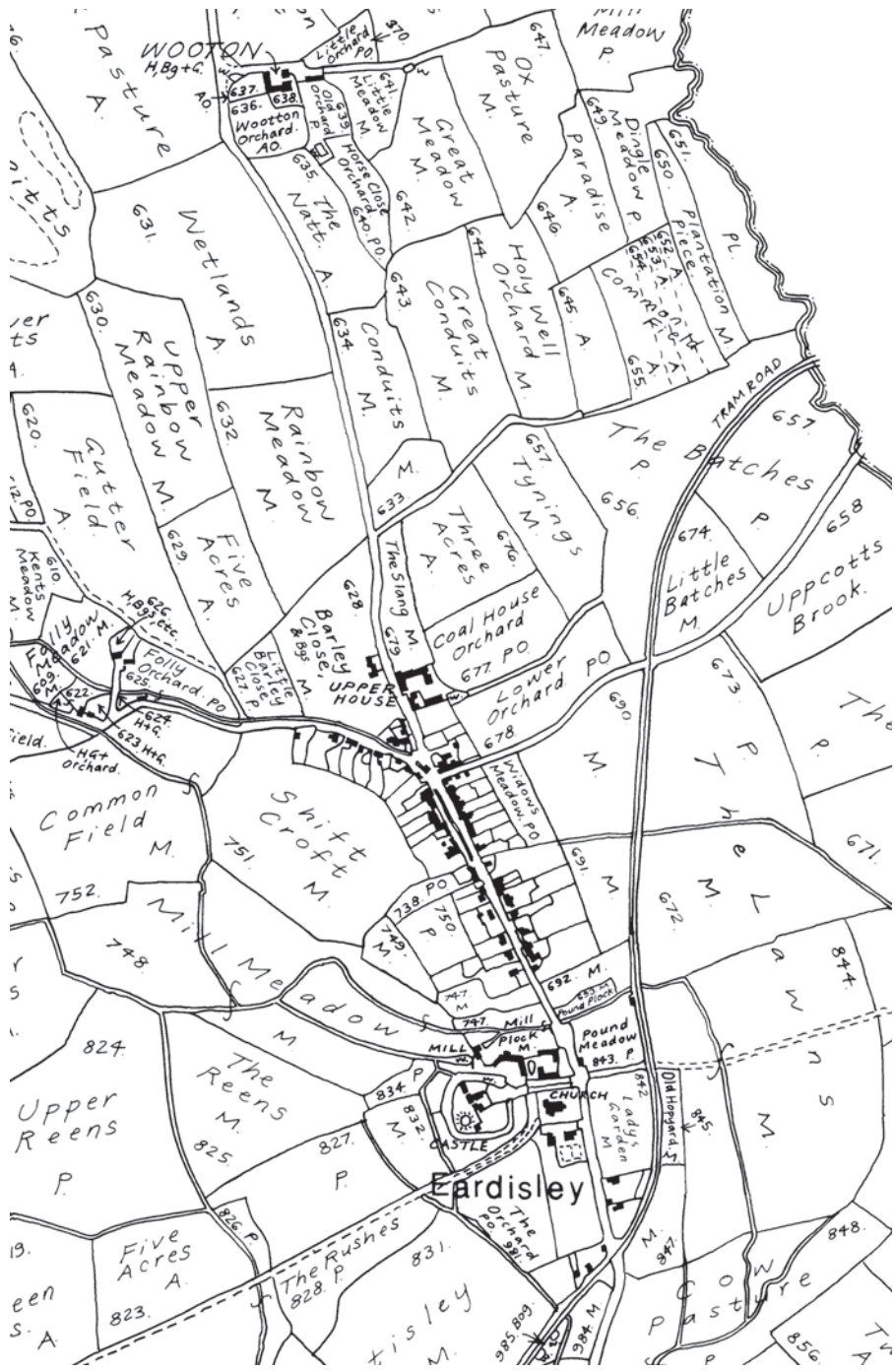


Figure 21. Extract from tithe map, 1839, Eardisley south (© G. Gwatkin).

The name 'Parketon' is used in a close roll dated 1376 and an inquisition dated 1377.¹⁴¹ If Eardisley Park was still called 'Westwode' in 1383 'Parton' is unlikely to have derived from the latter.

CONCLUSION

There are references to 'Westwode' in a number of documents dated 1373-1383 specifically referring to 300 acres 'of wood' and 60 acres 'of land' as one entity. None of these suggest that this area was a formal park although it would be surprising if the Baskervilles did not hunt there given their penchant for the chase. The evidence to identify 'Westwode' as what became 'Eardisley Park' is substantive. Any explanation as to how the 360 acres became imparked is speculative but important evidence to support this exists. In January, 1550 Edward VI's regent, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, revived the Statute of Merton of 1235. The Act permitted lords of the manor to enclose commons and land classified as 'waste', provided there was a surfeit of such. The Act was used fitfully over the next three centuries but was forcefully employed in the 16th century and resulted in substantial enclosures. Over the centuries a complex set of customs had evolved relating to commons which extended to woodland in particular circumstances.¹⁴² Westwode had been recorded as 'common' by the jurors in the inquisition of 1378 referred to previously.

In c.1551 Sir James Baskerville bought significant amounts of chantry land from Edward VI. The enforcement of the Statute of Merton, which coincided almost exactly, was a golden opportunity to enclose Westwode and create 'Eardisley Park'. According to Saxton's map, the deed had been done by 1577. There were a number of popular risings during this period, some of which were as a result of enclosures.¹⁴³ The Lord Protector of England, Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset, is recorded as stating in 1549 that 'the peasants' demands were fair and just; for the poor people who had no land to graze their cattle ought to retain the commons and the lands that had always been public property, and the noble and the rich ought not to seize and add them to their parks and possessions'.¹⁴⁴ There is no known evidence of unrest at Eardisley but there are recorded disputes over enclosure in Kingswood during this period.¹⁴⁵

This paper has argued that the three DB settlements were at Eardisley Park, Woods Eaves and Eardisley Wooton. Most histories of Eardisley assume that the '*domus defensabilis*' in DB refers to a fortified site that later developed into Eardisley Castle. This paper offers an alternative view. If the argument that 'Westwode', with its 60 acre assart became 'Eardisley Park' is accepted, the evidence that its income was pledged to Llanthony Priory before 1142 confirms that this was separate from the castle site. There are a plethora of documents confirming that the Baskervilles retained ownership of the latter.¹⁴⁶ On this assumption, the '*domus*' was situated in what is today's Eardisley Park Farm. The second '*domus*' was, as its name implied, in the Welshwood area as surmised by Coplestone-Crow.¹⁴⁷

It is puzzling that the Domesday Book entry regarding the '*domus*' has not been studied in the context of what is an obvious assart. The emergence of the 14th century documents referring to 'la Westwode' which include mention of a 60 acre assart within a total area of 360 acres, point to 'Westwode' and 'Eardisley Park' being one and the same. There is no known reference to 'Westwode' after 1383 and 'two parks' does not occur until 1553. The actual phrase 'Eardisley Park' did not come into use until the early 18th century when Barnesley built the house of that name. Given the description of 'Westwode' is so close to that of the Domesday settlement, on the

balance of probabilities the ‘fortified house’ is likely to have been located in today’s ‘Eardisley Park’ although its exact location remains unknown.

The original village settlement was probably around the market square, although the market charter was not granted until 1225. There is no evidence for any structure south of Fylles Lane, the Almeley road, pre-dating the church which was *in situ* by 1142. The area to the south was waterlogged. The significant Eardisley settlements were to the north as referred to in documents from the mid 13th century. There is nothing to indicate early settlement directly to the west of the main road below the Tram Inn. The settlement to the east in the Millstream Gardens area date from ‘before the end of the 12th century’, but this was the drier side of the road if one takes some of the tithe field names at face value. Herefordshire Archaeology have suggested that Kington, to the north, ‘was occupied mostly by farmers’ in the 13th century.¹⁴⁸ The same applied to Eardisley and evidence indicates that the area to the north was farmed from before the Conquest. Eardisley Wooton was probably brought back into production before becoming a chantry property. LiDAR images appear to confirm substantial ridge and furrow and common fields. There was a mill at Holywell Dingle to serve the chantry property and marl pits to the north and west to improve the land. The area between the church/castle site and the square was later built up after substantial drainage works had been undertaken to manage the waterlogging of the castle site.

With regard to Woods Eaves being the location of the half-a-hide Domesday entry, it is significant that there appears to be a Baskerville line of succession from 1086 to 1672. However, Baskervilles did not live here continually. The capital message in later years was Woodseaves Farm.¹⁴⁹

ABBREVIATIONS

DB	Domesday Book
EHG	Eardisley History Group
HAN	<i>Herefordshire Archaeological News</i>
HAS	Herefordshire Archive Services
HER	Historic Environmental Record
LRO	Leicestershire Record Office
OE	Old English
OS	Ordnance Survey
SMR	Sites & Monuments Record
TNA	The National Archives
<i>TWNFC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club</i>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTE

¹ D. Whitehead, A survey of historic parks & gardens in Herefordshire (Hereford, 2001), p.139; Malcolm Mason (ed.) Eardisley's early history and the story of the Baskervilles' (Almeley, 2017), p. 146.

² B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire place-names* (Almeley, 2009), p.88.

³ E. Ekwall, The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names (4th ed., Lincoln, 1960) cited by Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire place-names*, p.88.

⁴ TNA, E372/30 rot. 2m. 2d.

⁵ TNA, C 115/75, Papal bulls of the diocese of St David's: D118.

⁶ A. W. Clapham, 'Early castles of Herefordshire: General Survey of Herefordshire Monuments', in *An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire, Volume 3, north west* (London, 1934), pp.xliii-lxvii.

⁷ F. & C. Thorn (eds), *Domesday book: Herefordshire* (Chichester, 1983) pp.187c, 31-2.

⁸ TNA, PROB 11/56 Image 90.

⁹ Rev. C. J. Robinson, *A history of the manors and mansions of Herefordshire* (1st ed. 1872, repub. Almeley, 2001), p.115.

¹⁰ Calendar of Close Rolls, Edw. III. - Part II, Vol. 14, membrane 25 p.370; Edw. III C.R. Vol. 14, p.490.

¹¹ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, pp.184d, 10, 42.

¹² B. Coplestone-Crow, 'The Baskervilles of Herefordshire, 1086-1300', *TWNFC*, Vol. XLIII (1979) pp.18-38, p.19.

¹³ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, pp.187a, 25, 9.

¹⁴ Coplestone-Crow: *Herefordshire place-names*, pp.55-6 and HAN, 57, p.44. His later paper, 'The Baskervilles of Eardisley' in Mason (ed.), 'Eardisley's early history' (2017), pp.17-48, p.21, suggests that the 'large wood' at Walelege may be '(Kingswood?) and that this 'is probably [where] Robert de Baskerville's castle at Eardisley lay'.

Kingswood is three miles to the north and was in the manor of Kington. It was separated from Eardisley by a peat bog at Moseley (part of the manor of 'Stiuingeurdin'), two manors at Chickward, one at Empton ('Uifelmestune') and by Bollingham, another DB manor. A further manor lay at Woods Eaves. Kingswood's boundaries have been well-defined for centuries. There are defined parts of Walelege, such as 'Rugwode', a corruption of 'Rough Wood' that patently have no connection with 'Kingswood'.

¹⁵ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire place-names*, pp.55-6

¹⁶ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, pp. 184d, 10, 48, 49.

¹⁷ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, pp. 179d, 1, 7.

¹⁸ Coplestone-Crow, 'Baskervilles of Herefordshire', p.19.

¹⁹ C. Boylett, The Pember family of Herefordshire (Kington, 2013).

²⁰ H. C. Darby & L. B. Terrett, *The Domesday geography of middle England* (Cambridge, 1954), p.85.

²¹ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, pp.184b, 10, 48.

²² *Ibid.*, pp.184b, 10, 49.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.179d, 1, 7.

²⁴ Darby & Terrett: *Domesday geography*, p.85.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.67.

²⁶ TNA, C 136/1/7.

²⁷ http://www.ewyaslacy.org.uk/-/Theme-de-Lacy-family-history/1000-s-1100-s-1200-s/rs_ewy_0201; (accessed 19/04/17) also 'Houses of Augustinian canons: The priory of Llanthony by Gloucester', in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2*, ed. William Page, London (1907), pp.87-91.

²⁸ TNA, E 301/24, 25 and 26 f.60v: 100, 101, & 101a 'Hundred de Huntyngton': Transcribed by Faraday.

²⁹ TNA, PROB 11/56 Image Ref. 90.

³⁰ William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1693), p.370 citing abstract of Augmentation Office roll 31 Henry VIII & TNA, SC6/1108/6.

³¹ TNA, C 142/177/103.

³² TNA, C 66/856, mm. 24-28.

³³ TNA, C 6/18/70 and TNA, C 6/233/23.

³⁴ HAS, AA20[3]/44/2/35 Film No. 29.

³⁵ TNA, E36/31, pp.77 39r, 78 39v and E36/16, p.53 27r.

³⁶ TNA, KB 26/168 rot. 7d.

³⁷ Feudal Aids, 1284-1431 [1899-1903] cited by Coplestone-Crow in 'Baskervilles of Herefordshire', p.31.

- ³⁷ D. James, 'The buildings of Eardisley Parish' in Mason (ed.) *Eardisley's early history*, pp. 149-180, pp. 154-8; N. Pevsner & A. Brooks: *The buildings of England; Herefordshire*, (New Haven, 2012); Boylett, 'The dearth of surviving domestic property in parts of Herefordshire', *TWNFC*, Vol. 63 (2015), pp.51-83.
- ³⁸ Muriel Tonkin, 'Windmills in Herefordshire' in *A Herefordshire miscellany* (Hereford, 2000) pp.193-204.
- ³⁹ Alan Stoyel, Field notes made on 16/03/2004 *Eardisley, Holywell Mill*, SO 3138 5082; private collection, copy supplied to author 25/09/17; Boylett, 'The dearth of surviving domestic property', p.76.
- ⁴⁰ TNA, CP 25/2/71/590/1MARY/TRINITY.
- ⁴¹ HAS, D25 and C. Boylett, 'Duppa's house Eardisley commonly known as Upper House (Kington 2018/9), manuscript in preparation.
- ⁴² TNA, C 66/1121.
- ⁴³ TNA, PROB 11/32 image 9.
- ⁴⁴ E. Jeffrey, *The Marl Pits of West Sussex*, www.peninsulapartnership.org.uk [Accessed 12/11/2017].
- ⁴⁵ Pound Farm, Kingswood contains several such pools & scrapes. Archaeology indicates settlement by the early 13th century. Author's archive.
- ⁴⁶ N. Smith, 'Landscape surveys' in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.101-118, pp.110-111.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.101-111; also Figures 5-6.
- ⁴⁸ TNA, C 66/856 mm. 24-28 dated 28 April 1553. Lands purchased by John Harford & John Farley.
- ⁴⁹ Jeffrey, *Marl Pits*, p.5 citing Sussex Industrial Archaeological Society Newsletter SIASG3.
- ⁵⁰ Research is ongoing by the author.
- ⁵¹ Dendrochronological report commissioned in 2015: Dr A. Moir: www.tree-ring.co.uk, Copy held by author.
- ⁵² Dr A. Moir, Dendrochronological analysis of oak timbers, the Old Granary, Eardisley, Herefordshire: Tree-Ring Services Report, HROG/25/16 (2016), p.16.
- ⁵³ TNA, C 6/233/23 dated 1680.
- ⁵⁴ TNA, C 6/18/70 dated 1655.
- ⁵⁵ Coplestone-Crow: 'Herefordshire place-names', p.89.
- ⁵⁶ A. E. Stamp, J. B. W. Chapman, Cyril Flower, M. C. B. Dawes and L. C. Hector, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III, File 236', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 14, Edward III*, London (1952), pp.1-19.
- ⁵⁷ Robinson, *Manors*, Almeley (2001) p.115.
- ⁵⁸ TNA, E 179/119/482.
- ⁵⁹ e.g. TNA, E 179/248/13 & E 179/248/14.
- ⁶⁰ TNA, E 179/248/14.
- ⁶¹ <http://www.longhopevillage.co.uk/FamilyHistory/Trees/Index.aspx?cmd=search&surname=Baskerville> [accessed on 21/06/2017].
- ⁶² HAS, AB49.
- ⁶³ www.eardisleyhistory.org: Particulars for the sale of the Eardisley Estate 1918: (Accessed 30/03/17).
- ⁶⁴ Brock W. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English aristocracy and frontier society, 1087-1265* (Oxford, 2008), p.116.
- ⁶⁵ TNA, C 11/876/9: Barnesley v Barnesley.
- ⁶⁶ re 'Llanwarne', see Coplestone-Crow: 'The Baskervilles of Herefordshire' and TNA, C 115/75 *Papal bulls of the diocese of St Davids: D 118*. and ed. J. C. Davies: *Calendar of episcopal acts and cognate documents relating to Welsh dioceses 1066-1272*.
- In 'The Baskervilles of Eardisley', p.29, Coplestone-Crow, refers to 'Westwoda (in Eardisley)', instead of '[in] Llanwarne' as in his earlier 'The Baskervilles of Herefordshire' article. I believe he was correct in the first article. 'Westwode' was the name of a settlement near Llanwarne that was held by the Lacys. Eardisley's 'Westwode' was not a settlement and, apart from the assart, consisted of wood common that did not generate tithes. It also begs the question as to why 'Eardisley' & 'Westwode' would be named separately if one was within the other. It is unlikely that the inquisitions and enquiries undertaken in the 14th century would have omitted to mention a gift of the wood to Llanthony if this particular 'Westwoda' was in 'Ardesle'.
- ⁶⁷ www.geni.com re the early date which is not verifiable; the later date is a very rough estimate; re death see Coplestone-Crow, 'Baskervilles of Herefordshire', p.22 and Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p.94. Coplestone-Crow gives 1136-42 as the date of Ralph I's death in his more recent essay, 'Baskervilles of Eardisley', p.26.
- ⁶⁸ TNA, C 115/75 part 26, no. 22. '*Exsartu[m] de H[er]desleia cu[m] parte nemoris sicut divide monst[ra]nt*', transcriber Simon Neal. It is moot whether 'nemoris' here means 'wood' or 'grove'; Neal believes 'grove' to be appropriate. The fact that there is a plot called 'The Grove' on the 1787 map, and it is adjacent to an arable field then called 'Best Field' makes me lean towards 'grove' as the more precise translation.

- ⁶⁹ Dugdale, *Monasticon* cited by G. Roberts in 'Llanthony Priory, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, No. III, (July 1846), p.234.
- ⁷⁰ <http://www.monasticwales.org/event/205>, accessed 26/06/17; Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Cardiff (1977) pp.30-1, & 201.
- ⁷¹ TNA, CP 25/1/82/35, number 178.
- ⁷² (http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25%281%29/CP25_1_82a/IMG_0223.htm).
- ⁷³ TNA, C 115/75 part 26, no. 22.
- ⁷⁴ TNA, C 136/1/7.
- ⁷⁵ TNA, C 44/7/7.
- ⁷⁶ TNA, C 115/75: reference to the church of 'Ardesley' in Papal Bull of Innocent II.
- ⁷⁷ HAS, IR 29/14/73.
- ⁷⁸ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire place-names*, p.55 and e.g., TNA PROB 11/56, Image 90 - Will of Sir James Baskerville made in 1572; TNA, C 142/13/1 ipm of an earlier Sir James Baskerville dated 1499; TNA, C 54/65: Close Roll 36 Hen. III m. 16 dated 1252; TNA, CP 25/1/80/12 no. 235; TNA, C 66/69 m. 11d and C 54/69 or 70 m. 14d dated 1255. The latter two documents relate to disputes between Humphrey de Bohun regarding his lands in 'Brunleye'/'Brumlegh' [Brilley] and Walter de Baskerville's lands in 'Yrdesleye'/'Hyrdeslegh'.
- ⁷⁹ TNA, C 66/69 m.11d. & TNA, C 54/69 or 70, m.14d.
- ⁸⁰ Coplestone-Crow, 'The Baskervilles of Eardisley', p.39.
- ⁸¹ TNA SC 6/HENVIII/1224. See R. Parry, *A History of Kington* (Kington, 1845), p.14.
- ⁸² Boylett, *The Pember family*, Kington (2013) pp.225-6
- ⁸³ TNA, C 43/6/140.
- ⁸⁴ see B. Coplestone-Crow, 'Welsh kings and their lands in Herefordshire', *HAN* 58, pp.8-12.
- ⁸⁵ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, 187c, 31-2.
- ⁸⁶ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire place-names*, p.55.
- ⁸⁷ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England: *An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire* (Vol. III-north-west, London, 1934), p.53.
- ⁸⁸ Reference for Chancery case. The law case has no relevance to my arguments other than supplying physical details of Eardisley Park in witness statements. It was a family dispute which begat lengthy litigation— involving a falsified will and the conviction of a man as a forger who was later executed at Tyburn— which went on until 1749. It has been suggested that Charles Dickens may have drawn on this in his novel 'Bleak House'.
- ⁸⁹ TNA C11/876/9: Deposition of Bryan Reese.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid: Deposition of Thomas Fletcher.
- ⁹¹ Ibid: Deposition of Henry Badham.
- ⁹² Whitehead, Survey of historic parks & gardens in Herefordshire, p.139.
- ⁹³ HAS, AB49; Mason, (ed.) *Eardisley's early history*, p.5.
- ⁹⁴ TNA, C 115/75 part 26, no. 22.
- ⁹⁵ Pers. comm. with Mr C. Baker of Eardisley Park Farm, 17/05/17.
- ⁹⁶ Whitehead, Survey of historic parks & gardens in Herefordshire, p.139.
- ⁹⁷ Rev. M. G. Watkins: Collections towards the history and antiquities of the County of Hereford in continuation of Duncomb's history (Hereford, 1897). The original document is TNA.C44/9/11.
- ⁹⁸ Malcolm Mason, 'Highways, tramways and waterways' in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp. 119-48, p.146.
- ⁹⁹ 'Close Rolls, Edward III: August 1376', in *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III: Volume 14, 1374-1377*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (London, 1913), pp.388-9.
- ¹⁰⁰ TNA, C 136/1/7.
- ¹⁰¹ R. Stirling-Brown, 'Field meeting at Brillley', *HAN*, No. 57 (1991), p.48; TNA, inquisition Edw. III File 236 [13] and L. Cantor: *The changing English countryside 1400-1700*, Oxford (2017), p.77.
- ¹⁰² TNA, PROB 11/56 Ref. 90.
- ¹⁰³ TNA, CP 25/2/71/590/1MARY/TRIN.
- ¹⁰⁴ e.g. the will of Sir James Baskerville made in 1572; TNA, PROB/11/56/Image 90: also TNA, C142/221/107 ipm of John Baskerville (junior) in 1589.
- ¹⁰⁵ Images at Figs. 11, 20 & 21 <http://www.geostore.com/environment-agency/survey.html#/survey> Digital Terrain Model (DTM) data derived from LIDAR (as downloaded from above) and then processed by D. Lovelace in a Geographic Information System by shadow rendering the amplified surface differential of the terrain. Lidar = Light detection and ranging: see oceanservice.noaa.gov/facts/lidar.html [accessed 26/06/17].

- ¹⁰⁶ Parry, *Kington*, p.260. The original is TNA, C 54/65: Close Roll 36 Hen. III m.16. The fine is TNA, CP 25/1/80/12 no. 235.
- ¹⁰⁷ TNA, C 142/221/107.
- ¹⁰⁸ N. Smith, 'Bollingham, Eardisley, Herefordshire, Archaeological Survey Report', August 2012, NGR: SO 302527, Herefordshire SMR: 1626 & Boylett, *Pember family*.
- ¹⁰⁹ Boylett, *Pember family*, pp.192-3 and TNA, IR30/14/229. Also LRO DG9/2726; map of 'Cumme' (Cwmmau) & Fernhall dated 1763.
- ¹¹⁰ TNA, PROB 11/56 Image 60.
- ¹¹¹ TNA, E 372/30 rot. 2 m. 2d.
- ¹¹² TNA, Pipe roll 34 Henry II, 214.
- ¹¹³ Holden, *Lords of the central Marches*, p.95.
- ¹¹⁴ Coplestone-Crow, 'The Baskervilles of Herefordshire' for the period up to 1300 and Holden's, *Lords of the central Marches*.
- ¹¹⁵ Victoria Buteux, 'Archaeological assessment of Eardisley, Hereford and Worcester: Central Marches historic towns survey (1994-5)'; ADS Report No. 313.
- ¹¹⁶ www.checkmypostcode.uk/hr36nu#.WJitRVOLSUK [accessed 06/02/17].
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- ¹¹⁸ Stephanie Ratkai, 'The Pottery', in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.85-88, p.87.
- ¹¹⁹ Catherine Longford, 'Archaeobotanical sampling', in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp. 95-6, p.96.
- ¹²⁰ TNA, Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Vol. 14, Edward III, File 236. (13.).
- ¹²¹ Pers. comm. with Mrs. Clare Layton, whose family own Parton, 31/10/17.
- ¹²² N. Baker, 'Archaeological excavation at Eardisley Castle, overall conclusions', in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.96-100, p.98.
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- ¹²⁴ *Ibid* pp.1-2'
- ¹²⁵ HAS, Will AA20/[1]/21/3/94: Film No. 4'
- ¹²⁶ HAS, AA20[2]/3/2/10 Film No. 10'
- ¹²⁷ visitoruk.com: Hay-on-Wye, Powys [accessed 27/02/17]'
- ¹²⁸ www.wbnews.info [accessed 06/02/17]'
- ¹²⁹ Richard Stone: Archaeological works on the east side of Church Road, Eardisley: *TWNFC*, Vol. L, 2001, also Samantha Letters, *Online gazetteer of markets and fairs in England and Wales to 1516* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>: [Herefordshire] (last updated 16/12/2013).
- ¹³⁰ Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, p.72
- ¹³¹ TNA, C11/876/9.
- ¹³² HA Report 293; N. Baker, 'Archaeological excavation at Eardisley Castle', in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.69-84.
- ¹³³ Malcolm Mason, 'The parish of Eardisley: land, people and settlement, in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.1-16, p.7.
- ¹³⁴ Coplestone-Crow, 'Baskervilles of Eardisley', p.20.
- ¹³⁵ Coplestone-Crow, 'Baskervilles of Eardisley', pp.21-22; Martin and Anne Roseveare, 'The geophysical studies of Eardisley Castle', in in Mason (ed.), *Eardisley's early history*, pp.49-68, pp. 57, 65, 67; Baker, 'Archaeological investigation', p.73; Ratkai, 'Pottery', p.87.
- ¹³⁶ Calendar of ipms, Henry VII, ii. No. 112 cited by Coplestone-Crow, 'Baskervilles of Eardisley', p.37.
- ¹³⁷ TNA, C 115/75 part 26, no. 22
- ¹³⁸ Pevsner & Brooks: *Herefordshire*, p.677.
- ¹³⁹ Coplestone-Crow: *Herefordshire place-names*, p.89.
- ¹⁴⁰ EHG, Transcription of 'Ancient Deeds' by Mrs M. Hall p.92 and TNA, C54/2403 no. 40.
- ¹⁴¹ TNA Calendar of Close Rolls Edw. III C.R. Vol. 14, pp.291-301 & p.490.
- ¹⁴² see TNA. C 13/2779/56 and C 15/750/E68; two Chancery cases from 1818 & 1860 where the rights of commoners in Kingswood are detailed. Also Parry, *Kington*, pp.279-286 regarding a Chancery suit by copyholders in 1620 which resulted in the Lord Chancellor affirming that the ancient rights of the commons attaching to their tenancies should 'for ever after stand'.
- ¹⁴³ Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (Yale, 1999), pp.85-87.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.87 citing M. A. S. Hume & R. Tyler (eds.), *Calendar of state papers, Spanish*, vols. ix, x and xi (London, 1912-14),

¹⁴⁵ e.g. TNA, STAC 3/9/103 and TNA, MAF 1/548: Kingswood Inclosure Act.

¹⁴⁶ e.g. TNA, Pipe roll 34 Henry II, 214 dated 1188; TNA, C 142/13/1 dated 1499.

¹⁴⁷ There are cropmarks to the east of Welshwood Farm that overlap the house site. Herefordshire SMR 31363. Google Earth imagery 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Mason (ed.), Eardisley's early history, p.99

¹⁴⁹ C. J. Boylett, 'Woods Eaves', private paper, 2018, pp.41-4.

A touch of nostalgia: Greenlands

By JOHN C. EISEL

One of the most iconic and extensive businesses in Hereford was that of Greenlands Ltd., which closed almost fifty years ago but is still remembered with affection by an older generation of Herefordians. The main premises of the firm occupied a major site on the south side of High Town, where Marks and Spencer's store now stands, but other parts of the business operated on different sites within the city. In this paper the development of the business is discussed, and the story of its demise in the late 1960s is told.

ORIGINS

Greenlands, one of the most important and well-known businesses in Hereford in the twentieth century, had indirect connections that can be traced back into the eighteenth century, but its direct line starts in 1831, when George Sheward set up a draper's business at 8 High Street.¹ His initial advert, which appeared in the *Hereford Journal (HJ)* on 6 March 1831, makes it clear that this was a new business, and that he was a 'Linen and Woollen Draper, Mercer, Hosier, Haberdasher etc.' The business seems to have prospered, and at the end of an advert in the *HJ* of 12 October 1831, he stated that an apprentice was wanted. George Sheward ran his business for about 20 years, until his death in 1850.² His widow evidently did not feel that she could continue successfully, and on 9 April 1851 she advertised in the *HJ* that she had sold her late husband's business to Robert Barrett and Thomas Smerdon. Stock-taking was taking place, and it was stated that the shop would reopen on 12 April. Robert Barrett was a local man, while Thomas Smerdon was born in Gloucestershire. His father Richard was born in Ashburton, Devon, and was an Excise Officer: at the time of Thomas's birth about the year 1826 his father was working in Gloucester, but moved to Topsham, Devon in the 1840s where he remained until his death.³ Almost immediately the firm placed an advert in Lascelle's directory of Herefordshire, which was published later in 1851, thanking customers for the encouragement that had been received since taking over the business. This indicates the scope of the business in the drapery line, including provision for family mourning, which was much in vogue at the time, and also advertising their funeral services.

Clearly the business prospered, as in January 1856 and later it was announced that Barrett and Smerdon had taken the old-established draper's business at 2 and 3 High Street, then being run by Mr Thomas Probert, but formerly, for many years, in the occupation of Mr W.M. Gibbs.⁴ It seems that the purpose of buying this business was to close it down and reduce opposition, as



8, HIGH STREET, HEREFORD.
BARRETT & SMERDON,
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.
LINEN & WOOLLEN DRAPERS,
SILK MERCERS,
HOSIERS & HATTERS.
A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF
FAMILY MOURNING;
FUNERALS
Undertaken and Conducted with Care and Economy.

B. and S. gratefully acknowledge the encouragement they have received since taking to the business of the late Mr. G. SHEWARD, and beg to assure their Friends and the Public, that by making their Purchases at the best Markets for Cash, and by contenting themselves with very Moderate Profits, to deserve and secure a continuance of the same.

Figure 1. Barrett and Smerdon placed this advert in Lascelle's directory of 1851 within a few months of taking over the business of the later George Sheward.

Barrett and Smerdon did not move into the premises nor did they run it as a part of their business at 8 High Street; Probert's stock was sold at a discount and the premises at 2 & 3 High Street were subsequently used by other businesses.

Shortly after, Barrett and Smerdon had the opportunity to expand into the adjoining 7 High Street. Late in 1856 this was still occupied by Webb and Bosley, tea dealers, and by Charles Reeves, jeweller and clock maker.⁵ However, both businesses soon changed premises, Webb and Bosley moving further along High Street, and then Charles Reeves advertised in the *HJ* on 21 January 1857 that he had moved to premises almost opposite Webb and Bosley.⁶ The vacant shop at 7 High Street was taken over by Barrett and Smerdon and on 22 April 1857 they advertised in the *HJ* that they had taken over the premises formerly occupied by Mr Reeves, and that alterations would be complete in a few days. The alterations included a fine new shop front, an engraving of which appeared in an advert less than three months later.⁷

GEORGE GREENLAND COMES TO HEREFORD

Thomas Smerdon died on 19 January 1860 at the early age of 32, and two months later Robert Barrett advertised that he had taken the whole of the business, and that he would reopen on Saturday 7 March 1860.⁸ It was not long before he took his next business partner, and an advert in the *Hereford Times (HT)* of 21 April 1860 announced that he had formed a partnership with George Greenland, and that the business would close on 24 April and reopen on 28 April.

George Buckland Greenland was a native of Devizes, Wiltshire, who was then 34 years of age. He seems to have been the person of that name who was living with his father at Chesham, Buckinghamshire, at the time of the 1841 census. In 1851 he was living with the family of Samuel Bentall, a draper and silk maker in Newbury, for whom he was working as an assistant and to whom he may have been previously apprenticed. A later description of how he came to Hereford states:

It was contrary to his elder brother's advice he came here as a working partner to the late Mr. George [*sic*] Barrett, who was rather old-fashioned in his notion of doing things, so he was slightly handicapped at the beginning. But it was Mr. Barrett who laid the foundation upon which Mr. Greenland has built a business of which any man might be proud.⁹

Frustratingly, at present nothing has been found to indicate how the partnership came about. Certainly the partnership much improved George Greenland's prospects, and he married Mary Bance, eldest daughter of Mr William Bance, at Huddersfield, on 30 June 1860.¹⁰ William Bance had been in a good way of business in the drapery line at Newbury but retired in 1858, leaving the business in the hands of his two sons, and moved to Huddersfield, where he acted as a buyer for the business.¹¹ It would be expected that Mary Bance had moved to Huddersfield with her father, in which case George Greenland seems likely to have had a romantic attachment before she left Newbury.

The main thrust of Barrett and Greenland's business was in buying up stocks of other drapers who had run into financial difficulties, some from a long way away, and selling this at discount prices, and several such purchases were advertised.¹² This was fairly high risk strategy, and on 8 and 15 June 1861 Barrett and Greenland felt it necessary to put a large advert in the *HT*

which referred to slanderous reports that were circulating to the effect that Barrett and Greenland were about to offer a composition to their creditors. The advert stated unequivocally that any claims sent in to them would be paid in full. Less than a year later the street was renumbered, and what was 7&8 High Street became 1 High Street, reflecting that fact that it was then a single shop in one ownership. In 1863 the business was doing well enough to employ a number of assistants. In February 1863 George Greenland, draper, gave evidence in a court case in the County Court, relating to a dispute between Woolley and Watkins, drapers, and a former apprentice, over the duties of an apprentice. The matter in dispute is not relevant here, but in his evidence Greenland stated that he had 12 or 13 assistants in his shop, and that he had served as an apprentice himself.¹³

In June 1863 there was a sad occurrence, which throws a little light on the business at the time. After the shop closed at 8 p.m. on 18 June Edward Reed, an assistant, together with the cashier and another assistant, went to bathe in the river Wye near Belmont, where unfortunately Edward Reed was drowned. Evidence given at the inquest which took place at the Saracen's Head the following day proved that Reed had been working at Barrett and Greenland's for about four months, that he was nineteen years old, and that his parents lived in Soham, Cambridgeshire, although he was understood to have had relatives in Hereford, no doubt the reason for seeking work in the city. It was entirely appropriate that Barrett and Greenland were the undertakers for the funeral on 22 June, Robert Barrett following the *cortège*, with John Bowers, cabinet-maker, of Catherine Street, who made the coffin.¹⁴ Although not advertised as such, undertaking was a major part of the business, and continued to be so.¹⁵

The move to 1 High Street seems to have been beneficial, and business prospered. The first expansion of the business took place in 1871, and was in line with its philosophy. An advert in the *Ross Gazette* on 25 May 1871 stated that Barrett and Greenland had bought the whole stock of Mr Thomas Bliss of Ross at discount prices, also part of the stock of a firm of Manchester warehousemen under a deed of assignment, and that the sale would commence at Ross at 1 p.m. on 1 June 1871. This seems to have been successful, and a decision was made to open a proper branch in Ross, under the names of Barrett and Greenland. Another advert in the *Ross Gazette* on 17 August 1871 stated that the shop at 10 High Street, Ross, carried a stock of general drapery, and that the manager was Thomas Bliss.¹⁶ The business was of a competitive nature, and within a few years was supplying men's and boys' clothing to the Ross

10 HEREFORD COMMERCIAL PROSPECTUSES.

BARRETT & GREENLAND,
LINEN AND WOOLLEN DRAPERS,
SILK MERCERS, HOSIERS, GLOVERS,
AND
CARPET WAREHOUSEMEN.

THEIR
SPACIOUS SHOW ROOMS
WILL, EACH SEASON, BE FOUND REPLETE WITH THE
LEADING NOVELTIES
In Silks, Costumes, Jackets, Waterproof Cloaks, Millinery, Baby
Linen, Ladies' Underclothing, &c.

IN THE
FURNISHING DEPARTMENT
They have always a LARGE STOCK of Brussels, Tapestry,
Kidderminster, Dutch, and Stair Carpets, Patent Felts,
Floor Cloths, Hearth Rugs, Wool and Coco-Nut
Mats and Matting, Muslin Curtains, Wool
Reps, Damasks, Table Covers, &c.
Carpets and Floor Cloths Planned and Fitted by Experienced Workmen.

EVERY KIND OF FAMILY MOURNING SUPPLIED.
FUNERALS CONDUCTED WITH THE STRICTEST
REGARD TO ECONOMY.

1 HIGH STREET, HEREFORD,
AND
10 HIGH STREET, ROSS.

Figure 2. This large advert appeared in the commercial prospectus at the end of Littlebury's directory of 1876, and shows the scope of the business at that period (Frank Bennett).

Board of Guardians, as well as shrouds.¹⁷ This branch survived for a number of years and was last mentioned in a directory in 1895. A number of adverts appeared in the *Ross Gazette* in 1896 and 1897, but seem to stop with an advert for new dress fashions that appeared on 5 & 12 May 1898: no notice of closure of the business has yet been found. However, it is not mentioned in Kelly's directory of 1900 so seems to have closed soon after the last advert.

GEORGE GEENLAND ON HIS OWN

Robert Barrett died on 23 December 1874 at his residence, Haywood Lodge, White Cross Road, and the business was taken over by George Greenland, who advertised in the *HJ* of 16 January 1875 that the business belonged solely to him. It evidently prospered, as within a few years he was able to pay out the executors of his former partner and subsequently purchase the premises.¹⁸ Despite George Greenland being the sole owner, for the next ten years the firm still traded under the joint names of Barrett and Greenland, and this was not changed until a disaster struck the firm early in 1885. The start of the usual winter sale was publicised on 3 January 1885 in both the Hereford papers, the continuation of which was advertised the following week. However, soon afterwards the front part of the premises at 1 High Street was damaged by a fire which, curiously enough, does not seem to have been reported, even though it also damaged Mr Baker's tailor's, hatter's and outfitting business next door at 2 High Street. Mr Baker moved over the road to temporary premises at High Street corner, where HSBC bank now stands, but seems to have liked the location as he stayed there.¹⁹ While their new premises were being built George Greenland ran his business from temporary premises in the Albion Hotel at 13 Widemarsh Street, where the business reopened with new stock on 2 February 1885, the advert in the local papers announcing this concluding 'Their staff of DRESSMAKERS will be in FULL WORK at 13 WIDEMARSH STREET on MONDAY NEXT.'²⁰ Evidently the business already employed quite a number of persons in this line of business. The advert was also careful to state that all orders would be received and promptly executed at their back premises at 48 West Street or the branch in Ross.²¹

It was in circumstances such as these that George Greenland showed his mettle. It was later said of him:

He was a man of indomitable energy and perseverance, most just and courteous in all his dealings with his fellow men, and these were the important factors that established his success. As an instance of the way in which he surmounted difficulties, may be cited the serious conflagration which occurred at his establishment in 1885, when very considerable damage was done. Mr. Greenland soon had the builders at work, and it was not long ere premises were erected suitable to his growing needs, and these from time to time have been extensively added to and enlarged.²²

Plans for new shop premises were drawn up by local architect W.W. Robinson, which were dated March 1885, and these were approved at a meeting of the Roads Committee on 31 March 1885.²³ The new premises were completed in a remarkably short time, and a grand clearance sale at the Widemarsh Street premises was advertised to start on 8 July, the adverts stating that it was hoped to recommence business at the new premises at 1 High Street early in September.²⁴ Builders must have been more reliable then, as the business recommenced on 2 September under

George Greenland's name alone, being described as 'late Barrett and Greenland.'²⁵ This may not have been the original intention as the plan drawn up for the splendid new front of the shop still had the old title displayed above the shop window.²⁶

George Greenland was justifiably proud of his new premises, and in January 1886 he advertised the first winter sale to be held there, and the following year the second winter sale to be held there, the premises still being described as new.²⁷ Business seems to have improved to such an extent that on 27 February 1886 George Greenland advertised in the *HT* that he now held the largest stock of new goods that he had ever shown, a claim repeated in the *HJ* on 10 April 1886. Evidently he wished to expand, as on 31 December 1887 he announced in the *HT* that he had bought the business and stock in trade of the late Mr E.J. Symonds, a former competitor who had had premises at 31 High Town, and he would be selling off all Symond's stock, including linens, curtains, carpets, as well as a large quantity of cabinet furniture, and iron and brass bedsteads, in many cases at less than half price, to make room for an extensive new stock of household furniture and every requisite for house furnishing.²⁸ This new departure was the beginning of the expansion of the business into a number of related fields. The advert was repeated the following week, when there was also an advert by Augustus C. Edwards to the customers of the late E. J. Symonds, which pointed out that the late business was to be carried on as household furniture and carpets only, and called attention to his own stock of silks, dresses etc. at 17 and 18 High Town, where he had lately extended his drapery and other workrooms. A week later George Greenland advertised in the *HT* that the sale of Symonds' stock would commence on 18 January 1888. This sale must have gone well, as the new premises were opened by Greenland on 28 March, with what was described as a large and choice stock of artistic and general house furniture.²⁹

It is clear that George Greenland took every opportunity to expand into adjoining premises, and in 1885 he had bought the remaining lease of 34 High Town, with an option to buy the premises at valuation, together with two cottages to the rear in West Street. The shop was tenanted by the ironmongers H. Baker and Co.³⁰ Then in 1891 he took the opportunity to buy from Messrs Charles and Alfred Watkins and their mortgagees the brewhouse and stable of the Grapes Inn, in West Street (what is now the west part of East Street, between Church Street and Broad Street.) Adjoining the west side of the Grapes, this had a frontage to West Street of just over 11 feet.³¹ However, the position was critical, and it enabled George Greenland to develop his premises in this location. Plans were drawn up by W.W. Robinson in September 1892 and these were approved by the Roads Committee on 1 November 1892. The rear premises were designed as workshops: on the ground floor there was a van room with access to West Street, with a room for the storage of sold goods beyond, on the first floor was a cabinet-making workshop and polishing shop, and on the second floor was an upholstery room and stuffing room.³²

Also in 1891 he bought the shop at 1 High Street. Up to that period it had evidently only been leased, being part of the estate of the late Robert Barrett. On the death of his sister the trustees of Robert Barrett's will decided to offer the property for sale by auction. Orlando Shellard, a local estate and auctioneer, was commissioned to do this, and inserted a preliminary notice in the *HT* on 7 February 1891 and a full description of the property the following week.

The front of the house embracing the portion used for the business was entirely re-built in the most substantial style in 1885, ...There is a back entrance from

West-street, and two small DWELLING-HOUSES, being Nos 47 and 48 WEST-STREET. ...

The Business carried on upon the premises was established in the last century, and is one of the largest in the Drapery, Mercery, and Dress-making line in Herefordshire. It has been carried on with great success, for many years, by Mr Greenland, and previously by the late Mr Barrett.³³

At the auction on 3 March 1891 the property was bought by George Greenland, although no report of this seems to have been published in the local press.³⁴ The following year the business was formed into a limited company.³⁵

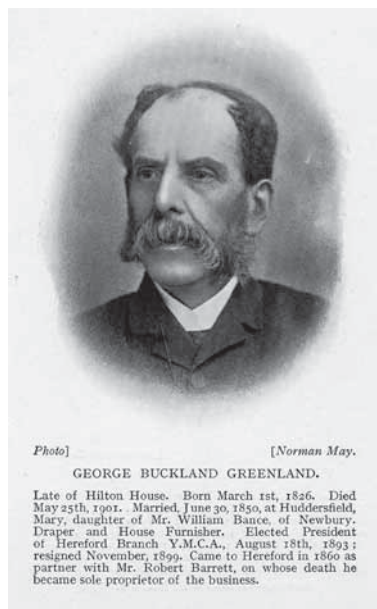
As the business prospered it needed more room and in 1899 the option to buy 34 High Town was exercised. This was demolished, together with the rear part of 1 High Street, and rebuilt, the front mirroring that of 1 High Street, so that the building appeared to be of one period.³⁶ The preliminaries for this work are dated by an advert that appeared in the *HT* on 14 January 1899, publicising a clearance sale to take place prior to rebuilding and enlargement of premises.

Plans for the new premises were drawn up by W.W. Robinson, and these were approved at a meeting of the Roads Committee on 1 August 1899. The plans show that not only 34 High Town was to be rebuilt but also the cottages to the rear of both plots.³⁷ Meanwhile, on 24 June 1899 an advert requesting tenders for extensive building work for Messrs Greenlands Ltd. appeared in the *HT*, emphasising that speed was important in performing the contract. The old premises were demolished and new foundations excavated, with provision for a basement. These excavations revealed evidence of the old city ditch, and a depth of some 20 feet below ground level oak slabs were discovered, which Walter Pilley interpreted as parts of the palisade of the earlier enclosure.³⁸

George Buckland Greenland died on 25 May 1901 at the age of 75 and the funeral service took place on 30 May at Holy Trinity Church. Despite never having served in any



Figure 3. An early photograph of 34 High Town and 1 High Street, the façade of the former mirroring that of the latter. (Derek Foxtan)



Photo]

[Norman May.

GEORGE BUCKLAND GREENLAND.

Late of Hilton House. Born March 1st, 1826. Died May 25th, 1901. Married, June 30, 1850, at Huddersfield, Mary, daughter of Mr. William Bance, of Newbury. Draper and House Furnisher. Elected President of Hereford Branch Y.M.C.A., August 18th, 1893; resigned November, 1899. Came to Hereford in 1866 as partner with Mr. Robert Barrett, on whose death he became sole proprietor of the business.

public office, such was the respect in which he was held that mourning shutters were in place in front of most of the principal business establishments in the city. There was a large attendance at the funeral, which included all of the employees of Messrs Greenland Ltd., and a number of gentlemen who represented the drapers of the city and other tradesmen. There were also present about 25 representatives of the Y.M.C.A., of which he had served as treasurer, and in which he had a deep interest. He had also supported the work of the Y.W.C.A.³⁹

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The range of the business at the time of the death of George Greenland in 1901 was encapsulated in the entry in Jakeman and Carver's directory of 1902.

Greenlands Limited, house furnishers, furniture removers, cabinet makers, upholsterers, funeral furnishers, drapers, silk mercers, costumiers, &c., 31 and 34, High Town, and 1, High Street.

Thus the company had been developed greatly from its origins as a draper's business, but that was still a major part of the business. A block advert in Jakeman and Carver's directory of 1902 claimed that it was still 'The largest Drapery Establishment in the County.' It seems likely that the furniture removals, cabinet making and upholstery business was carried out in the rear premises backing onto West Street, clearly not very suitable because of limited space, and the company addressed this by expansion under the direction of George Greenland's sons. At the time of his death in 1901 three of these were on the board of the company—George Bance who became chairman of the board, with Alfred and Henry (Harry) as the other directors, Frank Greenland, the youngest son, joining at a later date.⁴⁰ The expansion of the company in the twentieth century owes much to this generation of the Greenland family.⁴¹

In 1903 a site adjoining the Hop Pole Inn, fronting onto Commercial Road, was bought from the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious, together with a range of cottages to the

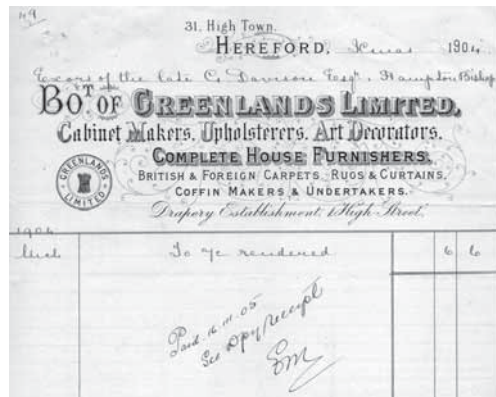


Figure 5. A billhead of 1904, advertising the services that were offered. (Frank Bennett)



Figure 6. A view of the repository in Commercial Road, taken soon after it was completed. The sale of antique furniture is advertised on the ground floor windows. (Derek Foxton)

rear.⁴² Plans for a furniture repository were drawn up by W.W. Robinson, and approved at a meeting of the Roads and Buildings Committee on 1 September 1903. These show that behind the brick and terracotta façade is hidden Hereford's first steel-framed building. A few years later Greenlands took the opportunity to expand the site: in 1916 William Bowers, the well-known local builder, bought nos. 3-6, 9 and 10 Kyrle Street, and he sold on nos. 3-6 on to Greenlands Ltd, which gave rear access to the site from Kyrle Street.⁴³ Meanwhile, in 1907 a cabinet-making facility was set up in Foley Street, to which additions were made in 1919, and this formed an integral part of the business for some 60 years.⁴⁴ Over the years the emphasis at the Foley Street works varied between cabinet making, upholstery, and manufactory of bedding, all of these activities being recorded in the *HJ* directory of 1912.

After the closure of the Ross branch in the late 1890s the business was concentrated in Hereford, but it evidently thought there were opportunities further afield, and in 1912 a branch was opened in Llandrindod Wells, which survived until the eventual demise of the firm.⁴⁵

EXPANSION IN HIGH TOWN

Greenlands was best known for its extensive frontage onto High Town, which was mainly developed in the first third of the twentieth century. This is illustrated by the table of occupants as listed in trade directories, not the same as a list of owners. This, of course, gives only the outline, to which more detail can be added. Thus, for instance, 30 High Town had been occupied by Stead and Simpson's shoe shop since at least 1885. In 1906 Greenlands bought the premises from Mr William Davies, but Stead and Simpson continued to trade from there until at least 1917; by 1922 Greenlands had taken the premises in hand.⁴⁶ By 1909 33 High Town was leased by the business, and on 9 January 1909 Greenlands advertised in the *HT* that alterations and additions would be made to the furniture department, and that to avoid damaging stock a rebuilding sale would begin on Monday 11 January 1909. This must have been as a result of taking over 33 High Town. The shop was held under a lease with an option to buy, an option that was exercised in 1927.⁴⁷

The extent of the property owned by Greenlands is shown by the map accompanying the 1910 Land Evaluation. At that time nos. 30, 31, 32 and 34 High Town and 1 High Street were owned by the company, which also occupied 33 High Town. The company also owned 40 & 41 Church Street and rented nos. 42-44 Church Street from the Custos and College of Vicars Choral, finally buying nos. 42-44 in 1924.⁴⁸ This premises occupied the west side of Church Street, between 29 High Town and the Grapes Tavern and from here the company dealt in antiques.⁴⁹



Figure 8. An undated photograph showing a fire in the upper floor of No. 29 High Town, providing entertainment for numerous spectators. The adjoining façade indicates that this took place between 1927 and 1931. (Derek Foxton)

<i>Directory</i>	<i>28 High Town</i>	<i>29 High Town</i>	<i>30 High Town</i>	<i>31 High Town</i>	<i>32 High Town</i>	<i>33 High Town</i>	<i>34 High Town</i>	<i>1 High Street</i>
1890 Jakeman and Carver	(Hatton & Co. Ant. Dirs)	Mrs. Sarah Adams	(Stead & Simpson)	Greenlands	(Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer)	(W. Warburton, chemist / F. & R. Sievers, surgeon dentists)	(H. Baker & Co. ironmongers)	Greenlands
1895 Kelly, Herefordshire	Hatton & Co. Ant. dirs	Adams and Sons	Stead & Simpson	Greenlands	Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	W. Warburton, chemist / F. & R. Sievers, surgeon dentists	H. Baker & Co. ironmongers	Greenlands
1900 Kelly, Herefordshire	Boots	Adams and Sons	Stead & Simpson	Greenlands	Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	W. Warburton, chemist / F. & R. Sievers, surgeon dentists	Greenlands	Greenlands
1902 Jakeman and Carver	Boots	Adams and Sons	Stead & Simpson	Greenlands	Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	W. Warburton, chemist / R. Sievers, surgeon dentist.	(Greenlands)	Greenlands
1905 Kelly, Herefordshire	Boots	Adams and Sons	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	W. Warburton, chemist / R. Sievers, surgeon dentist	Greenlands	Greenlands
1909 Kelly, Herefordshire	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers, confectioner.	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1912 Hereford Journal	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers, confectioner	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1913 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers, confectioner	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	*Hy. R. Rogers, fruiterer.	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1914 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers & sons	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1917 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers & sons	Stead and Simpson	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1922 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Hy. R. Rogers & sons	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1926 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1928/9 Kelly Hereford	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1929 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1934 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1934/5 Kelly Hereford	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1937 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1939 Kelly Hereford	Boots	Scott & Watts, radio dealers	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1941 Kelly Herefordshire	Boots	(not found)	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands
1950-51 Hereford	Boots	Dollond and Aitchison	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands	Greenlands

Figure 7. The occupiers of the various properties on the south side of High Town, as listed in successive trade directories, clearly demonstrates how Greenlands came to dominate this part of High Town.

By 1912 32 High Town had been taken in hand from Henry R. Rogers, a fruiterer, who also traded from 29 High Town as a confectioner.⁵⁰ 29 High Town too had been taken over by Greenlands by 1926, so that the company occupied 29-34 High Town and 1 High Street—all of the south side of High Town between Boots Passage (as the narrow part of Church Street is known to Herefordians) and High Street. However, by 1939 Greenlands had given up 29 High Town, which no doubt would have been rented. Owning the freehold of nos. 30-33 High Town, which was completed by the acquisition of 33 High Town in 1927, enabled a new store to be developed, adjacent to the relatively new premises at 34 High Town and 1 High Street, sweeping away a complex of buildings between High Town and East Street.

This development also included nos. 42-44 Church Street, nos. 40 & 41 having been previously redeveloped.⁵¹ After the acquisition of 33 High Town improvements were set in hand, and when Greenlands Ltd advertised their 'Early Autumn Fashion Exhibition' in the *HT* on 3 September 1927, the advert went on to say:

Attention is drawn to the fact that Greenlands Ltd have recently made extensive structural alterations, with the result they now have one of the finest Blouse and Outfitting Showrooms in the West of England.

Part of this project seems to have been the installation of new fire escape, publicised in the *HT* on 13 August 1927, with a photograph showing a lady member of staff being lowered on what was described as an 'automatic controlled covered steel cable'. Then, on 10 September 1927, the opening of the new Hereford automatic telephone exchange gave the company the opportunity to place a large advert in the *HT*, publicising the new numbers to ring. It also listed the various departments and stating that the company had a staff of 250 which included directors, managers and assistants. This was followed up on 26 November 1927 by a long article, which gave much of the history of the company, in some cases slightly inaccurately, the heading incorrectly suggesting that that the firm had been in existence for 70 years. This article also indicated that at peak times the company employed up to 300 persons.⁵²

Then, in 1931, the decision was made to remodel the frontage of 30-33 High Town. This took about four months, and was almost completed when on 2 January 1932 Greenlands advertised a grand re-opening sale, to commence on 6 January. A news item in the same issue of the *HT* reported that the front now had three handsome arcades and that the work was carried out by the local firm builders of Messrs W. J. Bowers, stating

A large quantity of steel was used, with all other material, being entirely British.'
There is perhaps a lesson to be learnt here!

CHRISTMAS AT GREENLANDS

Those who remember Christmas at Greenlands always reminisce about the celebrations and visiting Father Christmas in the basement of the premises, a custom established for many years. The commercial ploy of having Father Christmas present as a stimulus to trade, however, was not one initiated by the firm: in the 1890s and into the early 1900s King and Sons, a firm in a large way of business as drapers at London House, 3 & 4 Commercial Street, regularly advertised a grand Christmas Bazaar, with Santa Claus being present. At the same period Greenlands' adverts were of a somewhat pedestrian nature, for a variety of useful articles in drapery and house furnishings, said to be suitable for Christmas presents.⁵³

But it seems that the directors of Greenlands thought there were possibilities in the idea, part of the expansion in the early twentieth century.⁵⁴ On 5 December 1903 the opening of a new show room in the basement was publicised in the *HT*. This was lit by electric light, and there was everything suitable for presents for ladies, gentlemen, and children. This was developed the following year, and the *HT* on 10 December 1904 carried a large advertisement by Greenlands publicised the children's presents that could be bought, with toys costing from 1d. to 30s., stating 'All toys perfectly new. This department only opened this season.'

In 1907, for the first time, there was publicity that Father Christmas would be there in his 'Snow Clad Village House.'⁵⁵ At this time publicity was no longer made for King & Sons Christmas Bazaar, leaving the way open for Greenlands, who developed the Christmas theme in succeeding years. So, for instance, on 27 November 1909 the *HT* carried a large advert, promoting Greenlands Ltd. as a great centre for Christmas presents, saying that a huge toy bazaar was open and that 'all children who visit it will enjoy themselves so much that they won't easily forget it. There are Novelties in Toys and Games of every kind, and Santa Claus will be there.' A week later there was a long and eulogistic description of Greenlands preparations for Christmas, and the toys that were on offer. With all this a tradition started, which survived until the final closure of Greenlands many years later.

OTHER ENTERPRISES

Although the business began as a draper's, it will be seen above how it was developed into other areas, including furniture and furnishings. Just before the First World War Greenlands branched out into dealing in antiques, firstly from the repository in Commercial Road and then in the Church Street frontage, and this continued until the mid 1930s.⁵⁶ However, by 1934-5 part of these premises were being used by the estate agency business, which was evidently found to be more profitable, as by 1939 the premises were used solely for the estate agent's and auctioneer's side of the business.⁵⁷ Estate agency and auctioneering had been part of the business since at least 1909, but, like the on-going undertaking business, seems to have been previously operated from within one of the main departments fronting onto High Town.⁵⁸

Not only did Greenlands deal in antique furniture but also in second-hand furniture. This is first mentioned in Kelly's directory in 1917, with premises at 13 Commercial Street, but subsequently the operation was moved to premises on the corner of Offa Street and St Peter's Square (where Sunderlands estate agent's business is now).⁵⁹ This use continued until at least 1960.

As the business grew there was clearly a need for storage space, and by 1927 Greenlands had taken over 117 St Owen Street, using this as a warehouse. This was Chandos House, which had formerly been used by the Hereford High School for Girls.⁶⁰ This continued to be used as a warehouse until the beginning of World War II.

With the expansion of the business there was an inevitable increase in staff, and in the late



Figure 9. An advert for the sale of antiques by Greenlands, probably dating from the 1920s or '30s. (Frank Bennett)

1930s Greenlands opened a staff hostel at 6 St John Street: in 1937 a Mrs A. Dance was matron, while in 1939 Mrs E. Lawrence was housekeeper. This hostel would have been mainly designed for the lady members of staff who were employed in dressmaking and suchlike, and survived the war years, still being recorded in a directory in 1960.

THE POST-WAR SITUATION

Greenlands Ltd seems to have escaped the war relatively unscathed as a business, although one of the directors, Frank Greenland, died in August 1943 as a result of a cycling accident while returning from playing golf at Wormsley.⁶¹ Then George Bance Greenland died on 5 February 1945, a few days short of his 82nd birthday. Unlike his father, George Bance Greenland played a significant role in the public life of the city. Having been elected to the city council in 1908, he was three times mayor of the city, and appointed an alderman in 1921. From 1918 until he resigned in 1936 he was chairman of the housing committee, during which time many houses were built within the city. At the time of his death the remaining directors of Greenlands Ltd. were Alfred Greenland and Harry Greenland of that generation, Noel Greenland and Aubrey Greenland of the next, and Mr W. H. Pinniger.⁶² The chairmanship of the company was taken over by Alfred Greenland, who held it until his death in 1953. Like his father he was much involved with the Y.M.C.A., and was treasurer for nearly 50 years, only retiring in 1951. In 1942 a hall had been built to the rear of the Y.M.C.A. premises in St Owen Street, which was named Greenland Hall in recognition of his services to the movement.⁶³

The extent of Greenlands at this period is listed in the commercial section of the 1950-1 trade directory of Hereford:

GREENLANDS LTD., 30-33 High Town, House Furnishers; 34, High Town, Drapers; 60 Commercial Road, Furniture Removals; Foley Street, Bedding Factory; 1, High Street, Drapers; Offa Street, Secondhand Furniture; St. Owen Street, Secondhand Furniture; 4-7 West Street, Repository; Auctioneers, Valuers and Estate Agents. Phones: 2366-7-8.

4-7 West Street was the rear premises of the High Town frontage, adjacent to the Grapes Tavern.

In the 1950s the business was generally in a sound state, with over 200 employees and still a branch in Llandrindod Wells.⁶⁴ At this period a cycle department was added at 92 East Street (just round the corner from the staff hostel in St John Street), and confidence was such that a new sale room was built adjoining the depository in Commercial Road, an advert in the *HT* on 7 January 1955 stating that it was 'specially built and just completed for Greenlands Limited.'⁶⁵ Care was taken to match the front of the new building to the front of the depository, but the side elevation shows that it too was steel-framed.

By the early 1960s economic circumstances had changed for the worse, and perhaps because of the diverse nature of the business it was struggling. Rumours about its future were rife in the city, and on 3 February 1967 the *HT* carried a denial of the rumour that Greenlands had been sold to Messrs Marks and Spencer. However, it seems that contingency plans were being made, and in the summer of 1967 a planning application was made to redevelop the High Town site for Greenlands Ltd., which was approved by the planning committee in November 1967.⁶⁶ This apparent optimism was in marked contrast to a report that appeared in the *HT* on 3 November

1967, announcing the closure of the Foley Street cabinet-making works. This would be effective from the end of January 1968, and about 24 employees from the cabinet-making, polishing and upholstery staff would lose their jobs, but the report was careful to state that the removal staff would not be effective. In making the announcement Mr Noel Greenland, the managing director, stated that the works had lost a great deal of money in the previous 20 years.

Speculation about a possible take-over continued until the news broke in the *HT* on 19 July 1968, when it was reported that Marks and Spencer had made an offer for the freehold premises in High Town. The directors, including Mr Noel Greenland, were recommending that the offer be accepted. Notice of an extraordinary general meeting was sent out to shareholders, accompanied by a personal letter from Mr Noel Greenland, which included the following:

‘Having regard to the difficulties experienced in trading over the last two years, and the increased overheads which the Company must face in the future, my Board had no alternative but to arrive at this decision.’⁶⁷

Inevitably, when the meeting was held on 31 July 1968 the offer of £350,000 for the premises was accepted by the shareholders, with one dissentient vote. As the sale was not due for completion until 1 June 1969 this gave plenty of time for an orderly run down of the business. It was decided that the business would be run in the usual way until the following March when the remaining properties of the business, including the warehouse in Commercial Road, would be sold, and the company be put into voluntary liquidation.⁶⁸

To reinforce that the company was still trading, on 16 August 1968 the *HT* carried an advert for school wear, and in the same issue there was an advert stating that the company would be trading as usual until after the following Christmas.

On 8 November 1968 an advert appeared in the *HT*, announcing for the final time the arrival of Father Christmas the following day, and going on to say:

The children will be thrilled to meet FATHER CHRISTMAS and ALICE IN WONDERLAND at THE MAD HATTER’S TEA PARTY. Bring them to see the Fairytale Wonderland of our Sparkling Toy Fair.

The excitement engendered must have been mixed with sadness at the realisation that this would be for the last time, after a history of more than 60 years, during which much pleasure had been given to several generations of children.

After the Christmas celebrations in 1968 there was the usual Winter Clearance Sale, which began on 4 January 1969, and then the store was run down.⁶⁹ The remaining property was sold



Figure 10. Commercial Road c.1980. The position of the steel frame of the 1950s extension to the sale room side can clearly be seen. At this period the building was being used by the furniture business of I. & J.L. Brown. (Derek Foxton)

and the company wound up. The depository in Commercial Road was subsequently taken over by I. & J.L. Brown, who ran a successful furniture business from there, a business which subsequently moved to Whitestone Business Park and still thrives.⁷⁰

As for Marks and Spencer, on 16 August 1968 it was announced in the *HT* that when possession was obtained on 1 June 1969 the premises would be demolished, under the planning permission obtained on behalf of Greenlands Ltd. the previous year.

When this was implemented, the only part of Greenlands' premises that survived was part of that used by the estate agent's branch of the business in Church Street, which is now part of the Grapes Tavern.



Figure 11. Empty and awaiting demolition, this photograph of c.1969 makes a sad contrast with the formerly thriving business which was based here. (Derek Foxtton)

THE FINAL CURTAIN!

However, it was not yet the end of the name of Greenland in the retail trade. A company called Greenlands (Furnishings), Ltd. was set up by Colin Greenland, great-grandson of George Buckland Greenland, and Cyril Jones, both of whom had worked in the furniture department of Greenlands Ltd., and this began trading from 30 Widemarsh Street, Hereford, on 14 June 1969.⁷¹ This finally closed on 18 July 2003, so that the name of Greenland was no longer connected with the retail trade in Hereford.⁷²

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Inevitably this account relies heavily on newspaper reports and adverts, sourced either on-line or by searching hard copy. The latter was carried out in Herefordshire Archives and Record Centre, and I am grateful to the staff for their help in producing very large bound volumes of the *Hereford Times*, as well as other material. I am very grateful to the *Hereford* for allowing me privileged access to the Greenlands file in the company archive, which enabled me to cross-check my own researches. Dr Derek Foxtton has produced, as ever, some most interesting material to illustrate this paper, which adds a visual impact to the written word, and I express my gratitude for this. Also to Frank Bennett for illustrative material, all of which is acknowledged in the captions.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ At this period the numbering of High Street ran on the south side from 1 (on the corner of Broad Street) to 8, then on the north side from 9 (at the High Town end) to 15 (at the Broad Street end). After the renumbering of most of the streets in the city late in May 1862, numbering began on the south side with 1 at the High Town end, to 9 at the Broad Street end, then 10 by All Saints' church on the north side, to 15 & 16 at the east end of that side of the street. This renumbering caused much bad feeling in the city, since the street number of a relatively high proportion of properties was only altered

by a single number. See *Hereford Journal* (henceforth *HJ*) 21 June 1862. For a resulting court case see *HJ* 21 & 28 June 1862.

² George Sheward died on 23 June 1850, after a few hours illness. (*Hereford Times*—henceforth *HT*—29 June 1850). He was evidently held in high regard, and his funeral was reported in the following terms in *HJ*—of 3 July 1850:

‘MARK OF RESPECT TO A DECEASED CITIZEN.—On Thursday last, on the occasion of the funeral of Mr Geo. Sheward, for many years a highly respected mercer in the High-street, of this city, and whose sudden demise was recorded in our last, the shops in the immediate neighbourhood of his late residence, as well as in the street through which the mournful procession passed, were closed as a tribute of respect to his memory.’

³ Derived from the appropriate census returns. How Thomas Smerdon came to Hereford is not known, but he may well have been related to the ‘Mr Smerdon’ who was living in a rented house on Castle Hill, Hereford in 1846 – see *HT* 23 May 1846. As Thomas Smerdon would have been about 18 at this time, it seems unlikely that this would have been him.

⁴ *HT* 19 January, 9 & 16 February 1856, *HJ* 23 January, 6 & 13 February 1856. The business had been set up on High Street, Hereford, in 1787, by Thomas Gibbs (*HJ* 15 November 1787) and clearly prospered from the start, as in 1789 he bought Dich House, Bromsberrow, where the Gibbs family came from, at that time occupied by his older brother, William Moore Gibbs. Thomas Gibbs died at the age of 46 in 1807 (*HJ* 9 September 1807) and the drapery business was taken on by his nephew, another William Moore Gibbs (christened at Bromsberrow on 25 July 1785). W.M. Gibbs married in 1808 and had at least 15 children, most of whom died in infancy, being buried at Bromsberrow. Like his uncle, William Moore Gibbs prospered and Robson’s *Directory* of 1840 showed that he occupied nos. 2&3 High Street, Hereford and was a ‘Wholesale & Retail Linen & Woollen Draper, Silk Mercer, Hatter, Tailor, & Funerals Furnished.’ In 1842 he bought an area of land in Broomy Hill, Hereford, where he built a large house called Belvedere (often called ‘Belvedere’). Lascelle’s *Directory* of 1851 records that he was then living at this new house ‘Belvadier’ while the mercer’s business was being run by his son Thomas Reuben Gibbs. Thomas Reuben Gibbs died on 17 November 1851 ‘in the very prime of life, to the great grief of his relatives and Friends,..., after a short but severe illness, born with Christian fortitude.’ On 26 November 1851 William Moore Gibbs advertised in the *Hereford Journal* that he was resuming his former business. However, this didn’t last for long, as on 17 March 1852 he advertised that he was retiring and that the business was being taken over by Mr T. Probert. There is also the suspicion of financial problems, or financial dealings, as in 1852 William Moore Gibbs mortgaged his new house and his business premises in High Street, Hereford to the tune of £1,500. In 1859 he paid off the mortgage and sold Belvedere to Peregrine Prince, Esq. (HARC BG20/1-17) In the same year he moved to Richmond Place, and then later to Canon Lodge, Whitecross Road. He died on 25 February 1867 and a long obituary was published in the *HT* of 2 March 1867. He was buried in St Nicholas churchyard, under a large altar tomb. His wife died on 17 May 1873 and was buried in the same grave.

⁵ Webb and Bosley, of the tea warehouse, were still advertising at 7 High Street in *HJ* 5 November 1856, but moved very shortly afterwards.

⁶ In his preliminary adverts (*HJ* 12 November 1856 onwards) Reeves stated that he was removing to the opposite side of the same street, and in his notification of removal (*HJ* 14 January 1857) stated that his new premises were nearly opposite Messrs Webb and Bosley—establishing that Webb and Bosley had also moved, to what became 3 High Street after renumbering in 1862, a move not advertised in the local press. Reeves had moved to what was 12 High Street after renumbering, but because of some division and combination of properties, it is not sure what the number was before the change; interestingly enough, it may also have been 12. (Littlebury’s directory, 1867) Despite Webb and Bosley’s move from 7 High Street late in 1856 or early in 1857, when a cottage in Much Cowarne was advertised for sale in *HT* 8 Sept. 1860, the advert went on to say that particulars could be obtained from Mr Bosley, 7 High Street. Clearly the advertiser had not caught up with the change of address! The positioning of the relevant entry in the 1861 census shows that at that time Webb and Bosley were located in the premises that soon after were renumbered as 3 High Street, suggesting that the business moved directly there in 1857: it is unlikely that there would have been an interim move in a relatively short space of time.. The partnership between Webb and Bosley ended on 31 December 1868, after more than 20 years, and on 1 January 1869 it became Bosley and Marchant. See *HT* 2 January 1869.

⁷ Charles Reeves had moved to 7 High Street in 1844—see *HJ* 17 Jan. 1844. The line engraving appeared in *HT* 11 July 1857, also *HJ* 4 November 1857.

⁸ Smerdon’s death was announced in the *HJ* of 25 Jan. 1860. ‘SMERDON.—Jan. 19, at his residence, St. Owen-street, in this city, after a lingering illness, borne with Christian fortitude, in the 33rd year of his age, Mr. Thomas Smerdon (of the firm of Barrett & Smerdon, drapers, &c.), greatly beloved and esteemed. His end was peace.’ His death was reported in the *Western Times*, 28 January 1860, where it was stated that he was the son of Mr. R. Smerdon of Topsham, enabling the various references to be connected. At the time of his death he was living at 24 St. Owen Street – see *HJ* 8 Feb. 1860. The announcement of Robert Barrett taking over the whole business was made in *HT* Sat. 3 March 1860, where it was

stated that it would reopen on 'Wednesday next' [10 March]. A similar advert in *HJ* Wed. 7 March 1860 also stated that it was reopen on 'Wednesday next', but it seems most likely that 7 March was the correct date.

⁹ *HT* 15 July 1899. An article on Greenlands Ltd which appeared in *HT* 26 November 1927 stated that George Greenland came to Hereford in 1856. However, no contemporary confirmation has been found, and if he came to Hereford to be a partner of Robert Barrett, then it is absolutely certain that it was in 1860. This article also states that the business was at 1 High Street, which did not happen until a year or two after George Greenland was taken into partnership. The statement that George Greenland came to Hereford in 1856 has been repeated – see, for instance, *HT* 3 July 2003 and *HT* 1 March 2018.

¹⁰ Recorded in the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, Sat. 7 July 1860: 'On the 30th ult., at Holy Trinity Church, by the Rev. T. R. Jones, Mr. George Greenland, of Hereford, to Mary, eldest daughter of W. Bance, Esq., of Westfield.' In *Herefordshire Portraits* (1908) p.88 it is stated that George Greenland married at Huddersfield on 30 June 1850, evidently a typographical error.

¹¹ *Reading Mercury*, 13, 20 & 27 March 1858

¹² See, for instance, *HT* 9, 16, 23 February 1861; 27 April, 4 & 11 May 1861; 29 November & 6 December 1862; 31 October 1863

¹³ *HT* 21 February 1863

¹⁴ *HT* 20 & 27 June 1863, *HJ* 27 June 1863

¹⁵ At this period the term 'undertaker' was still used in its most general sense meaning a contractor. So if a person was described as an undertaker, this did not necessarily indicate that he was a funeral director. There is no doubt in this case!

¹⁶ This branch first appeared in a directory in 1874.

¹⁷ *Man of Ross*, 29 March 1877, 27 Sept. 1877, 9 Oct. 1879. The shrouds cost 2s. 3d. each.

¹⁸ *HT* 15 July 1899

¹⁹ In the *HT* of 7 November 1885 he announced that he had moved back to his old premises at 2 High Street during extensive alterations to High Town corner, an advert that continued to appear until 12 December, that on 19 December he announced that he had reopened the premises at 35 High Town with entirely new stock in every department. There he stayed.

²⁰ *HT* and *HJ*, both 31 January 1885

²¹ At this period West Street extended as far east as the Grapes Tavern, the section between Broad Street and Church Street not being renamed as part of East Street until some years after World War II. Thus the back premises were at that time in what was called West Street.

²² *HT* 1 June 1901. In *HT* 26 November 1927 the year of the fire is given (incorrectly) as 1878.

²³ HARC BO38/4/133 a, b, d & e. As part of this the shop front of 1857, which had evidently been damaged by the fire, was replaced.

²⁴ *HJ* 4 & 11 July 1885

²⁵ *HJ* 29 August, 5 September 1885

²⁶ HARC BO38/4/143 e

²⁷ *HT* 8 January 1886 and 1 January 1887

²⁸ Edward Joseph Symonds had been in business at 31 High Town for about 14 years. See *HT* 4 February 1888.

²⁹ *HT* 24 & 31 March 1888

³⁰ HARC AC13/5

³¹ HARC BF99/1/5

³² HARC BO38/3/398 a & b. Also *HT* 26 November 1927.

³³ This statement to 'the last century' is probably a reference to the Gibbs business, subsumed by Barrett & Smerdon in 1856.

³⁴ *HT* 26 November 1927.

³⁵ HARC AA72/200

³⁶ The property was bought from the Carless family. *HT* 9 September 1899, also HARC AC13/5.

³⁷ HARC BO38/2/194 a-d.

³⁸ *HT* 9 September 1899. The first identification of this feature, which follows somewhat to the north the line of East Street and West Street, was the work of Walter Pilley, who made observations over an extended period. His conclusions were further developed, not always accurately, by Alfred Watkins (Watkins, A, 'The King's Ditch of the City of Hereford,' *TWNFC* (1920), pp.249-238) and Walter Pilley's pioneering work has been overlooked.

³⁹ *HT* 1 June 1901

⁴⁰ *HT* 10 February 1945

⁴¹ The only son who did not become a director was William, who had become a solicitor in Attleborough, Norfolk. *HT* 3 August 1956.

⁴² *HT* 26 November 1927. These had been part of the Hop Pole Inn estate which had been bought by the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious in 1896 and were subsequently sold off by the Society. See J. O'Donnell, *John Venn and the Friends of the Hereford Poor* (2007), pp.113-16.

⁴³ J. O'Donnell, *John Venn and the Friends of the Hereford Poor* (2007), p.116.

⁴⁴ *HT* 2 August 1968. It was stated that when the cabinet making business was closed at the beginning of 1968, it had been operating for 60 years. The plans drawn up in 1907 show two parallel brick ranges of buildings. HARC BO38/5/182a-f. No report of the opening has yet been found, although it may be significant that on 3 August 1907 Greenlands Ltd advertised in the *HT* that repair of furniture and upholstery would be done in August at reduced rates, perhaps to stimulate this expanding part of the business.

⁴⁵ *HT* 26 November 1927

⁴⁶ HARC AC13/2, also Kelly's directories of 1917 and 1922

⁴⁷ HARC AC13/4. Also *HT* 26 November 1927.

⁴⁸ *HT* 26 November 1927

⁴⁹ Of the premises in Church Street taken over by Greenlands Ltd., Kelly's directory of 1909 lists only no. 42, which was occupied by a confectioner. Greenlands Ltd place an advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 13 July 1907 for buying and selling of antiques and their restoration. Photographic evidence indicates that this enterprise started in the repository in Commercial Road before moving to Church Street.

⁵⁰ The *Hereford Journal* directory of 1912 records Greenlands as occupying 32 High Town, while Kelly's directory of 1913 recorded Hy. R. Rogers as still occupying the premises. It is most likely that the 1913 directory was not up-to-date.

⁵¹ This building is the only one that survives from the premises occupied by Greenlands.

⁵² As far as possible I have cross-checked the information given in the article, and generally has proved to be accurate, although certain dates have had to be corrected from documentary sources.

⁵³ See, for instance. *HT* 30 November 1895, 5 December 1896 etc.

⁵⁴ This idea originated with Mr Frank Greenland – see *HT* 26 November 1927

⁵⁵ *HT* 7 December 1907

⁵⁶ For the photographic evidence see Fig.6.

⁵⁷ Kelly's directory of Hereford, 1934-5 records the antique-dealing business as being at 41-44 Church Street, and house agents at 40 Church Street. Kelly's directory of Herefordshire 1939 merely has 'estate agents and auctioneers, Church st.' with no mention of antique dealing. However, Kelly's directory of 1941 still has the antique dealing department at 40-44 Church Street.

⁵⁸ *HT* 30 October 1909

⁵⁹ The premises had previously been used by the *HJ* printing and newspaper business.

⁶⁰ Although this first appears in Kelly's directory of Herefordshire, 1929, it is referred to in *HT* 26 November 1927.

⁶¹ *HT* 7 August 1943.

⁶² *HT* 10 February 1945

⁶³ *HT* 20 March 1953

⁶⁴ *HT* 3 July 2003.

⁶⁵ Prior to this Greenlands had a sale room in Commercial Road, which may have been on this site. See, for instance, *HT* 16 January 1943.

⁶⁶ *HT* 27 November 1967

⁶⁷ Copy letter in Greenlands file, *HT* archive.

⁶⁸ Summarised from *HT* 2 August 1968

⁶⁹ *HT* 3 January 1969

⁷⁰ *HT* 29 September & 12 August 1799.

⁷¹ *HT* 13 June 1969

⁷² *HT* 3 July 2003

The removal of Ledbury's Butcher Row

By CELIA G. KELLETT

Ledbury's Butcher Row had stood in the centre of the town since medieval times. In the twelfth century the Bishop of Hereford had sent his surveyors to lay out the main streets of the town, beginning with Middletown, as the High Street was then called. They laid out a wedge-shaped market place, as they had already done in Hereford and as was characteristic of other medieval towns such as Swansea and St Albans.¹ This article describes the prolonged efforts to demolish the row, begun in the late eighteenth century as an essential step in the improvement of the town. Part of it was eventually demolished in 1821 but the remainder not until the mid-1830s. The Butcher Row required two private Acts of Parliament² to bring about its complete removal.

INTRODUCTION

Lidiard's 'Plan of Ledbury' of 1788 shows the Butcher Row on the left side of the town's triangular market place with the Market House to the right. Its north end is at Lower Cross—at the junction with Bishop Street (now called Bye Street) and the High Street (misnamed on the plan as High Town).³ The Buttermarket is shown in the Southend, at Upper Cross (Fig. 1).

Hereford's Butcher's Row was in High Town, where it backed onto the Cooken Row.⁴ An alleyway, known as Golden Alley, shown on Isaac Taylor's map of 1757, split the row into two parts.⁵ The main part of High Town up to the alley was demolished in 1818 after a section of the row collapsed. The remaining portion comprised the Old House, which still stands, plus two further properties which stood until 1837. A subscription had been launched the previous year to demolish these two properties, for which the *Hereford Journal* (*HJ*) listed the many subscribers.⁶ Hereford had no problem raising such funds, unlike Ledbury, whose residents were decidedly reluctant to pay for improving their town.⁷

Ledbury's Butcher Row had, no doubt like many others, started with stalls erected and taken down at the end of each market day. These temporary stalls in the marketplace, were replaced over

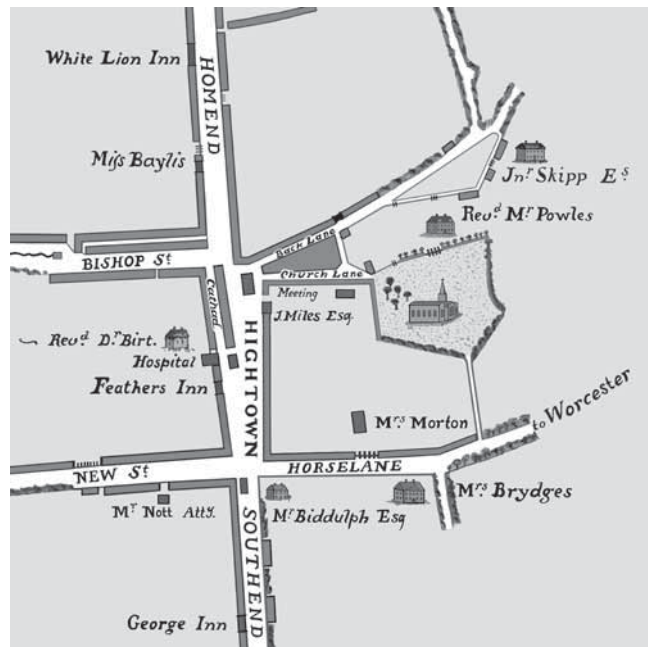


Figure 1. J. Lidiard's 'Plan of Ledbury' 1788, detail of the centre of the town (adapted) (HAS G2/III/55).

time by more substantial properties—workshops which later developed into permanent houses, many complete with cellars and outbuildings with some including privies and even gardens behind—a process known as market encroachment. The first mention of Ledbury's Butcher Row appeared in a thirteenth-century rental which listed five shambles (slaughter houses) all owned by Roudulf Joye, together with fourteen butcher booths.⁸ Later development of the Butcher Row, which stood in the middle of the High Street (hence its alternative name, Middle Row), placed the shambles at the northern end, where a water splash ran over Lower Cross and down Bishop Street, providing a source of running water to mitigate the nuisance associated with animal slaughter.⁹ There were other stalls in both the marketplace and elsewhere; within a century some were being described no longer as stalls, but as shops. A Shop Row on the east side of the High Street had been demolished in the early seventeenth century, to make way for the building of the Market House. Over time, ownership of properties in the town changed hands, with tenants in the row changing even more frequently.

Thomas Ballard's lithographs (Figs 2 and 3) show glimpses of the Butcher Row in views of the High Street. Figure 2 looks north towards the Homend showing the Market House on the right, the edge of the Butcher Row pentices or porches on the far left and the curved facade of Timothy Spencer's draper's shop facing down Bishop Street. Figure 3 looks across to the curved facade on the east side of the Homend, with the Market House in the centre and the timber-framed north end of the Butcher Row to the right. This end shop was also owned by Timothy Spencer.¹⁰

Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, had founded St Katherine's Hospital on the west side of the High Street in Ledbury c.1231.¹¹ The hospital first owned



Figure 2. Ledbury High Street looking north, showing Timothy Spencer's curved façade with the Butcher Row pentices or porches to the left and the Market House to the right, c. 1820. Thomas Ballard, undated lithograph, Hereford Local Collections, *Pilley Collection*, Scrapbook 2267, page 83.



Figure 3. The Market House centre, Timothy Spencer's drapery shop on the left, the north end of the Butcher Row on the right, viewed from the lower west side of the Homend, c. 1820. Thomas Ballard, undated lithograph, Hereford Local Collections, *Pilley Collection*, Scrapbook 2267, page 83.

a property in a marketplace row, according to a lease of 1370.¹² The old almshouse buildings date from the late fifteenth century—maybe even earlier—when a timber-framed mansion house, now known as the Master's House was built.¹³ These almshouses were within the same timber-framed building which Master Edward Cowper (pronounced Cooper) recorded having repaired and re-roofed in the hospital accounts in Tudor times. In 1581 the hospital was granted new statutes by Queen Elizabeth I, to provide for seven poor men and three poor women.¹⁴ By the late eighteenth century St Katherine's Almshouses, in which these poor folk lived, were damp, decayed and greatly overshadowed by the Butcher Row.

THE NEED FOR 'IMPROVEMENT'

A survey made in October 1798 by James Mutlow, found the Almshouse building to be 80 feet in length and 19 feet 6 inches in depth. The total length from the corner beside the hospital entrance along to the corner of Bye Street was 220 feet. The Butcher Row was ten feet shorter, 210 feet.¹⁵ The backside of the row was separated from the almshouses and Catherine Row beside them, by a narrow passageway variously called St Catherine's Street or the 'Cathol' (one of many spellings). The position of the almshouses are shown in a plan drawn in 1817 (Fig. 4).¹⁶ The almsfolk complained bitterly about the state of their miserable accommodation, for the Master's House had been enlarged and beautified at great cost in the eighteenth century and even while their problems were ongoing in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ This eventually led to a protracted case in Chancery, resulting in a new scheme of governance and the rebuilding of the almshouses.¹⁸

The Master of St Katherine's Hospital, Canon Dr James Birt (1785-1801) conceived a plan whereby this part of the High Street could be vastly improved if the whole area were first cleared, by demolishing the ancient almshouses, the adjoining squalid tenements known as Catherine Row and the Butcher Row, prior to rebuilding new almshouses.¹⁹ After his death in 1801, Dr John Napleton became Master (1801-17) and continued with Dr Birt's plan, buying up the squalid tenements beside the old almshouses and property in the Butcher Row as it became available. Even before Napier's death in 1817 it was known that he had spent all the hospital's money, saved to build the new almshouses, as well as most of his own savings too. This was confirmed after his death in his will, which left his widow in penury.²⁰

The 1819 Act provided details of the properties standing alongside the almshouses which were first recorded back in Edward Cowper's day as evidenced by a lease taken out in 25 June 1586.²¹ There were two inns in the row of tenements known as the Catherine Row, beside the old almshouses. Next door was the Crown and then the White Lion Inn, plus a house on the corner of Bishop Street all referred to in the 1819 Act. The act not only described these properties, but also gave the dimensions shown on the 1817 plan (Fig. 4) and named their owners and tenants. The lease on the Crown for 21 years taken out by John Bosley on 24 March 1796 expired in March 1817.²² The Land Tax records confirm that the Crown was owned and run by John Bosley, whose entry in the *Universal British Directory* 1793-98 listed him as a hair-dresser and victualler, in other directories he was recorded as a barber.²³

Documents relating to Napleton's will refer to a conveyance of a messuage with Malthouse: '... a dwelling house and premises ... then called or known by the name of the Red Lion but now belonging to the said John Napleton and called the White Lion Inn ...'.²⁴ The White Lion, was owned and run by Richard Jones from at least 1786-7 until about 1800 when he let his son Robert

run it for three years. From 1804-5 until its demolition in 1821-2 the White Lion was run by John Baker, a saddler who also acted as a victualler, although it was purchased by John Napleton for the benefit of St Katherine's Hospital for £840 in 1811.²⁵ The White Lion was home to a Friendly Society founded in 2 November 1791, when kept by Richard Jones, where one of the society rules stated that 'only those who had had smallpox would be made members and also to promise to give preference of employment to other members before others'. The society's benefits were not available to any member who had a venereal disease or led 'an idle or scandalous life'.²⁶

The corner house with malthouse, garden, backsides and buildings on the corner of St Catherine Street's and Bishop Street was passed by Joseph Baylis, baker, to his son Thomas Baylis, baker, and in turn to his son Stephen Baylis, baker, and was later purchased by John Napleton for £1680 in 1815. Like the White Lion, it continued in business use until it was demolished in accordance with the 1819 Act in 1821.²⁷

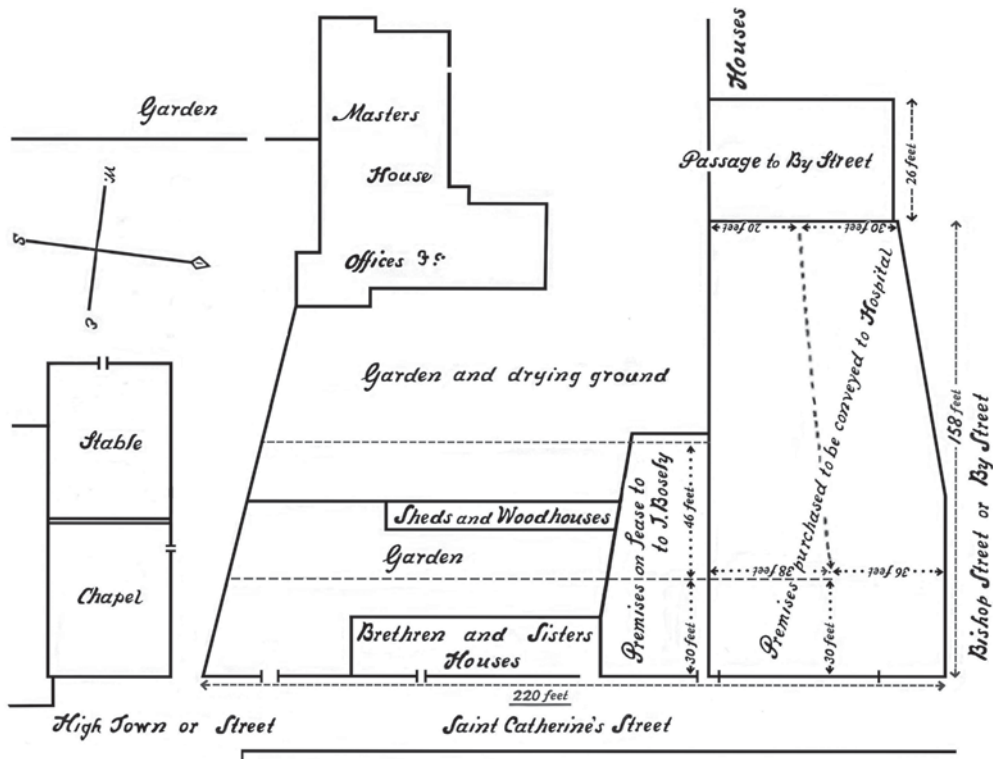


Figure 4. Extract from 1817 plan of St Katherine's Hospital and the properties beside the almshouses, separated from the Butcher Row by St Catherine's Street (HAS G2/MSS 611).

IMPROVEMENTS UNDER THE 1819 ACT FOR REBUILDING THE ALMSHOUSES

When the Private Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of the almshouses was passed in 1819, it specified that Mrs Napleton must be repaid the £2,118 13s 6d, owing to her plus interest at five per cent per annum. Only then, but within two years of the passing of the Act, could the old

almshouses be demolished, together with those Butcher Row properties owned by the hospital.²⁸ The new almshouses had been designed by the fashionable architect Robert Smirke, who was in the area for the building of Eastnor Castle and the Shire Hall in Hereford. He was employed at a cost of nearly £500, which the Charity Commissioners considered an unnecessary expense for the somewhat sparse design which resulted.²⁹

The hospital duly took out a mortgage for £9,000. However, having repaid Mrs Napleton and covered all the costs of the Act—legal fees plus Mr Smirke's design fee—they could no longer afford to build the planned scheme in its entirety. Half of the proposed almshouse apartments plus the central tower, which contained the staircase to the upper floor apartments, were completed in 1822.³⁰ It would be another forty four years before the hospital could afford to build the other twelve apartments up to the corner of Bishop Street. In the 1960s the Charity Commissioners insisted on improvements to modernise these almshouses; their number was reduced from twenty-four to sixteen enlarged apartments, each now with kitchen and bathroom facilities. An extra apartment upstairs in the central tower was made available for use by visitors.³¹

Meanwhile Ledbury's 'Age of Improvement' had begun with the Inclosure Act in 1813 and the later registration of the Inclosure Award in 1816.³² On 24 June 1813 John Biddulph Esq., the town's leading resident and magistrate, wrote to the attorney, James Holbrook, regarding use of the remaining inclosure funds for improving the town.³³ The toll shop by the Market House was removed in 1814 and the Butter Market from the Southend in 1818. Having paid all the expenses involved, the remaining money was given to a group of leading citizens, the Trustees for Improving the Town of Ledbury. John Biddulph was appointed to head the committee, which included the vicar and a number of leading professionals and tradesmen of the town. They set to work with the express object of removing the Butcher Row, together with a number of other improvements they wished to make in the town, in an effort to promote its cleanliness, welfare and respectability.

THE BUTCHER ROW PROPERTIES

A valuation list of the Butcher Row showing both occupiers and proprietors of the Butcher Row properties, together with the estimated value and brief description was drawn up for the committee (Fig. 5).³⁴ This was probably prepared by Thomas Bibbs, land steward to John Biddulph Esq. as Bibbs served as clerk to various committees in which his employer was involved.³⁵ The handwritten valuation list had ordered the properties from south to north, that is from nearest to John Biddulph's home at New House (now Ledbury Park), shown on Fig. 1, and at the far right on Plate 6.1, down to Lower Cross.³⁶ Figure 5 has shown them in reverse order, from north to south, as listed in Schedule Two of the 1819 Act.

Comments were made about only two of the properties; John Webb's butcher's shop nearest the hospital gateway and the Rising Sun. The butcher's shop was regarded as the best situated for business—it is shown in Figure 4. and the watercolour of Ledbury *c.* 1820, Plate 6.1. The Rising Sun Inn, No. 10 on the list was a timber-framed property considered to be in the best condition and given the highest valuation.

Only five of the fifteen properties in the Butcher Row were owned by St Katherine's Hospital. The northern-most row property, No. 1 nearest Lower Cross, was owned by Timothy Spencer, the draper who also owned the nearest shop opposite, with its curved frontage, on the east side of the Homend at Lower Cross (Figs. 2 and 3). All but two of the Butcher Row properties had

cellars beneath. Who knows what treasures may be unearthed if the High Street was ever subjected to an archaeological dig?

The 1819 Act described the Butcher Row as standing ‘in front of the hospital separating it from the High Street and rendered the almshouses dark, confined and unwholesome’ and its position as being ‘in the middle of and greatly obstructs the High Street’.³⁷ The second schedule of the 1819 Act (Fig. 6) is of particular interest in that it lists each of the five Butcher Row properties owned by St Katherine’s Hospital, also giving the annual rent and the size of each property, and showing that the depth of the properties increasing to 32 feet in the southernmost houses.³⁸ The total frontage width of the five properties belonging to the hospital, 62 feet 9 inches, was almost 30 per cent of the total length of the Butcher Row. No wonder that stage coaches had problems negotiating Lower Cross and the marketplace before the row was removed.

At the end of October 1820 a poster announced a public meeting would be held to discuss taking down the Butcher Row—describing inconvenient habitations, without proper offices and the practice of slaughtering animals in the street as ‘offensive, disgusting and unwholesome and ought not to be conducted in the centre of a populous town’.³⁹ The northernmost property was purchased by the Improvements Committee for £315 from Timothy Spencer and on demolition the materials were sold for £25 10 shillings, so recouping a little of the cost. The five properties owned by the hospital were all taken down by them, however the hospital complained at not being paid compensation for the next three properties, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, two of which were timber-framed, and eventually the

No.	Occupier	Trade	Proprietor	Value £	Characteristics
1	John Bowkett	Shoemaker	T. Spencer	300	Brick, Timber & Cellar
2	Fra. Matthews	Saddler	St.Catherine's Hosp.	200	Brick & Cellar
3	- Bowkett	Shoemaker	- same -	190	Timber & Cellar
4	Mrs. Denton	-	- same -	160	Timber
5	Rich. Pearoe	Barber	late Poole	200	Brick & Cellar
6	John Cale	Butcher	John Cale	250	Brick & Cellar
7	Martha Cale	Butcher	St.Catherine's Hosp.	300	Brick & Cellar
8	Geo. Skipp	Ironmonger	- same -	200	Brick & Cellar
9	D. Webb	Butcher	Sam ^l . Cooper	360	Brick & Cellar
10	Absar ^m Johnson	Victualler	R. Millard	400	Timber & Cellar
- this house is in excellent cond ⁿ , I therefore put it highest					
11	Joseph Brown	Watchmaker	Ben ^m . Webb Snr.	220	Brick & Cellar
12	George Evans	Taylor [sic]	Ben ^m . Webb Snr.	200	Brick & Cellar
13	John Matthews	Ironmonger	John Matthews	200	Timber & Cellar
14	T. Bower	Breeches maker	-	160	Timber & Cellar
15	John Webb Jnr	Butcher	John Webb Snr.	300	Timber
- no cellar but the best situation in row for business					
£ 3760					

Figure 5. Transcribed copy in reverse order (from north to south, as in 1819 Act) of the valuation list for the Butcher Row properties, drawn up for John Biddulph c. 1816 (HAS MSS 1078).

The SECOND SCHEDULE referred to by this Act.

A PARTICULAR of Houfes situate in Butcher's Row, in Ledbury in the County of Hereford, belonging to Saint Catherine's Hospital *viz.*

Commencing at the North End of the Row.

Second Houfe, belonging to the Hospital, in the Occupation of John Milton, Rent per Annum	£	s.	d.
- - -	10	10	-
Third Houfe, belonging to the Hospital, in the Occupation of Joseph Bowkett, Rent per Annum	-	12	12 -
Fourth Houfe, belonging to the Hospital, in the Occupation of Sarah Denton, but late under Lease to John Martin Esquire, together with a small Parcel of Land, which Lease expired on the 25th March 1819, Rent per Annum	-	7	- -
The Length of these Houfes in the Front is 35 Feet 5 Inches, Back 33 Feet, and Depth 28 Feet 2 Inches; occupying an Area of 938 square Feet, or 104 square Yards.			
The Three above-mentioned Houfes are those which are intended to be taken down by the Dean and Chapter.			
The Seventh Houfe, belonging to the Hospital, in the Occupation of James Cale, Rent per Annum	-	16	16 -
Eighth Houfe, belonging to the Hospital, in the Occupation of George Skipp, Rent per Annum	-	15	2 -
	£	62	- -

The Length of these Two last Houfes is in Front 27 Feet 4 Inches Back 26 Feet, and the Depth 32 Feet; occupying an Area of 873 square Feet, or 97 square Yards.

Robert Jones, Surveyor.

Figure 6. Second Schedule of the 1819 Act, 59 George III, c.22. for rebuilding the almshouses.

Improvements Committee agreed to pay £560 for the final pair, Nos. 7 and 8, that the hospital owned. Early in 1820 Benjamin Webb senior died, bequeathing a pair of properties in the row, Nos. 11 and 12, to his son Benjamin Webb, junior, who sold them to the Committee for £500; after their demolition the materials were sold, raising £65 for the improvement fund.

The two year deadline slipped a little and it was not until March 1822 that the hospital advertised for workers 'desirous of contracting for the taking down and rebuilding the new almshouses'; construction had begun by July that year.⁴⁰ Now that eight of the fifteen properties in the Butcher Row had been demolished, three 'islands' were left in the middle of the High

Street. These remnants of the Butcher Row, in groups from the north, of two, two and three properties, included the Rising Sun Inn which later changed its name slightly to the Sun Tavern. All those butchers who had previously been tenants, even some from the now demolished properties, had managed to acquire a tenancy in one of the remaining 'islands'. Figure 7 depicts the marketplace area of the High Street, showing the newly rebuilt almshouses which would have still been somewhat hidden from view. Only after February 1836 when the remaining properties had been demolished, would the Queen's highway be restored.

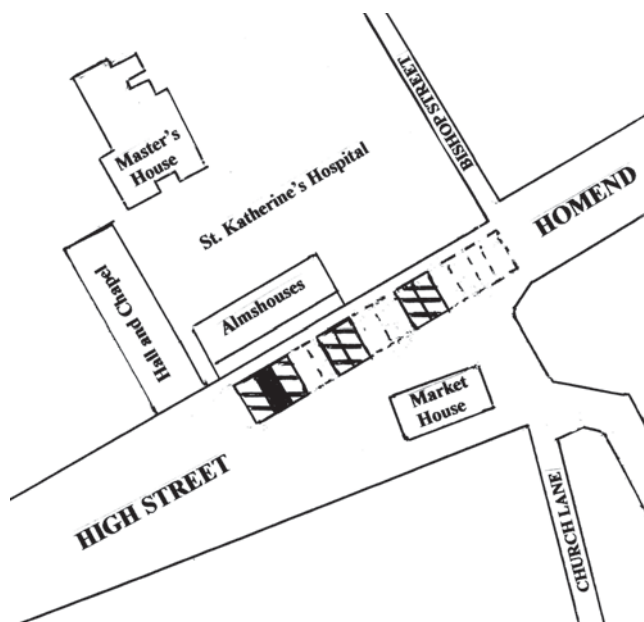


Figure 7. Ledbury market place after 1822, when the new almshouses were built. It shows the seven remaining Butcher Row properties with the demolished row properties shown as outlines. The blacked out property would eventually become the Butcher Row House Museum. Based on the Tithe map of 1841 (HAS AR42/1).

SOCIETY FOR EFFECTING THE REMOVAL OF THE BUTCHER ROW

It took many more years to raise sufficient money to fund the final removal of the Butcher Row. In 1826 a notice appeared requesting that wagons and carts be parked 'in the openings of the Butcher Row, on payment of a trifling acknowledgement to William Chrees ...', yet another source of income, however small (Fig. 8).⁴¹

Towards the end of 1830 came the formation of a new group, enlivened by some of the younger tradesmen in the town, which added renewed vigour to the campaign. A 'Society for Effecting the Removal of the Butcher Row' was organised and a meeting held on 30 October 1830. The poster, issued after that meeting, explained a proposed scheme of weekly door-to-door collections of subscriptions throughout the town.⁴² The lower portion of this poster refers to the meeting held just two days later, on 1 November 1830, when this scheme was agreed and the collecting began. However, by the end of a year funds collected had not raised enough to

purchase even one of the remaining properties. With augmentation from the Society's funds one house, owned by Samuel Cooper and with butcher Daniel Webb as tenant, was purchased. This was to be rented out as a means of raising further funds for the society.⁴³ Realising this method would take at least another five or six years to complete the removal of remaining properties, the Society suggested that subscribers pay five years' money as a single donation, with the 'assistance of their wealthy neighbours', in order to achieve the desired goal of complete removal. As their notice of 1832 shows (Fig. 9), the Society also hoped to induce the inhabitants of the Row to move to 'more convenient dwellings for the purpose of trade and for their own comfort'.

However the Row residents had no wish to move from their prime trading position, with some choosing to pay rent and remain trading from properties now owned by the Society long after their property's sale had been completed. The hoped for donations were not forthcoming, so a series of balls and theatrical productions were organised to raise the necessary funds.⁴⁴ On Wednesday, 8 November, 1834 the *HJ* carried a report of the meeting held on the previous Monday. At this meeting it was proposed by Timothy Spencer, draper, and seconded by Thomas Ballard, artist—perhaps in desperation—that the local solicitors '... solicit a bill in the ensuing session of Parliament for effecting the immediate removal of the Butcher-row, Weighing machine and Machine House ...'.⁴⁵ Messrs.

Hubert Edy & James Gregg, attorneys, agreed to deal with the matter at cost, claiming only out-of-pocket expenses, not knowing that this work would continue for the next decade!

THE Magistrates being determined to put a stop to the Practice of leaving Carts and Waggons in the public Streets on Fair and Market Days, have given the Constables special Orders to lay Informations against all those who may be found so doing after this NOTICE, in order that the Fines and Penalties imposed by Law may be recovered.

NOTICE

IS HEREBY GIVEN,

That the Owners or Drivers of Carts or Waggon's may place the same in the Openings in the Butcher Row, on payment of a trifling acknowledgment to William Chrees, who is appointed to receive the same, by the Society for improving the Town.

Ledbury, August 16, 1826.

J. G485, Printer, Bookbinder, &c. Ledbury.

Figure 8. Notice to deal with Ledbury's market day parking problems, August 1826 (HAS G2/MSS 1073).

LEDBURY, JANUARY, 1832.

REMOVAL OF THE BUTCHER ROW.

The Society for effecting the REMOVAL of the BUTCHER ROW, beg leave to lay the proceedings of their Annual Meeting before such of the neighbouring gentry and others as wish to promote this long contemplated and essential improvement, fully trusting that the statement produced will justify them in entreating their assistance now there is a reasonable hope of its speedy accomplishment.

By the printed return of the Collectors, it appears that in the first year ending the 26th October, the sum of £217 14s. 4d. had been paid into the Auditor's hands, and since, applied to the purchase of the house occupied by Mr. D. Webb, from which the fund is being augmented by a weekly rent.

But the principal feature of the meeting is an agreement of the subscribers to pay five years' subscription in advance, upon the proviso that an adequate fund shall be raised by this means, and by the assistance of their wealthy neighbours, to purchase the remaining houses, which it is considered might now be effected at reasonable prices.

Under these circumstances the Society now respectfully hand the signatures already obtained, and trust confidently that their appeal will not be ineffectual, particularly as a knowledge that sufficient resources were at the command of the Society, would induce the inhabitants of the Butcher Row to obtain more convenient dwellings for the purposes of trade and for their own comfort.

Wishing to give every information as to the prospects of the Society, they beg to add that up to the 2nd instant, the cash received, including a new year's gift of £10, from Mrs. Saunders, amounts to £302 12s. 5d.

Figure 9. Public notice for the Removal of the Butcher Row with the results of one year's subscription and the Society's future plans (HAS G2/MSS 1073).

THE ROW FINALLY REMOVED

Until Ledbury's Improvement Act was passed in April 1835, little else was achieved. As the preamble of the Act states 'in consequence of legal difficulties that exist in purchasing the remaining houses and of raising the requisite funds for that purpose, the same could not be effected without the aid and authority of Parliament'.⁴⁶ Ledbury's Improvement Act named some thirty Commissioners, all local inhabitants who were empowered to purchase the remaining Row properties, with a mortgage, by the levy of a rate on the town's inhabitants, 'as many times as needed'. In June 1835 John Biddulph wrote a letter to the Society's Trustees outlining his attempts to find a mortgage of £1700, needed to buy out the remaining properties in the Row, stating that the London market was unfavourable. Fortunately a mortgage was eventually secured from Colonel, later General, Sir Joseph Thackwell.⁴⁷

Money now to hand, the Commissioners began work immediately, but some owners were still not prepared to sell. One such was William Bellers, born in Ledbury but long since removed to Barnard's Green on the outskirts of Malvern, Worcestershire. The Hereford Quarter Session Records for 1835 contain a number of copies of documents, served on Mr Bellers, relating to his property, No. 3 in the Schedule of the 1835 Act (Fig. 10), then tenanted by the widow Elizabeth Baylis, whose husband Stephen, the baker, had died in 1826.⁴⁸

These documents were each personally served on him in May, July, August and October. The last stated that, as he 'had neglected to accept the sum offered, being considerably above fair value', the Quarter Session would decide the property's value, 'without reference to previous offers'.

He duly received £230, as did his tenant, Elizabeth Baylis. During this period houses Nos. 6 and 7 were demolished and the remains sold as building materials, by auction, to help defray the costs. It was not until February 1836 that the remaining five houses were demolished and their building materials finally sold, having been

5° GULIELMI IV. Cap. i. 27

The SCHEDULE to which the foregoing Act refers.

No. of House in the Row.	Description of Property.	Owners or reputed Owners.	Occupiers.
1	House, Shop, and Out-buildings - - - Small Tenement under same Roof - - -	John Webb - - -	John Webb.
		ditto - - -	William Webb.
2	House, Shop, and Out-buildings - - -	Purchased by a Subscription for effecting the Removal of the Butcher Row - - -	Charles Wilkes.
3	Ditto - - -	William Bellers - - -	Elizabeth Baylis.
4	Ditto - - -	Richard Millard - - -	Elizabeth Johnson.
5	Ditto - - -	Purchased by a Subscription for effecting the Removal of the Butcher Row - - -	James Cale.
6	Ditto - - -	John Cale - - -	John Calc.
7	Ditto - - -	The Trustees of Thomas Poole deceased - - -	Enoch Trauter.
	A Weighing Machine and Machine House	The Lords and Lady of the Manor of Ledbury in the County of Hereford - - -	Philip Bowkett.
	A Plot of Land whereon a House formerly stood	John Biddulph, Esquire	William Butt.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE EYRE and ANDREW SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1835.

8

Figure 10. The Schedule of the Ledbury Improvement Act, 5 William IV, c. 1, 1835.

House Number	Type in 'Act'	1816 value	Price Paid	Materials price sold	Nett Price paid	Demolition date
1819 1835	Cellar C	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1821 1835/
1	B/T/C	300	315.00.00	25.10.00	289.10.00	✓
2	B/C	200		owned and taken down		✓
3	T/C	190		by the hospital		✓
4	T	160		without any compensation paid		✓
5 7	B/C	200	180.00.00	(56.14.00	463.06.00	✓
6 6	B/C	250	140.00.00	(for both houses 5 & 6		✓
7	B/C	300	500.00.00	(60.00.00	500.00.00	✓
8	B/C	200	for 7 & 8)	(taken down by hospital		✓
9 5	B/C	360	353.18.00	50.00.00	303.18.00	✓
10 4	T/C	400	450.00.00	25.00.00	425.00.00	✓
11	B/C	220	500.00.00	65.00.00	435.00.00	✓
12	B/C	240	for 11 & 12)	(for both houses 11 & 12		✓
13 3	T/C	200	230.00.00	34.10.00	195.10.00	✓
14 2	T/C	180	160.00.00	13.00.00	147.00.00	✓
15 1	T	360	300.00.00	25.00.00	475.00.00	✓
Total paid		3760	3588.18.00	354.14.00	3224.00.00	

Figure 11. Summary Chart of the Butcher Row houses, description, valuation and nett price paid. (n.b. house numbers ran north to south in the Second Schedule of the 1819 Act but south to north in the 1835 Act).

held up by Mr Bellers.⁴⁹ An overall summary of the costs is shown in Figure 11; this shows a saving of almost fourteen per cent between the initial valuation of £3760 made c.1816 and the net cost of £3,224 paid to the various owners two decades later.

Views of the High Street, looking south from the Homend, before and after the removal of the Butcher Row, illustrate just how much it obstructed the passage of traffic until its final removal.⁵⁰ (Figs 12 and 13).

As required in the thirteenth section of the 1835 Ledbury Improvement Act, the



Figure 12. View looking down the Homend, showing the Butcher Row, c.1820. Thomas Ballard, lithograph, Hereford Local Collections, *Pilley Collection*, Scrapbook 2267, p.183.

first published account for 1835 relating to the Butcher Row appeared in the last week of January 1836 in the Hereford newspapers. In the same week each subsequent year the accounts were published until the mortgage of £1700 provided by General Sir Joseph Thackwell was repaid. This was achieved from the levying of a number of rates upon the inhabitants of Ledbury.



Figure 13. View down the Homend to the unobstructed High Street, c.1836. Thomas Ballard, lithograph, Hereford Local Collections, *Pilley Collection*, Scrapbook 2267, p.183.

The twelfth and final account, for 1846, appeared on Wednesday 27 January, 1847 in the *HJ*.⁵¹

AFTER REMOVAL

Three of the timber-framed houses from form the Butcher Row were later re-erected about the town but unfortunately one of these was burnt-down in the 1970s. The only complete survivor, which dendrochronology has shown was built c.1581, now houses the Butcher Row House Museum in Church Lane. This property, shown blacked out in Figure 7 and listed at No. 2 in the schedule of the 1835 Act (Fig. 10), was rebuilt in the backyard of No 14 High Street in 1836.⁵² It was then the property of Edwin Meacham, trading there as a druggist and grocer, and was used as a store for kerosene and like substances. It sat there for 140 years before the then owners—the two daughters of Mr Fortnam, a later-twentieth century pharmacist—donated it to Ledbury's Civic Society. Under the terms of the gift, the Society paid for it to be moved to a space in Church Lane, where the Congregational Church Sunday School—a corrugated iron hut—had once stood. It took six months to dismantle and re-erect, with a third of the timbers needing replacement. (Plate 6.2) It opened as a small museum of ephemera in 1979. The other two row houses were placed behind No. 22 Homend, which now houses Barclays Bank. Following the fire in the 1970s, the only surviving upper part of a butcher row house was re-erected on a brick-built ground floor, in Skipp Alley— since when it has had a varied life, as garage, sandwich shop and an interior decorator's (Plate 6.3).

CONCLUSION

With the Butcher Row now removed and the Queen's highway restored, other improvements followed, but the Ledbury butchers henceforth slaughtered animals in the back yards behind their new premises, resulting in a number of noxious places spread about the town, rather than just one in the High Street.⁵³ It would be some considerable time before refrigeration, let alone a public abattoir, arrived in the town. Ledbury's District Abattoir was finally built in 1927, beside

the goods yard of the railway station, as cattle could now be conveniently transported by rail as well as by road.⁵⁴

ABBREVIATIONS

DCA	Dean and Chapter Archive, Hereford Cathedral library
HAS	Herefordshire Archive Service
<i>HT</i>	<i>Hereford Times</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Hereford Journal</i>
HLC	Hereford Local Collections
TNA	The National Archive
<i>TWNFC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club</i>

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ M. D. Lobel (ed). *Historic Towns*, I (1969); 'Hereford', pp.4-5; St Albans History and Archaeology, www.albani.co.uk/Med%20Web/marketplace.htm.

² 59 George III, c.22, 1819, An Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Hereford to rebuild the Almshouses of Saint Catherine's Hospital, in the Borough of Ledbury, in the County of Hereford: and for the better Regulation of the Affairs of the Charity; 5 William IV, c.1, 1835, An Act for the Improvement of the High-street in the Borough of Ledbury in the County of Hereford.

³ Herefordshire Archive Service (HAS) G2; (Biddulph Collection)/III/55, extract from Plan of Ledbury, 'dedicated to Michael Biddulph Esq by his most obedt, Servt. J. Lidiard, 1788.

⁴ The City of Hereford street sign for 'High Town' (which was attached to the buildings affected by fire which are now being rebuilt) also bore the name 'Butchery' beneath.

⁵ Isaac Taylor's map of Hereford, 1757, HAS K11/3796.

⁶ *Hereford Journal (HJ)*, 16 Sept. 1818, p.3, col.4; *Hereford Times (HT)*, 12 March 1836, p.2, col.3.

⁷ Jim W. and Muriel Tonkin, *The book of Hereford* (Buckingham, 1975), p.21; Andy Johnson and Ron Shoesmith (eds), *The Story of Hereford*, (Logaston, 2016), pp.107-8; Jean O'Donnell, 'Hereford from the Great Charter of 1215', *TWNFC*, 63 (2015), p.47.

⁸ HAS HE/1/133677, Red Book of the Bishops of Hereford.

⁹ Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: filth, noise and stench in England* (London, 2007), pp.143, 193 and 197.

¹⁰ Hereford Local Collections (HLC), *Pilley Collection*, scrapbook number 2267, p. 83, undated lithographic engravings of the Market House, Ledbury, looking north and from the Homend, Thomas Ballard, c. 1820.

¹¹ Sometimes spelt as Catherine.

¹² Dean and Chapter Archive, Hereford Cathedral Library (DCA), A3320, lease dating from 1370, by John Wynd, the master and brethren of St Katherine's Hospital to William Schereman and his wife for their lives, of a shop in Shop Row, at a rent of ten shillings.

¹³ DCA 5C; F. C. Morgan and A. J. Winnington-Ingram, 'The Accounts of St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury, 1584-95', *TWNFC*, XXXIV (1953), pp. 88-132.

¹⁴ DCA, A 3748, Hospital ordinances (13 skins), 1581.

¹⁵ DCA, 3763, Plan of Scite (sic) of the Almshouses, 1798.

¹⁶ HAS MSS. 611, Church Extracts and Inscriptions.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, A new entrance hall and staircase was built in the east courtyard before 1817, not shown on the 1798 plan.

¹⁸ The legal case started in 1796 and culminated in the 1819 Act. Records of correspondence include DCA 7010 (1, letter book in the case against dean and chapter 1796-1813; DCA 7018/3 'Case Papers: Attorney General v. Dean and Chapter, 1800-13'.

¹⁹ DCA, 3564, Case papers relating to the dispute concerning St. Katherine's Hospital.

²⁰ DCA 3764, Case papers and plans for rebuilding the hospital almshouses, 1790-1819; The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/1600, Will of Rev. Dr John Napleton, Jan. 1818.

²¹ DCA 3418/1-2, Lease and counterpart of house and half a burgage in Catherine Row.

²² DCA 3418/15-17, John Bosley's lease of the Crown.

²³ HAS Q/Rel/6/15/1-33, Land Tax Records of Ledbury, 1786-1828; *Universal British Directory*, 1793-98.

- ²⁴ DCA, 3455/14-15, Conveyance by lease and release and a mortgage 2 & 3 Oct. 1810; DCA 3564, Case papers regarding Dr Napleton's will of 25 August 1817.
- ²⁵ DCA 3455/14-17, Conveyance of The White Lion for benefit of St Katherine's Hospital.
- ²⁶ Friendly Societies in Herefordshire: additional notes, *TWNFC* (1951), pp.202-3; John Eisel and Ron Shoesmith, *The pubs of Bromyard, Ledbury & East Herefordshire* (Logaston, 2003), pp.226-7.
- ²⁷ DCA 3445, Conveyance from Joseph Baylis baker to his son Thomas Baylis baker to his son Stephen Baylis baker; DCA 3413, Copy of Will of Thomas Baylis baker and Conveyance of Messuage with malthouse, garden and backsides
- ²⁸ Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Hereford to rebuild the Almshouses of Saint Catherine's Hospital...1819.
- ²⁹ Charity Commissioners' Reports: Herefordshire (1819-37), p.115.
- ³⁰ Joe Hillaby, *Ledbury: A medieval borough* (Logaston, 1997), p.120, Daguerreotype of Smirke's southern wing and central tower of St Katherine's Hospital.
- ³¹ The Charities (St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury) Order, Statutory Instrument no. 2807 (1962).
- ³² 53 George III, c.36, An Act for Inclosing Lands in the Parish of Ledbury, in the County of Hereford, 1813; HAS Q/R/125, 1816 Inclosure Award.
- ³³ HAS G2/ MSS 1073, Letter with estimate from J. Gregg, c.1816.
- ³⁴ HAS G2/MSS.1078, Ledbury Improvements, valuation list of the Butcher Row properties, c.1816.
- ³⁵ HAS G2/MSS 1078, Ledbury Improvements: valuation list of the Butcher Row properties, c.1816.
- ³⁶ Hereford Museum Services (HMS) HMS 815, Watercolour, unknown artist, c. 1820, of Ledbury High Street.
- ³⁷ 59 George III, c.22.
- ³⁸ 59 George III, c.22, Second Schedule.
- ³⁹ HAS MSS.1073, Public Notice of inhabitants, 30 October 1820.
- ⁴⁰ *Worcestershire Journal*, 14 March 1822; HAS MSS.1073, Letter from the Committee for Improvement, inviting subscriptions towards removing the remnants of the Butcher Row, 5 July 1822.
- ⁴¹ HAS MSS. 1073, notice of parking fines and penalties; 15 Aug. 1826 and 1 Oct. 1835.
- ⁴² HAS MSS.1073, Public Notice following inhabitants meeting, 1 Nov. 1830.
- ⁴³ HAS MSS.1073, Public Notice of the result of one year's subscriptions, Jan. 1832.
- ⁴⁴ *HT*, Friday 22 Feb. 1834, p.3, col.4; HAS MSS /M21, Theatrical Production, Jan. 1839.
- ⁴⁵ *HJ*, 12 Nov. 1834, page 3, column 4.
- ⁴⁶ 5 William IV, c.1, 1835, *An Act for the Improvement of the High-street in the Borough of Ledbury in the County of Hereford*, para. 1.
- ⁴⁷ HAS MSS.1078, Ledbury Improvements: John Biddulph's letter to the Trustees on search for a mortgage, June 1835.
- ⁴⁸ HAS Q/SR/123, Quarter Session Records for the October Quarter, 1835; 5 William IV, c.1, 1835, Schedule.
- ⁴⁹ *HT*, Friday 19 Sept. 1835, p.3, col.1 and Friday 13 February 1836, p.2, col.5, advertisements of two auctions of building materials.
- ⁵⁰ HLC, *Pilley Collection*, scrapbook number 2267, p.183, Thomas Ballard, Undated lithographic engravings of, views of High Street from Homend, c.1820 and after 1836, before and after removal of the Butcher Row.
- ⁵¹ *HJ*, Wednesday 27 Jan. 1836, p.2, cols 4&5; *HJ*, Wednesday 27 Jan. 1847, p.2, cols 5&6.
- ⁵² Ian Tyers, *Report 647, Tree-ring analysis of 3 timber-framed buildings in Ledbury, Herefordshire*, (Dendrochronological Consultancy Limited, April 2014); 5 William IV, c.1, 1835, Schedule.
- ⁵³ Celia G. Kellett, 'The Removal of Ledbury's Butcher Row and the consequences for the town and for the Row community, 1816-1846' (unpublished MA dissertation, Open University, 2016).
- ⁵⁴ Ledbury District Abattoir was built 1927, personal communication from L.D.A. Meats Ltd., Ledbury, May 2015.

Reports of Sectional Recorders, 2017

Archaeology, 2017

By KEITH RAY AND RON SHOESMITH

As in previous years, a section has been included for each archaeological organisation that responded to the request for information. Their reports continue to provide members with a vivid picture of archaeological work throughout the county. This year marks an important milestone: Ron's 50th consecutive annual report as Sectional Recorder for Archaeology, having taken over from the previous Recorder, Dr Stan Stanford, in 1968. This year he is sharing the task with Dr Keith Ray, the former County Archaeologist. At the request of the WNFC Committee, Keith has agreed to contribute in this way from this year, and to continue the series solo from the 2018 Transactions.

The seventh season at the Neolithic site on Dorstone Hill once again produced important information, whilst several finds of the Iron Age period were reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme, this year including two further coins and more fragments from metal artefacts including a possible tankard fragment from the Brobury/Monnington area. A remarkable burial was found in the Vicars Choral area of the Cathedral, and an important series of nonetheless small-scale investigations were carried out at Clifford Castle, Longtown Castle, Ponthendre Motte and Bailey Castle, and Snodhill Castle (the Longtown project results will be summarised in the 2018 Report).

In every section we 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 unpublished internal organisation reports (grey literature), some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record database maintained by the Herefordshire Archaeology Service (Herefordshire Council) at the county Archive and Records Centre in Rotherwas. Others are available on the internet. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given, they are prefixed by HSM; if it is recorded as an event it is prefixed by EHE (Event in Herefordshire) to distinguish it from a site. The Herefordshire Historic Environment Record is shown by HHER and Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed by SAM.

We would like to offer our most grateful thanks on behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club to the staff of all the organisations who have willingly provided the information that has made this report a valuable and up-to-date source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2017.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

AH ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, Well Cottage, 5 Quay Street [HSM 56118; EHE80346]

An archaeological assessment was undertaken as part of a planning application for a rear extension to Well Cottage. The Cottage (PRN 56118) originally formed part of a coach house built in the early 19th century. Well Cottage was converted in the 1950s into a domestic home. Little of the original features survive.

St Ethelbert's Well is located on the north side of Castle Hill, some 27m. south-south-east of the development site. The Grade II-listed holy well has a modern superstructure incorporating the late 14th-century head of a crowned king said to have come from the destroyed west front of the cathedral. The present 'well' possibly dates from 1904 and was restored in 1977.

The precise location of the original medieval well has not been ascertained. The earliest reference to the well is in 1250, and a further reference occurs in 1359. An elaborate canopy was constructed over the well at the beginning of the 14th century by Bishop Swinfield. The structure is depicted on Speed's plan of Hereford, dating from 1610, and was subsequently sketched by Dineley in 1684 and Stukeley in 1721. A more accurate location is marked on a plan drawn up in 1801 prior to the building of St Ethelbert House; the well is marked as a circular feature surrounded by walls and approached by steps from Castle Hill. The 1801 plan indicates the well is located in the gardens of either St Ethelbert's or Well Cottage.

During the site visit a well was inspected at the rear of the property. Although the upper courses of it have been consolidated in modern brickwork, the property owners have confirmed that the remaining structure is built in stone.

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY LIMITED

KINGSTONE, Kingstone Church, Green Lane, (SO 424 357) [HSM 53752; EHE80291]

Archaeological observation of drainage trenching was carried out over two phases in the churchyard of the Grade II* listed Church of St Michael and All Angels (List Entry No: 1178447). Some fragmentary human bone was recorded during Phase 1, which took place on the northern side of the church. 19 human burials and a large quantity of disarticulated human remains were recorded during Phase 2, to the west and south-west of the church.

The north/south alignment and narrow width of the Phase 2 trenching meant that no complete burials were available for examination, as they followed an east/west alignment consistent with established Christian burial practice. Grave cuts were not clearly visible but the shallow nature of many of the burials suggests a comparatively early date, with evidence for a coffin present in just one case. It is considered that the burials encountered, which lay beneath a path shown on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1888, were likely to have been of medieval or earlier post-medieval date. (Bromage, L., Border Archaeology BA1716KCH).

LEOMINSTER, Land at Pinsley Mill (SO 501 591) [HSM 19589; EHE80330]

A programme of archaeological observation and field evaluation was undertaken in advance of residential development. The site was formerly occupied by Pinsley Mill, shown on Isaac Taylor's map of 1754 as a cotton mill and later rebuilt as a corn mill and which continued in use until the Second World War. It was thought to occupy the location of the medieval Priory Mill which was in the ownership of Leominster Priory and which represents one of Leominster's first mills, located at the point where the Pinsley Brook exits the monastic precinct.

A number of geotechnical test pits were opened on the site under archaeological observation. The majority of these were devoid of archaeological finds or features, the exception being one which contained red brick rubble, possibly demolition debris relating to the mill. An evaluation trench subsequently excavated on the site in the location of the mill structure revealed a masonry wall which had been subject to several phases of alteration. Evidence for its demolition was also encountered. No evidence for the medieval Priory Mill, archaeological or artefactual, was

seen, although it should be stated that no dating evidence was found for the stone wall which ran the length of the trench. A number of deposits relating to demolition and backfilling were also recorded. (Crooks, K. H., Border Archaeology BA1507PML).

STOKE LACY, Land adjacent to Cuckhorn Farm (SO 625 505) [HSM 6664; EHE77003]

The Unit was commissioned to undertake a programme of archaeological field evaluation on land adjacent to Cuckhorn Farm in connection with a proposed new-build, part-earth-sheltered dwelling, including an underground integral garage. The work was in addition to an archaeological assessment carried out by Border Archaeology in January 2016, and aimed to evaluate how the proposed development would affect the setting of an oval mound listed on the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record (HER) as a 'possible undocumented medieval motte'. A substantial ditch aligned east-west running along the north side of the earthen mound was encountered in trenches 2 and 3 of the evaluation. Its position and alignment, although running close to the south side of the motte, suggested that it may represent the alignment of a boundary. No finds of an early date were encountered, with the only ceramic material present being 20th-century brick and tile deriving from a recent backfill of the partially silted ditch. (Crooks, K. H., BA1602CFSL).

COTSWOLD ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, The Ship Inn, Ross Road (SO 507 391) [HSM 56244; EHE80301]

An archaeological field evaluation identified a late-17th to 18th-century cultivation soil and six refuse pits probably dating from the 18th century and associated with buildings known to have formerly occupied the site. (Cotswold Archaeology, 2017, typescript report 17260)

LEDBURY, Land north of the railway viaduct (SO 703 390) [HSM 25265; EHE80168]

An archaeological field evaluation identified several 1st–2nd century AD ditches and a pit occupying a small plateau overlooking the River Leadon. The finds assemblage is indicative of domestic activity in the vicinity. Ditches and a mill race pertaining to post-medieval and modern agricultural activity were also identified. (Cotswold Archaeology, 2017, typescript report 17261).

HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) LTD.

GRAFTON, Agricultural land to the south-west of Hereford (SO 4913 3614) [EHE80306]

Headland staff undertook archaeological monitoring during the excavation of a series of geotechnical test pits on land to the south-west of Hereford. The geotechnical survey was undertaken in fields on the potential route of the proposed Hereford southern link road. No archaeological finds, features or deposits were identified during the work, with only a potential alluvial deposit identified within an otherwise consistent stratigraphic profile. (Thomson, S., HAS 1252)

HEREFORD, Hereford Cathedral Restaurant (SO 510 398) [HSM 23993; EHE80285]

Headland Archaeology carried out an archaeological evaluation within the Cathedral Restaurant at Hereford Cathedral. Beneath the current, stone-floor surface were make-up deposits which included a possible, earlier but poorly preserved, stone floor surface. These deposits continued to a total depth of 0.29m. Beneath this level there were clear indications of preserved, stratified archaeological deposits. (Archer, B., HAS 1221)

HEREFORD, Hereford Cathedral Custos Lodge Yard (SO 510 397) [HSM 56217; EHE 80287/80305]

Headland staff undertook an archaeological evaluation and subsequent excavation within the Custos Lodge Yard, prior to the construction of a small building on the site. The excavation revealed four human burials at a depth of c.2m below the existing ground surface.

Analysis of the skeletons revealed that one, a middle-aged man, had suffered at least four, possibly five, blade injuries, two of which would have been fatal in their own right. None of the injuries show any trace of healing indicating that they were all inflicted around the time of death. The first significant blow was inflicted with a very sharp, narrow blade delivered from behind the victim, in a downward direction (Fig. 1). This injury would almost certainly have been fatal, and would have definitely caused paralysis of the legs had the victim survived. The second significant injury was a very powerful blow administered to the skull, inflicted with an edged weapon, again from behind (Fig. 2). The blade cut through the entire thickness of the skull and into the brain and the injury must have been almost immediately fatal.

Radiocarbon dating of the skeleton revealed that it dated from between AD 680-780, indicating the individual lived at a key point in the development of Hereford. Documentary sources record that at the beginning of the 8th century the Welsh were troubling the English with their attacks. In AD 743 the kings of Mercia and Wessex campaigned together against the Welsh, and reference is made to the frequent violent skirmishes which took place between the two forces during the period. Although little detail of the event is known, several Welsh sources record a battle of Hereford taking place in AD 760.

A sequence of former yard-surfaces sealed these burials. The excavation also uncovered evidence of the



Figure 1. Hereford, Cathedral Custos Lodge Yard. Sword-blade injury to the spine inflicted from behind on a middle-aged man contributory to his death (sometime between 680 and 780AD).

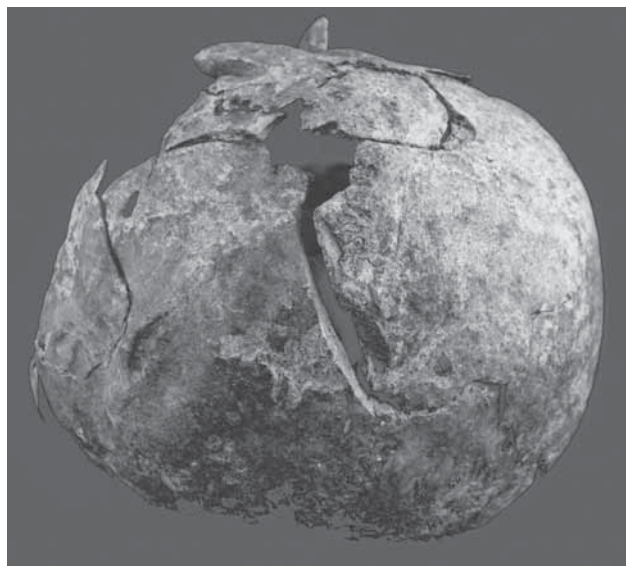


Figure 2. Hereford, Cathedral Custos Lodge Yard. Blade injury to the head also inflicted from behind on a middle-aged man and immediately causing death, sometime between 680 and 780AD.

15th-century Custos Lodge, including the foundation of its southern wall and a subterranean feature thought to be a cellar or latrine pit. (Archer, B., Cochrane, T. & Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 1222/1276)

HEREFORD, County Hospital water main replacement (SO 515 401) [EHE80300]

An archaeological watching brief was carried out, in advance of the replacement of a water main at the site of the County Hospital. Monitoring was carried out during the excavation of two slot-trenches through a service road to the south of the Age Care/Rehabilitation Unit. Each of the trenches was excavated to a maximum depth of 1.0m below ground level and the natural geology was not reached in either case. The earliest deposit encountered appeared to represent a former horticultural soil horizon, heavily truncated by numerous extant services. Whilst occasional small fragments of probable human bone (relating to the site of a known medieval burial ground) were identified within this matrix within the southernmost trench, no articulated remains were identified. (Bain, K., HAS 1230)

HEREFORD, Edgar Street Link Road – Essex Arms (SO 512 406) [HSM44627; EHE 80166]

Archaeological works were undertaken within the northern part of the Essex Arms playing field, Hereford. The project was undertaken in advance of the construction of the Hereford City Link Road and diversion of the Tan Brook through a new culvert. The work uncovered peat deposits some of which were filling a series of meandering channels. Previous work on the site had dated the peat to the Bronze Age and an assessment of plant macro-fossils suggested these deposits could be similar in origin and date to those previously analysed. (Bennett, I., HAS 1235)

HEREFORD, Edgar Street Link Road – Widemarsh Street (SO 511 407) [HSM56296; EHE80166]

Headland Archaeology undertook archaeological excavation during the construction of a new relief road at its junction with Widemarsh Street. The investigation revealed structural remains of medieval date, apparently fronting onto Widemarsh Street, to both the east and west sides of the road (Fig. 3). A metallised surface, potentially an early evolution of Widemarsh Street itself, was also observed within a machined sondage. Extensive post-medieval robbing and demolition occurred in the 17th-18th centuries, with later post-medieval and modern construction identified. (Thomson, S., HAS 1245)



Figure 3. Hereford, Edgar Street Link Road, Widemarsh Street. Structural remains of a medieval building fronting onto the former street for which metallised surfaces were also traced.

HEREFORD, Edgar Street Link Road – Royal Mail sorting office (SO 515 405) [HSM26976; EHE 80166]

Headland staff undertook a program of archaeological works during the construction of the Edgar Street Relief Road in Hereford. During ground investigation works on the site of the Royal Mail Sorting Office and Jewson building supplies, a former wharf relating to the Gloucester to Hereford Canal was identified as well as a series of stratified post-medieval-made ground deposits relating to multiple phases of demolition and levelling. (Bennett, I., HAS 1246)

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

Herefordshire Archaeology has continued to provide routine advisory case-work (development management and countryside matters), together with HER maintenance and updating duties. In addition it has been involved with a number of community and agency based projects. These have included the final season of the Longtown Castles Project, excavation and recording works at Snodhill Castle, a project at Clifford Castle funded by the Castles Studies Trust and practical conservation work at Brandon Camp.

Herefordshire Archaeology continued to support and work in partnership with Manchester University, undertaking another season of investigation at Dorstone Hill. The final report for the Longtown Castles project will be completed in 2018 and will therefore feature in that year's *Transactions*.

CLIFFORD: Archaeological investigations at Clifford Castle. (NGR: SO 243 456); [HSM 713; EHE80299; SAM 1001774]

An application for a grant from the Castle Studies Trust was successfully made by Herefordshire Archaeology in order to undertake a geophysical survey and a small scale, targeted, excavation to provide information concerning the form and development of Clifford Castle.

The geophysical surveys (Ground Penetrating Radar and Electrical Resistance), undertaken within the bailey and around the gatehouse failed to locate any major features with the exception of ridge and furrow or orchard ridging which appears to run on a south-west / north-east axis over much of the area.

A total of seven small trenches or test pits were excavated by hand. The test pits within the bailey revealed that the archaeology was being masked by the dumping of glacial gravels to form orchard ridging across what was the bailey. These have sealed well-preserved medieval deposits within the bailey and explain the disappointing geophysical results.

Excavations on the hornwork have shown that this was never developed as an outwork of the castle despite its



Figure 4. Clifford Castle: trench located in the centre of the Keep.

strategic location. Excavations within the keep located the central door of the hall at ground floor level. A test pit across the western end of the hall recorded its western wall and the continuation of a narrow passage. It is thought that the passage could have given access, either to a garderobe chamber (no others are known at motte-top/ground-floor level), or to arrow-loops offering covering fire over the north-west angle of the castle buildings, interlocking with the arcs provided by windows at two levels in the north-west tower.

A test pit located in the centre of the motte revealed a significant depth of *in-situ* deposits, the top 0.7m relating to post-medieval and modern clearance of the site including the organised stacking of masonry (Fig. 4). The lower levels revealed what is believed to have been a large post-hole beneath a succession of two cobbled surfaces. Pottery from these deposits, including the fills of three, possible post holes has been dated to the late-11th to 13th centuries. (Baker, N. and Hoverd, T., HAR 373).

DORSTONE, Dorstone Hill (SO 326 424), [HSM 1551; EHE6403]

A seventh season of investigations of the (mostly) 4th millennium BC Neolithic hilltop site took place from late June to late July 2017. The excavation continued to be directed by Professor Julian Thomas of Manchester University and Dr Keith Ray, the former County Archaeologist for Herefordshire, this year in association with Dr Nick Overton of Manchester University and Tim Hoverd of Herefordshire Council Archaeology. The project was again staffed in 2017 by local volunteers and by students from (mostly) the Universities of Manchester and Cardiff. These excavations continued those of 2014-16 to the west and east of the 2012-13 trenches (see *TWNFC*, 61, 120-2, Plates 5.7-5.9; *TWNFC*, 62, 157-8; *TWNFC*, 63, 220-1, Plate 6.2; *TWNFC*, 64, 144-6, Plate 5.6). Access to the site was once again kindly granted by the owners of the land, the Hughes family.

In 2017, excavation continued on the site of the early/mid-4th millennium BC below-ground burial chamber at the western end of the easternmost long mound. This chamber had been partially examined in 2013 and more fully investigated in 2016. The ditch that contained a rich organic deposit, including cremated human bone, was more fully investigated and was found to have originally entirely encircled the former burial chamber except on its western side. The completion of the excavation in this area has enabled a full

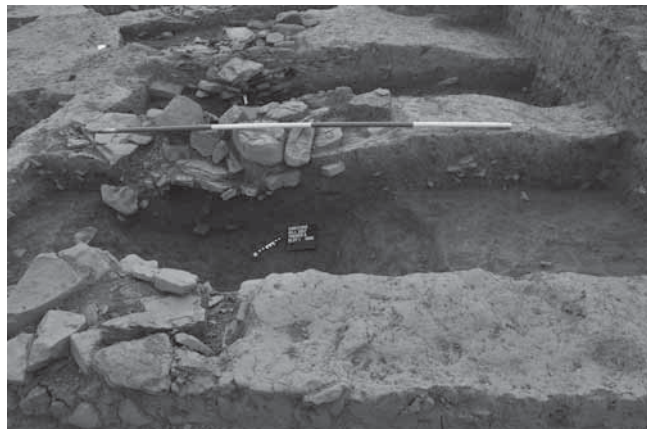


Figure 5. Dorstone Hill, 2017: view of the southern arc of a ditch dug around the early burial chamber. A deposit containing cremated bone was overlain by a linear stone 'cairn'.

reconstruction of the sequence of events here, which had in its later stages involved the deliberate dismantling of the original timber elements, and the creation of a small ditched earthen barrow, into the upper ditch fills of which were placed (on the south side only), the rich organic deposit

mixed with cremated bones. The location of this deposit was then marked with a capping of stones.

A new 'open area' excavation, at the same time, focused on the western series of ditch segments belonging to the causewayed enclosure, revealed by the geophysical survey in 2016, at the southern end of the promontory. This demonstrated that there had been an entrance between segments that were on the same alignment as the mounds to the north by the neck of the promontory. Plain bowl pottery sherds were recovered from several of the segments, while one segment produced the decayed remains of an antler pick. Most remarkable was the discovery that what appeared initially to have been recuts of the ditch segments represented instead an entirely separate phase of construction that had involved the creation of a palisade cutting through both the ditch segments and the former causeways of undug material between them (Fig. 5). After the decay of the palisade timbers, further features were dug into the former ditch segments, including the placed deposit of the single pottery vessel, apparently also of mid-fourth millennium character. Only the lower portion of the vessel had survived subsequent erosion. A single pit was found within the interior of the enclosure, containing a sherd from a Peterborough Ware-style Middle Neolithic vessel.

Further full geophysical (magnetometry) survey of the adjacent field completed the survey coverage of the whole promontory. While revealing the existence of several further features of potential archaeological interest, the results suggest that no further enclosures exist on the hilltop. (K. Ray).

PETERCHURCH: *A Programme of Archaeological Observation and Recording at Snodhill Castle. (NGR: SO 332 404); [HSM 155; EHE 80341; SAM 1015168]*

A programme of archaeological observation and recording at Snodhill Castle was required to facilitate urgently-needed structural repair to the monument. The monument is in need of repair and it is currently categorised as 'At Risk' on the Historic England, Heritage at Risk Register.

The phase two works were required in order to provide information concerning the extent and condition of wall sections and foundations in order to inform and advise the Project Architect, Alastair Coey Architects and the main contractor, Sally Strachey Historic Conservation. The excavations were limited in nature but provided important information regarding the extent and layout of the keep, the north tower and the north flanking wall (Fig. 6). In addition to the watching brief, recording of the standing fabric was undertaken using a 'structure from motion' approach.

Although the excavations undertaken were not wholly targeted to answer archaeological questions, they have provided a significant amount of information concerning the layout of the keep, the extent and nature of the north flanking wall and the scale and internal layout of the north



Figure 6. Dorstone Hill, 2017: large angular stones cast into the palisade slot re-cut of one of the terminals of the causewayed camp ditch segments.

tower. It is now clear that the keep is even more complex than was previously thought and appears to be multi-phase. Exactly how it was laid out and used is still unknown, however identifying the location of the fireplace is a major step forward in the understanding of the use the keep at ground-floor level. There remain many questions associated with the layout and appearance of the keep. There are also questions to be addressed concerning its post-medieval development, its role during the Civil War and its subsequent robbing for stone. It should be noted that no finds dating from, or associated with, the Civil War were discovered during these works. This was unexpected, as documentary evidence and folklore appear to suggest that a major action took place at the castle. If this were the case, then finds associated with this event would have been expected. It therefore appears that Snodhill Castle may have been re-fortified during the Civil War but was not directly involved in any action. (Hoverd, T and Mayes, S. HAR 374).



Figure 7. Snodhill Castle: the internal face of the south bastion, following completion of excavation.

HEREFORDSHIRE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES (PAS)

This small selection of recent finds from 2017 highlights the continued importance that the general public play in reporting their archaeological discoveries to the Portable Antiquities Scheme based and supported by Herefordshire Museum Service. All the finds below were discovered by metal detector users and the Finds Liaison Officer—Peter Reavill—is especially grateful to both Patrick Brown and Alun Crichton who have helped with the recording process. Coincidentally, the most important finds recorded in the county date from the later Iron Age, with new discoveries of both coinage and personal artefacts adding to our already rich history of the period (as evident in the many hillforts). These finds predominantly come from the rich and fertile valleys of the county, where little is known about the ‘ordinary folk’ living in this period. All these finds (and many more) can be seen and discovered in the PAS database – www.finds.org.uk.

BROBURY and MONNINGTON: A cosmetic mortar of later Iron Age or Roman date (PAS Reference: PUBLIC-FEA7E1) (Plate 7.1)

A cast, copper-alloy end-looped, cosmetic mortar (also known as cosmetic or woad grinder) of later-Iron Age to early-Roman period (c.100 BC-AD 200). The cosmetic mortar is incomplete having eroded and corroded terminals which taper to blunt points. In plan it is broadly a pointed, oval shape (elliptical) with distinct crescent-shaped profile; in cross-section it is U-shaped. The end loop is lost through an old break and was cast in one piece with the rest of the mortar. On

the upper edge is the grinding area / surface which has a very shallow U-shaped cross-section and shows visible signs of wear through use. There are no decorative motifs on the mortar; although a long D-shaped rib is present on the underneath surface. The mortar has a mid-dark-green polished surface patina which has been heavily eroded revealing a light-green-brown corroded surface beneath. A similar end-looped cosmetic mortar came from Brandon, Suffolk (Jackson, 2010: p.81 cat no 84) from an unstratified or otherwise unprovenanced context. The mortar measures 52.8mm long, 9.4mm wide, a maximum of 9.7mm thick, and weighs 13.64 grams. (Jackson, R., 2010, *Cosmetic sets of Late Iron Age and Roman Britain*, British Museum Research Publication 181, London).

EATON BISHOP: A later Iron Age decorative fitting (PAS Reference: HESH-52BE9F) (Figure 8)

An incomplete, cast copper-alloy, anicat, later Iron Age (100BC-AD 80) artefact—probably a stud, fob dangler or other decorative fitting. The item is broadly circular in plan with a cast and inlaid upper surface. The reverse face is incomplete; projecting from the mid-point is a bifurcated stem which is broken and eroded—its inner surface is a rounded U-shape possibly suggesting it fitted onto a small cord or rod. The design on the upper surface comprises a central, raised, cast design which is curvilinear in nature—it is best described as an inverted S-shape formed of two, opposing, semi-circular panels conjoined by a lentoid central element. This panel is pierced by three small circular cells one of which is filled with a red enamel. Either side of the panel are two triangular-shaped recessed panels—both of which were also probably filled with red enamel—the surface of each panel is keyed and contains the fragmentary remains of patches of red paste. Both the upper and lower surfaces of the mount have a black patina whose colouring looks deliberate rather than as a product of corrosion / patina within the soil.

No direct parallel for the form of this artefact has been found; however, the decoration is similar to other artefacts recorded on the PAS database—specifically from Haversham-cum-Little Linford, Northamptonshire (SOM-D3B3D1) which is recorded as part of a tankard handle, and a lock plate from Colchester, Essex (ESS-1A0D44). The form of the inverted S-shaped

panel is discussed by Jope (2000, pp.177-9 & Plate II: 560-4) and (HESH-52BE9F).

is similar to that seen in decorative interlace on items such as the Desborough Mirror (plate 234). The mount has an external diameter of 27.0mm, the front plate is 4.1mm thick; the rear projection extends on an oval shank 12.3mm high 15.7mm wide and each bifurcated arm is 10.3mm high and 5.4mm thick. The projection extends 8.6mm from the rear face of the mount. The mount weighs 20.23 grams. (Jope, E. M., 2000, *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles*, Oxford University Press, Oxford).



Figure 8. Eaton Bishop. Later Iron Age decorative fitting (probable stud) (HESH-52BE9F).

SUTTON ST MICHAEL, An inscribed Iron Age gold stater of the Dobunnic tribe (PAS Reference: HESH-B5D584) (Figure 9)

Iron Age coins are rare objects and their discoveries are still noteworthy. This year two examples have been reported through responsible metal detecting in Herefordshire. The first is an inscribed gold stater of the Western type— ascribed to the Dobunnic leader EISV and thought to have been struck *c.* AD 20-43. The obverse shows a leaf / tree or branch with pellet terminals whilst the reverse depicts a triple-tailed horse advancing right—inscribed EISV above horse with two pellets between inscription and its body. Below the horse is a wheel and small star with a pellet in front of the horse's muzzle.

(van Arsdell, R. D., 1989, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*, London, Spink and Sons Ref: 1105; Hobbs, R., 1996, *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum*, London, British Museum, Ref: 3039-3042, specifically 3039; Rudd, C. et al., 2010, *Ancient British Coins*, Aylsham, Ref: 2078)

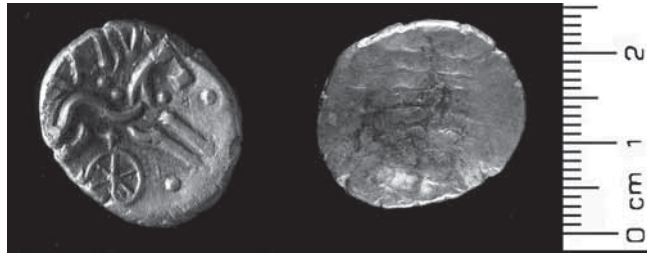


Figure 9. Sutton St Nicholas. Late Pre-Roman Iron Age Dobunnic gold stater (HESH-B5D584).

UPTON BISHOP: An incomplete fragment of Anglo-Scandinavian Harness (PAS Reference: PUBLIC-82F405) (Plate 7.2)

Although small, this fragment of harness is one of only a small handful of Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts recorded from the county. The fragment comprises one part of a double-looped strap distributor or harness link, probably from the bridle, dated to the period AD 950-*c.* 1100). If complete the two loops (of which only one survives) would be conjoined by a rectangular bar with a central swollen boss. The remaining terminal is lozenge-shaped with a central opening that is a rounded rectangle in plan. There are knops at the corners of the three outer edges, with the fourth side extending into the rectangular bar. The central boss is dome-shaped with a hollowed rear; there is a similar knop on each side. The fitting had a green patina over the brown metal. This form of strap fitting is infrequently discovered in Herefordshire and therefore this is a find of note—being on the edge of the known distribution of the type. David Williams (2007) has written extensively on this form of strap fitting being the most common form of this double-ended link. (Williams, D., 2007, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Horse Harness Fittings' in *Finds Research Group Datasheet*: Volume 39).

WIGMORE: An Iron Age uninscribed silver unit of the Dobunnic tribe. (PAS Reference: HESH-8CBAED)

This second Iron Age coin from Herefordshire is a silver, late Iron Age, uninscribed unit of the Western 'Dobunnic tribe'. The coin has a debased head, facing right on the obverse and a horse advancing left with wheel above on the reverse. A direct parallel has not been found—although it shares a number of similarities to examples in the British Museum from Cunetio, Wiltshire. (Hobbs, 1996, 3019-3020) Silver units are relatively uncommon finds within the county when

compared to the larger, gold staters of the period—their distribution tends to be anica on quasi-urban or urban contexts such as *Ariconium* (South Herefordshire) or *Viroconium*, (Wroxeter, Shropshire) (Hobbs, R., 1996, *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum*, London: British Museum).

YATTON; A Medieval silver long-cross penny of Henry III (1216-1272) (PAS Reference: PUBLIC-71BA2B) (Figure 10)

A medieval, silver, long-cross penny of Henry III (1216-1272) of the Voided Long Cross type, Class 3b dating from 1249. Struck by the moneyer Roger at the Hereford mint (North, 1994, Ref 987). The obverse depicts the king facing forwards; the crown is formed with a solid band with pellet terminals and a single, central cross formed with pellet ends. The hair is formed with crescents within pellets—two curls either side of the face and the beard is also formed of two rows of uneven pellets with a large, central pellet for his chin. The inscription reads HENRICVS REX III. The reverse is divided by a voided cross with three pellets within each quarter. The reverse legend reads: ROGER ON HEREF with the ER, Nh and EF being ligated (joined together). The largest group of these coins is known from the Brussels Hoard where there were only 33 examples of Roger / Hereford struck Class 3b coins according to Churchill and Thomas (2012). This is the first coin to be recorded by PAS from the Hereford Mint within Herefordshire. (Churchill, R., and Thomas, B., 2012, *The Brussels Hoard of 1908 – The Lond Gross Coinage of Henry III*, London, Baldwin and Son; North, J. J., 1994, *English Hammered Coinage: Volume I. Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III AD 600 – 1272*, London, Spink and Sons).



Figure 10. Yatton. Henry III silver long-cross penny (PUBLIC-71BA2B).

WORCESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

BARTESTREE: *Land to the East of Church House (SO 567 410) [EHE80289]*

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken at land east of Church House. It was undertaken for Wardell Armstrong on behalf of their client, Keepmoat Homes, who intend the construction of a new residential development for which an outline planning application has been granted by Herefordshire Council. The site is located at the eastern edge of the settlement of Bartestree, roughly 6km to the east of Hereford. Prior to the construction phase the site comprised pasture across two fields, separated by a wooden stable block situated in the centre of the proposed development area.

Earthworks associated with a possible moated site and partial deserted medieval village (DMV) are recorded to the immediate east of the site and early maps depict a hollow-way leading to the moated site running through the centre of the site. A building known as Den Cottage is depicted on early maps in the centre of the site and ridge and furrow is recorded in the northern field.

Two small stone spreads were recorded in the north-western part of the southern field comprised of flat limestone and sandstone possibly forming the residue of a surface. A small quantity of 16th- to early-17th-century domestic pottery was recovered from one of these. Other finds recovered comprised a typical low-density residual spread of Roman, post-medieval and modern artefactual material.

The central area, where Den Cottage had been located, had been developed later in the 20th century and was hardstanding with modern disturbance. This meant that no potential for archaeology survived in this area. No evidence of ridge and furrow was observed in the northern field. Apart from the stone spreads, no features of archaeological significance were recorded (Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2462).

Botany, 2017

By PETER GARNER

I am delighted to be able to report that the number of people recording plants in Herefordshire has increased in recent years, and in 2017 I received more records from more recorders than in any year since 2006 when I became county recorder. It was especially exciting to receive over a thousand records for the Golden Valley area from Stuart Hedley. Stuart, who I mentioned in my last report is a professional ecologist with a specialist knowledge of botany. Surprisingly, the Golden Valley was an under-recorded area of the county, but now, Stuart is not alone in that area, as Tim Kaye, who recently managed the Herefordshire Wildlife Trust's reserve at Queenswood, lives nearby and is also recording in the area.

Stuart recorded Small-flowered Buttercup *Ranunculus parviflorus* (Plate 8.1) at Kilpeck Castle, and this rather inconspicuous annual was also discovered on grassy banks close to the River Wye at Breinton by Nicky Geeson and Jane Wise. There were very few plants at Kilpeck but at Breinton there were dense patches comprising many hundreds of plants. Meadow Saxifrage *Saxifraga granulata* and Toothwort *Lathraea squamaria* were also growing on these banks with the Small-flowered Buttercup. Further upstream from this spot, but still at Breinton I found a plant "new for Herefordshire" and new for me! Growing on the bank of the River Wye was Yellow-flowered Strawberry *Potentilla indica* (once known as *Duchesnea indica*) (Plate 8.2). The name describes the plant perfectly. In *The New Flora of the British Isles*, 2010, Clive Stace states 'cultivated as a curiosity and occasionally escapes into shady places; very scattered in central and southern Britain.' It originates from SE Asia and it was certainly growing wild in Herefordshire! I would guess it was thrown into the river as garden waste and washed up on the river-bank at Breinton.

Danish Scurvygrass *Cochlearia danica*, which was once confined to coastal regions, has become common beside the salt-treated roads of Herefordshire as it has throughout most of Britain. However, the occurrence of the small, pink flowered Sand Spurrey *Spergularia rubra* along main road verges is a much more recent phenomenon. This year a third salt-loving maritime plant was recorded in the county: Lesser Sea-spurrey *Spergularia marina* was found growing in a thin extensive line beside the A4103 at Castle Frome.

Twelve spikes of Pale Galingale *Cyperus eragrostis* were recorded in July by Giles King-Salter from beside Bodenham Lake at the new Herefordshire Wildlife Trust reserve close to the hide on the north side. There has only ever been four previous Herefordshire records for this tall and rather elegant member of the sedge tribe. It is rare away from the South coast of England and the London area, but although originating as a garden escape it is well naturalised beside the lake at Bodenham.

Other records of interest included, Tall Ramping-fumitory *Fumaria bastardii* at Highfields on the Eastern edge of Hereford, White Ramping-fumitory *F. capreolata* in the edge of a garden in the centre of Dilwyn, Sharp-leaved Fluellen *Kickxia elatine* at Dinedor and Pale Willowherb *Epilobium roseum* around the edges of St Katherine's car park in Ledbury. We have few records for Pale Willowherb in Herefordshire but it is probably under-recorded, because it is quite similar in appearance to some of the other commoner willowherbs that try our patience as garden weeds.

Pale Willowherb, as its name suggests, has very pale pink, often almost white, half-closed, nodding flowers and unlike most of the other willowherbs it has stalked leaves. At Pencombe I found well in excess of 1,000 plants of Green Field-speedwell *Veronica agrestis* growing around the edges of a Broad Bean field. This is a plant which is probably under-recorded, because it is similar in general appearance to Common Field-speedwell *Veronica persica*. It also grows in similar places, and as a consequence is very likely often over-looked. However, I have never seen it growing as profusely as it was at Pencombe!

There is always a sense of excitement when one finds a wild orchid, and this is heightened when the discovery is in an unusual place. This was indeed the circumstance for Jane Wise's discovery of three spikes of Pyramidal Orchid *Anacamptis pyramidalis* beside the pavement in the grounds of the BT building right in the centre of Hereford!

I am always grateful to receive records of any Herefordshire plants, or help with identification if you come across something with which you are not familiar. petergarner@live.co.uk

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Buildings, 2017

By DUNCAN JAMES

Herefordshire is particularly rich in historic buildings in stone, brick and timber, and these enhance any walk through the towns and villages in the county. From a view of the exterior of buildings we can speculate on such things as their phasing, date and function but this has inevitable limitations. It is only through full access to the interior as well as the exterior that a building can be persuaded to reveal its secrets and, in the case of the examples below, this has been made possible through the generosity of the owners. Even the most thorough recording and analysis will never be the last word, however while reports are only ever the foundation for future work they do offer some permanent record of physical evidence that may otherwise be lost in the future.

This year there has been the opportunity to add to the cruck catalogue listing maintained by Dr Nat Alcock, which has brought the count of cruck buildings in the county up to about 240.¹ The catalogue also records buildings in which cruck blades from an earlier building have been re-used.

Over the last year a number of buildings were visited including the following:-

The Rodd, (formerly Rodd Court) Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton, Herefordshire, LD8 2LL
Grid ref. 52.257452, -2.994229: Map ref. SO 32227 62607, RCHME Mon. No.1.

The Rodd is a grade II* listed building of late 16th- or early 17th- century date, set out on an L-shaped plan, and situated in the north-west corner of Herefordshire close to the Welsh Border just one mile south of Presteigne. Adjacent to the house there is a range of 17th-century barns used by the Sidney Nolan Trust as exhibition space and administration accommodation.

The house is of two-storeys, with attics and cellar, constructed in stone with a brick façade on two elevations (Fig. 1). Internal partitions and cross-frames are of timber framing. The main windows have ovolo moulded wooden mullions and transoms. The roof is of stone slates and there are tall chimneystacks mostly with diagonally-set brick shafts. Over the front entrance is a storeyed porch and along the back of the building there are additional service rooms and a staircase tower. A ground plan is shown in Figure 2.



Figure 1. The Rodd, front elevation showing the brick façade and storeyed porch.

The majority of the internal fixtures and fittings are primary including the open-well staircase, many of the doors and architraves and the two very fine carved overmantels. One room has an elaborate plaster ceiling of decorative strapwork and fleur-de-lis. The house contains four rooms with panelling of various dates in the 17th century.

A former granary and cart house of 19th-century date behind the main building was converted in the 1950s to domestic use as a library and linked to the main building. It contains a carved overmantel.

The building appears not to have been the subject of detailed scrutiny other than that carried out by the Royal Commission in the 1930s and subsequently published, which included a ground plan.² However, in the latest edition of Pevsner, Alan Brooks states that the ‘Main range perhaps late C16, the date 1629 above the moulded wooden doorway probably referring to a substantial remodelling, when both the three-storey porch (with round-arched entrance) and far-projecting NW wing were added.’³

From an external assessment of the house it is tempting to take this view, because the brickwork on the front of the main range and the side of the wing is little more than a façade and the porch, with its stone arch, could well be a later addition. One of the objects of the detailed investigation, undertaken in 2017,⁴ was to test this proposition.

From the ground plan (Fig. 2) it can be seen that the porch and the front door are positioned centrally on the façade and inconveniently in-line with the primary, timber-framed partition between the kitchen on the left and the ceiled hall on the right. This structural conflict has been

resolved by the construction of a timber-framed, panelled, internal lobby with an offset doorway leading into the hall itself. It is tempting to think that this is all a compromise solution that was done as a result of a radical remodelling with the addition of the projecting wing on the right ‘pushing’ the principal entrance out of line.

There are a number of problems with this. Had a re-modelling involved the addition of the porch it would have also necessitated a complete rebuild of the entire front of the building in order to position the windows correctly. If the wing had been part of this rebuild, it would have abutted the stone side-wall of the main north-south range. It is likely that some or all of the wall between the main range and the wing would have been left in place and simply pierced for doorways but there is no trace of it even in the cellar that has been constructed on the site beneath bay 7 (see Fig. 2).

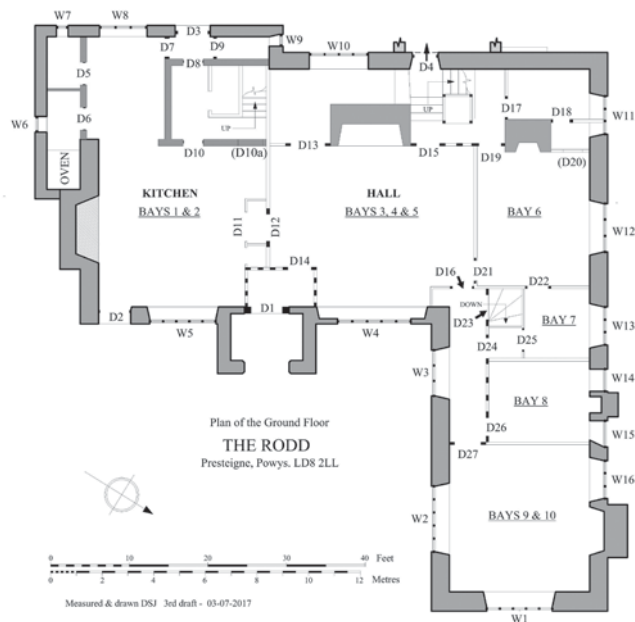


Figure 2. The Rodd, ground plan of the principal building.

Further indication that the porch was planned as part of the primary structure can be found in the roof structure where the link between the main attic space and the top chamber in the porch has been made in a way that can only have been designed and executed when the main roof was built. Had the porch been a later addition it would have been necessary to cut through one of the purlins in the main roof to create access. Instead, a planned gap is in the roof structure with the end of the purlin let into the back of the principal rafter and secured with a bare-faced dovetail joint (Fig. 3).

It will be noted from the ground plan (Fig. 2) that the wall into which the front doorway (D1) is set is not as thick as the main walls of the house. This is a further indication that the porch is not a later addition—had it been ‘planted’ onto the façade the wall thickness here would be the same as the rest of the wall.⁵

Sheltered by the porch, is a sixteen panel double-thickness plank door (D1) with applied, moulded cover fillets and pattern nailing (Fig. 4). The doorframe has double-ovolo moulding (with steps) to the jambs and lintel, the latter with the date 1629 cut into the surface.

The principal five-light mullion and transom window in the east wall of the hall originally had seven lights spanning the entire width of the wall from the porch to the crosswing.

The windows in the porch and the facades of the main range and the wing have ovolo moulded mullions and transoms and some have moulded lintels (Fig. 5). The brickwork on each side is chamfered and there is brick drip-moulding above.

Inside the house there are many primary features including the oak staircase, which is housed in a staircase tower to the north of the principal fireplace in the hall. It is an open-



Figure 3. The Rodd, purlin end secured with a bare-face dovetail alongside the access into the top room in the porch.

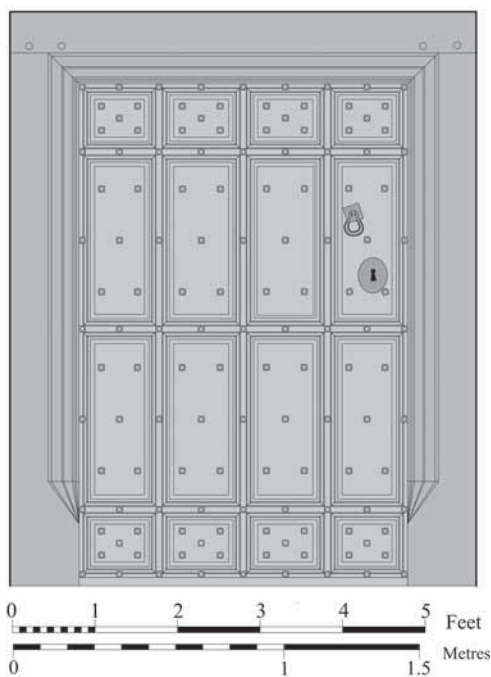


Figure 4. The Rodd, a drawing of the front door (D1).

well closed string design, made of substantial timbers, that rises by three flights to the first floor and three further flights to the attic (Fig. 6). On the lower flights, the newel posts are either square or rectangular in section with an ovolo moulding, terminating in a cut stop. The newel posts are capped by turned knobs with simple, lined decoration and the handrail has a half-round profile. This relatively plain, robust staircase is enlivened by mirrored splat balusters cut from *c.* 2inch thick planks and double pegged at top and bottom. The sides of the newel posts are fitted with halved splat balusters.

There are indications that the upper flights to the attic level are a second phase addition. The balusters are a slightly different profile, the newel posts are lacking the turned finials and the ovolo moulding on one corner. The main indication of a second phase for the upper part of the staircase is in the side walls of the staircase tower itself where there are sloping ‘jumps’ in the plaster indicating that there was formerly a lower, catslide roof rather than the present higher, gabled structure that was added to reach the attic.

Two of the rooms in the wing have spectacular carved chimneypieces. On the ground floor in bays 9/10 the fireplace in the north wall has an elaborate carved overmantel with jambs that neatly overlay the stone jambs of the fireplace (Fig. 7). They are decorated with paired pilasters with ionic capitals and strapwork panels at the bases. Paired pilasters also flank the upper part of the overmantel which is divided into three panels, a large central panel with a smaller panel on each side. These rest on a horizontal entablature that is decorated with strapwork and dentils beneath a narrow bracketed shelf. The central panel contains an elaborate, circular strapwork device with scrolls, pinnacles and stylised swags overlain with a pulvinated shield carved and embossed with the coat-of-arms of Richard Rodd and his wife Barbara. Forming



Figure 5. The Rodd, first floor window in the storeyed porch.



Figure 6. The Rodd, inside the staircase tower.

the surround to this central panel there are jambs with jewelled strapwork ornament above which are small, blank escutcheons. The smaller panels flanking the central panel each have an arcade with guilloche decoration to the pilasters and arch. The spandrels have scrolled decoration. Within each arcade there is a blank shield. Overtopping the whole composition and immediately beneath the plastered ceiling beam, there is moulded coving with brackets, above a narrow row of strapwork decorated jewelled panels. The quality of the carving is of the highest.



Figure 7. The Rodd, the overmantel in the ground-floor room of bays 9/10.

On the first floor, in a room with a richly decorated plasterwork ceiling (Fig. 8) is the Adam and Eve overmantel (Fig. 9). The fireplace is flanked by jambs decorated with carved wooden figures in 17th-century dress, with a goatee beard and long hair. They are identical images. The figures stand on small plinths. Above and behind the heads are decorative foliated devices.

The upper section has two arched panels with figures of Adam on the left and Eve on the right. Both have scroll ribbons to preserve their modesty. The semicircular arch above has gadroon decoration and interlaced arcading. In the spandrels there are winged cherubic heads. The plinths on which the arches rest have strapwork and enriched decoration including a supporting hoofed male figure. Supporting an entablature above are three groups of triple, carved and turned, pillars enriched with vine motifs and foliage, the central pillar having



Figure 8. The Rodd, decorative plasterwork in the first-floor room of bays 9/10.

an entwined snake with an apple in its mouth. Behind the groups of pillars and almost completely hidden there are carved flower motifs. The entablature along the top has a pair of affronted dragons on each side of a scrolled device with a lion mask.

The house has an interesting history associated with the Rodd family, much of which was the focus of research by Lord Rennell of Rodd in the 1950s that was published in his book *Valley on the March*.⁶ Rennell also had some observations to make about the house. He suggested that things were not completed as originally planned, pointing out that the fireplaces were not

chamfered, in spite of being made from dressed stone. The reason for omitting chamfers may have been because there was an intention to fit more of the fireplaces with overmantels, which would have overlain and hidden any chamfer, and it is certainly curious that the hall fireplace and that in the room above, both probably semi-public spaces for entertaining, are very plain. It is of course possible, during the years when the building served as a farmhouse, that there were losses and an 1873 illustration (from a photograph) of



the house does show two blocked or boarded windows and the hall window by that time had been replaced, so the house was perhaps not in the best of health.⁷ However, Lord Rennell may well have been correct when he states that the house

stands today practically as it was left when Richard Rodd the elder died in 1633. The date of 1629 over the porch door probably recalls the period when a beginning was made in the embellishment of the interior by an elaborate plaster ceiling in the parlour on the first floor and good oak panelling in that room and three downstairs rooms...⁸

A number of other ideas concerning The Rodd have originated from Lord Rennell and are worth mentioning. In his book, *Valley on the March*, he states that the house was built by the first Richard Rodd, probably at the very end of the 16th century and that it was never finished as ‘one of the long wings of the E plan was not completed owing, as the tradition has it, to an epidemic of plague at Presteigne’.⁹ Certainly the plague year of 1593 was serious with 343 deaths in the parish from that cause. Keith Parker has estimated that this was 25-30% of the town’s population.¹⁰ Presteigne suffered further visitations of plague in 1609-10 and 1636-7. It is hard to think that the losses of 1593 would not have had an impact on the construction of The Rodd if work had been in progress at that time. However, Rennell’s suggestion that there might have been plans to build a further wing, on the south end of the main range does not really fit with the fact that the south end contains the service provision, with a massive four-flue chimney stack, kitchen fireplace and a bread oven. It all appears to have been planned that way.

Certainly there are features in the house which might suggest that the house was not finished. One is the principal staircase that initially only rose to the first floor; there is every possibility that the second phase of extending it to attic level was the result of a pause in completion of the building.

A further unfinished aspect is that of the plastered ceilings—or rather, the un-plastered ceilings—for that is what many of them seem to be; plastered but plain, without any decorative

plasterwork apart from modest edge moulding in the first floor ceilings in one of the bays and in the porch. A curious feature of the house is the number of massive ceiling beams that are not chamfered, which is especially odd when it is seen that the only room in the building where the beams are chamfered is the service room above the kitchen. Here the two axial beams are not only chamfered but they also have well-cut scroll stops. It seems highly likely that many of the ceiling beams and the ceilings in the important rooms were going to be decorated with elaborate plasterwork but this was never carried out other than in the 'Adam and Eve' room where an elaborate scheme was undertaken.

The room above the large kitchen, presumably service accommodation, has a fireplace of modest size with jambs made from single slabs of stone and a chamfered oak lintel with a four-centred, depressed arch. The surface of the lintel has taper burn marks and, on the left side, an apotropaic mark in the form of a pair of spectacles cut into the surface of the wood using a carpenter's race knife.¹¹ The mark may also include a Marian mark intended to invoke the protection of the Virgin Mary. Even the taper burn marks are thought to have some significance in respect of protection.¹²

The Rodd is a house that one might have seen built, in the late 16th century, wholly in timber framing such as happened at The Ley, near Weobley. But The Rodd is a house with pretensions, displaying on its front, not timber, and not stone, but fashionable brick at a time when this material was usually only found on buildings of high status and generally, even then, reserved for the decorative chimney shafts. Even in nearby fashionable Ludlow the use of brick was rare at the end of the 16th century. It is this, along with its rich and remarkably unspoilt interior that makes The Rodd such an important and interesting building.

The Frere House, 15 Church Street, Leominster.

Grid ref. 52.228183 -2.7378688. Map ref. SO 49701 59143

The Frere House, is listed for its group value, GV II. It is, structurally, a double-pile, three-storey house of late-18th-century date, with a brick front that gives the impression that it is a three-bay building. A later two-storey flat-roofed extension that incorporates some earlier fabric has been added to the east side (Fig. 10). It stands just outside the line of the Priory precinct, close to the Forbury Chapel and alongside the site of the Priory Gatehouse (demolished in 1750) that housed, on the first floor, the so-called Frere Chamber.

It might be thought that The Frere House (No.15) is a straightforward single build of late-18th-century date coeval with the house (11 & 13 Church Street) next door which has a similar brick façade, now stuccoed, and matching windows and lintels. Clearly the two houses have a linked structural history and must,



Figure 10. 15 Church Street, Leominster, with snow falling.

at one time, have been in common ownership. 11 & 13 Church Street has been subdivided and now forms two separate dwellings.

It will be noted that the front door of No. 15 is off centre and the central windows above are both blocked. This raised the possibility that the façade was a re-modelling of an earlier building, which was, to a degree, supported by the fact that the brick front was laid in Flemish bond employing different bricks to those in the back wall of the house where English Garden Wall bond was used. The arrangement of the windows in the back wall also acknowledged the two bay layout of the house rather than the three bays implied by the façade (Fig. 11).



Figure 11. 15 Church Street, Leominster, the rear wall.

The central, north-south partition on the ground and first-floor is sturdily made, with pegged mortice and tenon joints where the narrow studs fit into the top rail. There are chiselled assembly marks. It is typical of 18th-century work and was designed to be plastered and hidden.

What was particularly interesting was the timber-framed partition between 15 Church Street and Nos. 11 & 13 to the west. It was known that this was not 18th-century in date as the opportunity had been taken in 2004 of measuring the surviving frame which showed that it belonged to the 16th or early-17th century (Fig. 12). It was the side wall of a two-storey timber framed building that had occupied the site of 11 & 13 Church Street. It had been jettied towards

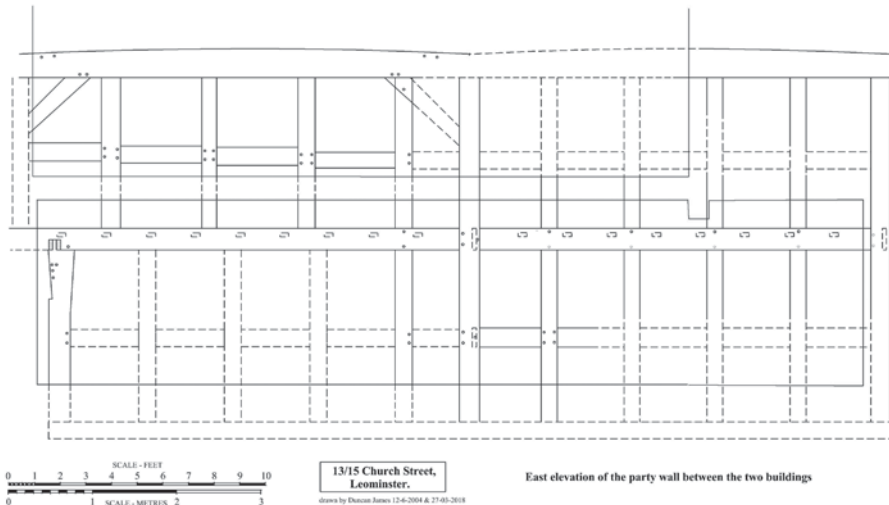


Figure 12. East elevation of the timber-framing between 15 Church Street, Leominster and the house alongside at 11/13 Church Street.

the street at first-floor level and the side wall, with its two tiebeams, demonstrated that it had once had two gables on this east face. It was also possible to see the tiebeam and part of the framing where it projects at the rear of the house. The photograph (Fig. 13) shows the tiebeam and post for the two-storey timber-framed building against which the two-storey brick house was built. It has then been raised in height to three storeys in order to accommodate the top floor.

The Frere House (No. 15) has been butted up to this wall but not initially as a three-storey structure because it began as a two-storey brick building with the present central front-to-back partition giving two front rooms and two back rooms on each storey (Fig. 14). In the final, major phase of changes, both Nos. 11 & 13 and No. 15 were refronted using the more fashionable Flemish Bond rather than English Garden Wall bond, and at the same time they were raised in height to three storeys.

No. 11 & 13 has a central doorway, presumably because the internal framing allowed this to be done.¹³ However, the central partition in No.15 meant that the new doorway had to be positioned off-centre and the windows above, which are central, could only be blind windows, or, if they were to be used, then part of the central partition would need to be removed.

On the back of the building the brickwork was not refaced, it was simply raised in height and the window positions on the first floor were copied for the top floor. There is a subtle change of colour in the top-floor brickwork, which suggests that it forms a separate phase of construction.

A further indication that the top floor was a later phase can be seen inside the building on the central timber partition. On the ground and first floors the studs used in the partition are tenoned into mortices in the top rail and secured with single pegs (Fig.



Figure 13. East elevation of the timber framing at the back of 11 Church Street, marked in grey to indicate the earlier roof level.

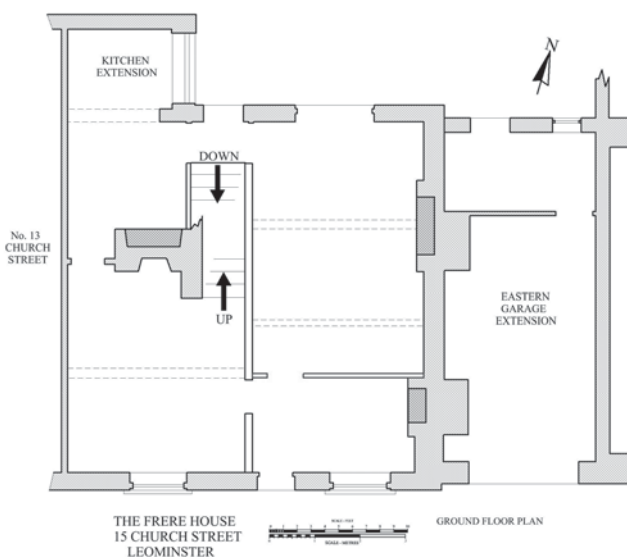


Figure 14. 15 Church Street, Leominster, ground plan showing the central north-south partition.

15). The timbers have carpenters' assembly marks on the east face. Both top rails on the partition have double pegged and bridled scarf joints with squinted abutments of identical design. This can be seen in Figure 15 as a diagonal line with a pair of pegs to the right.

On the top floor the partition is different. The studs are spaced closer together and appear to be nailed in place rather than tenoned and pegged. There are no assembly marks and there is also a scarf joint that is quite different in character to those on the floors below (Fig. 16). This is a 'stop splayed and tabled scarf joint with under-squinted abutments and a key'. The jointed timber forms the tiebeam of the shallow-pitch roof truss. This all suggests that the timber structure on the top floor is a different phase.

There is little doubt that the addition of the top storey, which created the need for an extra staircase flight, has resulted in a doorway in an inconvenient position alongside the fireplace (since blocked up) in the first-floor south-west room. It has also led to the rearrangement of the staircase on the ground floor such that where it projects into the room at the base it has compromised the use of the ground-floor fireplace although the chimneypiece is still in place. (See Fig. 14).

Very often, cellars in towns are earlier than the building that stands above and consideration was given to whether this was the case with The Frere House. In view of the proximity of the site of the lost gatehouse to the Priory there was also the thought that the cellar may have had some connection with the function of that structure. However, it is clear that the design and layout of the cellar relates to the building above. But perhaps more importantly, the cellar relates closely to the present street level of the road whereas the ground level in the 16th and 17th century is indicated by the relative height of the timber frame between the two houses, which suggests that it may have been as much as 12 inches lower



Figure 15. 15 Church Street, Leominster, scarf joint and the pegged studs in the central ground-floor partition.



Figure 16. 15 Church Street, Leominster, scarf joint in the top floor tie beam with nailed partition studs below.

and this is perhaps supported by noting the slope of the ground from the street down towards the doors of the Forbury Chapel.

The dating of The Frere House is a matter of ascribing dates to the various phases of the structure. The timber-framed sidewall against which the house is built and which now forms the internal west party-wall is probably *c.*1600 in date. The construction of the first phase, two-storey brick house with the central partition is late-18th century (perhaps *c.* 1780) and it is possible that the second phase, when the top storey was added and the front refaced, followed within a relatively short space of time, also within the 18th century.

3 High Street, Weobley HR4 8SL

Grid ref.. 52.159040, -2.873826 Map Ref: SO 40323 51556

No. 3 High Street, Weobley is sited on the south side of the road on land that backs onto the outer bailey of Weobley castle. It stands opposite a pair of half-Wealden timber-framed buildings of 15th-century date. The two-storey, two-bay house is of brick and was built in the late-17th or early-18th century (Fig. 17). It has dressed stone quoins to the ground floor front and a brick string-course between the floors. Four of the front windows have crossed mullion and transom windows set flush with the face of the wall. To the right of the central door is a late-19th-century bay window. The house is built above the cellar of an earlier building on the site and it abuts the end wall of No 2. High Street, a timber framed, two-storey house to the west. Abutting the east end wall of the house is a two-storey brick barn that is of slightly later date than the house. The roof of the house is hipped at the east end. Both house and barn are Grade II listed buildings.

The earliest major component of the house is the cellar. This is constructed from dressed and partially dressed stone for the walls. In the north (front) wall there are two light-wells and a now-blocked doorway that would have given access down from the street (Figs 18 & 19). There is also a now blocked access route from the cellar into No. 2 High Street, the adjacent timber-framed range to the west, and it is clear from this and other blocked doorways in the west wall of the house that the buildings were, at an early stage, in common ownership or use.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the building and one that was not noted in a previous visit ¹⁴ is the floorboards in the ceiling of the cellar, which of course form the basis for the flooring of the house above. These floorboards are exceptional because they are up to



Figure 17. 3 High Street, Weobley, front elevation showing the underbuilt jetty of the timber framing of 2 High Street on the right and the attached barn on the left.



Figure 18. 3 High Street, Weobley. The cellar showing the stonework around one of the two light wells in the north wall.



Figure 19. 3 High Street, Weobley. The blocked doorway in the north wall of the cellar.

20 inches (51cm) wide and 3 inches (7.5cm) thick, so thick that no joists are used, the boards being laid directly across substantial beams and supported at the north ends on the corbelled top edge of the cellar wall (Fig. 20). They have survived because later floorboards have been laid directly on top.

There are floorboards, tree-ring dated to 1461-83, which are of similar size, in the middle two bays of the cellar under the Shop and Cottage row on the east side of the market place in Weobley.¹⁵ A further fragment of this type of heavy floorboard also survives at the nearby Corner House, which has a dressed stone cellar that in some respects has similar features to those at 3 High Street.¹⁶

Rising from the floor of the cellar is the base of the principal chimneystack for a large

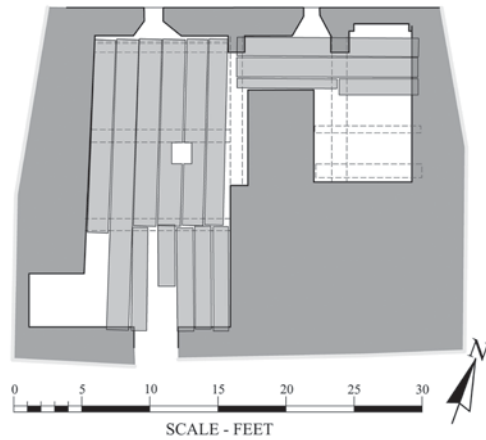


Figure 20. 3 High Street, Weobley. Simplified plan of the cellar showing the positions of the surviving 15th-century floorboards in the cellar ceiling.

fireplace on the ground floor. This has chamfered, dressed stone jambs and a massive stone lintel, also chamfered, which has survived in good condition because, for many years it has been closed up and unused due to the position of the front door and a corridor, now removed, that passed across the face of the fireplace (Fig. 21).

The majority of the structural timber in the house above the cellar, including the ceiling beams and the roof structure, is re-used material almost certainly from a 15th-century or earlier building.



Figure 21. 3 High Street, Weobley. The early fireplace, with stone jambs and lintel.

To the east of the house and only slightly later in date is the three-bay barn. It has a brick front and was built with a single, large doorway in the middle bay. It was timber-framed along the rear wall but this has been replaced with brick, probably in the 19th century, when a floor was inserted and the big central doorway was bricked up leaving a small loading doorway at first floor level. The present wide doorway in the west end bay is probably also of 19th-century date.

It is clear from the doorways and blocked apertures in the wall between the house and the barn that both buildings at various times had a joint domestic and commercial function. It is a matter for further research to seek to establish what the earlier building was that once stood above the cellar and how it might have related to the timber-framed, formerly jettied, range that stands to the west.

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³ A. Brooks & N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England—Herefordshire* (2012), Yale University Press, p.567.

⁴ D. James, 'The Rodd, Presteigne, Herefordshire, LD8 2LL: A recording and analysis of the building,' July 2017. Unpublished report prepared for The Sidney Nolan Trust.

⁵ The otherwise excellent ground plan made by the Royal Commission in the 1930s has incorrectly drawn this wall to be as thick as the main walls. See note 2.

⁶ Lord Rennell of Rodd, *Valley on the March* (1958) OUP.

⁷ Rev. Charles J. Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), London, p.240

⁸ Note 6, p.258.

⁹ Note 6, p.258.

¹⁰ Keith Parker, *A History of Presteigne* (1997), Logaston, p.54.

¹¹ Apotropaic marks come in many shapes and forms. They were intended to protect the house from evil spirits and were applied to fireplace lintels because it was impossible to close the chimney and stop evil from entering the house. The apotropaic mark was, in a sense, a gate guardian.

¹² John Dean & Nick Hill 'Burn marks on buildings; accidental or deliberate?' *Vernacular Architecture*, 45 (2014), pp. 1-16.

¹³ It seems likely that the building had three bays rather than two. The present doorway to No. 13 appears to be a later insertion related to the subdivision of the house to form two units of accommodation.

¹⁴ 'Standing Building Survey on Buildings North of the Castle' in G. Nash and B. Redwood (eds), *Looking Beyond the Castle Walls: the Weobley Castle Project* (2006), BAR, British Series 415, pp.159-165.

¹⁵ D. James, 'An analysis of the historic fabric of medieval and post medieval buildings in Weobley, Herefordshire' (April 2007), unpublished report for Weobley & District History Society, p.52.

¹⁶ See note 15, pp. 161-2. Also, for more details, Duncan James, 'Corner House, High Street, Weobley, Herefordshire. A report concerning the historic fabric of the house.' February, 2014. Unpublished report for the owners.

Geology, 2017

By MOIRA JENKINS

MALVERN HILLS AONB CLEARANCE WORK

Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust (H&W EHT) continued to do site clearance work for Malvern Hills AONB and Malvern Hills Trust (formerly Malvern Hills Conservators) with the help of volunteers from the Woolhope Club Geology Section, Malvern U3A geology group and Teme Valley Geological Society. The sites are described below.

A quarry just south of the Wyche Cutting in the Precambrian Malverns Complex was heavily overgrown (Fig. 1). Once cleared, variations in the direction of foliation, produced by the extreme pressure to which the rocks were subjected, were clearly visible and also granite 'pods' which are possibly boudinaged pegmatite intrusions. These are seen in Figure 2 below.



Figure 1. Volunteers hard at work clearing the rock face at the quarry south of the Wyche Cutting.



Figure 2. Granitic pods in the Precambrian Malverns Complex.

Coneygree Wood quarry is just outside Ledbury. The site was very overgrown and, as a result, the geological features were not visible (Fig. 3). There was a lot of litter scattered widely around the site and, although this was cleared by volunteers, in the months since more has been left. This is a great shame—these sites would be so much improved if only people would take their rubbish home. In Coneygree Wood there is nodular-bedded limestone and the massive limestone of the Much Wenlock Limestone (of Silurian age). There is also a layer of volcanic ash (bentonite). These features were made more visible through the clearance work.



Figure 3. Coneygree Wood as clearance started.

Around Ledbury the rocks have been upfolded with smaller anticlines superimposed on the larger anticlinal area. After clearance a crumple zone in the axis of an anticline was clearly visible, part of the complex folding of the Ledbury Anticlinorium (Fig. 4).

Upper Hall Quarry is a Geological Conservation Review site; a geological SSSI. It exhibits very clearly the junction between the Silurian Much Wenlock Limestone and the succeeding Lower Ludlow Siltstone. The quarry is a part of Upper Hall Farm and permission to visit must be obtained from the owner. The Much Wenlock Limestone forms the massive rock band at the base. About a third of the way up the face, this is overlain by a more thinly bedded rock, which is the Lower Ludlow Siltstone.



Figure 4. Crumple zone in the axis of an anticline in Coneygree Wood.



Figures 5 and 6. Upper Hall Quarry before clearance.



Figures 7 and 8. Upper Hall Quarry after clearance.

The need for work lay chiefly with vegetation growing on the quarry floor and close to the rock face. Large bushes, small trees and copious brambles were removed from the area. This resulted in a much better visibility and accessibility of the low parts of the face (Figs 5-8).

Figures 7 and 8 show the massive Much Wenlock Limestone at the base overlain by nodular Lower Ludlow Siltstones above.

VISITS TO SITES BY LOCAL GROUPS

Hergest Ridge

Malvern U3A Landscape Appreciation Group paid a visit to Hergest Ridge in July. There is so much of interest to be seen and it was a day with clear visibility for views to Hay Bluff to the south and Malvern Hills to the east.

Figure 9 shows the view looking from the high ground of Hergest Ridge across the Herefordshire Plain toward Hay Bluff and the Black Mountains beyond.

Hergest Ridge was covered by ice during the Anglian glaciation about 450,000 years ago. As it melted the ice left behind large rocks—erratics—which it had transported from areas to the north and west. These have been dropped on the ridge. At various times people have moved these rocks into piles, either long ago to form barrows, or more recently to clear ground for cultivation during World War 2. There are many interesting archaeological features. Figure 10 shows one small pile of rocks and a stone row. This row is made of pairs of stones with an associated slight ditch that has a ridge on each side.

Many of the barrows, have at the centre of the pile of rocks, one with very conspicuous quartz veining as seen in Figure 11. These are also seen on Bradnor Hill and on Rushock Hill and seems to be a feature of these piles of rock in the area.



Figure 9. View from the top of Hergest Ridge towards the Black Mountains and Hay Bluff.



Figure 10. Stone Row on Hergest Ridge.



Figure 11. Stone barrow on Hergest Ridge with, at the centre, a rock with a prominent quartz vein.

Geologists are interested to look at these erratics and to work out where the rocks originally outcropped. The rocks are not usually local, being quartzites and conglomerates, which have come from the north-west in Wales. Some are of Hanter Hill gabbro. This distinctive rock has not travelled far but has been carried downhill and then up onto Hergest Ridge.

One well known erratic is the Whet Stone (Fig. 12). The Whet Stone sits on the Silurian siltstones underlying the ridge itself. The crystals in the gabbro can be clearly seen. Along the lower parts of the Whet Stone is staining where sheep have rubbed themselves leaving behind red raddle. The Whet Stone has not travelled far but is a completely different rock from the Silurian shales which underlie the point where the Whet Stone now sits.

Looking north-west from the Whet Stone, the ground drops away and beyond can be seen the Hanter Hill gabbro. The Hanter Hill gabbro, with the igneous rocks of Worsell Wood and Stanner Rocks, were emplaced along the major Church Stretton Fault System which runs SW to NE. Beyond Hanter Hill are a series of quarries—Dolyhir, Strinds and Gore which are quarrying Precambrian rock also emplaced along the Church Stretton fault line.



Figure 12. The Whet Stone on Hergest Ridge.

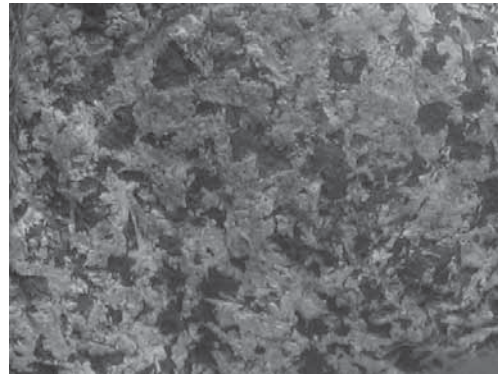


Figure 13. Hanter Hill gabbro.

Figure 13 shows a close up of the rock of which the Whet Stone is composed, the Hanter Hill gabbro. There are large pale crystals of plagioclase feldspar interlocking with darker augite pyroxene crystals.

There are many stories about the Whet Stone. One states that during the plague of 1366 a weekly market was held at the stone, where wheat (whet) was put onto the stone by farmers from the surrounding area, who would then back off to allow the townspeople to collect it and leave their money in exchange. This was in an effort to avoid passing on the infection.

Little Doward. This is one of the sites in the H&W EHT Earth Heritage Champions Project. A visit was organised by Jim Handley who is the ‘Champion’.

There is a dry valley between Little and Great Doward. This was eroded by flowing water but there is no longer a stream. H&W EHT has a copy of a thesis by P. A. Wood which concludes that this was a former course of the River Wye, which has since shortened its course to flow on a more southerly route instead of meandering between the Dowards and then travelling down the line of the present-day A40.¹ Unfortunately, the thesis document does not say at which university P.A. Wood was studying or if it is an undergraduate or MSc thesis. If anyone has any information

about P. A Wood or this thesis, then please get in touch with me. It is a very interesting and logical theory. The meander is of the same amplitude and wavelength as other meanders upstream.

On either side of the dry valley, there are cliff lines cut in the Carboniferous Gully Oolite (formerly called Crease Limestone). These have been smoothed and undercut by flowing water. The cliff on the Little Doward side is at a higher level and therefore eroded at an earlier stage than that on the Great Doward side. Professor Ian Fairchild pointed out to us, on the Little Doward side, that there is an incipient horizon with small holes dissolved in the limestone which would have developed into caves if the flowing water had remained at this level for a longer period. This incipient horizon is shown in Figure 14.



Figure 14. Incipient horizon, showing a line where the limestone was dissolved which would have led to the formation of caves if the water had continued to flow at this level.

The meanders of the Wye Gorge are deeply incised into the Forest of Dean Plateau. There are other cliff lines with caves at different levels which were formed during phases in the downcutting of the River Wye. Madawg Rock Shelter is another example overlooking the present day river.

There is an alternative theory described in a paper by E. M. Harries which suggests that the col between Little and Great Doward was eroded by meltwater overflowing from a glacial lake further north.²



Figure 15. Cliff line on Little Doward which has been smoothed by flowing water at a higher level to that on Great Doward.



Figure 16. Cliff line on Great Doward, which is undercut and smoothed by flowing water which has dissolved the limestone to form caves, including King Arthur's Cave.

Moccas Park

On 14 October 2017 Ledbury Naturalists visited Moccas, an area which is a National Nature reserve. It was observed that the Lawn Pool was almost dry, with only a small pool remaining of its usual large area, even though the summer had not been exceptionally dry (Fig.17). Lawn

Pool is a kettle hole, one of a number of ponds in the hummocky glacial moraine seen in the Wye Valley below Hay on Wye.

The glacial gravels contain a variety of far travelled rocks deposited from the melting ice of the Wye glacier. Figure 18 shows a conglomerate rock with quartz pebbles which has been carried in the ice from Wales. This was found on the north side of the pool.



Figure 17. Lawn Pool at Moccas Park, almost completely dry in autumn 2017.



Figure 18. Conglomerate pebble from glacial deposits by Lawn Pool, Moccas.

GULLET QUARRY, PROBLEMS WITH ACCESS

For some years now, after two people died there in one year, there has been a fence around the lake at Gullet Quarry. After an incident in February 2017, the top of the quarry was also fenced off. Following discussions with Malvern Hills Trust, it was agreed to put in locked gates to enable geoconservation work to be carried out on these sites which are Geological Conservation Review Sites (GCR) and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) designated for their important geology. It is now possible for authorised parties of geologists to go to these important geological sites but there is a lot of preparation to be undertaken with the MHT before a visit. Groups



Figure 19. Precambrian Malverns Complex as seen in 2006 on way down the ramp at Gullet Quarry, showing shear zones produced by movement along north to south lines.



Figure 20. The photo above shows a pegmatite vein, fractured and displaced by east-west movements.

must produce proof of public liability insurance with cover of £5 million; fill in an events form, produce a risk assessment, sign for and collect the key and return it to the MHT office at the end of their visit.

The pictures below show some of the geological features photographed in 2006 alongside the ramp at Gullet Quarry, when geologists from Aberystwyth University visited the quarry. A great deal of clearance work is needed to make these and other features accessible again for educational purposes. The approach to the ramp is steep, overgrown with brambles and scree has covered the pathway in the area below the shear zones shown in Figure 19.



Figure 21. A gneissose rock seen in 2006 with the mafic and felsic minerals separated into distinct layers and cut by thin pegmatite veins.

The top of the quarry at the Gullet has the unconformable junction between the Precambrian and overlying Silurian with the remains of a pebble beach between sea stacks showing that this was a rocky shore line in Silurian times about 440 million years ago. It is to be welcomed that this important site can now be visited once permission is obtained from MHT.

WOOLHOPE CLUB GEOLOGY SECTION

On 22 April 2017, Dr Paul Olver led a joint field trip for members of the Woolhope Club, Black Country Geological Society and the West Midlands branch of the Open University Geological Society to explore the exposed Middle and Upper Silurian strata of the Mortimer Forest Geology Trail (Plate 9.1). The Forestry Commission produced the Mortimer Forest Geology Trail guide in 1991 (reprinted in 2000), edited by Andrew Jenkinson of the Shropshire Geological Society.³ The trail follows a route from the High Vinnalls car park along Wigmore Road towards Ludlow.



Figure 22. Pitch Coppice where massive beds of Much Wenlock Limestone are overlain by nodular beds of the Lower Elton Formation.



Figure 23. Looking for trilobites in the Mary Knoll valley.

The day focussed on visiting trail guide locations 2 to 5, and considering a regional view of the local geology from Wigmore Castle Mound.

All the sites visited are Geological Conservation Review Sites, including type sections for the Middle and Upper Silurian. Some beds are highly fossiliferous with environments of deposition in the area where the sea water of the day was deepening away from the nearer shore environments further east.

The group also went to Wigmore Castle from which there is a view over the site of the glacial Wigmore Lake and the Ludlow Anticline.

MORTIMER FOREST

Site clearance work was also carried out by Defra employees on an Environment Day, along Gorsty trackside in Mortimer Forest, which had been visited earlier in the year by the Woolhope geology section. Figures 24 and 25 show how overgrown it had been and what a difference the clearance work made in exposing Silurian Upper Elton Formation of the Lower Ludlow Siltstone Group which is fossiliferous at some horizons. Please note that this is an SSSI and fossil collecting is not allowed.



Figure 24. Gorsty Trackside before clearance.



Figure 25. Gorsty trackside after clearance work.

The group also visited the site at Pitch Coppice where Massive beds of Much Wenlock Limestone, containing a bentonite band, are overlain by nodular limestone.

This was the day when Hurricane Ophelia reached the United Kingdom and dust was carried from Sahara and also from wild fires in Portugal and Galicia. This dust produced weird effects. Plate 9.2, which does not do it justice, shows the sun appearing red in a discoloured mist. The day was much darker than usual. The winds were strong in Mortimer Forest on that day but not gale force.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RECORDING TEMPORARY EXPOSURES

Moira Jenkins would be grateful to hear about interesting geological sites, especially those where rock is temporarily exposed, that would give the opportunity for recording the geology before it is again covered over.

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Mycology, 2017

By JO WEIGHTMAN

In 2017 well over 2000 records were added to the Herefordshire fungus database despite a disappointingly unproductive autumn when ground conditions were too dry. Some of the more significant records were included in the article on recent finds on pages 87-90 of these Transactions. The following are a further sample:

Spring species

Morchella esculenta a large, brown, brain-like morel in litter and moss under birch *Salix* sp., Brockhill Quarry, Stretton Sugwas, 25.03.2017. Also two further records in 2017 which appears to have been a good year for a species for which there are only 15 known records at 13 sites since 1871.

Verpa conica in a flower pot, Birchwood, Storridge. This is another species in the morel group, normally growing terrestrially. Neither of these 'morels' is common, only occurring in certain years when conditions are right.

August

Mycorrhizal species, those that have a mutually beneficial relationship with a living host, often appear quite early in the season, in late summer and early autumn. Of those recorded in 2017, and in addition to *Suillus cavipes*, the three following are notable:

Tricholoma psammopus - under larch *Larix* sp. Wigmore Rolls, 13.08.2017 Larch is the preferred host although it can be associated with other conifers. Only the second VC36 record, the first being at Humber Marsh in 1995.

Suillus tridentinus (Plate 10.1) also associated with larch *Larix* sp., Great Doward, 21.08.17. A second county site for uncommon this species which has been recorded in the Wigmore Rolls since 1998.

Boletus calopus (Plate 10.2), associated with beech *Fagus sylvatica*, Great Doward, 21.08.17. Only the second VC36 site, the first during a HFSG foray at Croft Castle 2012.

Later in the year a number of uncommon species were recorded on dead wood.

Hypsizygus ulmarius (formerly *Lyophyllum ulmarium*), on dead poplar *Populus* wood, Mallins Wood, 03.11.2017. This is the first record since the 19th century when it was recorded at Rotherwas by the Woolhope Club in 1872, and at Hereford and Stifford's Bridges both entered as 18xx, the last intriguingly near the 2017 find. Its preferred host is elm but fortunately it is known to occur on other hardwoods.

Schizophyllum amplum on fallen poplar *Populus* debris, Hartleton, 21.01.2017. Listed as Near Vulnerable on the Red Data List for fungi (2006). It is remarkably similar in shape and size to the well-known jelly ear *Auricularia auricular-judae* but is not gelatinous in texture and is very pale on the reverse while the jelly ear is a rich brown. It is restricted to poplar. Second VC36 record.

Auricularia auricular-judae (var. *lactea*) on dead elder *Sambucus nigra*, Mains Wood, HFSG foray 12.07.2017. This uncommon white form of the jelly ear is no longer recognised as a distinct variety. Second VC36 record.

While identification of most fungi relies on a combination of macro and micro characters, there can be a strong pointer in the field. For example, in the next group colour, ring type, texture, cystidea shape were significant identifying features:

Lepiota grangei, in broadleaf litter, Wigmore Rolls, 13.08.2017. Sixth VC36 record for a rather uncommon species. This species is unique among *Lepiotas* having distinctive green scales on the cap and stipe.

Catinella olivacea, on fallen broadleaf, Turnastone Court Farm, HFSG foray, 15.11.2017. Second VC36 record, the first in 1926 at Moccas Park. An ascomycete up to 1cm. diam. with an olive-green disc.

Stropharia albonitens (Plate 10.3), in short unimproved grassland, Turnastone Court Farm, HFSG foray, 15.11.2017. Second VC36 record, the first at Mathon in 2015. A rare species nationally. This is a totally white *Stropharia*, only becoming slightly brown in age, the white intensified by the slimy texture of the cap.

Simocybe centunculus – on a fallen branch of beech *Fagus sylvatica*, Fishpool Valley, Croft Castle Estate, HFSG foray, 09.08.2017. Third VC36 record for a species with very few records nationally, nearly all in the southern counties. An olive brown species with a velvety cap.

Leucoagaricus sublittoralis in litter, Halesend Wood, HFSG foray 06.09.2017. First VC36 record. Listed as Near Threatened on the Red Data List (2006). An ascending ring on the stipe—it arises from belt-like or sock-like tissue—is a useful field character for *Leucoagaricus* species.

Asterostroma medium on unidentified dead wood, Bacton, 06.12.2017. First VC36 record, rarely recorded nationally. A white to yellowish paint-like fungus, undistinguished until viewed under the microscope when the structure is seen to include a multitude of spidery star-like cells.

Wood chips have provided a new habitat for saprophytic fungi of all kinds, either spread over a flower bed or in piles. Some of these are familiar woodland dead wood or litter species, some are very unfamiliar. One recent coloniser in Britain is:

Gymnopilus dilepis (Plate 10.4), wood chip pile, Haugh Wood, 04.08.2017, First VC36 record. First recorded in Britain in 1995 in Surrey and still largely confined to the southern counties. A striking and handsome species with a cap covered in dark magenta scales, it occurs in congested clusters on wood chips piles.

Unimproved grassland supports a diversity of specialist fungi, some highly colourful. It also supports a number of small brown bell-shaped agarics (toadstool-shaped species) which look alike and present difficulties in identification. One of the special finds this year was:

Galerina clavus – on an anthill in unimproved grassland, Turnastone Court Farm, HFSG foray, 15.11.2017. First VC36 record and only four widely scattered national records.

Ornithology, 2017

By RACHEL JENKINS AND EDWARD WEBLEY

The Herefordshire Ornithological Club (HOC) encourages the submission of all sightings that might interest or help others who watch birds in Herefordshire. Sightings are informal reports of interesting birds that have been seen in the county, and are primarily intended to inform others so that they might also see the bird. These sightings are managed externally on a dedicated database that is also used by several other counties for that purpose. The sightings for the current and previous years may be viewed here (<http://www.herefordshirebirds.org/HOC/Sightings.html>)

2017 was a particularly unusual year for the weather in Herefordshire. February-July were much warmer than average, as was October, while April, June, October, and November were particularly dry. Bird sightings for 2017 are summarised below from the HOC website.

January was fractionally colder than average, with sixteen frosts, and the coldest night was the 5th with -3.7C. A spell of snow on the 13th deposited 2cm. As it was less windy than usual, there were eight mornings with fog. Rainfall was overall a little less than usual with more than 10mm on 27th, 29th and 31st. The 68.3mm total for January was the least since 2012.

Large flocks of golden plover, lapwing, fieldfare, jackdaw and starling were seen in January with large flocks of redwing seen feeding in fields, and both large flocks and small groups of fieldfare feeding on fallen apples with blackbirds. Small groups of waxwing seen in mid-late January (1-20). Smaller flocks of linnet (40 birds at Bodenham gravel pit (GP), long tailed tits, yellowhammer, lesser redpoll (with one flock of 50 birds at Hope Mansell and one of 20 birds at Penyard Park), siskin, crossbill, chaffinch, housesparrow, goldfinch, and coal tit. Small groups of goldcrest; and small numbers of raven, carrion crow, bullfinches, brambling (apart from one large flock of 320 birds), nuthatch, marsh tit, tree creepers and individual jay, hawfinches, greenfinch, chiff chaff, willow tit and blackcap.

Water rail, snipe and green sandpiper were seen on several occasions at gravel pits (GP), and elsewhere. At least one-two snipe seen throughout the year at Brockhall and Wellington GP, and sometimes more in specific months. Twenty snipe flushed in ones and twos from bracken on Hergest Ridge, twelve from Gamber meadows and 25 seen at Wellington GP. One to two jacksnipe at Brockhall GP and one at Wellington GP. Woodcock, which is on the British Trust for Ornithology (BTO) Red List, was sighted in four separate places in January. Whooper swans were seen feeding in western Herefordshire near the Wye, numbers ranging from one to nine, either alone or amongst large flocks of mute swans. A short eared owl was spotted flying high over Eywas Harold common. There were several sightings of a single Cetti's warbler at Wellington GP between January and September. One bearded tit seen at Wellington GP on several occasions through to middle February. Fifteen wren seen at Wellington GP around the paths. Singles and pairs of mistle thrush, with males heard singing in early January. Pair of song thrush at Bodenham GP. Dippers seen on local rivers. Pied, yellow and grey wagtail seen at Brockhall GP through the year and also elsewhere. Kingfisher was seen throughout the year on various rivers, lakes and GP, usually singly but occasionally in pairs. Fifty common gull at Brockhall GP.

Flock of 170 golden plover seen at least twice south of Hereford city. One Oyster catcher at Brockhall GP, 125 coot seen at Wellington GP and one moorhen at Amberley court.

Single Merlin seen at Shobdon, Bromsash, and Sutton St Nicholas. Occasional kestrel seen throughout the year scattered across the county, but population has declined. Buzzards seen worming in fields (3-20), hunting and being mobbed; pair of sparrow hawk displaying at Penyard Park, and single birds at Newchurch mill pool and the Hereford football ground; goshawk at Newhouse wood, Garway, with one immature male chased by six cross bills.

Three Grey partridge seen at Larport and one at Holme Lacy. Small numbers of red legged partridge on Wapley hill. Six red crested pochard seen at Wellington GP, nine pintail at Brockhall GP, and up to nine whooper swan seen on the Wye. Large flocks of woodpigeon seen in January and February. 150 black headed gull seen at Brockhall GP. Green sandpiper seen at Brockley Meadows, Leintwardine on river Teme and Sellack on river Wye. Large flocks of lapwing at Wellington (200-600) and Bodenham GP (200). Up to six water rail seen at Wellington GP. Little egret seen throughout year at the GP, Kenchester pools and Hartleton lakes in small numbers, as well as on Wye, Lugg and various meadows. One bittern, 35 corporant, one great crested grebe, and two tufted duck at Wellington GP. Little grebe on Wye at Hereford and two barnacle geese at Kenchester.

Goosander, goldeneye, pochard, shoveler, mallard, teal, gadwall, wigeon, mandarin duck, Canada geese, greylag and mute swan were around throughout the year on the river Wye, the various GP, pools and lakes. Little owl and barn owl seen at Wellington GP and elsewhere throughout the year.

February was a very mild month with less rainfall than usual. There was a relatively cold spell from 5th-12th with 1 cm of snow towards the end of that spell. It was mild thereafter, going as high as 14C on the 20th. There were gale force gusts of wind on the 23rd from Storm Doris, recording 35mph. The mean temperature of 5.7C was the mildest since 2011.

Small numbers of curlew seen and heard between February and July. One or two green sandpiper sighted throughout the year at Brockhall GP, and dunlin at both Brockhall and Wellington. Flocks of snipe seen at Sturts and Gamber meadows. Skylarks started singing in February and seen throughout the year. Bullfinch were seen either singly or in small groups. Two small groups of crossbill were seen at Buckholt wood and New House wood. Small groups of lesser redpoll were found at Orcop hill and Brockhall GP, and small groups of siskin, greenfinch, chaffinch, and long tailed tits and small flocks of goldfinch were sighted. A large flock of starling (800) was seen at Upper Maes y Coed and a flock of 120 rook wheeling round Wigmore village early morning. A flock of 245 dunnoek were seen at Wellington GP, and 14 wren reported on Gamber meadows. Dipper heard singing. A number of large groups of waxwing seen (20-100). One lesser spotted woodpecker seen and heard. Green woodpecker seen and heard throughout the year.

Other sightings included pairs of ravens displaying, one or two jay, tree creeper, nuthatch, marsh tit, willowtit, and coal tit, with one great tit heard mimicking a green sandpiper call at Lugg meadows; goldcrest, and black cap. Fieldfares seen in large flocks (120-2000), as well as mixed fieldfare and redwing flocks (500+). Blackbird heard singing in early February. Eight song thrush at Welsh Newton Common. Stone chat and whinchat, and ten collared dove reported at Welsh Newton Common. 100 rock dove seen in High Town and around Hereford Cathedral one afternoon in early February.

Great black backed gull seen in Hereford Quarry. Single yellow legged gull seen on Lugg Meadows, 6 herring gull seen on the river Wye beside Hereford cathedral, and 14 on the

Lugg meadows, 300 lesser black backed gulls at Gamber meadows, 400 common gull on Lugg meadows, and 105 at Tregate Llanrothall, 25 blackheaded gull around Hereford cathedral and 100 at Gamber meadows.

One-two green sandpiper seen every month at Brockhall GP. Curlew heard and seen on Lugg meadows and near Bunch of Carrots, two woodcock at Bullocks mill, 55 snipe flushed from Sturts and 31 from Gamber meadows, One jacksnipe at Gamber meadows and one dunlin at Wellington GP.

Flocks of lapwing (50-300) were seen around the GP and meadows and golden plover flocks (15-100) were still to be seen south of Hereford. Oyster catcher (3-8) were at Brockhall GP, two at Wellington GP, and one at Leintwardine feeding amongst Canada geese. Six moorhen were seen at Amberley Court, and two at Newchurch mill pond. Four water rail were spotted at Wellington GP.

Single peregrine seen at the Sturts, Brockhall GP and the tower of St Michael's church, Ledbury. Buzzards in groups (1-28) displaying. Single sparrowhawks seen at various sites across the county throughout the year. One great white egret was seen at Waterloo reserve in a flooded meadow. Cormorant Continental race *sinensis* in breeding plumage was spotted roosting in a tree on island at Bodenham GP. One great crested grebe was seen at Bodenham GP. One pintail was found at Brockhall GP and a further thirteen at Hereford quarry, Bromyard. One shelduck was seen at Hampton meadow, with two-three at Brockhall GP and Kenchester pools. One-two barnacle geese sighted at Brockhall GP.

March was very mild and rather wet overall. No frosts were recorded and 18C was reached on the 30th. It was very windy early in the month and again just after mid month. 10.1 mm of rain on the 20th was followed by 18.5cm the next day. The mean temperature of 8.5cm was 2.1cm above average, the mildest March since at least 1980.

The first swallows were seen in the second week of March and left in late September. Sandmartins seen in mid March and left in mid September. Ringed plover appeared at the GP in March and remained until August. Redshank were seen in March and remained until November. Blacktailed godwit were found between March and August at the GP. Large flocks of starling, small groups of ravens, carrion crow, jackdaw were seen; small flocks of lesser redpoll, siskin, goldfinch, greenfinch, and occasional pairs seen including linnet. Small numbers of bullfinch, jay, treecreeper, nuthatch, marsh tit, willowtit, coal tit, chiffchaff, gold crest and blackcap were spotted. Willow warblers started arriving at the end of March. Cetti's warbler was seen at pond behind hide at Wellington GP. Large flock of redwing (300) seen at Lea and Paget's wood, with many delivering subsong. Song thrush seen near Eign bridge. 35 fieldfares seen at Gamber meadows. Two Wheatear seen mid March on Garway hill. Robins seen nesting in in late March. A flock of 30 waxwing still around in second week of March. Meadow pipits seen displaying on Garway Hill, and commonly found there, Hergest Ridge, Vager Hill and Brockhall GP throughout the year. Swallows started to arrive in the middle of March through to mid April and stayed until late September. Sandmartins started to arrive in mid March at Brockhall and Wellington GP. A Caspian Gull was seen at Brockhall GP, and at least one yellow legged gull was present on Castle Pool in Hereford. Twelve herring gull seen at Ryeford and one at Brockhall GP, and up to 350 blackheaded gull at Brockhall GP.

Single redshank were seen at Brockhall and Wellington GP, and one black tailed godwit at Brockhall GP. One woodcock was seen at High Vinnals and one in a wood near Ledbury.

Thirty-two snipe were put up at Wicton Court in a field of wheat, and 27 at Gamber Meadows; one jacksnipe at Hampton Court, and one dunlin at Wellington GP. Small numbers of lapwing were heard and seen displaying, with one golden plover calling over Gamber Meadows and one ringed plover at Brockhall GP. Small numbers of moorhen, little ringed plover and oyster catchers were found at Brockhall GP, and two oyster catchers at Wellington GP. Single water rail seen at Wellington GP and Gartleton Lakes. One Brent goose at Brockhall GP.

Pairs of buzzards were seen displaying at Haugh wood and elsewhere. Loose groups of 20 birds seen displaying at Hergest Ridge, and were also seen at Amberley Court, flying around a farmer ploughing. Two cormorant at Brockhall GP. Up to eight great crested grebe at Wellington GP, with four at Brockhall GP and two at Hartleton Lakes. Little grebe was seen at Harewood End, Kenchester Pools and Rotherwas new pool. Small numbers of redlegged partridge at Wapley hill and Sellack. 65 tufted duck at Brockhall GP and 15 at Kenchester pools. One Garganey duck and one Brent goose seen at Brockhall GP.

April was a rather mild and very dry month, with temperatures as high as 21.5C on the 9th. There was a sharp late frost on the 27th of -1.4C. The total rainfall was only 13.7mm which was only 24% of the average rainfall for April. Indeed there were only three wet days in all, and it was the driest April since 2011. House martins and swifts arrived in April, and left in September. Cuckoos were heard and occasionally seen between April and midsummer. Willow warbler singing through April, singly and in small groups.

One or two whimbrel and snipe seen in April at Brockhall and Wellington GP, and also a greenshank at Wellington. A grasshopper warbler was seen at Wellington GP. Lesser whitethroat seen in various places between April and June, and whitethroat between April and August. Pairs of bullfinch, linnet, greenfinch, nuthatch, raven and jay; single treecreepers, marsh tit, gold crest, chiffchaff, wood warbler and black cap singing. five reedwarbler seen at Pencoyd and one on Gamber meadows. Two-three ring ouzel were seen in late April on Garway Hill, with whinchat and stonechat, and skylarks nesting.

Pied flycatchers were first seen arriving at their nesting sites at the end of the first week in April, and their breeding success through May and June is reported later in this article. Redstart also arrived early April and heard singing. Garden warbler were first seen at the beginning of the month. Sedge warblers were heard singing at Wellington GP and at Bredwardine. Grasshopper warbler heard and seen at Wellington GP. Pairs of mistle thrush were seen in various locations. Wheatear were seen in groups of 1-12. Tree pipits were seen between April and July on Garway Hill, Upper Moccas Hill Wood and elsewhere. House martins arrived in the second week of April, swifts were first seen in April, and the cuckoo was first heard in 2nd week of April.

One sandwich tern was seen flying west at Brockhall GP, and yellow legged gulls were seen at Wellington and Brockhall GP. A pair of redshank was sighted at Brockhall and Wellington GP, with one greenshank at Wellington GP. Curlew were seen and heard at Brockhall GP, Newton St Margarets, Hergest Ridge, Holme Lacy, Urishay, and Amberley Court. One or two whimbrel were seen at Wellington GP and one at Brockhall GP; One-blacktailed godwit at Brockhall GP; three dunlin at Brockhall and four at Wellington GP; One knot at Brockhall GP; ringed plover (2-4) seen at Brockhall and one at Wellington GP; little ringed plover (2-5) at Whitney on Wye, Wellington GP (2) and Brockhall GP (4-8); and lapwings were breeding at the gravel pits and elsewhere. Small numbers of oyster catchers were at Brockhall, Kenchester pools, Winforton, Wellington GP and Castleton farm. Two coot nested at New pool, Rotherwas and at Croft Castle.

Osprey were seen at Brockhall GP. Buzzard were seen singly, in pairs and in groups (14). One great white egret was seen at Brockhall GP, two cattle egret at Castleton and at Winforton, on the river Wye. Three little grebe at Rotherwas new pool and 1 at Croft Castle. Two red legged partridge at Garway Hill. Two tufted duck seen at new pool, Rotherwas.

May was a very mild month while rainfall was nearly normal. The 24th-26th had temperatures exceeding 25C, and the mean temperature was 13.6C which was 2C above average, making it the warmest May since 1980.

A bar-tailed godwit and a turnstone were seen at Brockhall GP. Pairs of bullfinch, linnet, siskin, greenfinch, chaffinch, tree sparrow, tree creeper, nuthatch, marsh tit, jackdaw; small group of juvenile starling and raven; single jay, willow tit, pair coal tit, long tailed tit, spotted flycatcher, goldcrest, chiff chaff, wood warbler, white throat (with 6 seen at Wolferlow) and lesser whitethroat, whinchat and blackcap were seen singly and singing. Sedge warbler were seen and heard at Brockhall GP. Pair of mistle thrush at Monnington Court. Blackbirds in family groups. Sandmartins were seen nesting through May and June on the banks of the Wye. Five collared dove seen at Dorstone. Two black tern seen at Brockhall GP, as were single turnstone, redshank, wood sandpiper, and bar tailed godwit. Woodcock was seen in Mains Wood, Putley, Wigmore Rolls, and Lea Bailey enclosure. Small numbers of great crested grebes, oyster catchers, dunlin, sanderling, grey plover, ringed plover, and little ringed plover were seen at Brockhall and Wellington GP, with two little ringed plover also at Castleton farm on river Wye. Three moorhen were at Wellington GP, two osprey at Tedstone Delamere and one at Much Dewchurch. Buzzard mobbed by crows at Kingsland. Small numbers red legged partridge at Brockhampton and Hole in the Wall. six tufted duck on Wellington GP. one barnacle goose at Brockhall GP.

June was a very warm and dry month with a number of windy days. One storm overnight on 5th/6th was fierce enough to bring branches down and deposit 12.7mm of rain making it the wettest day of the month. It was fine and hot, with temperatures exceeding 26C between 17th-21st and indeed the 19th was the hottest June day (29.8C) since 1995. The mean temperature of 16.2C through the month was 1.7C above average and the warmest since 2006, while the total rainfall of 34.5 mm was only 60% of normal.

Song thrush heard at Wigmore, family groups of stone chat seen and the cuckoo was last reported in June. Pairs of bullfinch, linnet, siskin, nuthatch, single sightings of carrion crow, jay, tree creeper, one adult coal tit and 2 fledglings were seen; redstarts started fledging; spotted flycatcher were seen in ones and twos across the county, and family groups of chiff chaff. Wood warbler was seen and heard; and there were sightings of single lesser whitethroats, garden warbler, mistle thrush, and pairs of blackcap. Two juvenile reed warbler were seen on Andy's Fishing Lake, while sedge warblers were heard singing at Winforton on the Wye and at Mordiford on the Lugg, and Cetti's warbler was seen at Wellington GP.

75 lesser black backed gulls seen at Brockhall GP, redshank at Brockhall GP, little ringed plover (2-6) and oyster catchers (pairs plus chicks) at both Wellington and Brockhall GP and at Winforton. Six-nine great crested grebe were seen at Brockhall GP and three at Hartleton Lakes, and one little grebe at Brockhall GP. Curlew were seen starting to leave breeding grounds.

July was a very average month for temperature, with the warmest weather early in the month; 28.6C being the highest temperature recorded on the 6th. The 21st was very wet with 22.5mm of rain. The 12.3 mm recorded on the 11th was only other day to exceed 10mm of rain. The total rainfall of 64.7 mm was 122% of normal.

Small flocks of linnet, starling, large flock goldfinch, pairs of greenfinch, and juveniles, marsh tit, starlings, jackdaws and small numbers of ravens, carrion crow, jackdaw and jay were reported; as were single sightings of nuthatch, pair coal tits at Dorstone. Juvenile great tits, small groups of long tailed tits, whitethroat, garden warbler, 25 spotted flycatcher juveniles at the Flits NNR, single and pairs of blackcap were seen, together with 20 mistle thrush seen flying west at Yarkhill, and song thrush at Mill wood. Small family groups of wheatear and stone chat. Noisy tawny owl juveniles in gardens kept people awake. Herring gull seen at Brockhall GP, and redshank. Three curlew and 25 black tailed godwit at Wellington GP, and one at Leintwardine on river Teme. One to three dunlin seen at Wellington and Brockhall GP. Lapwings gathered into flocks again (103 seen at Wellington GP and smaller numbers elsewhere). Ringed plover (1-2), little ringed plover (1-6) and oyster catchers (1-15) at Wellington and Brockhall GP; 7-16 great crested grebe and one little grebe at Brockhall GP and nine little grebe on Kenchester pools. 20 tufted duck on Wellington GP. One barnacle goose at Brockhall GP.

August was another average month for temperature and rainfall with the only thunder heard all summer on the 5th. The 28th was the warmest day with 26.4C recorded, while only the 18th and 20th exceeded 10mm of rain. The mean temperature was 15.8C while the total rainfall was 60.8mm.

A single arctic tern was seen at Brockhall. Small flocks of linnet, starling, raven, chiffchaff and willow warbler; small numbers of four jay, nuthatch, marsh tit, bullfinch, whitethroats and garden warbler; and single firecrest, sedge warbler, wheatear and whinchat. One sandwich tern was heard in Hereford moving south. Forty blackheaded gull were seen at Brockhall GP, where the four redshank were still present. Three whimbrel were seen flying south in Hereford. Three black tailed godwit seen at Wellington GP and one at Brockhall GP. One to two dunlin at Brockhall GP. Lapwing seen at Wellington (148) and Brockhall GP (5-9) where ringed plover (1-3), little ringed plover (1-2), one great white egret, eight cormorant, 17 great crested grebe, one shelduck and one barnacle goose were also found. Eighteen little grebe seen on Kenchester pools and three at Brockhall GP, quail heard calling at Holme Lacy. Ten tufted duck seen on Bodenham Lake.

September was also close to average temperatures, with less rainfall than usual. Only four days exceeded 20C with 1st being warmest with 21.3C. It was very windy from 11th-13th with Storm Aileen gusting in with 33mph winds on 13th. Rainfall was spread fairly evenly though the month with seventeen wet days. The total rainfall was 82% of normal.

Flock of 20 mistle thrush was seen on Garway Hill. Single wheatear seen at Brockhall GP and lower Maes y coed, and a pair on Blackhill. The last redstart was seen in late September, as were house martins and swallows, with sandmartins and swifts last seen in mid September. Small numbers of bullfinch, linnet, raven, jay, and nuthatch were seen and the last willow warbler was seen at beginning of September. Two greenshank were seen at Brockhall GP. One or two ruff were seen at Brockhall and Kenchester pools. Between one and four stint seen at Brockhall at the end of September and the beginning of October. Garden warbler was reported at Bodenham GP. Cetti's warbler was seen at Wellington GP. One arctic tern was seen at Brockhall GP, and a black tern at Wellington GP. Yellow legged gull was seen at Wellington GP. One wood sandpiper, one greenshank, one-two ruff, two dunlin, two-four little stint, one grey plover, and 1 to 3 ringed plover were seen at Brockhall GP, together with three little grebe and one barnacle goose. 233 coot were found at Wellington GP. Peregrine was seen at Glewstone and hobby at Dorstone,

Wellington and Bodenham GP. One osprey, one great white egret, one bittern and three great crested grebe were seen at Wellington GP.

October was a very warm and dry month. Most days were mild with no frost recorded. 19.9C was the warmest on the 14th. Strong winds on the 16th brought dust from the Sahara desert and smoke from Portuguese forest fires, causing a strange glow with a red sun as Extra Tropical Storm Ophelia surged up the west coast of Ireland. The 19th stood out as a very wet day with 20.4mm of rain. The mean temperature of 12.1C was 2C above average and the warmest since 2012. Total rainfall of 33.8 mm was 41% of normal, making it the third very dry October in a row.

Flocks of ravens, redwing, and fieldfares seen and small groups of song thrush. Flocks of skylark were seen migrating south, but small groups of skylark were still seen in November and December; small flocks of blue tit, long tailed tits, chiffchaff, siskin, goldfinch, house sparrow, coal tit, great tit, goldcrest; small groups of bullfinch, linnet; pairs of mistle thrush, greenfinch, jay, nuthatch, marsh tit; and single treecreeper were seen. One to four little stint spent time at Brockhall GP. A peregrine was seen at Moccas deer park and in the Olchon valley, and one osprey at Welsh Bicknor. Seven cormorant were seen at Capler. One rose coloured starling was seen at Orcop on several days in October. Small numbers of red legged partridge were sighted at Orcop hill and Garway hill.

November was a very dry month with the rain in small amounts over sixteen days. Milder spells were balanced with incursions of cold air leading to seven frosts. The coldest night was the 30th, with -1.4C rising to a high of only 3.7C. The total rainfall was 30.9mm, with only 43% of normal, ensuring it was the driest November since 1998.

Medium size flocks of redwing, linnet and siskin, goldfinch, greenfinch, chaffinch were seen; small flocks of field fares, cross bills and lesser redpolls, small groups of coal tit, long tailed tits, bull finch, single gold crest, black cap, mistle thrush, treesparrow, small numbers of raven, single nuthatch and marsh tit and willow tit sightings. Yellow legged gull and herring gull were seen at Rotherwas and herring gull at Wellington GP; 70 common gull were seen on Gamber meadows and 60 back headed gull on Kenchester pools. One redshank was seen at Brockhall GP, as well as small flocks of lapwings there and at Kenchester pools. Peregrine were seen at Leintwardine, Orcop hill and Bodenham village, and merlin was seen at Vowchurch. 28 buzzard were spotted worming in a ploughed field near Leominster. A goshawk was mobbed by carrion crow at Orcop hill. Red kite are now seen across the county throughout the year, often singly but sometimes in family groups or larger numbers if drawn by carrion. Grey heron seen throughout the year, in GP and on rivers and large ditches. One great white egret was seen at Hartleton lakes, two cattle egret at Sink Green on the river Wye, one bittern at Wellington GP, four cormorant and one great crested grebe at Hartleton lakes, one common scoter and one barnacle goose at Brockhall GP. Two Egyptian geese seen at Wellington GP.

December was a slightly milder than average month overall, despite a major snow event on 10th, when persistent heavy snow overnight and the next day steadily accumulated to 24cm (indeed RJ had over 35 cm in her garden in the west of the county). Clearing skies led to a severe frost on the 12th with -6.3c, the coldest night since Feb 4th 2012. It took until the 19th before all the snow and compacted ice eventually thawed. The rainfall equivalent of this storm was 28.4 mm. Another 19.9mm on the 26th turned to snow giving a light covering. The month

ended windy and mild. There were four days with snow falling, lying for eleven days in total. The total rainfall of 92.7mm ensured it was easily with wettest month of the year.

Large numbers of fieldfare and redwing were seen in the orchards. Large flocks of linnet, siskin, chaffinch, starling, and jackdaw; medium flocks of goldfinch; small flocks of cross bills; small numbers of black birds, lesser redpolls, house sparrow, bullfinch, greenfinch, coal tit, great tit, blue tits, long tailed tits, ravens and jay; single treecreeper, nuthatch; one pair of marsh tit and some singletons, song thrush and 2 waxwing were reported. Single sightings of goldcrest, chiff chaff, and black cap. Mistle thrush heard singing every morning at Newtown St Margarets for several days. A great grey shrike was seen in two separate gardens in December on Bredwardine hill on the day of the bad snow, which presumably forced it to forage near bird feeders. Crossbills were seen (and found during the winter months of January, February, November and December), as were hawfinches (January–April and October–December), skylarks which are seen throughout the year, as were yellowhammer. Stonechat seen in ones and twos. One lesser spotted woodpecker was reported.

Two red grouse seen flying at Llech y Lladron near Offas Dyke Path. Merlin was seen at Wellington and Brockhall GP, and in the Olchon valley. Buzzard were reported in Moccas deer park (3), the Olchon valley (5) and elsewhere.

One jacksnipe was put up at Wellington GP. Flocks of lapwing (120) were seen at Wellington GP and smaller groups both at Wellington and Brockhall (6) GP. One dunlin seen at Wellington and Brockhall GP. Large flock of golden plover at Brockhall GP (220) and small flock south of Hereford (31). Oyster catchers (1-2) were at Brockhall GP, and one water rail at Wellington GP. Three peregrine seen at Wellington GP and one at Moccas deer park. one cattle egret at Ruckhall, river Wye. Great crested grebe at Wellington GP (4-9), Brockhall GP (1), and Hartleton lakes (1), and seven little grebe at Bodenham GP. One common scoter seen at Brockhall GP. Eighteen tufted duck at Wellington GP. Two great white egret and one cormorant seen at Hartleton lake.

The barnacle goose which had been present all year was still there at Brockhall GP. Greylag geese were seen round the year at the various Herefordshire GP, and large numbers of Canada geese. Numerous sightings of small numbers of mandarin ducks in pools across the county and on river Wye. Wigeon were seen in various GP in spring and autumn, and gadwall and teal round the year.

The Nest Box Scheme results for Herefordshire are still being recorded by Beryl Harding and were as follows.

Species	Sites		Nests		Eggs		Fledged		Success	
	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016
Flycatcher	13	17	144	120	774	666	430	401	55.5%	60.2%
Blue tit	22	27	159	193	1352	1464	849	709	62.8%	48.4%
Great tit	22	27	123	229	804+	882	612+	536	76.1%	60.7%
Coal tit	3	2	3	2	20	14	20	13	100%	92.8%
Nuthatch	5	8	5	10	31	56	29	30	93.5%	53.6%
Wren	1	3	3	7	14	20	-	0	failed	failed

No nesting Redstarts were found this year.

Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species for the past four years.

Species	2017	2016	2015	2014
Pied flycatcher	55.5% (unclear sites)	60.2% (17 sites)	58.6% (16 sites)	64.7% (10 sites)
Blue tit	73.5% (23 sites)	48.4% (27 sites)	50.7% (27 sites)	60.9% (23 sites)
Great tit	53.6% (22 sites)	60.7% (27 sites)	57.3% (23 sites)	71.3% (22 sites)
Marsh tit	no data	No sites	No sites	No sites
Coal tit	no data	92.8% (2 sites)	100% (1 site)	30.6% (1 site)
Nuthatch	93.5% (1 site)	53.6% (8 sites)	70.5% (8 sites)	70.5% (5 sites)
Redstart	no data	44.4% (3 sites)	84.6% (2 sites)	53.8% (3 sites)
Wren	unclear data	failed (3 sites)	100% (3 sites)	unclear (1 site)

Pied Flycatcher only Results

[2001 – no recording due to Foot & Mouth restrictions.]

2000	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
2002	14 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
2003	14 sites	109 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
2004	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
2005	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success
2006	16 sites	88 nests	520 eggs	503 fledged	96.6% success
2007	12 sites	107 nests	636 eggs	263 fledged	41.4% success
2008	13 sites	81 nests	582 eggs	367 fledged	63.0% success
2009	13 sites	93 nests	525 eggs	353 fledged	67.2% success
2010	12 sites	82 nests	539 eggs	404 fledged	74.9% success
2011	11 sites	87 nests	543 eggs	354 fledged	65.2% success
2012	9 sites	75 nests	477 eggs	425 fledged	63.7% success
2013	14 sites	135 nests	773 eggs	563 fledged	72.8% success
2014	11 sites	86 nests	473 eggs	304 fledged	64.2% success
2015	16 sites	114 nests	744 eggs	436 fledged	58.6% success
2016	17 sites	120 nests	666 eggs	401 fledged	60.2% success
2017	13 sites	144 nests	774 eggs	430 fledged	55.5% success

It can be seen that overall success rate was the lowest it has been since 2007, and the pied flycatcher has been added to the BTO Red List.

The overall species results show a generally a better year than 2016 but storms and windy weather accompanied by heavy rain in early June gave a reduced food supply after the chicks had hatched resulting in many early deaths and/or abandonment by the parents. Predation still occurred but less than in 2016—perhaps the cold weather in the early part of the year helped to reduce mice numbers?

As usual, our thanks go to the recorders and to those involved in ringing the young and recording the returning parents.

Research update

The RSPB garden watch has been carried out across the country every January for three and a half decades. In Herefordshire in 2017 there were significant increases in blackbirds (28.2% increase from 2016), starlings (35.7%), robins (17.8%), dunnock (12.7%), jackdaw (13.9%) and

wren (9.8%); but these were accompanied by decreases from 2016 in bluetit (-14.2%), chaffinch (-16.4%), coal tit (-14.8%), and greenfinch (-27%). These Herefordshire figures are higher than the increases in England for starling (10.5%), blackbird (19.5%), robin (12.9%), duncock (12.4%), wren (8.4%) and are also less than the decreases in England for bluetits (-11.4%), great tit (-10.4%), chaffinch (-19%), coal tit (-17.5%), and greenfinch (-27.7%).

In terms of trends over the decade across England, goldfinches have increased by 44%, although there was no particular increase in 2017; blackbirds are up 29%, and robins by 24%, while starlings have dropped 29%, greenfinches by 59% since 1979 (hit by trichomonas which can be reduced by careful regular cleaning of feeders, bird tables and birdbaths), and chaffinch by 57% since 1979.

Some exciting pied flycatcher research by a Herefordshire-based team was published in 2017.¹ Migrants are often more sensitive to environmental and climatic change than resident species, and those birds that breed in Europe and winter in sub-saharan Africa are currently undergoing population decline that is more severe than in resident or short distant migrants. We don't yet have a good understanding of all the reasons for this and so research is essential. Ringing recovery is particularly poor in Africa, illustrated by the fact that one million rings placed on pied flycatchers in the UK and Sweden between 1971-2008 led to only eleven recoveries in total from Africa), and geolocator studies (discussed in previous reports of this journal) are still scarce. One alternative approach is to use stable isotope analysis on feathers, as the feather isotope composition is stable and reflects the bird's location, habitat and diet at the time of growth. So depending when the bird moults, it is possible to quantify the stable isotope profile of feathers grown in winter in Africa, when the birds are captured in their breeding grounds in the UK. This approach has already been used in a number of other species such as marsh warblers, common whitethroats and willow warblers. Goodenough et al., 2017, quantified nitrogen -15 and carbon 13 using Isotope ratio mass spectrometry. They found a significant correlation between wintering carbon -13 and all stages of breeding success (clutch size, number of young to hatch and number of young to fledge). So the question is whether this relationship is causal, and how much is a direct correlation and how much indirect as a result of underlying correlations between isotope profile and other independent variables such as female condition and timing of breeding. Those birds using wet woodland in Africa over the winter have higher breeding success than those using dry forest. One possible mechanism is that birds that have wintered in better habitat arrive earlier at the breeding grounds, and have a high probability of securing a good territory. In this case, early clutch sizes might be higher because of the good quality of the territory. The C-13 profile was also a good predictor both of lay date and of breeding success after lay date had been allowed for. Mechanisms for these links remain speculative, but the study data suggests that wintering habitat may not simply drive reproductive success through an influence on female condition or ability to breed early. Birds that winter in better territory may have some competitive advantage in ability to increase clutch size to match the habitat quality at the breeding ground. It is also possible that older and more experienced birds may preferentially choose wetter habitat.

Blackcaps: A number of blackcaps now winter in Britain, and so a current research project is fitting black caps with geolocators and colour rings—the research team are asking for help to ring wintering blackcaps, and report any with colour rings to Greg Conway at the BTO (greg.

conway@bto.org). Geolocators should not be removed from birds with metal over yellow colour rings.

Heron: The BTO has also asked for help monitoring the scarcer heron species including little egret. (www.bto.org/heronries and herons@bto.org)

REFERENCES

¹ A. E. Goodenough, D. G. Coker, M. J. Wood and S. L. Rogers S, 2017, 'Overwintering habitat links to summer reproductive success: intercontinental carry over effects in a declining migratory bird revealed using stable isotope analysis', *Bird Study*, 64, pp.433-44.

Weather Statistics, 2017

By IAN K. PORTER

<i>Month</i>	<i>Maximum temperature shade °C</i>	<i>Minimum temperature shade °C</i>	<i>Rainfall mm.</i>	<i>Maximum rainfall in 1 day mm.</i>	<i>Days with rainfall</i>
January	8.9	-3.9	153.9	31.2 (27th)	10
February	12.2	-2.2	41.9	11.2 (1st)	10
March	15.5	1.1	87.6	27.7 (21st)	11
April	19.4	2.2	2.3	1.3 (30th)	4
May	27.7	4.4	85.9	36.1 (11th)	8
June	30.0	8.9	45.5	13.5 (5th)	8
July	27.7	11.1	72.1	19.1 (21st)	10
August	24.4	10.0	69.9	20.3 (2nd)	9
September	20.5	6.7	44.6	6.6 (14th)	13
October	16.7	2.8	45.5	34.1 (19th)	4
November	12.2	-2.2	39.9	10.7 (7th)	6
December	10.5	-6.1	107.2	34.8 (26th)	7
Total			796.3		100

Highest day temperature: 30.0°C 20th June
 Lowest night temperature: -6.1°C 11th December

Weather Summary 2008 to 2017

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total rainfall year mm.</i>	<i>Wettest day mm</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Days with rain</i>	<i>Highest temp. deg C</i>	<i>Lowest temp.deg.C</i>
2008	928.6	43.2	Mar. 15	126	27.8	-4.4
2009	713.5	26.2	July 17	123	29.4	-5.0
2010	585.7	47.0	Aug. 25	102	28.3	-9.4
2011	498.9	18.3	Oct. 27	105	27.8	-5.6
2012	1007.4	67.3	Sept. 23	141	27.2	-7.8
2013	821.9	30.7	Sept. 21	116	28.9	-4.4
2014	1018.3	44.2	Oct. 13	152	28.3	-2.8
2015	768.4	27.9	Aug. 14	120	30.0	-3.3
2016	874.8	52.3	Nov. 21	112	31.6	-4.4
2017	796.3	36.1	May 11	100	30.3	-6.1

Recorded by I. K. Porter at Greening's Acre, Little Birch. Height 500ft (152 m.).

Book Reviews, 2017

By

ROSALIND LOWE, DAVID WHITEHEAD

Eardisley's Early History and the Story of the Baskervilles, edited by Malcolm Mason, (2017, Logaston Press, 240pp., £10).

This is the second book published for the Eardisley History Group and edited by its hard-working chairman, Malcolm Mason. If the first book was as good as the second, it deserves a more prominent place among the pantheon of excellent local studies that have been published quietly in recent years.

The book focuses upon Eardisley Castle, possibly the *domus defensabilis* ('fortified house') mentioned in Domesday Book. In 2009 Martin and Anne Roseveal of Archaeophysica were invited to produce a geophysical survey of the motte and the southern bailey, now the garden of Castle House. Three electronic devices were used to produce a new base-map, verifying, it was hoped, the detail shown on the tithe map and the earlier OS plans. The results were revealing and are explained with clarity. The castle, notwithstanding its long history, appears to represent a single period. Specific discoveries include the remains of a shell keep embedded in the motte, which had been heightened when used as a garden feature, and since there were also many anomalies in the garden lawn, it was possible there were structures in the bailey.

Two years later Dr Nigel Baker, aided by volunteers, opened up a trench (6m. x 3m.) in the southeast corner of the garden. Remarkably, fairly close to the surface, 20 successive floors of occupation were discovered, made-up chiefly of charcoal and smithing waste. Nearer the putative moat a substantial embankment was revealed (presumably enclosing the bailey) and the foundations of a substantial stone structure. Animal bone and pottery were examined by specialists who suggested a single dating sequence from the late 12th century to the early 13th. The bones also showed that this was a high status establishment with much hunting taking place in the adjoining park. Among the unexpected items on the menu was a white crane. No attempt was made to investigate the stonework on the motte.

The editor was clearly disappointed with these results having opened the volume with an extended survey of the Dark Age/Anglo-Saxon context for the appearance in 1086 of the *domus defensabilis* for which the trench provided no evidence. Accompanying this Bruce Coplestone-Crow provided a wide-ranging documentary history of the Baskerville family, an extended version of his article in *TWNFC* 41 (1979). This includes a lot of fairly complex dynastic history but also explored is the development of the lordship—in the marches of Wales but outside the kingdom of England—and the history of the castle. There are a number of challenging thoughts, including the suggestion that the fortified houses at Eardisley and *Walege* may have been built by William fitzOsbern along with Clifford Castle. Moreover, the castle figures frequently in Coplestone-Crow's narrative, often outside the date range provided by the archaeology and, albeit described as ruinous in 1348, divine service was still being held in its chapel in 1372. The disagreement between the historical account and the archaeology is thus left unresolved.

The final chapters in the book move on to other unrelated themes. Nicky Smith of Historic England provides a model for future fieldwork. At the Pitts to the north-east of the village she finds a medieval field system and an extensive and undated quarry where stone roof tiles were

extracted. To the north, next to the main road to Kington, at Bollingham she suggests a motte, chapel and miscellaneous earthworks. She provides a general but well-considered explanation of both sites, accompanied by handy sketch plan that could easily be imitated by volunteers. Malcolm Mason makes another appearance demonstrating his intimate knowledge of the minor roads and watercourses of the parish. His observations are accompanied by historic mapping and where possible documentary material from many national repositories, as well as HARC. He also has a short piece on the Hay to Kington tramway of 1818, which kept Eardisley supplied with coal for 40 years. The castle reappears in the story when he discusses the streams feeding the castle mill.

Duncan James, who carried out an earlier study of 30 buildings in Eardisley completes the volume with a second bite of the cherry and adds a number of late-15th-century cruck framed open hall houses to his earlier score. At Bollingham where Nicky Smith carried out her survey, he finds a splendid cruck with cusped trefoils in a barn. Several other houses are described accompanied by well-drawn plans and flattering photographs. I fell in love with Eardisley Wooton with its copious low-pitched stone tiled roof with ochre stained rendering. This is the essence of the Herefordshire vernacular.

David Whitehead

***Herefordshire's Rocks & Scenery*, John Payne (ed.), (2017, Logaston Press, 256pp., £15.00)**

This book is sub-titled *A Geology of the County*, an earlier working title, and its final incarnation reflects a wider approach which appeals to both geologists and a more general public. It has been enthusiastically welcomed by the geology community; quite deliberately this review has been written from the perspective of the ordinary Woolhope Club member.

The first thing that strikes one on flicking through the book is the lavish use of colour illustrations. Practically every page opening has a photograph, block diagram or plan. All are clear, detailed and well-annotated. The volume is dedicated to the late Peter Thomson—a number of his illustrations are used—and John Stocks, Derek Foxton (aerial photography), Robert Williams, Dave Green and especially Gerry Calderbank are to be congratulated for the very high standard of the illustrations. The Club's Smith fund provided financial support to make these possible. It's not easy to weld together the output from a number of authors but John Payne has made a very good job of it. Throughout there are illustrated panels about people, archaeology etc. which add to the text.

After an introductory chapter about Herefordshire, the county is surveyed from five well-known viewpoints which give a feel for the county's scenery. For a non-geologist there are diagrams to explain the mysteries of all kinds of geological action from folding to subduction.

Chapters 3 to 9 focus on the geology of the county, starting with basic concepts but then following its geological fortunes during the succeeding ages. Not only is the fossil record explored but also the work of early geologists, most of whom were members of the Woolhope Club. The historic drainage patterns of the rivers and streams are explained in some detail. A word of warning though; there is so much information presented, even in the smallest diagram, that it's better, after a preliminary sortie, to take each chapter slowly. A non-geologist is unlikely to remember all the detail, but there is a helpful glossary and an extensive bibliography. Chapter 10 investigates the effect the geology of the county has had on the lives of the inhabitants, from palæolithic man to the present.

Some lucky Club members who attended the substitute talk given on the subject in January 2018 will have enjoyed Dave Green's exposition of the fortunes of the future Herefordshire in the millennia before 200 million years B.P. It highlighted the depth of knowledge which underlies every topic in the book but which has been expertly distilled and presented in a form to be enjoyed by a non-geologist.

The Club is fortunate that some 166 years after its foundation we have members who are worthy successors to the Club's early geologists. Even if you are not a Herefordian you will find many items of interest, and I have no hesitation in recommending this book to you.

Rosalind Lowe

Poems and Paintings of Herefordshire and the Neighbouring Marches, Jonathan Lumby (ed.), (2017, Logaston Press, 142 pp., £12.95)

The forerunner of this book was *The Poems and Paintings of the Malvern Hills* (Logaston, 2014), which dealt with the author's immediate neighbourhood, and also embraced Colwall and Ledbury; thus, eating into the territory of the Herefordshire volume. Both books, in a sense, are dependent upon tourists, since in the late 18th century and 19th century they were the people most likely to sketch and write a topographical poem. In general, it seems, more poets found themselves in Malvern, but the paintings are mostly later. Herefordshire, especially the Wye Valley was a magnet for painters, long before the Malverns. But the latter has Dame Laura Knight, matched in the Herefordshire volume by our own Brian Hatton.

Both volumes rely upon the major advances made in digital colour printing, which can be measured very accurately in the last decade by reference to the Logaston output. But Mr Lumby is also to be complimented for spotting the fantastic collection of unexploited topographical art hidden in municipal art galleries, which are generally free for use with the right acknowledgements. For the general public the illustrations will sell this book and in so doing, provide a means of marketing poetry. Both books contain samples of the work of living poets, who otherwise would be reduced to selling their thoughts either orally or via privately printed *belles-lettres*.

One of the pleasures of the book lies in trying to identify the connection between the poetry and the illustration. Sometimes this seems rather forced or incidental. For example the author finds a poem of 1775 in the Brampton Bryan archive eulogising the family life of Thomas Harley of Berrington Hall set in the Arcadian landscape being produced by 'Capability' Brown. This is paired with one of the images by George Robert Lewis in the Tate Gallery entitled *Harvest Field and Reapers, Haywood* (1815). The difference in date is ignored—both are eulogies on country life, but as several commentators have noticed, in 1815, most agricultural labourers were starving as a result of the French Wars and the Corn Laws. It was John Matthews of Belmont who commissioned this fabrication and his personal idyll ended in tears with the collapse of the Hereford Old Bank in 1825. Obviously, it was not Mr Lumby's intention to write a social history of Herefordshire but life in the shire could be gritty, as well as sugary. Occasionally the author inserts text boxes to provide some background. A few more of these could have provided the reader with a little extra context.

There is a good exploration in the book of the term 'Silurian', which was much used by the Georgian *literati* in Herefordshire. It attached the county to the Welsh bardic tradition and became the local equivalent for the generic term 'arcadia'. This provided immense self-

confidence for the chattering classes of Herefordshire and set the county apart from Midland England—increasingly a region of industry and enclosure. This helped to bring the tourists—and, of course, the poets and artists.

This is a very good book and a credit to Logaston. We look forward to the *Poems and Paintings of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire etc. etc.*

David Whitehead

The Story of Dilwyn, Tony Hobbs & Andrew Stirling-Brown, (2017, Logaston Press, pp.208, £12.95.)

Logaston Press obviously believe that ‘story’ rather than ‘history’ on the cover of a book makes it more approachable and ‘user friendly’. But a ‘story’ implies that there will be a narrative, whereas ‘history’ modified by ‘aspects’ or ‘towards’ can be less than that. Sadly, there is not much story in this book. Instead there are 25 vignettes—some very short—which are better defined as aspects of Dilwyn’s history. The story still needs to be told.

Dilwyn is clearly a very self-conscious community, the epitome of the 21st century village. When its primary school was threatened with closure, it was re-established as an independent school and when its pub—The Crown—was similarly threatened it re-opened as a local co-operative with a post office and shop. Dilwyn, from the evidence of this book, since the early 20th century, has been served well by its creative residents, many of whom have put pen to paper and have recorded timely reminiscences, which have either been published in the village journal—*The Dylwynner*—or independently like Elizabeth Coleman’s minor classic *The Tangled Garden* (1988). Thus Tony Hobbs, who lives in the village and has had earlier outings with Logaston has plenty of material, which is locally accessible. He also found Andrew Stirling-Brown, an antiquarian son of a revered castleologist well-known to many Woolhope Club members, who provided the medieval introduction to the book, describing the activities of Dilwyn’s lords. This chapter benefits from having some national context. However, it does not tell us much about the residents of the parish and their social and economic activities. This is a pity since Dilwyn is a very large parish, which even today has a varied topography. The land to the south of the A4112 appears to be open-field ‘felden’ countryside, whereas to the north the landscape has been created in a matrix of woodland. The work of exploring this dichotomy, recommended by earlier landscape historians like W.G. Hoskins, has been left to someone else with an interest in maps and field-walking.

Moreover, like many similar studies, the early modern period—say c.1500-1700—is virtually absent from the story of Dilwyn and yet, it seems, quite a lot of the parish was in the possession of the church and must have been secularised in the 16th century. Moreover, Dilwyn until the Reformation had a college of six priests and a chantry supporting 60 scholars. This sounds to me like an ancient minster church, something much more than a run-of-the-mill parochial church. There is much that makes Dilwyn exceptional, which would have been flagged-up in one of the many ‘how to write a local history’ books that are available, which introduce local historians to important themes and the material available in the local record office to deal with difficult periods.

The majority of this book is about the recent past and about the changing nature of rural life since the 2nd World War. It naturally relies upon oral history now recorded in some way. The achievement of the author is to bring all this together as a readable whole, enshrined in a

well-illustrated book. Within its limited range there are some good chapters. The impact of the 2nd World War is thoroughly discussed, with many fine miniatures. I loved the home guard observation hut, marooned on a local hill, which is surely a candidate for listed building status. Ella Mary Leather, from Weobley, makes a guest appearance, and with Vaughan Williams, finds Dilwyn a happy hunting ground for poignant folk songs and ancient lore. The useful round-up of the gentry farmsteads—Henwood and The Homme—is most interesting, the latter because it is just a pile of rubble in a wood—a ‘lost country-house’. This book is undoubtedly worth shelf-room and fills a useful gap. There is gold in these pages and someday, someone will mine it for a history of Herefordshire.

David Whitehead

Rules of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, (Herefordshire)

I. — That the Society be known as the “WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)” for the practical study in all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the district immediately adjacent.

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

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

III. — The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said nine officers *ex-officio* and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or reelection en bloc shall be accepted. In the event of ties the president or the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote. Casual vacancies may be filled at any general meeting and any member then elected shall hold office until the date when the term of office of the member whom he or she succeeds would have expired. The central committee shall be empowered to appoint an assistant secretary; its duties shall include making all arrangements for the meetings of the year. Seven shall form a quorum.

IV. — The members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V. — That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £13.00 payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such

member to a copy of the Transactions, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Life members shall be confirmed on the payment in advance of twenty years subscription at the current rate when taking up membership. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of £1 a meeting in respect of each visitor.

VI. — That the president be requested to favour the club with an address at the annual spring meeting on the proceedings of the year, together with such observations as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the club, and the promotion of its objects.

VII. That members finding rare or interesting specimens or observing any remarkable phenomenon relating to any branch of natural history, or making or becoming acquainted with any archaeological discovery in the district, shall immediately forward a statement thereof to the honorary secretary or to the appropriate sectional editor.

VIII. — That the club undertake the formation and publication of correct lists of the various natural productions and antiquities of the county of Hereford with such observations as their respective authors may deem necessary.

IX. — That any member whose annual subscription is twelve months in arrear shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privilege of membership, and that any member whose annual subscription is two years in arrear may be removed from the membership of the club by the central committee.

X. — That the assistant secretary send out circulars ten days at least before the annual spring meeting to all members who have not paid their subscriptions and draw their particular attention to Rule IX.

XI. — That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or alteration at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.

XII. — That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting or has been approved by the central committee.

XIII. — That these rules be published in each volume of the Transactions.

List of Presidents

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

- 1947 WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
 1948 GILBERT, Captain H. A.
 1949 WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.
 1950 CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.
 1951 MORGAN, Mr F. C., M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A.
 1952 SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.
 1953 COHEN, Mr L., M.I.MECH.E.
 1954 JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.
 1955 MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
 1956 WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable A. J., M.A.
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 1958 LANGFORD, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 1959 LEEDS, Mrs Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.
 1960 MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch, M.A.
 1961 STANFORD, Mr S. C., B.A., F.S.A.
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 1975 PERRY, Mr R. C.
 1976 HAYNES, Rev. W. B., B.A.
 1977 WINCE, W. H. D., M.B., B.S., M.I.Biol.
 1978 PAGE, Mr R. A.
 1979 GARNETT, Mr A.T.G., L.D.S., R.C.S. (Eng.)
 1980 KENDRICK, Mr F. M.
 1981 VOSS, Mrs Marjorie, M., B.A.
 1982 BRIAN, Mrs Anthea, D., B.Sc., Ph.D.
 1983 TONKIN, Mrs Muriel, J.P.
 1984 TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A., F.S.A.
 1885 ATTFIELD, Mr C. E., F.I.E.H.
 1986 HILLABY, Mr J. G., B.A.
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 1988 PERRY, Mr R. C.
 1989 WARD, Mr E. H.
 1990 PEXTON, F. W., B.Sc., Ph.D.
 1991 RICHARDSON, Mrs R. E., B.Ed., M.Phil., A.I.F.A.
 1992 REES, Mr G., C.Eng., M.I.E.E., M.R.Ae.S.
 1993 EISEL, Dr J. C., M.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.
 1994 WHITEHEAD, Mr D. A., M.A.
 1995 TONKIN, Mrs Muriel, J.P.
 1996 O'DONNELL, Mrs Jean E., B.A.
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 2013 HILLABY, Mr J. G., B.A.
 2014 O'DONNELL, Mrs Jean E., B.A., M.B.E.
 2015 JONSON, Miss J. R.
 2016 COOPER, Dr J., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.
 2017 LOWE, Mrs R. A., B.Sc.

List of Members

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HEREFORD: Headland Archaeology (UK) Ltd, Unit 1, Premier Business Park, Westfield Trading Estate, Faraday Road, Hereford, HR4 9NZ
HEREFORD: Herefordshire Fungus Survey Group, c/o Mr M Stroud, Mill House, Cwmdu, Crickhowell, Powys, NP8 1SA
HEREFORD: Herefordshire Nature Trust, Lower House Farm, Ledbury Road, Hereford, HR1 1VT
HEREFORD: Herefordshire Ornithological Club, c/o I.B. Evans, 12 Brockington Drive, Hereford, HR1 1TA
HEREFORD: The Principal, Sixth Form College, Folly Lane, Hereford, HR1 1LU
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 Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
 Cambridgeshire Archaeological Society
 Architectural & Archaeological Society of Durham & Northumberland
 Essex Society for Archaeology & History
 Kent Archaeological Society
 Oxford Archaeology & History Society
 Powysland Club
 Radnorshire Society
 Shropshire Archaeological Society
 Somerset Archaeological & Natural History Society
 Staffordshire Archaeology & History Society
 Surrey Archaeological Society
 Worcestershire Archaeological Society

THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS' PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

Cambrian Archaeological Society
 Council for British Archaeology
 Harleian Society

ORDINARY MEMBERS

At 31 December 2017 the Club had 571 Ordinary and Life Members.

Due to legislation on data protection introduced in May 2018, the Club is no longer able to publish the names and addresses of ordinary members in the *Transactions*.

County or Country of Residence	Number of Members
Herefordshire	429
Worcestershire	32
Shropshire	21
Gloucestershire	7
Other counties in England	46
Wales	30
Other UK addresses	2
Total United Kingdom	567
Outside United Kingdom	4
Total Ordinary and Life members	571

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