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“HOPE ON”



“HOPE EVER”

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Proceedings, 2018

SPRING MEETINGS held in Committee Room 1, the Shire Hall.

FIRST MEETING: 8 January 2018: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair
David Whitehead, Hon. Secretary, in the absence of Dr Adam Chapman, spoke on ‘Humphry Repton in Herefordshire: a Bicentenary Celebration’.

Mr Whitehead outlined a few details relating to Repton’s early life e.g. his early sojourn in Holland where he learnt to sketch and paint; his married life and farming experience at Old Hall, Sustead in Norfolk; his career as a political agent; writing plays and his collaboration with William Wilkins, the proprietor of the Theatre Royal in Norwich and his final career change in 1788 when he decided to step into the shoes of ‘Capability’ Brown, who had died in 1783.

The principal theme of Mr Whitehead’s talk related to his encounter in Herefordshire with Richard Payne Knight of Downton Castle and Uvedale Price of Foxley, which began with his first local commission in 1788 at Ferney Hall, two miles to the north of Downton. Here Repton was engaged to sweep away an earlier formal terraced garden, replacing it with a landscape garden, in the manner of Brown. The proposals were vetted by Knight who expressed his distaste in no uncertain terms. He was appalled that an ancient garden, which over time had accrued picturesque qualities, should be replaced by a standardised pastoral composition, which ignored the unique character of the site. Fortunately for Repton, he was able to retire in dignity since his client, Mr Phipps, a London solicitor, had died. Within a few months Repton turned up at Belmont, near Hereford where his client, John Matthews, defended his employment of a ‘mechanic improver’ in a pamphlet he addressed to Richard Payne Knight.

After this poor start Repton’s career in England, and Herefordshire in particular, took off and in quick succession he was employed at Garnons, The Weir, Prestwood (an estate near Stourbridge belonging to Edward Foley), Stoke Edith—where he met his architectural partner, John Nash—Moccas and Sufton Court. The latter marked another turning point in Repton’s career since, when he arrived here in April 1795, his adversaries, Knight and Price, had collaborated in publishing *The Landscape: a Didactic Poem* and *The Essay on the Picturesque* which attacked Repton’s approach to landscape improvement. Repton used the Sufton Red Book—where his designs were found—to defend his work and his professional reputation. As he explained in the introduction to the Red Book, it was an unexpected ‘triumph...that I am still consulted in the enemy’s quarters’. For a brief period the ‘picturesque controversy’ was the talk of fashionable society and Jane Austen made it one of the central issues of *Mansfield Park*.

In fact by the mid-1790s Repton had reached the apogee of his profession and as the war on the continent became all consuming for his clients, his commissions declined. Nevertheless, he still found work in Herefordshire with Hampton Court (1795), possibly Brockhampton Park-by-Bromyard and Stanage Park (1803), close to Knighton in Radnorshire. Here Repton finally rejected his connexion with ‘Capability’ Brown, declaring for his client’s benefit that he intended to embrace ‘the picturesque scenery of Downton’ as a model for Stanage. Repton’s last connexion with Herefordshire came in 1816 when he sent a note to Lord Somers at Eastnor Castle offering his services. Unfortunately, within two years he was dead.

Postscript: Mr Whitehead drew attention to an exhibition he was organising with Jane Bradney to celebrate the work of Repton in the West Midlands, which would take place at the

Hereford Art Gallery and Museum in October and November 2018. An illustrated catalogue would accompany it. A contribution towards the costs of the catalogue was later approved from the Smith Fund.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the president.

SECOND MEETING: 24 January 2018: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair.

Mrs Jo Weightman, mycology recorder for the Club, gave a talk on 'Fungi in Herefordshire'.

Two interwoven themes—diversity and characters used for identification of fungi in the field—were the basis of a talk illustrated with digitally projected images of species, all of which have been found in Herefordshire. The two major groups of the larger fungi were covered—those which shoot their spores, the Ascomycetes and those which drop their spores, the Basidiomycetes.

Ascomycetes comprise the largest group in the fungal kingdom but only a few are large enough to be easily seen. Shapes of the species shown ranged from small disc-shaped species, to more up-turned cups, to those where the cup had inverted to create a saddle or the resulting head looked like a brain—a morel. Some groups such as the Earth Tongues are club-shaped. Mrs Weightman went on to discuss Ergot, with a hard black banana-shaped body, less than a centimetre in length, projecting from the inflorescence of a wild grass which led to the story of the medieval scourge of St Anthony's Fire which decimated populations across Europe.

The Basidiomycetes are a very diverse group including agarics (the gilled mushrooms and toadstools), brackets, corticioids (crust and paint-like species), clubs, jelly fungi, hydroids (toothed fungi) and Gasteromycetes (stomach fungi). The agarics were presented in spore colour groups—white, pink, brown and black. Each of these was discussed in terms of identifying characteristics and their habitat requirements. Colour is the first feature most people observe but the fruit-body holds much more information. Caps can be smooth, slimy, scaly, wrinkled and spiny while stipes (stalks) can be swollen or bulblike at the base. In one unusual species *Hebeloma radicosum*, the stipe may have a long root-like structure that arises from the subterranean latrine of a small burrowing mammal. In others the stipe may have a ring—the remains of a veil which initially protected the gills. The fungus might have been solitary or in a cluster or have a useful smell such as almonds, rotting cabbage or tomato leaves. Some of the major genera grow in a mycorrhizal association with a host tree or trees. Examples were the brittle gills *Russula* spp, milk caps *Lactarius* spp, the Amanitas—a genus which includes the Death Cap and the Fly agaric—and the boletes, a group including the penny bun or cep.

Observation of the habitat where the fungus grows is very important in identification. The waxcaps *Hygrocybe* spp for example occur in unimproved grassland. The majority of agarics are to be found in woodland, in leaf litter and woody debris including cones or on larger fallen or still-attached dead branches, and on trunks, living or dead. Sometimes the fungus is associated with just one species of tree, sometimes with just broadleaf trees or conifers. Some fungi are bonfire site specialists, others colonise wood chip piles and mulch.

Brackets can be parasitic and/or saprophytic. Some have pores on the underside i.e. the spore-producing side, while others are smooth. Examples include the widespread *Inonotus dryadeus*, a parasite of oak which has amber-coloured guttules when fresh, and the rare *Postia guttulata* which is now well established in Herefordshire and the New Forest although not so elsewhere in Britain. Species shaped like clubs or coral produce spores all over their fruit-body. Others produce spores in a more controlled way. *Schizophyllum commune* can grow in exposed

situations as its split gills flex and reflex to allow or obstruct spore discharge only in the optimum, wet, conditions necessary for spore germination. The jelly fungi react to a moist atmosphere, swelling up and sporulating. When the air is dry they shrink back and spore production ceases. Puffballs, Earth Stars and Bird's Nest Fungi have a spore dispersal strategy keyed to drops of rain.

As a finale to the talk, images of three 'specials' were presented:

A pick-a-back fungus *Asterophora parasitica* growing on an old *Russula nigricans*—very specific habitat requirement.

The galls of the rare fly *Agathomyia wankowiczi* on the bracket fungus *Ganoderma applanatum*, a county first—an example of a fungus / invertebrate relationship.

The recently discovered, rare *Polyporus umbellatus* and its 6-7 metre wide sclerotium.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the president.

THIRD MEETING: 24 February 2018: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair.

In light of the unexpected absence of Bethany Hambleton, Mr Gerry Calderbank, Club member, and his 'mystery guest', Mr Dave Green, gave an illustrated talk on 'Aspects of Herefordshire Geology'. Mr Calderbank expressed the Club's appreciation to Mr Green who had stepped in at very short notice to deliver the talk due to Paul Olver's absence in London.

Mr Calderbank explained that the presentation would be based on a Woolhope Geology Section slideshow first staged in October 2013 for visiting members of The Friends of the Sedgwick Museum (FoSM) from Cambridge University. The group had spent three days mid-week visiting the area and the Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark hosted by members of the Club's Geology Section. The talk began with a short series of introductory slides, previously used for the Cambridge visit, which recounted the origins of the Woolhope Club, the Earth Heritage Trust, and also the Geopark.

Mr Green took up the story from here with a series of diagrams derived from his own adult-education teaching, plus a selection developed while illustrating the recent publication *Herefordshire Rocks and Scenery*. He outlined the structural and 'historical' aspects of Herefordshire geology, commencing with our oldest rocks (shared with Worcestershire) that provide perhaps the most striking landscape feature of a region known to geologists as The Midland Platform. The talk went on to explain how the Malverns were formed on this land-mass and outlined their relationship with very much younger rocks flanking them. Brief reference was made to the few adjacent Lower Cambrian exposures seen at Whiteleaved Oak Quarry and mention made of their relevance to other sandstones in both North Wales and Shropshire, thereby introducing the key concepts underlying Mr Green's talk—Plate Tectonics and the 'Welsh Basin'.

In early Cambrian times, Herefordshire lay at the edge of the huge land-mass, which had by then been greatly eroded and lowered over the intervening 200 million years since the last Warren House Volcanics penetrated the Malvernian igneous and metamorphic rocks. Over this time-span, due to massive tectonic crustal movements, a deep oceanic basin had developed—The Welsh Basin—and the sea had started to flood the margins of what we would now call the South Marches region, comprising south Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gwent. This marginal sea was very shallow and eventually, given the northerly continental drift, would achieve sub-tropical warmth, so that vast coral reefs developed in the sunlit waters. The talk continued with a description of the limestones and sandstones which are derived (over many millions of years!)

from this placid shallow-water environment, with the oldest being the Malvern Quartzite, and also the Hollybush Sandstone previously alluded to. This peaceful scenario was shattered by the ‘Shelveian Event’ (Shelve, in Shropshire) when more vulcanism occurred, thus providing geologists with numerous igneous and metamorphic features to study!

Mr Green went on to outline the succeeding Marine Silurian events, by which time the Welsh Basin waters were shallowing, whilst much the same shallow-water story of coralline and littoral deposits pertained. When describing the Woolhope Dome and recounting its history of (largely Silurian) deposits, passing mention was made of the neighbouring Shucknall Hill and its separation from the Dome—whereby, in response to questioning from the audience, we jumped about 145 million years so that Mr Green could explain the Variscan Orogeny and its local effects, namely The Variscan Front, the Vale of Neath Disturbance (which had moved Shucknall Hill) and the various other Herefordshire/Gwent disruptions culminating in the separation of the Skirrid from the rest of the Black Mountains proper.

Our speaker was generously fielding numerous questions as we went along and this, together with our delayed start, meant that time flew by. Unsurprisingly, the audience was totally engrossed by the talk, so that questions continued to flow; but alas, time overtook us and it was necessary to call a halt to the impromptu presentation. Having first expressed an opinion that the Club would surely welcome a return visit from Mr Green to hear more about the County’s geology, the president moved a vote of thanks.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 17 March 2018: Dr Janet Cooper, the retiring president, installed Dr Paul Olver as president 2018-19 after thanking the officers of the Club for their work during the year.

Dr Cooper gave the presidential address on ‘Medieval settlement in Ledbury Foreign’, which is printed in full in these *Transactions*. The incoming president proposed a vote of thanks.

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 572 ordinary members and 32 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of 2017. Comparable figures for the end of 2016 were 614 ordinary members and 33 institutional members and affiliated societies.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST FIELD MEETING: Wednesday 9 May 2018: Oxford with Ms Nina Morgan DPhil and Mr Phillip Powell.

After picking up at Ledbury, our coach made good time to Oxford arriving at the iconic neo-gothic University Museum of Natural History at 10.30 am. A welcome coffee break was taken where our two guides, Nina Morgan and Phillip Powell, were introduced by Dr Paul Olver, the president. We then had an opportunity to look at some of the Earth Collections notably material from the Herefordshire Silurian Lagerstätte, a unique site with its soft-bodied invertebrates, as well as extensive collections from the Much Wenlock Limestone.

Ms Morgan then took us on a short walk to the nearby Holywell Cemetery, a haven of peace and quiet in the centre of Oxford and the last resting place of the rich and famous. Opened in 1847, to replace overflowing former churchyards, the coming of the railways led to a wide variety of rocks being used in the gravestones. ‘Exotic’ granites from Scotland and Cornwall joined Italian marbles, Carboniferous crinoidal limestone and Welsh or Lakeland slates to complement the local Jurassic building stones. Using our hand lenses, we were soon able to

distinguish the 'semolina with shells' texture of the Portland Stone from the sugary 'Kendal Mint Cake' texture of the Italian Carrara Marble.

After a very pleasant lunch at the Weston Library café, we headed out through the Bodleian courtyard and Radcliffe Square to arrive at the University Church of St Mary the Virgin. On the way, Mr Powell introduced us to the intricacies of limestone identification using some key college and public buildings. We learnt that two main periods of Jurassic time produced Oxford's building stones, the Great Oolite and the younger Corallian.

Taynton stone, quarried in large quantities from the 13th to 16th centuries, of Great Oolite age is a light brown stone with denser bands of shell fragments which are harder and more resistant to weathering giving a banded appearance. Lens-shaped bodies of finely bedded calcareous sandstone, the so-called Stonesfield slate, occur within these oolites and provided the roof tiles on the New College cloister.

The Corallian of the Upper Jurassic forms the caps of the low hills that surround Oxford and yields the contrasting white, heavily bioturbated, Headington Hard and buff-coloured Headington Freestone. The famous Radcliffe Camera shows all three of Oxford's main building stones with Headington Hard at ground level followed by ashlar of Headington Freestone. Above, the walls and columns are of Taynton Stone but now much patched with other stones.

We then returned to the Museum on foot and were able to take a break in the museum café. Now was an opportunity to see Oxfordshire dinosaurs, the Dodo and the 'Red Lady of Paviland' from the Quaternary of south Wales (now identified as a man!) before we bade farewell to our two excellent guides and headed back to the Marches.

SECOND FIELD MEETING: Wednesday 22 June 2018: Brampton Bryan park with David Lovelace.

The group of twenty-one members started out from the village hall park and proceeded past the Lodge House to assemble for a group photograph at one of the fine ancient Sweet Chestnuts that comprise the main avenue. These were reminiscent of the Sweet Chestnut avenue at Croft Castle and recently dated to the mid to late 17th century. After an ascent over the main north-south ridge members stopped to admire a fine multi-stemmed ancient lime on the western flank of the hill, recently made more visible by the removal of a 20th-century conifer block.

After the lunch stop overlooking the Teme valley around Lower Stanage, we descended one of the west-facing valleys to a small area of marshland with characteristic plants such as Skullcap *Scutellaria minor*. The group then visited an ancient oak which had been 'hiding' up a steep slope surrounded by lime and birch trees and whose existence had only recently become noticed. We then ascended up the adjacent valley to join the ridge further south entering Heathy Park, the highest part of the park and an area of species-rich montane heather moorland home to one of the only sites in the county for the day flying moth, the Small Argemone and Sable *Epirrhoe tristata*. Returning to the lower ground, we passed a number of mature and veteran oaks showing various degrees of die-back on their upper branches. This is a recent development also affecting other parkland ancient oak populations and whose diagnosis is the subject of on-going research.

Members present from the Club geology section remarked that the geology of the park's landform had never been studied and they took the opportunity to visit one of the estate quarries to examine the outcrop. This meeting was the first organised visit by the club to Brampton Bryan Park since the excursions there in 1870 and 1882. The club is grateful to our hosts Edward and Victoria Harley for their help in arranging a most interesting and enjoyable visit.

THIRD FIELD MEETING: Tuesday 10 July 2018: Presidential trip ‘In the Footsteps of William Smith’ with Dr Paul Olver and Prof. Hugh Torrens.

With the narrow lanes of North Somerset to be negotiated, a minibus was the necessary transport for our tour. Prof. Hugh Torrens, who ably played Roderick Murchison in the Club’s DVD about one of its first field meetings, led our tour to some of the key sites in the early career of William Smith, the ‘Father of English Geology’.

Carefully avoiding both Bath and Bristol, we started our tour at Rugbourne Farm, Smith’s earliest base as a land, mineral and canal surveyor from 1791-1795 and where the local Jurassic and Triassic geology and the nearby underground coal mines of the North Somerset coalfield first allowed him to formulate his ideas on stratification and the importance of contained fossils.

Excavations for two parallel branches of the Somerset Coal Canal allowed Smith to examine the rock strata from the Triassic to the Middle Jurassic in some detail. From this work, he was able to first write down his ‘Law of Strata’ on 5th January 1795 at the former Swan Inn at Dunkerton, our final location before lunch at the Wheatsheaf in Combe Hay.

After lunch under sunny skies we took a short walk to Somerset Coal Canal (SCC) and the site of the Smith’s ill-fated work on a hydraulic lift (or caisson). Making this innovative engineering structure water-tight was a major problem for Smith and led to his dismissal by SCC in mid 1799. Whilst in the employ of SCC, Smith bought Tucking Mill House in 1797, our next location.

Smith did not live in the pretty cottage down on the Milford road to which a commemorative plaque is attached but in the right hand half of the larger building just up towards the hill. The group examined the remains of the tramway in the woods on the eastern side of the house. These tracks led down to the canal construction site from the quarries of the Great Oolite (Bath stone) on Combe Down. The soft sandstones with clay layers, the Milford Sands, seen by the party in the woods were the source of the spring water at Tucking Mill. Smith’s investment at Tucking Mill was directly responsible, after a series of poor financial decisions, for him being sent to a debtor’s prison in 1819. However, it was in these years that the ideas and fieldwork behind his celebrated geological map took place and it was here in 1815 that he published his first major work; *Delineation of the Strata of England*.

Our final location was in Bath itself at 29 Great Pulteney Street, the residence of a major Smith supporter, the Revd Joseph Townsend. Here Smith dictated to a scribe his *Natural Order of Strata* by now fully developed from his first ideas at Dunkerton. In a day of incorrect plaques, the plaque on this house has the wrong date—it should read June 11th 1799!

Our visit allowed us to see the key sites in Smith’s early career. Despite his initial problems with academic recognition and financial straits, he eventually achieved the accolade for his first geological maps and became known as ‘the Father of English Geology’.

Dr Olver thanked Prof. Torrens for introducing us so well to the man, his works and his achievements.

FOURTH FIELD MEETING: Thursday 16 August 2018: ‘Borderland castles: Richard’s, Cifford and Snodhill’ led by Rosamund Skelton.

It was a sunny day and fifteen people came in seven cars on this full day trip to view three castles.

Richard's Castle

We are most grateful to Mr Hugo Salwey for allowing us to park by his barns. From the green we walked up to the church, still containing all its monuments and 17th-century box pews, and followed the path through the modern graveyard, crossing a deep dry ditch to the 12th-century gatehouse extended in the 13th century, into the inner bailey.

Part of the north wall of the bailey stands 50ft long by 18ft high to the wall walk where goats were perched. The motte is 65 yards in diameter at the base and was originally separated from the inner bailey by a ditch 40ft wide and 10ft deep; pottery evidence suggests it was infilled in the 13th to 14th centuries.

Documents suggest that the castle was built prior to the Conquest, and by the time of Domesday it was held by Osbern Fitz Richard with 23 men. The stone foundations of three semicircular 13th-century towers are visible along the north wall of the bailey, one of which was used as a dovecote. The foundations of two further towers can be seen on the east wall, of which the square one dates from the 13th century.

Excavations around the keep in 1962-4 showed the lower stages of an octagonal tower dating from about 1200. A narrow path leads up to the top of the keep which may be one or two stages above the top of the actual mound. A semicircular projection on the bailey side of the keep may be the foundations of a chapel accessed from higher up the keep.

Croft Castle

The Croft Castle Environs Archaeology Project has carried out a geophysical survey and numerous excavations on the west, south and east sides of the 1665 house. Excavations north of the church revealed the foundations of a large timber-framed building. A 1790 print of the house shows this building to have had a neoclassical frontage in the 18th century which is thought to have been a ballroom or banqueting hall.

Three gardens were detected south of the existing gravelled terrace. The upper level dates from before 1680 and is connected to the western gardens via a carriage drive. Below that the middle terrace, dated to 1680-90, revealed a circular bed surrounded by a path in the middle with two semicircular beds against the west wall. Its limit was defined by a level terrace built using rubble from the demolition of the previous house, including carved stones which enabled the dating of earlier buildings. The wall bounding this terrace was demolished but the semicircular stone stairway down to the next garden was found. This garden to the south was built about 1700 but had no hard boundary so it may have been a hedge. Other gardens were constructed on the west side of the house, but the main feature was the framed vista 25m wide starting 50m from the house and extending for at least 500m defined by rock-cut ditches, created around 1585-90. The most exciting find to the west of the house was the stone foundations of a 13th-century medieval castle wall inserted in a medieval bank to the west of which appeared the upper layers of a medieval moat.

Snodhill Castle

Mr Garry Crook guided the group around the castle. The track passed south of the possible chapel site and then close to a natural steep wooded slope obscuring the view north. South of the track is the 14th-century North Tower which is on the north side of the inner bailey and, despite

its ruined state, still looms significantly above the track. Ivy had been removed from the tower and the walls reinforced.

Further south we climbed onto the hornwork just below the keep overlooking a level area part way up the hill. It was suggested this might be the east bailey or an occupation site. Further along the ditch there was a narrowing of the wall and possibly a gap—perhaps a postern gate later walled up. Going on we climbed into the inner bailey and then steeply up again into the twelve-sided keep, passed the remains of a portcullis-gated entry. The mound appears to be a natural feature. There would presumably have been steps up here in the past although no evidence remains now. A window, which was in imminent danger of collapse, has been restored and work on a nearby fireplace has suggested that the floor of the keep was originally lower down.

AUTUMN MEETINGS held in the Council Chamber, the Shire Hall.

FIRST MEETING: 22 September 2018: Dr Paul Olver, president, in the chair.

Dr Julian Weaver gave an illustrated address on ‘Hidden Secrets of Herefordshire Baptismal Fonts’.

Dr Weaver demonstrated his fascination for fonts by taking his audience on a tour of some of the most notable fonts in Herefordshire: the possible Saxon example at Bosbury; the 12th-century Herefordshire School font at Castle Frome; a font with a locking mechanism at Orleton; the double font at Garway and at Aconbury where the redundant church has a collection of fonts. At Knill and Garway he introduced us to miniature fonts, often found inside the permanent font. On discovering that there was very little information available on the meaning and purpose of the smaller ceramic fonts, Dr Weaver wrote a book, which was available for his audience to purchase.

He discovered that in the 19th century all the great pottery manufacturers—Spode, Copeland, Minton and Royal Worcester—made miniature fonts. He showed us an example made by Spode *c.* 1790, which had an elegant cover and was probably used at St Martin’s in Hereford. Another 19th-century example, in perfect condition, dedicated to the Trinity, is at Croft. Several other examples, from churches at home and abroad were also illustrated and described.

Some historic fonts, for example the one at Winchester Cathedral, were copied as models and produced in large number. Minton produced it in two sizes as well as a collectable miniature. The fonts were for domestic use and deliberately portable so that clergymen could carry them to family homes for an emergency baptism. Royal Worcester also recommended their usage during times of cholera, when public attendance at church services was discouraged. They were also used by Roman Catholic and non-conformist congregations, who often made use of temporary accommodation.

Dr Weaver finished his talk by continuing his tour of unusual fonts in Herefordshire. He drew attention to the frequency of lead fonts, such as the battered one at Burghill. These fonts are rare since during the Civil War they were melted down for shot. He drew attention to the giant archaic font at Kilpeck with its Romanesque stopper, which had been stolen in *c.* 1990 but miraculously turned up in a Welsh river and is now fixed to a window ledge. Dr Weaver answered many questions at the end of his talk and put on display a sample of his collection of miniature fonts which were examined and widely admired by those in attendance.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the president.

SECOND MEETING: 6 October 2018: Dr Janet Cooper, vice-president, in the chair.

The F.C. Morgan Lecture was given by Dr John Hunt, Honorary Research Fellow, School of History, University of Birmingham. He presented an illustrated address entitled 'Kingdom Building, Identity and Heritage: Mercia, the Magonsaete and Beyond'.

Dr Hunt's recent book *Warriors, Warlords and Saints: the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia* (2016) was reviewed in *TWNFC* 2016 where the author was gently rebuked for ignoring the western fringes of Mercia, namely, Herefordshire, and had bravely agreed to come and put this right. He quickly won over his audience by mentioning an occasion many years ago when he had visited Hereford and had been introduced to F.C. Morgan. He also explained that in his 'introductory book' he had concentrated upon Mercia as defined in the Tribal Hidage, which included the Midlands, together with Staffordshire and Cheshire. It was an early king, Penda (c.577-655), who brought a series of client kingdoms, including the Magonsaete of Herefordshire into Mercia. He pointed out that it was only in the 9th and 10th centuries that these outlying areas were bound together with Mercia proper via Christianity. Even in Aethelbald's time, in the mid 8th century, the Magonsaete were still peripheral albeit tribute collection, trade and coinage created firmer bonds. In this period all landowners became responsible for three basic duties, relating to the creation and maintenance of fortified places, bridges and royal residences. Inevitably, bishops also became local leaders and all this helped bolster the power of the Mercian rulers in the Borderland.

In the western fringes of Mercia British churchmen were eager to transfer their loyalty to the new Mercian overlords and existing minsters often became royal centres. As a result of this close relationship with the Christian church, the Mercian rulers adopted a miscellaneous collection of regional saints who flourished all over the Midlands creating a 'sacred landscape'. Some saints—e.g. St Guthlac of Crowland—were members of the Mercian royal family. The cult of St Guthlac was brought to Hereford and adopted by the early pastoral centre, with a widely-used burial ground, on Castle Green. Later a new diocesan centre was established in Hereford, dedicated to another displaced East Anglian saint, Ethelbert.

The West Saxon kings changed the emphasis slightly—in Gloucester St Oswald eclipsed St Guthlac. Similarly, Leominster also received new relics relating to the West Saxon saints enabling it to retain its local importance. Also the cult of St Ethelbert was given new impetus, which further compromised the position of St Guthlac, which increasingly appears to have lost its earlier status. Nevertheless, the older saints were still venerated and occur in the *Hereford Breviary* alongside the West Saxon saints. A similar situation is reflected in the calendars of the 13th century—*Use of Hereford*.

After the Conquest the Normans were equally careful to nurture the veneration of local saints e.g. Roger of Montgomery re-founded Wenlock Abbey and thus reinstated St Miburga. Similarly the de Lacys revived the declining interest in St Guthlac, making Gloucester Abbey responsible for protecting the newly founded priory in the suburbs of Hereford. St Dyfrig was similarly kept alive by the Normans in South Wales. Remarkably, the tribal name Magonsaete was still being used by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Finally, Dr Hunt discussed a number of artistic artefacts, which also kept alive earlier regional styles of craftsmanship e.g. the group of animal heads associated with Evesham and Worcester which contain elements that are present in c.800 A.D. The 12th-century Herefordshire School of Sculpture also borrows earlier elements from local regional forms.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the chair.

THIRD MEETING: 10 November 2018: Dr Paul Olver, president in the chair.

Dr Bethany Hambleton, Hereford Cathedral Archivist, gave an illustrated address on ‘Manors Maketh Man’: Hereford Cathedral Manors in the Middle Ages and Beyond’.

In her career handling documents relating to manors, Dr Hambleton had encountered many disturbed people and places. She drew attention to a survey of Breinton of 1346. It was a place of diverse trades and crafts but where there was also much squabbling and many misdemeanours. The manor of Breinton belonged to the Treasurer of the Cathedral and on an estate map of 1776 we glimpse the fields, open and enclosed, and the surviving common land. Little had changed. In contrast Eggleton, in the parish of Stretton Grandison, is captured on a rental of 1475 where there had been much change with poorer tenants losing property to a small group of well-to-do farmers.

The purpose of the manor was to provide food and income for the cathedral establishment. The dean often visited estates and on some he had accommodation rights. Some estates supported prebendaries but income was also derived from impropriated churches. Manors came in all sizes and, if large, were divided into ‘vills’, smaller administrative units. Income could come from granting privileges such as in 1661 when Bishop Croft granted the right of hunting at King’s Cuple to William Gregory. The manor of Woolhope was part of the endowment of St Ethelbert’s Hospital and was run by a bailiff who submitted regular accounts. There were rents as well as labour services and a small number of wage earners. The bailiff drew up careful accounts, balancing expenditure with income.

Courts baron and leet were also regularly held, presided over by a steward: the former dealt with legal issues and the latter, delegated powers from the crown e.g. public order, weights and measures etc. One of the earliest legal documents in the collection related to a court held on Aylestone Hill in the time of King Cnut. For safe keeping the decision at this court was copied into a gospel book. There was often tension between the nobility and the church, which needed careful handling e.g. a document relating to knight service at Holme Lacy in 1177. Magna Carta was also of interest both to the barons but also for the church. For example, the bishop’s tenants were subject to forest law, which was managed by the sheriff, which created complications.

Tenants in rentals and surveys could be un-free (tied to the land) or free, holding land by freehold tenure for a rent. Un-free tenants could seek manumission and buy their freedom. After the 14th century plagues conditions improved for the poorer tenants who began holding land by copy of manorial court rolls for a small money payment. This was advantageous since many tenants now had craft skills, which enabled them to supplement their income and pay the small rent. Manorial courts referred serious misdemeanours to the royal courts. If people held back evidence after a murder, for instance, the whole community could be fined. The leading men of a community acted as the king’s eyes and ears, and produced documents marked with their personal seals. Many smaller social issues were dealt with on law days e.g. at Norton Canon in 1273-4 many minor matters relating to public behaviour were dealt with by small fines. Birth, marriage and death took up much of the time of manorial courts. Widows had property rights and many were very competent in handling their affairs publicly. Usually the decisions made by landlords were informed with copious surveys, terriers and rentals. However, the crisis of the 14th century created additional difficulties e.g. the fate of derelict buildings and unproductive manors, which were often rented to sheep farmers. Similarly in the 17th century the Civil War disturbed the management of church property e.g. the felling of trees; sale of estates by the government

to property speculators and the irregular possession of land by poor tenants. Significantly, the energy of the church as a landowner declined in the 18th century. Parish and vestry became much more important in regulating rural life than the manorial court and property was managed by professional stewards and solicitors.

The speaker responded generously to many questions and provided her audience with a number of websites relating to manorial documents. She drew attention to the exhibition on display at the Cathedral which included several of the examples mentioned in her talk as well as additional context and information.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 24 November 2018: Dr Paul Olver, president, in the chair.

Dr Henry Connor, a Club member, gave an illustrated talk entitled ‘Physician, Naturalist, Philanthropist: the Life and Work of Dr Henry Graves Bull (1818-1885)’.

Dr Connor reminded his audience that 2018 was the bicentenary of Bull’s birth and also drew attention to recent scholarly work on his subject to be found in the Club’s *Transactions*. His subject, for whom he felt a great deal of respect, was the son of a Northamptonshire gentleman who at the age of 16 entered the Northampton Infirmary as a pupil of Dr Archibald Robertson, one of the most eminent practitioners of his time. In 1840 he is found at the Edinburgh Infirmary where his lecture notes, taken there, still survive. At this time Bull began making his herbarium, inspired, perhaps, by his membership of the Edinburgh Botanical Society. After receiving several honours from Edinburgh, in 1842 he took up the post of house surgeon at Hereford Infirmary, a placement, which for a very bright student seems rather a poor choice. However, he was not the first choice of the Infirmary governors and whilst waiting for a firm decision, he struck up a friendship with the town clerk of Hereford, Richard Johnson, who took him to see the excavation at Roman Kenchester. Having finally been offered the post, he took lodgings in the city and by 1851 was living at Harley House. He became strongly associated with the Hereford Dispensary (f. 1835) where he gave free advice. Like many of his contemporaries, Bull believed the working classes should support their own health care, which eventually came to pass with the establishment of the Hereford Provident Society and the construction of a handsome purpose-built dispensary in 1889. Collaborating with the Dean of Hereford, Richard Dawes, he helped reform the Dispensary’s archaic financial structure.

Bull wrote many papers on the unusual cases he encountered, including one relating to the death of a woman from almond oil. He was also the physician for Hereford Gaol where he experimented with ether. One of his most significant discoveries related to a spate of poisonings caused by running cider from barrels via lead pipes. As a member of the local board of health, he took in hand the noxious state of the Castle Pool, which was receiving untreated sewage. Similarly, he turned his attention to the unusually high death rate suffered by the inhabitants of the St Owen Street suburb where the housing was sub-standard. In urban improvement he found an ally in the City Engineer, Timothy Curley. Together they brought to fruition a new sewage system for the city, as well as supplying it with pure water. After 21 years service, Bull became the chief medical officer at the Infirmary and at about the same time helped found the Hereford Medical Association, writing its annual reports.

Bull supported a multitude of deserving causes, for example, he helped establish the new free library in Broad Street and the new cemetery at Westfaling Street. In these and other

good causes he was often associated with the Revd John Venn. Together they helped to secure a nourishing loaf, of pure flour, for the citizens of Hereford. Housing caught his attention and he worked hard (but without results) to establish a Cottage Improvement Society. Alcoholism and prostitution came within his purview, especially as a city and county magistrate. He wrote in the local paper in favour of the extension of the Contagious Diseases Act (1863), which was opposed because it limited personal freedom.

On more familiar ground, Bull played a leading role in the relationship between the Herefordshire Philosophical and Literary Society and the Woolhope Club.¹ This provided a voice for Bull's other enthusiasms and in 1884 he represented Herefordshire at the Rouen Apple Congress, which resulted in the *Herefordshire Pomona* and medals for the excellence of Herefordshire cider. The *Pomona* was a joint effort with Robert Hogg, a noted pomologist, and the Revd Charles Bulmer. Progress was slow and Bull despaired at the cost of the plates but eventually he persuaded his daughter Edith Elizabeth and her friend, Alice Ellis to produce them. Bull's interest in natural history never deserted him and in 1862 he instituted the Woolhope Club's famous 'fungus forays' and their accompanying banquets (Dr Connor held up a framed menu for one of the occasions at the Green Dragon, brought by Adrian Harvey, a member of the Club). Bull used his own painting skills to produce an inventory of the fungi of Herefordshire, published in the Club's *Transactions*. Much of the writing in the early *Transactions* was done anonymously by Bull, at a time when his own interests were moving towards antiquarianism and history.

Dr Connor mentioned briefly Bull's family life, the strong support of his wife Elizabeth and the pride he took in his nine children. There were several tragedies but all his surviving children had interesting lives. He established a strong friendship with the Revd Edmund du Buisson, the rector of Breinton, and his family. Bull was a popular figure among the rector's children who wrote about his visits in their diaries. One of his daughters, Margaret Lucy, was buried at Breinton, as was Bull himself, but as a parishioner of St John's parish, he has a memorial in the south-east transept of Hereford Cathedral. He died working upon the *Birds of Herefordshire* which was published posthumously in 1888.

There were many questions and Dr Olver proposed the vote of thanks.

¹ Editor's note: The relationship between the Woolhope Club and the Philosophical Society has been fully explored in these pages, for which see Eisel, John C., 'The Herefordshire Philosophical Society', *TWNFC*, Vol. 59 (2011) pp.58-84.

Editorial Message

This will be the last edition of *TWNFC* for which I have editorial responsibility. It has been a pleasure and privilege to be involved in the production of this and the previous four volumes. I would like to thank all the members of the Publications Committee for their help and support with various editorial tasks. I am especially grateful to Rosalind Lowe for preparation of images for publication.

2018 saw the successful relaunch of the Club's new website. Among many other features this provides online access to *TWNFC* as well as the opportunity for the Club to publish online-only papers—Transactions Extra. There is a programme in hand to digitise the past volumes of *TWNFC* and make these freely available—see www.woolhopeclub.org.uk. Online access to the most recent volumes is restricted to Club members.

The production of the Club's publications is overseen by the Publications' Committee. They can be contacted by emailing the editor from the website or at woolhopeceditor@gmail.com.

Jane Adams

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
for the year ended 31st December 2018

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER 2018

RECEIPTS		ASSETS	
2017		2017	
6	Interest on investments	32	National Savings Investments
2	Subs Reserve	11	85047 United Trust Bank Charity Bond
2311	GW Smith Reserve	2360	33000 Bank of Cyprus UK Charity Bond
293	Charity Bonds	452	Bank accounts:
	National Savings	2855	General
2612		917	Subscriptions
		8589	GW Smith Account
6549	General Subscriptions	3969	Subscriptions Reserve
23	Sale of Transactions and other books	40997	GW Smith Reserve
128	Publishers Licensing Society (Royalties)	12500	Natural History Section
1063	Gift Aid Tax Reclaim	0	Archaeological Research Section
	Archaeology Closing Funds	2488	Field Meetings
	Geology Closing Funds	1342	Geology Section
	Bank of Cyprus Compensation	1439	
	United Trust Bank Capital Reduction	100	
35	Natural History Closing Funds	47	
28	Sundries	1663	
		13	
		12560	
72	Geology Section		
	Net Surplus		
7897			
		<u>15415</u>	<u>252881</u>
			<u>236835</u>

PAYMENTS

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

37	Insurance	37	
625	Stationery, Printing & Binding	10469	
230	Meeting Expenses	198	
554	Postage & Telephone	2644	
256	Subscriptions & Donations	259	
200	Materials	190	
600	Honoraria	400	
128	Gift Aid to Geology	72	
900	Grants for publications (GW Smith Fund)	2000	
1326	PA & Projection Equipment		
198	Website	10800	
128	Miscellaneous	39	
5182		27107	
399	United Trust Bank Capital Reduction	47	
34	Archaeological Research	2488	
0	Field Meetings	166	
35	Geology Section	1653	
468	Natural History	4354	
5650		31461	
4859		16046	
		<u>16046</u>	<u>252881</u>
			<u>236835</u>

Surplus

Deficit

16046

252881

236835

Biographical Details of Contributors

Biographical details of **Henry Connor** were published in the *TWNFC 2015*; those for **Janet Cooper** were published in the *TWNFC 2013*, since when she has served a further term as President in 2017-8. Biographical details for **John C. Eisel** can be found in the *TWNFC 2005*, since then he has completed a fourth term as President (2011-2). Biographical details of **Joe Hillaby** can be found in the *TWNFC 2014* and those of **David Whitehead** in the *TWNFC 2015*.

Sally Badham is an internationally acknowledged authority on medieval church monuments and other memoria. Since 1976 she has published many books and articles, her latest book being *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late-Medieval English Parish* (Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2015). She is a vice-president and former president of the Church Monuments Society. She campaigns on threats to the good preservation of monuments and other church furnishings, notably drawing attention to the problems of bats in churches and since 2010 has been a member of the Church Buildings Council Sculpture & Furnishings Conservation Committee. In 1993 she was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and in 2014 she received an MBE for services to the conservation of church monuments.

Martin Cook is a member of the Longtown & District Historical Society and initiated and co-managed the Longtown Castles Project with Neil Kidd. Martin has had a lifelong interest in archaeology. After twenty years of project management in the construction industry, he took a master's degree in archaeology at Birkbeck College, London University. His dissertation on Roman glass won the Current Archaeology/Royal Archaeological Institute essay prize. He has taken part in a number of archaeological excavations. He owns Clodock Mill, one of the de Lacy manorial mills, and has researched its history while restoring it to working order. This, along with his experience in construction, has given him a practical understanding of historic stonework.

Neil Kidd is a member of of the Longtown & District Historical Society and initiated and co-managed the Longtown Castles Project with Neil Kidd. Neil had 37 years experience as an academic biologist and professor. During this time he taught many undergraduate courses, including those on evolution and prehistory. He supervised many PhD and MSc students, managed funded research projects and published numerous papers and books. Since retirement, he has indulged his long-standing interest in history and archaeology. Neil designed the Longtowncastles.com website and produced many of its watercolour illustrations.

Errata, *TWNFC*, 65 (2017)

The Domesday Book settlements of Eardisley: a consideration of the evidence by Colin Boylett
TWNFC 2017, pp. 95-121.

Page 95. Replacement for Figure 1 as printed to show expanded area (see below).

Page 106. Replacement for Figure 10 as printed to show Eardisley Castle section (see below).

Page 111. Caption to Figure 18 should read ‘Figure 18. Map section of Parton Farm, 1787, east at top (Herrick collection, HAS AB49)’.

Page 111. Figure 19 as printed should be the Figure 21 printed on page 114.

Page 113. Reference to Fig. 21 four lines from bottom of page should read Fig. 9.

Page 114. Figure 21 as printed should be the Figure 19 printed on page 111.

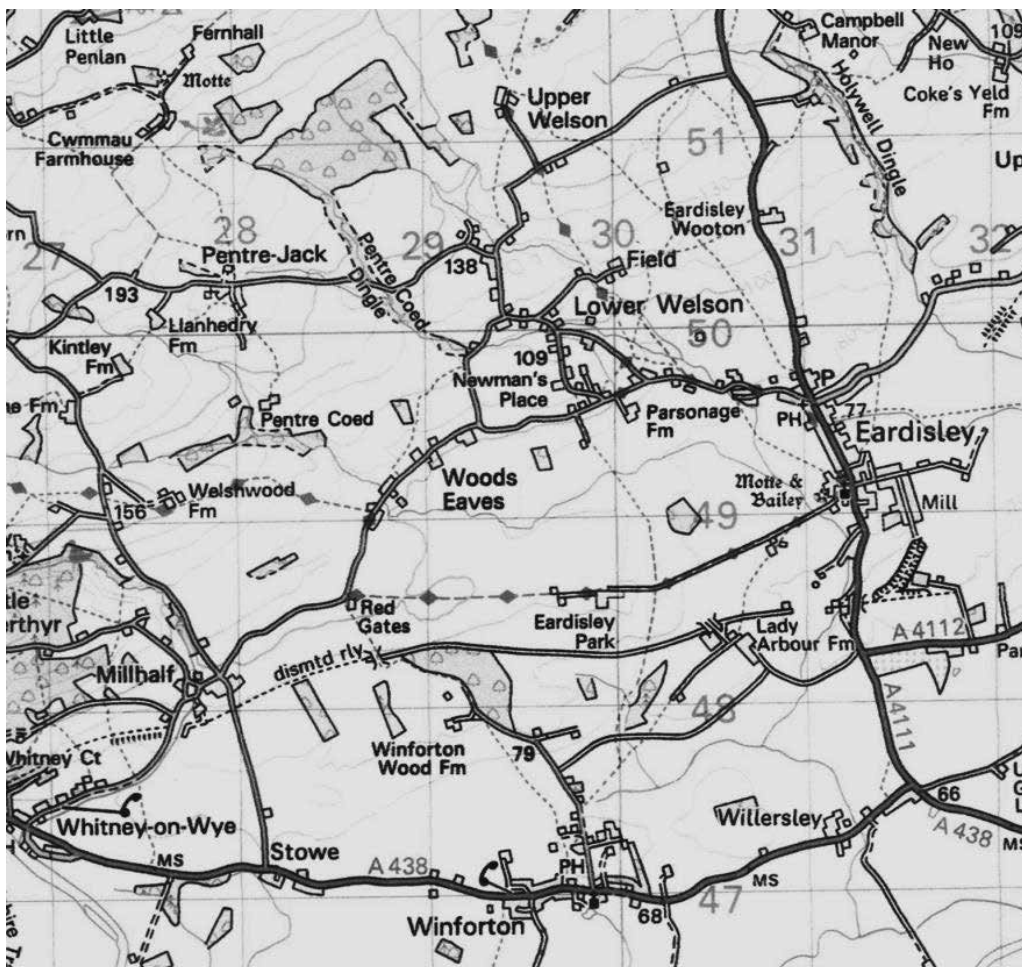


Figure 1. The area west of Eardisley, 2007 OS Landranger No. 148.



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

Presidential Address, 2018

Medieval Settlement in Ledbury Foreign

By JANET COOPER

A great deal of work has been done on the medieval borough of Ledbury, notably by Joe Hillaby and Sylvia Pinches,¹ but the history of its agricultural hinterland has been comparatively neglected. This article is an attempt to redress the balance, at least for the medieval period.² Like all medieval towns, Ledbury was intimately connected to its surrounding countryside on which it depended for much of its food, but that countryside had its own settlements and its own agricultural economy. The history of three of the surrounding parishes, those to the north, east and part of the west of Ledbury, has already been or is about to be published,³ so this article concentrates on the agricultural area within Ledbury parish. This area was known in the Middle Ages as Ledbury Foreign, later as Ledbury Rural, and it covered 6666 acres around the town.⁴ What sort of settlement was there? How was the land cultivated?

Two surveys provide snapshots of Ledbury Foreign in the early Middle Ages: Domesday Book compiled in 1086 (before the creation of Ledbury Borough in the 1120s), and a late-13th-century rental of the bishop of Hereford's estates. Domesday Book records that on the bishop of Hereford's Ledbury manor, which covered almost the whole of the later parish, there were 11 unfree tenants. Four free tenants held land of the bishop: a priest held two and a half hides, two knights held one hide between them, and a 'radman' who owed riding services to the bishop, held three yardlands (roughly three quarters of a hide). On the land of these free tenants there were a further seven unfree tenants and an unspecified number of 'other men'. In addition to the main manor, there was a sub manor at Hazle with four unfree tenants; it had been taken away from Ledbury by Earl, later King, Harold, but had been restored to the bishop by William I.⁵ A total of 22 unfree and 5 free tenants, even with the 'other men' might sound a sparse population for such a large area, but all would have been heads of households probably averaging about 4 – 5 people in each. Moreover, in addition to these recorded inhabitants, there may have been others, perhaps rent-payers, who were not recorded because they were not of interest to the king. Domesday Book gives no clue as to the settlement pattern: the priest presumably lived near Ledbury church, in the settlement which became Ledbury borough, but other tenants probably lived in houses scattered around the parish.

More detail is given by the rental of the bishop's estates compiled in the late 1280s.⁶ In Ledbury Foreign eight people, plus the holders of the Hazle, held 14 yardlands and 1½ hides of land by knight service, their individual holdings, discussed below, ranging from one and a half hides (very approximately 180 acres) to one yardland (perhaps 30 – 40 acres). Both the number of these high status tenants and the amount of land they held had increased since 1086. A further 36 free tenants held on the whole smaller estates, ranging from a yardland down to six acres, and another 28 people paid small rents for unspecified amounts of free land. Forty three customary or unfree tenants similarly held between a yardland and six acres. The population, and probably the amount of land under cultivation, had increased considerably since 1086. The 15 freeholders and 8 customary tenants who held yardlands and the 7 freeholders and 27 customary tenants who

held half yardlands could have made a living from their lands, but the substantial body of tenants holding between 1 acre and 12 acres must have been agricultural labourers or craftsmen. (The 'acres' were customary acres which varied slightly in size from place to place; they were not the same as modern statute acres.)

Like Domesday Book, the 1280s rental does not give any clear indication of the settlement pattern, except to differentiate between Ledbury Borough and Ledbury Foreign. An indication of where some of these tenants, or their forbears, may have lived is provided by their surnames, about 35 of which derive from place-names, mostly minor ones. Some names come from places outside Ledbury parish: John of Donnington presumably came from or lived in Donnington, immediately south of Ledbury, which was one of the bishop's estates in 1086.⁷ Matilda of Leadon might have come from, or lived at, Leadon Court in Bishop's Frome, but may equally possibly have lived at Leden within Ledbury parish.⁸ The origin of other names, such as Bassebrugg from which Roger took his name and Ullinghale from which Alditha and William took theirs, have not been identified. Other names such as Hill, Hurst, and Wall (from well), would fit several locations. Five people took their surname from a hill; if they all came from the same hill, it was the site of a small hamlet, but there are several hills in Ledbury and there is no way of knowing which hill or hills gave rise to the surname. Four people surnamed Underdown came from a settlement below the hill which separates Ledbury from Eastnor. Three men derived their name from Frith wood, on high ground north of Ledbury borough, where Walter of the Frith was living by the mid 13th century,⁹ and two from Woolpits on the boundary with Eastnor. Two men surnamed Wellington probably lived at Wellington Heath, and three people surnamed Lillinghale at the later Lily Hall on the boundary with Little Marcle. Another man took his name from Plaistow or the playing place, a name which survives in Wellington Heath. Emma and Robert of Suthington may have come from a southern settlement in Ledbury, perhaps the later Siddington Farm in the south-west of the parish,¹⁰ but there was also a Suthington in Eastnor. Only one man was surnamed Massington, and none took their names from the nearby Ockeridge, but other evidence, discussed below, shows that both were high status settlements.

The overall pattern of settlement in Ledbury Foreign in the 1280s may not have been very different from that recorded by Isaac Taylor in 1754, although, as discussed below, some of the mid-18th-century farms marked the site of medieval hamlets. (Fig. 1).

These farms and settlements lay in agricultural land, most of it in common (open) fields although there were also a few enclosed plots or closes, probably mainly adjoining the farmhouses. Common-field land was held in strips or selions like the five selions in Wallcroft given to St Katherine's hospital in the late 13th century, the four selions in the field towards Peasbridge described in the early 14th century or the four in 'Aldrestreos' field described in 1359.¹¹ Three separate acres conveyed in 1371 were clearly strips in common fields as they were described as lying between the land of other landholders, including the bishop and the rector of Lower Hall.¹² There were numerous fields and other divisions of the common fields, some of them probably quite small as perhaps was the field called Wellcroft in which one acre and 5 selions of land were recorded in the mid 13th century. A parcel of land in Buckfield, presumably in the north-east of the parish as it was held with land in Colwall, was conveyed in 1353. In 1372 a parcel of land at Orlham in the south-west of the parish lay in Weston field, surrounded by lands of St Katherine's hospital. Few charters record more than a few acres in one or two fields, which were probably only part of an agricultural holding. A rental of 1400, however, described a holding of 12 acres of

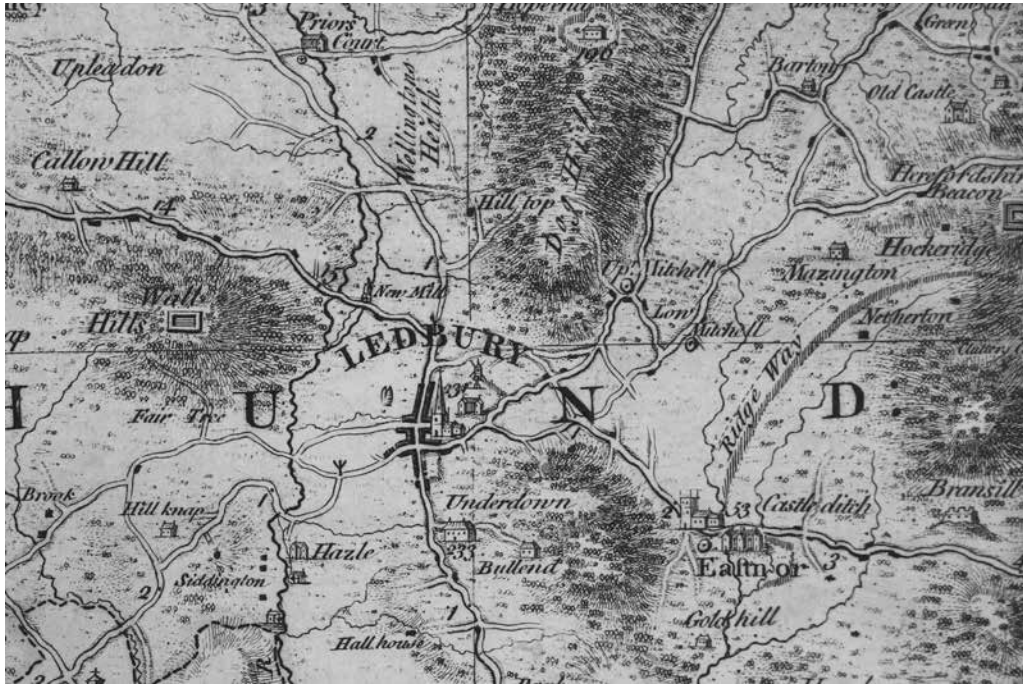


Figure 1. Ledbury area in 1754, from Isaac Taylor's county map of Herefordshire.

land unevenly divided between Ashfield (1 acre), Peasbridge field (1 acre), Dische field (1 acre), Mabel's furlong (a total of 7 acres), and Aldrith field near Mitchel (2 acres). Another holding of 14 ½ acres was divided between Park field next Donning wood (1 acre), Wheat Ridge (2 acres), Humbleworth (3 acres), Wallcroft (1 acre), Pyvesbesheld (1 ½ acres), Coltham next Underdown (4 acres), and Eastnor field (2 acres).¹⁵ The last was probably in Eastnor.

The late 1280s rental records 63 of the bishop's tenants holding their land in yardlands, the conventional peasant holding in the common fields, or half or quarter yardlands. Thirty one others held only between 12 and 3 acres.¹⁴ In practice it seems that land was still further subdivided: 1315 when John and Alice de Stanford claimed 50 ½ acres of arable in Ledbury Foreign against 16 people, including the bishop of Hereford, individual amounts claimed ranged from 16 acres down to one acre.¹⁵

In addition to the tenants' land, there was the bishop's own land in Ledbury Foreign, his demesne. In 1086 it was cultivated by two ploughs, the same number as on the bishop's neighbouring manors of Bosbury, Colwall and Cradley, but one fewer than the three on the Eastnor demesne.¹⁶ In the 1280s the bishop held 479 ½ acres of arable, 28 acres of meadow, and 23 ½ acres of pasture in demesne; the pasture included a 12-acre vineyard, probably in the south of the parish near Haffield where the place-name Vineyard survived in 1720.¹⁷ There is no record in the rental of where the rest of the demesne lay, but like that of the neighbouring Eastnor, it was probably in the same fields as the tenants' land. In 1496 Beggar's Ash field and Longmore field contained both customary and demesne land.¹⁸ All the customary tenants owed unspecified ploughing services on the demesne, and ten of them also owed services at harvest.

One of the latter also had to guard the bishop's corn in the fields at harvest time, whether from theft or from straying animals is not stated. The ploughing was for sowing wheat in winter and oats in the spring,¹⁹ part of a standard three-course crop rotation in which the land was left fallow every third year.

How the strips and fields were organised for cultivation is not clear. Some descriptions suggest that each of the vills or townships into which Ledbury Foreign seems to have been divided had its own field system. The ploughland which Sir Robert le Breton held in the late 1280s was in Wellington; a yardland conveyed 1292 was in the vill of Leadon, one in 1313 at la Hulle (perhaps the later Hill Farm).²⁰ Thirteenth-century charters conveyed 6 acres in the vill of Ockeridge and 4 acres in the vill of Wellington.²¹

Several areas of ridge and furrow, the earthworks left by common field agriculture, survive in Ledbury. (Fig. 2) Ten of them lie close to the medieval town, within the modern housing estates. Others lie at or near Ockeridge and Massington, near Lily Hall and Orham, to the east of Hazle, and at Grovesend Farm near Wall Hills. Ridge and furrow on the edge of Frith Wood demonstrates how marginal land was taken into cultivation during the high Middle Ages.²²



Figure 2. Ridge and Furrow at Grovesend Farm near Wall Hills (Millennium Air Survey 00 MB 0365).

Although most land lay in common fields, a small amount had been enclosed by the mid 14th century, like the enclosed land at 'Le Walls' which John of Calhulle conveyed to John and Emma at Nash in 1360.²³ Other enclosed land was created by assarting, that is taking in land from the waste. An assart at Ockeridge which was enclosed by a ditch in the early to mid 13th

century,²⁴ had probably been taken in from the rough pasture of the Malvern Hills. Another assart, recorded about the mid 13th century, was enclosed by hedges; it was near Woolpit, on the hills between Ledbury and Eastnor.²⁵

To return to the settlements: the history of some of the larger ones can be followed in some detail, particularly those in which St Katherine's hospital acquired land, as the hospital's archive survives in Hereford Cathedral library.²⁶ This uneven survival of evidence may, of course, skew the following account.

Hazle

The highest status holding in Ledbury Foreign was the sub manor of Hazle. In 1086 the demesne was large enough to require three ploughs to cultivate it; 4 villeins (unfree tenants) had a further three ploughs. Assuming the bishop's, unnamed, subtenant and his household occupied the demesne, there were probably 20 – 30 people in Hazle in 1086.²⁷ (Plate 1.1).

The first recorded holder of the manor took his name from it: in 1166 Hugh of Hazle (Hasele or Hasla) held a knight's fee of the bishop of Hereford, but he probably no longer lived at Hazle as he had acquired the much larger and more important manor of Much Cowarne.²⁸ By the early 1180s Hugh had been succeeded by Robert of Hazle whose brother was another Hugh:²⁹ perhaps they were sons of the earlier Hugh. By 1210–12 the fee, then in Hazle and the unidentified 'Madrefeld' had passed to Richard Pauncefoot and Jordan de Wike.³⁰ Richard and Jordan had married two sisters or cousins, Helen and Eve, who were presumably heiresses of Robert or Hugh of Hazle; they brought their husbands Much Cowarne as well as Hazle.³¹

In the early 1220s, Bishop Hugh Foliot reorganised the endowment of the prebend of Woolhope, later known as Gorwell and Overbury, which was then held by his kinsman Robert Foliot. The new endowment included part or all of Hazle as well as land in Wellington Heath. Within ten years, however, the next prebendary, Adam of Shrewsbury, had given Wellington, and presumably Hazle, back to the bishop in exchange for other lands.³²

The bishop's rental of the 1280s simply records that Hazle 'contained' one knight's fee.³³ The holder or holders of the fee were not named, perhaps because Grimbald Pauncefoot, grandson of the Richard who had held Hazle in 1210, had died in 1287,³⁴ and there was doubt as to his successor and as to the owner of Jordan de Wike's half of the manor. (The fact that Hazle owed two suits to the bishop's court, two heriots, two reliefs and two wards, indicates that it was still divided into two estates.)

By 1304 when a list of Bishop Richard Swinfield's tenants by knight service was drawn up, Hazle was held by Grimbald Pauncefoot and John de Solers as half a knight's fee.³⁵ This Grimbald Pauncefoot, the son of the earlier Grimbald, died in 1314. His mother Sybil seems to have held Hazle in dower as she had a house and yardland in Ledbury in 1292 and released her interest in that or another house and yardland to the prominent Ledbury burgess and benefactor of St Katherine's hospital, William Eseger, in 1313.³⁶ This release is the last clear reference to the Pauncefoots in Hazle, but they were probably still there in 1332 when the king granted a licence for the alienation in mortmain of land in Cowarne to endow a chaplain celebrating mass, i.e. a chantry, in the manorial chapel of Hazle.³⁷ The Pauncefoots still held the manor of Much Cowarne, so this grant implies that they also still held the Hazle manor and indeed occupied a manor house there, at least at times. The Pauncefoot who endowed the chantry would have been either the brother of the Grimbald who died in 1314, Aumary who died in 1332, or Aumary's

son, yet another Grimbald.³⁸ An undated rental, which survives only in a later copy,³⁹ records rents from Ledbury land paid to Sir Grimbald, probably this third Grimbald who died in 1375. In 1364 Adam Eseger, a canon of Hereford and presumably related to William Eseger, gave to St Katherine's hospital to endow a chantry there extensive lands in Ledbury, including a ploughland which Grimbald Pauncefoot had quitclaimed to him.⁴⁰ This was probably at least part of the Pauncefoot moiety of Hazle.

The Pauncefoots, of course, held only a moiety or half of the manor of Hazle. The other half passed to the Solers family who were recorded in the Ledbury area from the mid 13th century when John de Solers witnessed a grant of land to St Katherine's.⁴¹ That or another John de Solers held land in Donnington in 1287, and in 1291 John de Solers of Hazle witnessed a grant of land to St Katherine's hospital.⁴² In 1305 John de Solers and his wife Parnel or Petronella settled one messuage, one ploughland, and a moiety of a mill in Ledbury and Hazle on themselves and their heirs – the first reference to Hazle mill. In 1324 Roger de Solers, who was perhaps John's son, settled the same estate on himself, his son John and John's wife Margaret.⁴³ There are no later references to the Solers family at Hazle, but their half of the estate seems to have passed to the Carews. A marginal note, in a later hand, by the entry for Hazle in the bishop's 1280s rental reads 'Elena Karew'.⁴⁴ It seems likely that this was the Eleanor Carew who in 1406 was allowed by the bishop of Hereford to have an oratory in her manor of 'Peasbridge' in Ledbury. She was presumably the descendant of Hugh Carew who acquired an interest in a moiety of Hazle in 1373 from John Broy and his wife Maud.⁴⁵ The Broy family had been in Ledbury or its neighbourhood since the mid 13th century,⁴⁶ but there are no other references to John and Maud in the Ledbury deeds.

Charters of 1370 and 1373 describe the same piece of land first as adjoining the land of Peasbridge and then as adjoining that of Hugh Carew. This wording proves that the Hazle estate which Hugh bought was called Peasbridge, perhaps because it was administered from a house of that name. The name Peasbridge first occurs, as a surname, in the mid 13th century when Robert of Peasbrige witnessed two charters granting land to St Katherine's hospital and, with the consent of his wife Eve, gave the hospital a rent of 12d. from houses in Ledbury borough. Robert's high status in the borough is shown by the fact that in 1255 he was one of four 'law-worthy' burgesses who acted for the borough in a land dispute.⁴⁷ No later references have been found to the surname, although the field name Peasbridge occurs twice in undated, but probably early-14th-century, records from St Katherine's.⁴⁸ Then, in 1359 William Carew died in possession of a ploughland and 4 acres of meadow and 3s. rent in 'Peosebrugge', Herefordshire, held jointly with his wife Eve from Grimbald Pauncefoot.⁴⁹ Although Ledbury is not mentioned, the fact that the land was held of Grimbald Pauncefoot confirms that William Carew's land was in or near Ledbury, and probably connected with the Pauncefoots' Hazel manor. Hugh Carew, perhaps William and Eve's successor, held a ploughland in Ledbury from the bishop of Hereford in the 14th or 15th century; this may well have been the Hugh Carew mentioned above who acquired an interest in a moiety of the manor of Hazle in 1373, and the ploughland the moiety Hazle manor.⁵⁰ Bishop Mascall's 1406 grant to Eleanor Carew of a licence for an oratory or chapel within her manor of Peasbridge, is the only reference to the estate as a manor.⁵¹ Only such high status houses might have their own chapels. The only later evidence for the Peasbridge estate is that in 1496 the bishop's bailiff failed to collect rent from a total of 25 acres, scattered unevenly over five fields in Ledbury Foreign, which had belonged to 'Elene' Carew,⁵² possibly because it

was not clear who owed the rent. Deeds of 1583 and 1688 identify Peasbridge field with the later Moat meadow on the east bank of the Leadon near where the Ross road crosses the river, close to Hazle. Traces of a moat survived to be recorded on the enclosure award map in 1813, despite the recent construction of the canal wharf on the site.⁵³

That there was a connection by marriage between the Pauncefoots and the Carews is suggested by a 14th-century monument in Ledbury church which bears the figure of a lady surrounded by shields bearing the arms of Carew and Pauncefoot. (Fig. 3) She has been identified as a sister of Grimbald Pauncefoot who married a Carew.⁵⁴



Figure 3. Tomb of Pauncefoot/Carew lady in Ledbury church.

Apart from the manorial lords, a few other inhabitants, or former inhabitants, of Hazle are occasionally recorded. One Douce of Hazle held a burgage in New Street, Ledbury in the 1280s.⁵⁵ In 1292 John de la Hazle son of William of the Hill claimed against Sybil, widow of Grimbald Pauncefoot, land in Ledbury Foreign which he sold in 1313 to William son of William Eseger of Ledbury and his wife Beatrice.⁵⁶

A court roll for the Hazle manor court held in June 1443 survives, and contains details of tenants and their holdings.⁵⁷ The lord of the manor was then Thomas Walwyn, and the court was held by his steward Thomas Went. Three tenants acknowledged that they held lands of the manor, and another man took up three tenancies. It is clear that the population of the manor was declining. Richard Ravenhill had two holdings: a messuage and 9 acres of arable and meadow

which William Seward had formerly held, and a 2-acre croft and 2 acres of arable formerly belonging to John Walker. William Elias held one messuage with a curtilage and 5 acres of arable land dispersed in three fields; and John Ewyas held two messuages and 20 acres of land and meadow. An interlineation records that James Randall later acquired both William's and John's holdings. The record of the three holdings or farms let to a new tenant at the court is a bit confused, but the Lewis who took all three of them up was probably the same man even though in two entries the clerk was unsure of his surname (which was probably Philip). The first holding comprised one empty messuage with 9 acres of customary land, the second a close and 30 acres of customary land and another, 4-acre, close. On the first of these two holdings Lewis undertook to build a new dwelling house within three years; on the second he agreed to build a dwelling house of three bays and a barn the same size. The third holding was a house called Butten house. Unfortunately the dorse of the roll is badly damaged and almost illegible; details of further tenancies may have been lost. The arable land lay in seven fields, none of which is so far identifiable. Most was in Beechfield (14 acres) and Greenfield (12 acres); Lewis's 30-acre holding was not described.

Wellington Heath

Wellington, now Wellington Heath, was first recorded, as a surname, in the early 13th century when Alan of Wellington witnessed several charters.⁵⁸ About the middle of the century, Alan's daughter Juliana granted away rents from two houses in Wellington, one to Adam Bevin who was a canon of Hereford in the 1260s, and one to St Katherine's hospital. Wellington was then described as a 'vill'.⁵⁹ Like Hazle, Wellington, or part of it, was used by Bishop Hugh Foliot in the early 1220s to endow his kinsman Robert Foliot's prebend of Woolhope, but was given back to the see by Robert's successor.⁶⁰ Later in the century, bishops leased or granted estates in Wellington to members of their households or families. In the early 1270s bishop John le Breton conveyed to his nephew Robert le Breton and his heirs the estate in Wellington which Hugh of Wellington, clerk, had once held. Robert was clearly a layman, as the heirs were to be heirs of his body. Failing such heirs, the estate was to revert to the bishop. Sir Robert le Breton, appears in the late 1280s rental as a free tenant of the bishop holding a ploughland in Wellington.⁶¹ There are no later references to Bretons in Ledbury, but if the ploughland did revert to the bishop, it was granted away again, for an undated but probably 15th-century marginal note on the rental states that the land, with the estate held by Alan of Wellington discussed below, was then held by a tenant surnamed 'Amysham'.⁶²

In the 1280s there were at least four other freehold estates in Wellington. Alan of Wellington's heirs held the largest, one and a half hides in Wellington and Massington which formed a quarter of a knight's fee. William Chamberlain of Massington held the next largest estate, also by military service; judging by the amount of scutage paid this was only a third the size of Alan of Wellington's estate. A John of Wellington held only half a yardland, but still freely. The services of another free tenant, Hugh of Wellington, were recorded, but not the size of his holding.⁶³

By the 15th century the quarter fee once held by Alan of Wellington had passed to Roger Amysham (Amersham), presumably the 'Amysham' who had acquired Robert le Breton's ploughland as well as two other freehold yardlands and half a customary one, making him a major landholder. He was probably the predecessor of the Robert Amundesham (Amersham)

who in 1439 bought from Hugh Monnington and his wife Alice an estate described as a moiety (or half) of the manor of Wellington and a moiety of one messuage, 20 acres of arable land, 6 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture rent in Wellington Street and Ledbury.⁶⁴ This is the first record of the estate, which seems to have been Alice's inheritance, being called a manor. The estate Roger had built up may well have amounted to the other moiety of Wellington manor, as when Robert died he owned the manor of Wellington and lands (60 acres of arable and 10 acres of pasture) in Massington; he also held the manors of Pixley and of Mainstone Court in Pixley.⁶⁵

Another freehold estate later called a manor, perhaps the estate held in the 1280s by William chamberlain, passed to the Prior family. In 1401 seven acres of land and three acres of meadow which the bishop wished to use to endow a chantry were reported to be held of Robert Prior as of his manor of Wellington—which (confusingly) Robert held of the bishop by knight service.⁶⁶ This manor was the later Prior's Court, which was first clearly recorded in 1515 when Richard Hayward of Wellington did homage to the bishop for lands in Wellington called Priors Court. He held the lands in right of his wife Margaret, who was the daughter and heir of John, son and heir of Richard Prior. Richard may well have been the Richard Prior who, with other Ledbury parishioners, in 1476 presented a chaplain to a chantry in Ledbury church.⁶⁷ The John Prior, who by 1455 had acquired a half share of the yardland which Philip of the Wall had held by knight service in the 1280s, may have been a member of the same family.⁶⁸ If so, the yardland presumably became part of the Prior's Court manor. (Fig. 4)

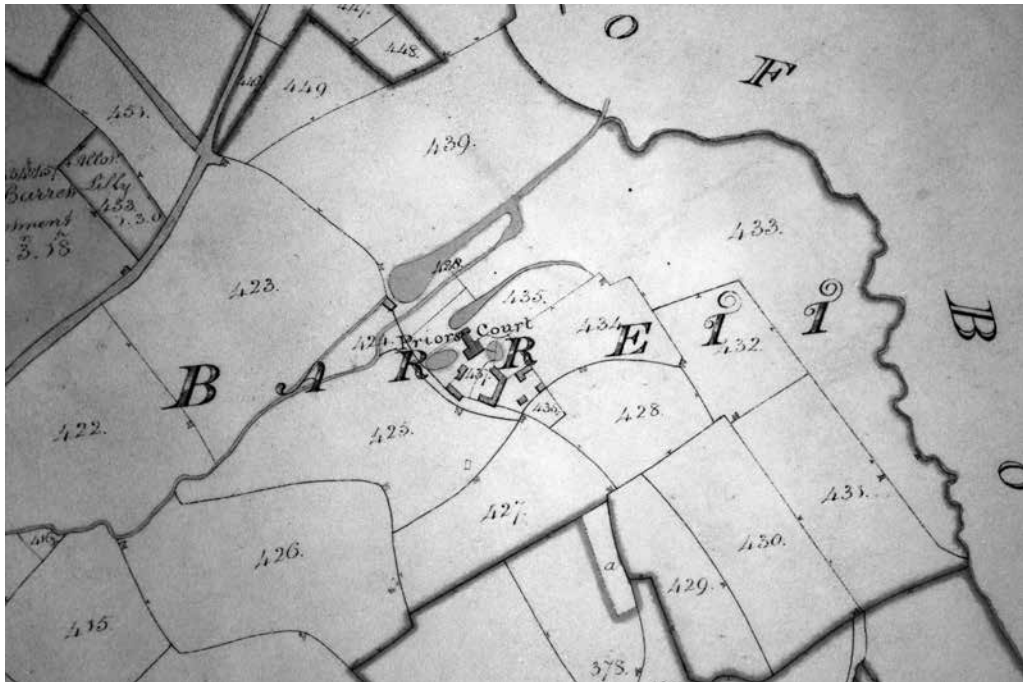


Figure 4. Prior's Court, formerly Prior's Hall, 1813 (HAS Q/R1/25).

Other Wellington men seem to have held separate, smaller, estates. Among them were the Roger of Wellington who in 1312 was attorney for Stephen son of William Eseger in the

purchase of a message and over 30 acres of land in Ledbury Foreign, and the Richard Wyther of Wellington who in 1329 bought a message under Frith Wood from a Ledbury burgess.⁶⁹

Massington

In the Middle Ages Massington, now represented by Massington farm in the north of Ledbury parish, contained some estates which extended into Eastnor parish.⁷⁰ Others were closely connected with Wellington Heath. A list of the bishop of Hereford's tenants by knight service compiled *c.*1211 included a group of men comprising Alan of Wellington, William the chamberlain (who was based in Massington), and their associates who between them held a knight's fee in Wellington. The bishop's rental of the late 1280s, records that the heirs of Alan of Wellington held one and a half hides at Wellington and Massington by knight service.⁷¹

The first record of an estate in Massington was in 1242 when Walter de Eyneford claimed against Bishop Peter of Aigueblanche a ploughland in Massington which Bishop Ralph of Maidstone (bishop 1234–1239) had granted him.⁷² This is a larger estate than any recorded in the later 13th century; presumably it was divided between Walter's heirs. About the same time Adam of Massington owed a rent to Philip Ruddoc of Ledbury which Philip granted to St Katherine's hospital.⁷³

By the 1280s there were several estates in Massington. The list of tenants by knight service in the bishop's rental records, in addition to the heirs of Alan of Wellington mentioned above, John of Massington, who held an estate of two yardlands in Massington. The two yardlands in Ledbury Foreign which William the chamberlain held by knight service were not said to be in Massington, but later reference shows that they were. In addition to these high status holdings, the heirs of Joseph of Massington held a yardland freely, and Edonia of Massington who apparently had moved into Ledbury borough held a burgage in the Homend.⁷⁴ In 1304 John of Massington and William the Chamberlain held 2 yardlands each of the bishop by military service.⁷⁵

William the chamberlain was a senior member of the bishop's household, and presumably the estate at Massington was a reward for loyal service. He may have been active in Ledbury, possibly already in Massington, since the 1260s—not always legally: in 1282 or 1283 he and Philip of Massington were among 19 'poachers and tree-fellers' who took advantage of a vacancy in the see to damage the bishop's parks, including those of Ledbury and Colwall.⁷⁶ William first appears, with John of Massington, as witness to a grant of land to St Katherine's hospital; the undated charter conveying the land has been dated *c.*1261. In 1275 William, with Geoffrey of Cradley, William of Hom (in Eastnor), Reginald Pauncefoot and John de Solers (of Hazle) witnessed Bishop John le Breton's grant of land in Wellington Heath to his nephew Robert le Breton. By an undated, but probably late-13th-century, charter, William the chamberlain of Massington, gave an acre of land at the otherwise unrecorded Westbridge, to St Katherine's hospital; John of Massington was among the witnesses.⁷⁷

William the chamberlain had a son Robert of Massington, who in 1303 owed money to Richard de Bere, probably a member of the Herefordshire knightly family surnamed de la Bere who later held an estate in Eastnor.⁷⁸ In 1312 Robert witnessed a charter of Sybil Pauncefoot of Hazle.⁷⁹ The William of Massington, who with his wife Agnes in 1331 settled a total of 2 messages, 90 acres of arable land, 4 acres of meadow, 4 acres of pasture and 3 acres of wood in Massington, Ledbury Borough, Ledbury Foreign and Eastnor on themselves and on William's heirs, was probably Robert's son. In 1348 he granted William son of Adam de Louthygate a

life tenure of rents and houses in Ledbury Borough to endow a temporary chantry. William de Louthygate agreed that when he had been ordained priest, he would say mass, either in Ledbury church or in William's chapel at Massington if William could obtain the bishop's licence for it, for William of Massington and his wife Agnes and for the souls of Robert of Massington and his wife Margery.⁸⁰ (The bishop's registers reveal that William de Louthygate was ordained acolyte in December 1348, subdeacon and deacon in March 1349, and priest in April 1349,⁸¹ the speed of his progress through the clerical orders probably being due to the ravages of the Black Death.) There is no record of a licence for a chapel at Massington, so presumably the chantry—which was to last for the life of its chaplain only—was kept in Ledbury church. Although the existence of a private chapel, even one unlicensed for mass, indicates that the Massington family's estate was of high status, it was not described as a manor until 1401 when Agnes, widow of Hugh Carew the younger, held it of the bishop by knight service.⁸²

The later descent of William the chamberlain's holding can be deduced from the marginal note against it in the rental of the late 1280s, which reads: 'Nicholas Woodward and William Monnington'. In 1412 Margery widow of Hugh Monnington and James Woodward of Massington, with John and Joan Amundisham, conveyed to Robert Mitchel what was probably part of William chamberlain's estate: a house with 20 acres of arable and a meadow belonging to it.⁸³ The Monnington family apparently retained the remainder of the estate until about 1540 when Richard Monnington sold 'the manor of Massington' to Rowland Morton then of Twining, Gloucestershire, earlier of Bosbury.⁸⁴

The two yardlands which John of Massington held by military service in the 1280s were held in the 15th century by Malcolm Walwyn, a member of a Herefordshire gentry family, who had inherited them, with other land in Ledbury Foreign, from his father Thomas Walwyn of Much Marcle. Thomas built up a large estate, mainly in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, which at his death in 1415 he divided among his three sons, Malcolm being left lands in Ledbury and Eastnor.⁸⁵ In 1427 when Malcolm settled the estate, for the first time described as a manor, on himself and his wife Cecily, it comprised 16 messuages, 240 acres of land, 8 acres meadow, 60 acres pasture, 20 acres wood, and 14s. rent in Ledbury and Eastnor.⁸⁶ In 1459 Malcolm Walwyn, or another man of the same name, sold land in Eastnor to Richard Beauchamp who was building up the estate on which he built Bronsil Castle, on the lower slopes of the Malvern hills in the eastern part of Eastnor parish.⁸⁷

One or two smaller estates in Massington, whose earlier and later history cannot be traced, were recorded in the 1320s. Ela, widow of James de Perrers, died in 1325; her chief estates were in Staffordshire, but she also held a messuage and 12 acres of land in Massington, a burgage in Ledbury and 10s. rent and two messuages in nearby Haffield, a detached part of Ledbury parish.⁸⁸ The Massington land was held of Walter the chamberlain, whose relationship—if any—to William the chamberlain and his descendants is unknown. Ela's estate may have been part of that which in 1319 Peter Giffard and his wife Ela settled on themselves and their heirs; it comprised six messuages, one ploughland, 6 bovates of arable, 4 acres of meadow and 10s. rent in Haffield, Woolpit (on the border between Ledbury and Eastnor), Massington and Ledbury.⁸⁹ The similarity between the two estates makes it tempting to suggest that Ela de Perrers was a daughter and heir of Peter and Ela Giffard.

Ela de Perrers held her Massington land of William the chamberlain, apparently another bishop's officer who had been given land in Ledbury. With Robert the chamberlain and Robert

of Massington he witnessed a charter of Sybil Pauncefoot in 1313; he also witnessed a charter issued by the master of St Katherine’s hospital in 1339.⁹⁰ In 1363 John and Elizabeth Damisel had held a messuage and half a yardland in Ledbury Foreign—though by no means necessarily in Massington—of Walter the chamberlain, perhaps William’s successor, for a rent of 8s. a year.⁹¹

Some of this land may have been granted away by the bishop, so that it was no longer part of Ledbury manor. Between 1375 and 1404 ‘John, bishop of Hereford’ (either John Gilbert 1375–89 or, more probably, John Trefnant 1389–1404) petitioned the king for pardon for alienations made by his predecessors in the otherwise unrecorded ‘Barriesland’, Wellington and Massington in the lordship of Ledbury.⁹²

Ockeridge

Ockeridge, near Massington, is now represented by a farmhouse and cottages but was a more substantial settlement in the Middle Ages. (Fig. 5) In 1166 John and William of Ockeridge held land, probably a sixth of a knight’s fee each, of the bishop of Hereford by knight service, and William of Ockeridge witnessed charters of Bishops Robert de Bethune and Gilbert Foliot in the

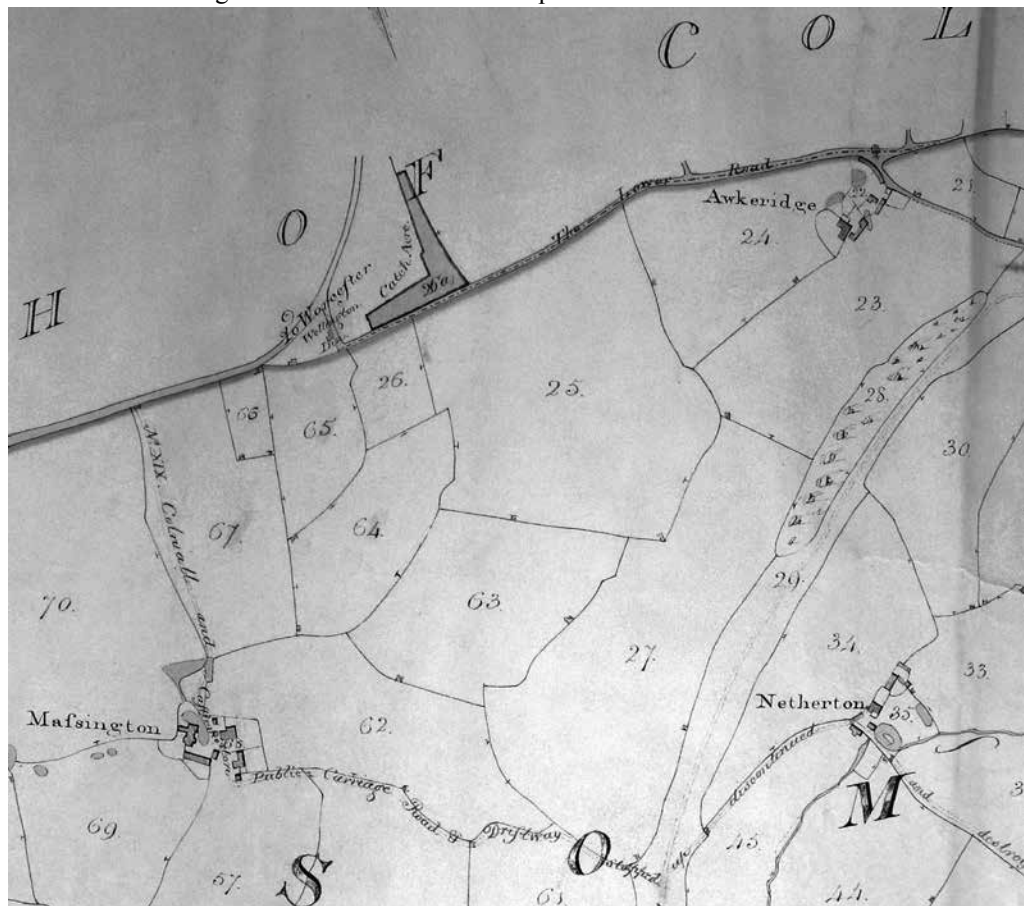


Figure 5. Massington, Ockeridge and Netherton, 1813 (HAS Q/R1/25).

1140s and between 1155 and 1163.⁹³ Alan of Ockeridge witnessed a charter of Bishop Robert Foliot in the 1180s.⁹⁴ William of Ockeridge, probably more than one man of the name, witnessed Eastnor charters in the first half of the 13th century, often with Alan of Wellington, and other local landholders.⁹⁵ In 1234 William of Ockeridge was present in the hall of St Katherine's hospital, and a witness to the transaction, when the dean of Kempsey made his annual payment of 1lb wax to the hospital, a payment which appears to have been disputed. William himself was a benefactor of the hospital, giving it a messuage in Ockeridge, probably in the early 1240s, by a charter witnessed by Alfred of Ockeridge.⁹⁶ A later 13th-century charter was witnessed by William and a Richard of Ockeridge,⁹⁷ who may have been a member of his family.

The rental of the late 1280s records that the heirs of William of Ockeridge, presumably the last man of that name referred to above, held four yardlands in Ledbury Foreign of the bishop by knight service, as one sixth of a knight's fee. At the same date John of Ockeridge held one yardland freely of the bishop.⁹⁸ William may have died without direct heirs: an estate he gave to St Katherine's hospital comprised land he had given his daughter as her dowry and land bought by his son-in-law,⁹⁹ so both may have died before him. A marginal note in the rental names the later tenants of the four yardlands as Malcolm Walwyn and 'Caple'. The Walwyns had probably acquired their portion in the early 15th century. Thomas Walwyn of Much Marcle, Malcolm's father, died in 1414 in possession of lands in Ledbury and Eastnor, and in 1416 William Walwyn gave judgement in a dispute over a messuage in Eastnor.¹⁰⁰ In 1468 John Walwyn of Ockeridge was among the men from the Ledbury area of the Malverns ordered to be arrested perhaps for illegally hunting in Malvern chase.¹⁰¹ Apart from the note in the late 13th-century rental, there is no record of any member of the Caple family holding land in Ledbury, but in 1412 William Caple of How Caple and his wife Alice settled on themselves and their heirs an estate of *c.*240 acres or more in neighbouring Colwall;¹⁰² perhaps that estate stretched over the parish boundary into Ockeridge.

There were other landholders in Ockeridge who may have held directly of the bishop, or of the Ockeridges or Walwyns. Richard son of Richard of Massington granted land and buildings there to the hospital about the time of its foundation in a charter witnessed by William of Ockeridge.¹⁰³ Another grant made by Richard son of Richard of Massington of throws light on 13th-century life. He conveyed to a man named Hathewy of Homme 6 acres of land in the vill of Ockeridge, with the buildings on it. For this grant Hathewy gave 2s. to Richard, a pair of high quality leather boots to his wife, and a shirt to his heir. In 1314 John Eloteson of Ockeridge owed St Katherine's hospital 12*d.* a year rent, but there is no evidence as to what estate he held. A John Baker of Ockeridge witnessed a deed of 1267, along with William Chamberlain and John of Massington.¹⁰⁴

Mitchell and Netherton

Two other small settlements, probably of lower status than Massington and Ockeridge, lay between them and Ledbury borough.

There was a settlement at Netherton, now marked by Netherton farm and cottages, by the mid 13th century. In 1267 St Katherine's hospital was given 4*d.* rent which Hugh of Netherton had paid from an acre of land next to Hemme Grove which adjoined the land of Henry of Netherton. About the same time, Margery of Donnington conveyed to a Ledbury burgess 6s. rent which Stephen of Massington paid her from a tenement in Eastnor and Netherton.¹⁰⁷ The grant brings

together Donnington, Ledbury, Massington, Eastnor and Netherton. Netherton is not mentioned by name in the rental of the late 1280s, but—given the grant by Margery of Donnington above—it may have been the two yardlands in Ledbury Foreign which Peter of Donnington held by knight service. If so, it apparently passed, with Donnington, to Wormsley priory.¹⁰⁶

Other Netherton people occur occasionally in the documents, although the settlement is on the whole poorly recorded. William of Netherton witnessed an Eastnor charter *c.* 1300, and in 1314 Ralph of Netherton and John Rede of Netherton held land in Ledbury from St Katherine’s hospital.¹⁰⁷ In 1390 Netherton appeared in a St Katherine’s hospital rental as a separate township, from which 10 people including Henry Ockeridge, owed rents, whether for land or houses was not specified.¹⁰⁸ As late as 1621 a terrier, or description, of the hospital’s lands in Netherton described an estate which straddled the border between Ledbury and Eastnor.¹⁰⁹

Mitchell, west of Netherton, is now represented by two farms, Upper and Lower Mitchell. (Fig. 6) It was first recorded in the rental of the late 1280s when Edith de Migghale held a yardland and Stephen de Migghale three acres of the bishop, both by customary tenure.

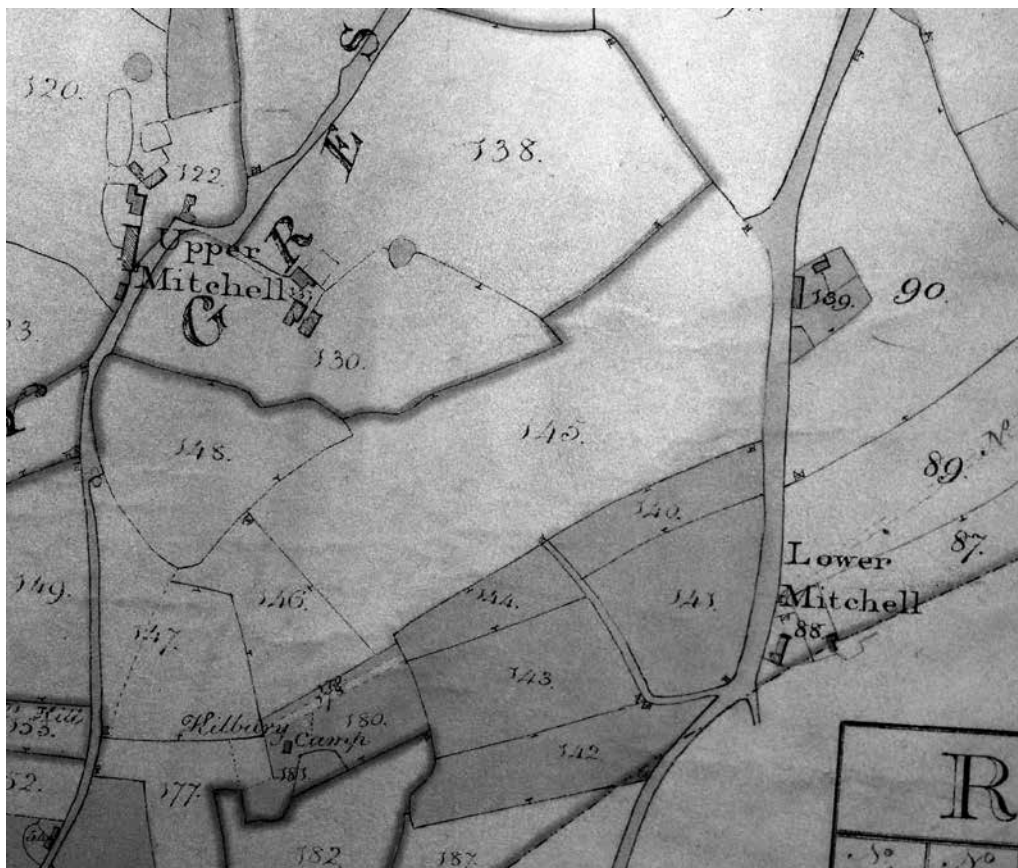


Figure 6. Upper and Lower Mitchell, 1813 (HAS Q/R1/25)

A marginal note that Edith's land was later held by Nicholas de Mychale confirms the identification of Migghale with Mitchel.¹¹⁰ Gilbert de Miggehale held land adjoining an acre granted to St Katherine's hospital in the late 13th century.¹¹¹ In 1412 John 'Anondusham' and Joan his wife and Margery Monnington, widow of Hugh Monnington, and James Woodward of Massington granted to Robert Mychale a messuage and 20 acres of arable and meadow belonging to it. A later document suggests that the land was in Mitchell: in 1454 a Ledbury man and woman confirmed to Robert's grandson, Nicholas Muchale, a croft in Mitchell 'under the way'.¹¹² John's name was probably an error for Amondusham or Amysham. The involvement of the Amondisham and Monnington families may imply a tenurial connection with Wellington Heath, where they held a manor. By 1485, and probably considerably earlier, land in Mitchell belonged to Nether Hall manor, which was part of the original endowment of Ledbury church. A surviving court roll for the manor records that Robert Pinchin then held two messuages and a few acres of land in Mitchell. One messuage had belonged to his father-in-law William Welshman, and before that to Margery Mitchell and Robert Mitchell, perhaps the Robert mentioned above. The second messuage was held at the lord's will; presumably it had reverted to the lord of the manor through failure of heirs of its former holders.¹¹³ There is archaeological evidence for Mitchell, in that a considerable amount of medieval pottery has been found between the modern farm and the A449.¹¹⁴

Other Settlements

There were several smaller settlements and farmsteads in Ledbury Foreign, but many, particularly those in which St Katherine's hospital had little or no land, are poorly documented. It can be difficult to trace their history, but something can be said of those described below.

Leden or Ledon, clearly named for the river Leadon, was probably one of the more important settlements in Ledbury Foreign,¹¹⁵ as it is sometimes called a vill. In the mid 13th century Roger le Vinur of Leden (fl. 1258) made a grant of an acre of land in 'Leden in the parish of Ledbury'.¹¹⁶ In 1284 his son Thomas claimed 33 acres in Leden, with a further 9 acres in the adjoining Wall (probably the later Wall Hills). Before 1292 Robert of the Green of Leden conveyed to William Foliot of Ledbury a yardland in Ledbury 'in the vill of Leden'.¹¹⁹ Neither estate is identifiable in the 1280s rental, although Robert of the Green held half a burgage in Ledbury.¹²⁰ In 1315–16 Margery of Monnington of Leden conveyed to William son of William Eseger two acres at 'Catgate' in Ledbury Foreign. It is of course possible that Margery lived at Leadon Court in Bishop's Frome, but by 1364 a Hugh of Monnington was among the witnesses to a Ledbury charter.¹¹⁹ There seem to be no further records of Leden until 1523 when 10 people were assessed for subsidy in 'the vill of Leadon within Ledbury parish'.¹²⁰

Walsned. The last in the list of those who held estates by knight service in Ledbury Foreign in the late 1280s was John de Walsned who held one yardland.¹²¹ He took his name from, and probably lived in, another vill in Ledbury parish, first recorded in 1221 when Alured son of Uchtred quitclaimed to Nicholas de Civeteus half a yardland in Walsned.¹²² Adam Bevin (fl. 1263) canon of Hereford gave a rent of 8s. a year from a tenement described as being in the vill of 'Walsenet' or 'Walsneid' to St Katherine's hospital, but when Adam acquired the rent it was said to be from a tenement in Wellington.¹²³ In the late 1280s, two other people from Walsned held land in Ledbury Foreign: Maud de Walsned held a customary yardland, and Roger son of Alice de Walsned 12 acres of customary land; Roger Walsned still held at least three acres of land there in 1315.¹²⁴

The John de Walsned who held the yardland by knight service in the late 1280s was probably succeeded by Elias de Walsned, who witnessed a quitclaim of land in Ledbury Foreign in 1313.¹²⁵ A marginal note in the late 1280s rental records that John's yardland passed to 'Damisel', and in 1344 Elias and his wife Sibyl settled the reversion of two messuages and two ploughlands in Ledbury Foreign, after their deaths, on John Damsell or Damisel and his wife Elizabeth.¹²⁶ Elizabeth Damisel, who survived her husband, died in 1361 and was succeeded by her son, another John Damisel.¹²⁷ The Damisel connection places Walsned in the north-west of Ledbury parish where fields called Waste Nuts (perhaps a corruption of Walsned) and Damsels were recorded in 1813.¹²⁸

Other people held smaller areas of land in Walsned: in the mid 15th century John Wood of Walsned held a messuage on the St Katherine's land there, and Walter and William Oldfield owed rents to the hospital from 'Wellsned'.¹²⁹

Underdown, now a small country house and converted outbuildings on the south-eastern edge of Ledbury town, was another estate held by knight service in the late 13th century. It was first recorded earlier in that century when Alfred of Underdown held land at 'Down' in Ledbury Foreign.¹³⁰ Maurice of Underdown witnessed charters in the mid to late 13th century, and in the late 1280s and in 1304 his heirs held two yardlands in Ledbury Foreign by knight service.¹³¹ A son, Robert, survived Maurice, conveying land 'on the hill towards Eastnor' to the sacristan of Ledbury church in the late 13th century, but he had presumably died by the late 1280s. Maurice's heirs may then have been his daughters Maud, who conveyed land by an undated charter, and Margery and Christian who witnessed their widowed mother's undated charter granting land at Woolpit on the boundary between Ledbury and Eastnor.¹³² The Underdown estate later passed to Nicholas Kasewall,¹³³ who seems to be otherwise unrecorded in Ledbury.

Other people surnamed Underdown appear in the late 1280s rental: Richard and Stephen of Underdown held half a customary yardland each, Richard of Underdown held 12 acres of customary land, and Margery of Underdown, probably Maurice's daughter mentioned above, held half a burgage in Ledbury borough.¹³⁴ Other inhabitants of Underdown were probably unrecorded in the rental. One was probably the unfree John of Underdown: in 1316 Bishop Swinfield freed Henry son of John of Underdown and all his descendants from the 'yoke of servitude or chain of villeinage'.¹³⁵ A John of Underdown, presumably a different man, held land in Eastnor in 1305. Henry of Underdown witnessed Ledbury charters in 1326 and 1328, and John Underdown another in 1338.¹³⁶ Lands once held by Stephen and John of Underdown had passed to St Katherine's by c.1400.¹³⁷

Wall, the usual spelling of 'well' in the West Midland dialect, was the surname of several Ledbury tenants in the late 13th century. In the late 1280s Philip of the Wall held a yardland by knight service, and another yardland freely; Benedict, Ralph and Nicholas of the Wall each held a few acres in Ledbury Foreign.¹³⁸ There are several possibilities for the well or wells from which these men took their names, but some at least of them may have lived at or near the modern Wall Hills.

Part at least of Philip of the Wall's estate was alienated in 1289 when his daughter Margery granted to John de Euereus a yardland in Over Walls, Nether Walls, Plaistow and Coddington, and the reversion of two half yardlands in the same places.¹³⁹ If it was near Plaistow and Coddington, the land is likely to have been at or near Wall Hills. In 1360 John of Callowhill conveyed to John and Emma Nash his enclosed land, with an acre in the common field adjoining, at Le Walles.

This was probably the yardland which Philip of the Wall held *c.* 1288, or part of it, as the rental has a marginal note giving the names of the later holders of the yardland as J Prior and G Nash.¹⁴⁰ If J Prior was one of the family of Prior's Hall in Wellington Heath, that would strengthen the argument for this 'wall' being in the north of the parish, probably at Wall Hills.

Orlham. In the 1190s Sir William de Burchill and William the chamberlain both claimed ownership of land held of the bishop of Hereford at a place called 'Herlingham'. The case was decided in favour of William de Burchill who claimed the land by inheritance from his uncle Robert Lambert and to whom the bishop granted the land for a rent of 6s. a year.¹⁴¹ Although the record of the dispute does not say where 'Herlingham' was, 14th-century records show that it was the later Orlham or Erlham in the south west corner of Ledbury parish. By an undated charter, probably of *c.*1300, Roger de Burchull sold all his land at Erlingham in Ledbury to William Eseger, his wife Sybil, and their son William, for the large sum of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.). Shortly afterwards, in 1312, William acquired the neighbouring estate of 'Hulle' or Hill, the modern Hill House, from John de la Hazle of Northleach, and the two estates descended together thereafter.¹⁴² In 1361 an unspecified amount of land at 'Erlham' and 'Hulle', formerly held by Thomas Eseger (fl. 1331) son of William Eseger, was confirmed to Adam Eseger, canon of Hereford.¹⁴³ Two years later, in 1363, Adam gave the land to St Katherine's to endow a chantry in the hospital chapel.¹⁴⁴ In 1505 the hospital leased to Henry Sybylse a messuage called Orlham in Ledbury; as part of the agreement Henry undertook to build a new hall and chamber there.¹⁴⁵

Frith wood was the site of one or more houses or small settlements. A mid-13th-century charter referred to 'land of Walter de la Frith', and in 1252 Walter was pardoned for killing a man. About 1288 Walter held two half burgages in the Homend; Roger and Alfred of the Frith held customary land in the parish. In 1329 and 1349 messuages at Hope under le Frith in Ledbury Foreign were the subject of conveyances, the latter one witnessed by Philip of the Hope. This place-name suggests that Roger and Juliana of Hope, each of whom held houses in Ledbury borough in the late 1280s, may also have lived at or near Frith wood. No later documentary references to settlement at the Frith have been found, but some settlement continued. A site below Bradlow Coppice was apparently occupied from the late medieval period, if not earlier, until *c.*1900.¹⁴⁶

Lillinghale, later Old Lily Hall in the east of the parish near the border with Little Marcle, was first recorded between 1219 and 1231 when Bishop Hugh Foliot granted a yardland, apparently freehold, there to his chamberlain Walter de Hope.¹⁴⁷ (Fig. 7)

The estate is not identifiable on the 1280s rental, although William, Alditha, and Gilbert of Lillinghale each held 18 acres of customary land in Ledbury Foreign.¹⁴⁸ No later medieval records of the settlement have been found. The 'Hall' of the modern name is almost certainly from 'halh', meaning a slight hollow, a raised area in marshy ground, or land detached in some other way,¹⁴⁹ rather than from a high-status house.

Plaistow. There were houses at Plaistow just north of Wall Hills. In 1255 Maud of Plaistow was imprisoned in Ledbury for theft; she escaped and took sanctuary in Ledbury church. In the same year Walter of Plaistow was killed in a brawl after a drinking session in a Ledbury tavern.¹⁵⁰ Two people surnamed Plaistow were recorded in the late 1280s rental: Agnes of Plaistow held half a burgage plot in the town and Richard of Plaistow held half a yardland.¹⁵¹ Richard may have been the man of that name killed by 'unknown malefactors' in 1292.¹⁵² The name Plaistow means the place where games were played; perhaps it attracted some dubious residents. Games tended to be frowned on by medieval town and parish authorities as leading to disorder.

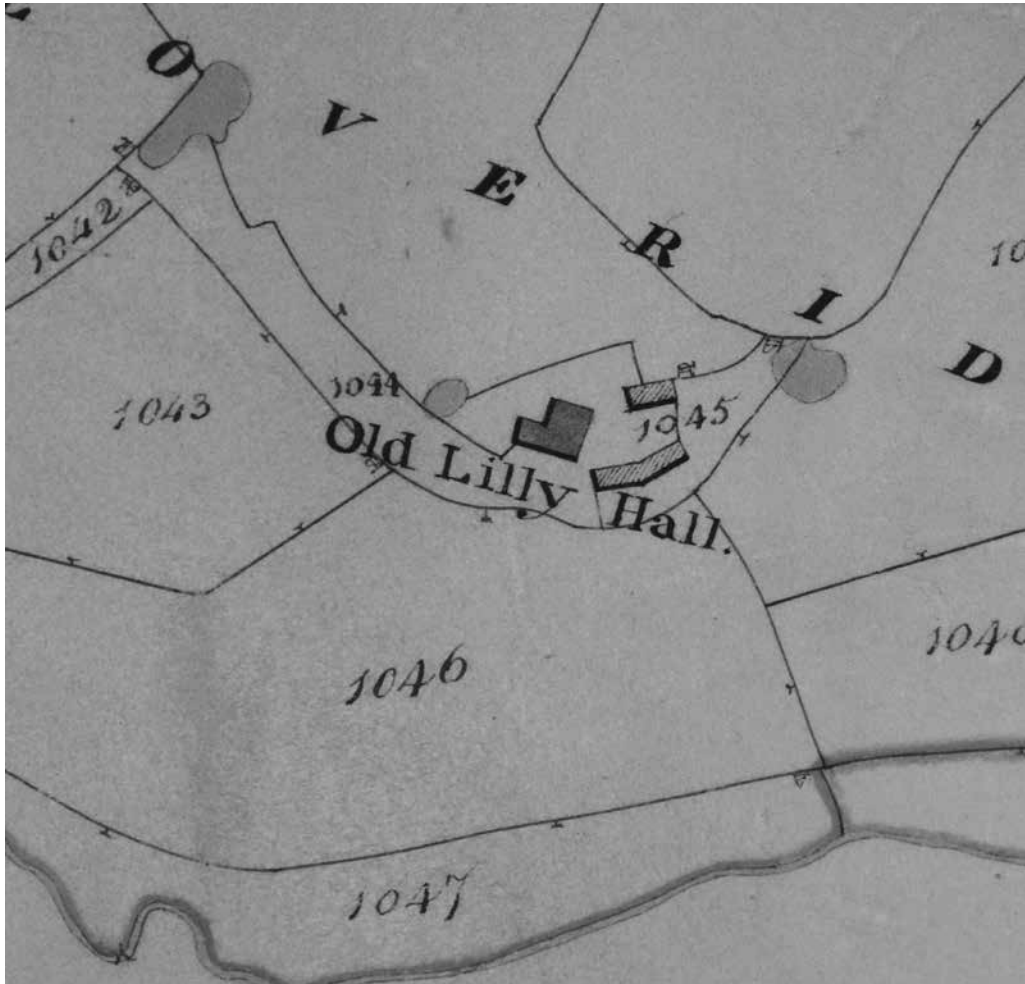


Figure 7. Old Lilly Hall, 1813 (HAS Q/R1/25)

Another settlement named for a hope or valley was recorded only once, in 1328, when Joan daughter of William Pouke of Catley (in Upleadon, Bosbury) conveyed a messuage and land at 'Hoddenhope' in Ledbury Foreign to Robert Barthone.¹⁵³ Perhaps the house lay in one of the valleys in Wellington Heath.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that in the 12th to 14th centuries Ledbury Foreign, like its neighbouring parishes, was an area of scattered settlement: probably mainly farmsteads but including several higher status estates which came to be called manors in the later Middle Ages. The owners of these larger estates were closely connected with each other, with landowners in the neighbouring parishes, and with the borough of Ledbury. More might be said about some of

the owners, particularly the later medieval owners, of these estates, and of their connections, if any, with Ledbury town.

More work also remains to be done on the history of Ledbury Foreign in the Middle Ages. In particular, the records of St Katherine's Hospital contain many descriptions of land in the common fields from which something could be learned of the agriculture of the parish, notably how the common fields were laid out and how they related to the settlements. There are suggestions, for instance, that the different vills within Ledbury Foreign had their own field systems. It would also be interesting to know how many estates were confined to individual vills and how many crossed vill and parish boundaries.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
HAS	Herefordshire Archive Service
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
HER	Historic Environment Record, http://htt/herefordshire.gov.uk
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

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² This paper is based on research carried out for the Victoria County History of Herefordshire.

³ VCH Herefordshire, *Eastnor* (2013), *Bosbury* (2016), *Colwall* (forthcoming)

⁴ http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1911POP2_M5?u_id=10032453&show=DB: accessed 16 Sept. 2018.

⁵ *Domesday Book*, ed. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (Alecto Historical Editions 1992), p.502.

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⁷ *Domesday Book*, p.501.

⁸ See below.

⁹ HCA 1727.

¹⁰ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-names* (Logaston Press, 2009), p.134.

¹¹ HCA 1800, 3305, 3672.

¹² HCA 3322.

¹³ HCA 3325, 3672, 3672, 3689; *Ibid.* 7018/1, p.5; HAS, AA26/II/29.

¹⁴ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.133 – 41.

¹⁵ TNA, CP40/212A.

¹⁶ *Domesday Book*, p.502.

¹⁷ HAS, AA59/A1, p.138; *Ibid.* J95/1, map 3.

¹⁸ HAS, AM33/13; VCH Herefs. *Eastnor*, p.43.

¹⁹ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.141.

²⁰ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.136; TNA, JUST 1/302, rot. 18d.; HCA 290.

²¹ HCA 3676, 3698.

²² HER 3767, 3795, 6077, 15410, 52358, 52359, 53145, 53207, 53208, 53218, 53578, 53587, 53588,

²³ HAS, G37/2/60.

²⁴ HCA 1888, 3665.

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- ³⁰ *Red Book of the Exchquer*, vol. 2, p. 496. There is no record of the Paucefoot or Wike families at Madresfield in Worcestershire. There was a Mathfeld in Colwall parish: HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.163, 164, 165.
- ³¹ *Curia Regis Rolls* (His Majesty's Stationery Office), vol. 7, pp.216 – 17.
- ³² *English Episcopal Acta* vol. 7: *Hereford 1079 – 1234*, pp.265, 269 – 70.
- ³³ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.134.
- ³⁴ Jean O'Donnell, 'A Border Knight', *TWNFC*, 46, p.41.
- ³⁵ *Roll of Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield bishop of Hereford, 1289 and 1290*, ed. J. Webb (Camden Soc. 1854), vol. 2, appendix xv, pp.221 – 4.
- ³⁶ TNA, JUST 1/302, rot. 57; HCA 290.
- ³⁷ *Cal. Patent Rolls* 1330 – 4, p.333.
- ³⁸ C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*, p.75. For the Paucefoot descent, see *VCH Gloucestershire*, viii (Hasfield).
- ³⁹ HCA 7018/1, p.1.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 3312a
- ⁴¹ HCA 1743.
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- ⁴⁹ *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office) vol. 10, no. 515.
- ⁵⁰ TNA, CP 25/1/83/47, no. 258: medievalgenealogy.org.uk, accessed 4 June 2018; HAS, AM33/13.
- ⁵¹ *Register of Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford 1404 – 1416* (1917), 190.
- ⁵² HAS, AM33/13.
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- ⁵⁴ L. Gee, 'Fourteenth-century tombs for women in Herefordshire', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. David Whitehead (1995), 135; Hillaby, *Ledbury, a Medieval Borough*, 57, 59.
- ⁵⁵ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.120.
- ⁵⁶ TNA, JUST 1/302, rot. 57; HCA 290.
- ⁵⁷ HAS, G37/1/9.
- ⁵⁸ e.g HCA, 1888, 2201, 3676.
- ⁵⁹ HCA, 3686, 3698. For Bevin see *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066 – 1300*, vol. 8: www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae, accessed 3 March 2018.
- ⁶⁰ *English Episcopal Acta* vii: *Hereford 1079 – 1234*, ed. Julia Barrow (British Academy 1993) nos. 337, 242.
- ⁶¹ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.136.
- ⁶² *English Episcopal Acta*, xxxv: *Hereford 1234 – 74*, ed. Julia Barrow (British Academy 2009), no. 159; HAS, AA59/A/1, p.136.
- ⁶³ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.133 – 4, 136.
- ⁶⁴ TNA, CP 25/1/83/56, no. 53: medievalgenealogy.org.uk, accessed 1 June 2018.
- ⁶⁵ *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII* (His Majesty's Stationery Office), vol. 3, no. 191
- ⁶⁶ TNA, C143/431/3.
- ⁶⁷ *Register of Richard Mayew Bishop of Hereford 1504 – 1516*, ed. A. T. Bannister (1919), p.217; *Register of Thomas Mylling Bishop of Hereford 1474 – 1492*, ed. A. T. Bannister (1920), p.186.
- ⁶⁸ *Register of John Stanbury Bishop of Hereford 1453 - 1474*, ed. J. H. Parry and A. T. Bannister (1919), p.20; HAS, AA 59/A/1, p.134.
- ⁶⁹ TNA, CP 25/1/82/33, no. 126: from www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk, accessed 28 May 2018; HCA 3288.
- ⁷⁰ VCH Herefs., *Eastnor*, p.14.
- ⁷¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall (Rolls Series), vol. 2, p.496; HAS, AA59/A/1, p.133.
- ⁷² *Curia Regis Rolls* (His Majesty's Stationery Office), vol. 16, no. 2013.
- ⁷³ HCA 3760.
- ⁷⁴ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.126, 133, 136.

- ⁷⁵ *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield during part of 1298 and 1290*, ed. J. Webb (Camden Soc. 1854), p.221.
- ⁷⁶ *Register of Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford 1275–1282*, trans. R. G. Griffiths (1906), pp.76–7.
- ⁷⁷ HCA 3712, 3724; *English Episcopal Acta 35: Hereford 1234 - 75*, no. 159.
- ⁷⁸ TNA, C 241/40/27 (from Discovery catalogue, accessed 5 Feb. 2018); VCH Herefs., *Eastnor*, 24.
- ⁷⁹ HCA 290.
- ⁸⁰ TNA, CP 25/1/82/38, nos. 27, 29: from medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/abstracts, accessed 28 May 2018; HAS, AH 82/29.
- ⁸¹ *Register of John Trillek Bishop of Hereford 1344 – 1360*, ed. J. H. Parry (1910), pp.475, 481, 488, 492.
- ⁸² TNA, C 143/431/3.
- ⁸³ HAS, K 11/3272 (i).
- ⁸⁴ TNA, C 1/1145/72; VCH Herefs., *Bosbury*, 24.
- ⁸⁵ HAS AA 59/A/1, p.133; TNA, PROB 11/2B, will of Thomas Walwyn; www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume1386-1421, accessed 31 May 2018.
- ⁸⁶ TNA, CP 25/1/83/54, no. 10: medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/abstracts, accessed 29 May 2018.
- ⁸⁷ HAS, CF 50/178 (TS calendar of BL Add. Ch. 72851), Heref F 28.
- ⁸⁸ *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, vol. 6, pp.355 – 6.
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- ⁹¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, xi, no. 496 (p. 376).
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- ⁹⁵ e.g. HCA 3673, 3664.
- ⁹⁶ *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W.W. Capes (1908), p.73; HCA 3665.
- ⁹⁷ HCA 7018/3, p.20.
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- ⁹⁹ HCA 1888
- ¹⁰⁰ TNA, PROB11/2B, will of Thomas Walwyn; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, vol. 55, *MSS in Various Collections* (1903) [Cd 932], p.295 (Talbot/Shrewsbury deeds LL 11).
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- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* CF50/178 (TS Cal of BL Add Ch 72701) Heref I 35; HCA, 7018/1/2, p.84.
- ¹⁰⁸ HCA 7018/2, p.87.
- ¹⁰⁹ Eastnor Castle Muniments, Case 4
- ¹¹⁰ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.139, 141.
- ¹¹¹ HCA 3712
- ¹¹² HAS, K11/3272 (i), (ii).
- ¹¹³ BL Add MS 15555, f. 1v.
- ¹¹⁴ HER 5334
- ¹¹⁵ Many references to Leden are to the settlement in Bishop's Frome later called Leadon Court: Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-names*, p.101.
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- ¹¹⁷ TNA, JUST 1/301, 302.
- ¹¹⁸ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.129.
- ¹¹⁹ HCA 7018/3, pp.71 – 2; *Ibid.* 3312a.
- ¹²⁰ M.A. Faraday, *Herefordshire taxes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Hereford, 2005), p.67
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- ¹²² TNA, CP25/1/80/3, no. 14 from <http://aalt.law.uh.edu>, accessed 5 July 2018. I am grateful to John Freeman for drawing my attention to this reference, and for discussing the place-name with me.
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- ¹²⁴ HAS, AA59/A/1, p.141; TNA, CP40/212A.
- ¹²⁵ HCA 290.
- ¹²⁶ TNA CP25/1/82/42, no. 128: medievalgenealogy.org.uk, accessed 30 June 2018.
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- ¹³¹ *Ibid.* 7018/2, p.54; HAS, AA59/A/1, p.134; *Register of Richard Swinfield bishop of Hereford 1283 - 1317*, ed. W. W. Capes (1909), p.404.
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- ¹³³ *Ibid.* p.134.
- ¹³⁴ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.126, 136m 137, 141.
- ¹³⁵ Register of Richard Swinfield, p.505.
- ¹³⁶ HCA 1751, 1798; HAS, AH82/23, 28.
- ¹³⁷ HCA 7018/1, pp.3 – 5.
- ¹³⁸ HAS, AA59/A/1, pp.134, 135, 137, 138.
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- ¹⁴⁰ HAS, G37/II/60; *Ibid.* AA59/A/1, p.134
- ¹⁴¹ David Walker , 'Some Charters Relating to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester', *An Early Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* , ed. Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (Pipe Roll Soc. 1962), pp.257, 266.
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- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 3309, 3310a, 3311; *Ibid.* 7018/3, p.105.
- ¹⁴⁴ HCA 7018/1, p.46.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (His Majesty's Stationery Office), vol. 3, no. D488 on p.463.
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- ¹⁴⁷ *English Episcopal Acta xxxv: Hereford 1234 – 1275*, Appendix 1, no. xvii.
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The Cross Slab Grave Covers remaining in Aconbury Priory Church

by SALLY BADHAM

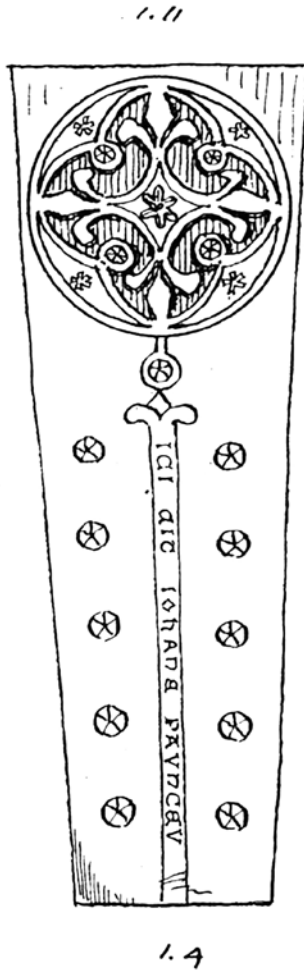
When Aconbury Priory church was closed in 1974, most of the fixtures and fittings were removed. However, the old floor was left intact, including the incised cross slab grave covers, although it is evident that at some stage most, if not all, have been rearranged. They are an important collection, chiefly of typical Herefordshire types, although it is evident from comparison with antiquarian drawings that they have suffered badly since the church became redundant, probably largely as a result of damp. There are six in total, ranging in date from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth centuries and all apparently in a light-coloured limestone, although the exceptionally dirty and dusty state of the church makes examination difficult.

There is very little literature on the Aconbury cross slabs. A brief description is in the entry for the church in the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments volume¹ and the revised edition of Pevsner's Buildings of England volume on Herefordshire has but a few notes.² Wade and Wade's *Little Guide* volume has more detail.³ Frank Greenhill never visited the church in his nationwide survey of incised slabs.⁴ Antiquarian notes are of no help: Duncombe does not cover the parish, and there is nothing in Glynne's church notes for the county.⁵ Similarly Symond's 'Diary'⁶ and Dineley's 'History from Marble' are both silent on the church.⁷ However, three of the cross slabs were drawn by W.D. Sweeting (1839-1913),⁸ and two illustrated by Dr Henry Bull in 1885.⁹ The incised cross slabs are discussed in the order that they appear in the RCHM volume.

RCHM (1) Cross slab to Joan Pauncefoot

This near-complete cross slab is situated in the north-east part of the chancel. The foot of the cross is lost and the slab is slightly trimmed at the right-hand side. The remains are 167cm long, 58cm wide at the top narrowing to 44cm at the bottom. The design features an elaborate sunk cross botonée head with fleur-de-lis terminals within a circle (Figs 1 & 2; Plates 2.1, 2.2).

It has suffered very little deterioration since Dr Bull drew it (Fig. 2), although the bottom of the slab has been trimmed.¹⁰ There is a rosette at the centre of the head and others at the cusps of the circle. Herefordshire cross slabs show a great variety of design but something similar to this one can be seen in the churchyard at Ross-on-Wye. However, there is an even closer parallel for this Aconbury slab at St Weonards, close to the Monmouthshire border, memorialising a priest with symbols of a chalice and a book flanking the cross stem. Additional rosettes flank the stem of the cross at Aconbury. Rosettes are typical of late thirteenth-century Herefordshire cross slabs and perhaps also appear into the beginning of the fourteenth. The stem has an incised inscription in Lombardic letters 'ICI GIT JOHANNE PAUNV[EFOOT] (Here lies Joan Pauncefoot)'. The Pauncefoots were an important knightly family of the Welsh Marches, holding the manors of Hasfield (Gloucestershire), Bentley (Worcestershire), Much Cowarne (Herefordshire) and the castle and lordship of Crickhowell in Wales. They do not seem to have settled on any one particular burial place. Sir Aymer (d. 1332)'s damaged effigy is at Crickhowell, Constance, wife of Sir Grimbald Pauncefoot, was buried in Hasfield (effigy now lost), and Sir Grimbald



S.6

Aconbury Church Hereford.
Woolhope: Trans:
1884



Slab to Johane Pauncefoot



Seal of Aconbury Priory
1447.

R. CLARKE
DEL.

Figure 1. Drawing by Sweeting of cross slab to Joan Pauncefoot. RCHM (1).

Figure 2. Drawing by Dr Henry Bull of cross slab to Joan Pauncefoot, *TWNFC* 1885, after p.308

Pauncefoot (d. 1314), at Much Cowarne.¹¹ The arms on a fine carved tomb at Ledbury tomb of c.1360 are those of Pauncefoot and Carew. The most likely candidate is one of Grimbauld's sisters, perhaps Maude de Pauncefoot, wife of Sir Thomas Carew (d. 1334). Unfortunately, we do not know her date of death. Joan Pauncefoot has not been traced, although she may have been a nun or, more likely, prioress of Aconbury.¹²

RCHM (2)

This complete cross-slab is in the north-east part of the chancel adjacent to no. 1. It has an eighteenth-century inscription added. It is 196cm long, 60cm wide at the top narrowing to 49cm at the bottom. The surface is flaking, resulting in some loss of detail. The design features a straight-arm cross with elaborate fleur-de-lis terminals in sunk relief within a circle (Plates 2.3-

2.5). This circle is deeply cusped, each cusp also having an elaborate fleur-de-lis terminal. The type of stylised, degenerate stiff leaf which makes up the terminals of this cross head is difficult to date; more evidence such as inscriptions is needed to help with sorting out the date range for this type of cross head. The stem ends in a large cinquefoil circle with a rosette in the centre, although this is difficult to see given the large amount of flaking of the surface. It is a typical mid- to late-thirteenth-century Herefordshire cross slab, except in that the base is hard to parallel. The closest exemplar is at Bosbury, except that there are four cusps, not five, and it differs in not being confined within a circle.

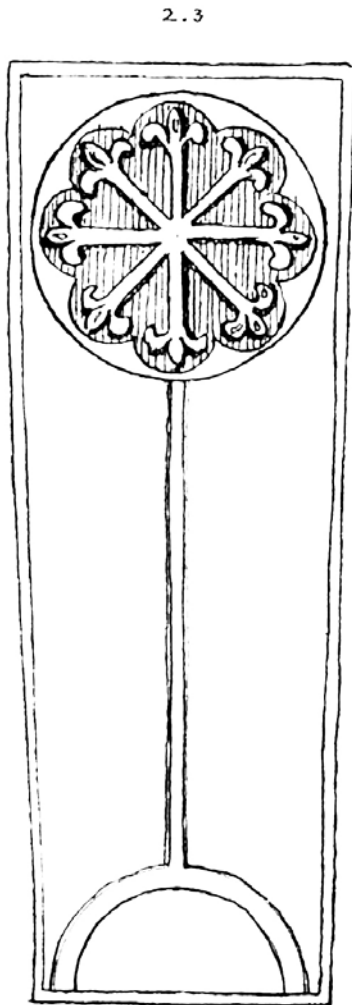


Figure 3. Drawing by Sweeting, RCHM (3).

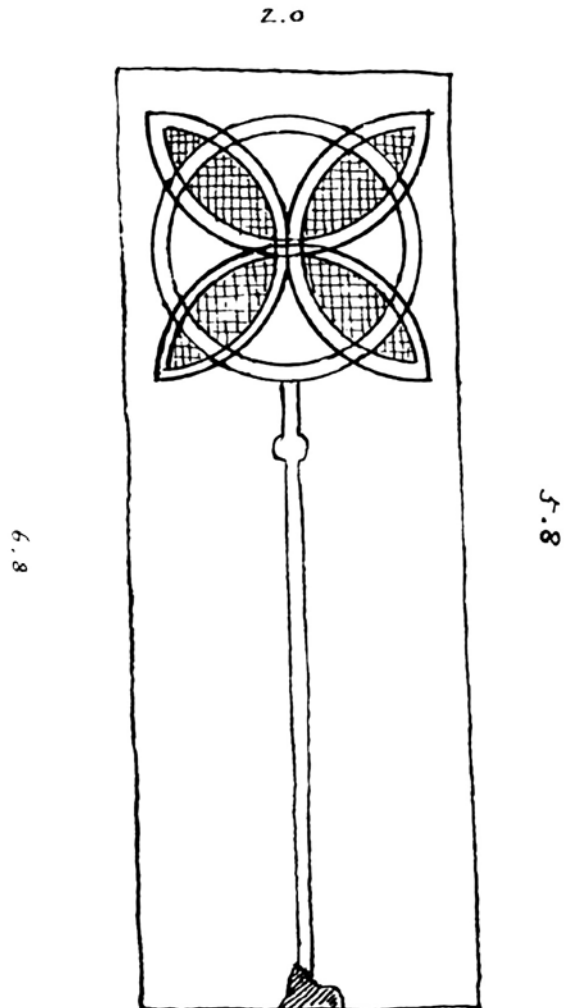


Figure 4. Drawing by Sweeting, RCHM (4).

RCHM (3)

This complete cross slab is in the south-east part of the chancel. It is 207cm long, 71cm at the top tapering to 64cm at the bottom. It has a sunk relief eight-armed cross head with simple fleur-de-lis terminals within a cusped circle and a simple semi-circular base (Fig. 3, Plate 2.6). It is a typical Herefordshire type of the late thirteenth century.

RCHM (4)

This complete cross slab is also in the south-east part of the chancel, adjacent to no. 3. It is 172cm long, 62cm wide at the top tapering to 54cm at the bottom. The surface is very much degraded and friable, much of it in the process of flaking away (Fig. 4; Plates 2.7, 2.8). The slab features a low relief cross head formed of intersecting segments, with recessed areas between emphasising the cross shape, which overlaps the circle. It dates from the mid thirteenth century. There are a number of slabs of this design in Herefordshire, although often not well preserved. One good parallel is at Fawley and a virtually similar slab from Credenhill is illustrated by Sweeting.¹³

RCHM (5) Cross-slab to Maud de Gournay

The slab is the most interesting of the group.¹⁴ It is located in an arched recess on the north side of the church but did not originally belong there. It is 221cm long, 67cm wide at the top tapering to 59cm at the bottom. It has been slightly trimmed at the bottom, leading to the loss of part of the inscription. It is now in a very

poor state of preservation with much loss of surface detail, perhaps due to damp and having had the metal structures of the Three Choirs Festival stored on top of it, but fortunately a drawing

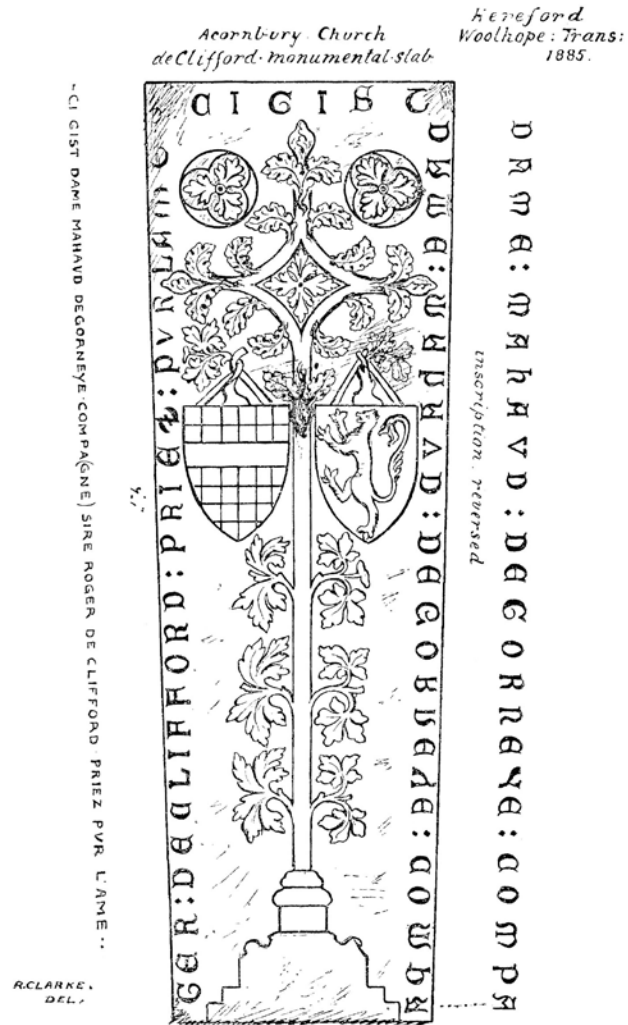


Figure 5. Drawing by Dr Henry Bull of cross slab to Maud de Gournay, RCHM (5), *TWNFC* 1885, after p.308.

by Bull shows the full composition (Fig. 5, Plates 2.9- 2.14). The inscription is most unusual, being partly in normal script and partly in retrospect, also known by German epigraphers as *boustophedon*. There are three other examples of retrospect on monuments, all dating from before c.1350. Closest to Aconbury is the effigial monument at Brecon (Brecknockshire, Wales) commemorating Walter and Christina Awbrey. Examples further afield are at Stow (Lincolnshire) commemorating Emma wife of Fulk and at Easton-on the Hill (Northamptonshire) commemorating an unknown lady. The Romanesque font at Southrop (Gloucestershire) features virtues named in normal script and vices named in retrospect. The positioning of the retrospect portion of the Aconbury slab suggests that, in order for the priest saying obits to read it, it would have been positioned on the south side of the church.¹⁵

The slab features an unusual incised cross design. The cross head is of the cross botonée type, with terminals. Either side of the head is a roundel within which is a tri-lobed feature with delicately incised leaf decoration. There are additional sprigs of foliage depending from the head. Two sprigs have hanging from them shields with the arms of (a) *Chequy or and azure, a bend gules* for Clifford and (b) *Or lion sable* for Gornay. This is a quite exceptional feature. Shields are sometimes found on cross slabs to show the descent of the high-born person commemorated. At Eardisland on a slab thought to commemorate Alice (d. after 1369), daughter and heiress of Sir Peter de Breuse and wife of Ralph St Owen of Garnston and Burton (d. c.1355), there are three shields between the cross and the canopy. Examples of shields in direct association with the cross are rarer, although examples showing a single shield in front of the stem can be found at East Dean (East Sussex), Cromfield (Cumberland), Kendal (Cumberland) and Cockfield (Co. Durham). Interestingly, the East Dean slab displays the arms *Azure cruzilly and three cinquefoils or* for Bardolph, impaling *Or a lion rampant sable within a border gules* for de Gurney.¹⁶ Thomas Bardolph married Julianne, daughter of Hugh de Gurney and died in 1289. An even closer comparison for the shields at Aconbury is a relief cross at Haughmond Abbey (Shropshire), where the shield hangs from the intersection of the cross and is displayed at the front of the stem. The fruited stem of the cross, featuring sprigs of oak and maple leaves, is unusual in Herefordshire. This imagery is thought to have been derived from Tree of Life imagery, believed to originate in Persian Art. The foot of the slab has a moulded architectural base; again a good parallel for this is the Eardisland slab.

Round the perimeter of the Aconbury slab is an inscription once inlaid in brass Lombardic letters (with diamond stops between words), part in retrospect. It reads 'ICI GIST DAME MAHAUD DE GORNEYE COMPA[GNE] ... [RO]GER DE CLIFFORD PRIEZ PVR LALME (Here lies Dame Maud de Gorneye consort ... Roger de Clifford pray for her soul)'. The size (5cm high) and outlines of the lettering point to it being of the type known as Main Group size 1. These letters are thought to have been cast centrally in London and supplied to various workshops, both in London and around the country. Their use here points to a date after 1290 but before 1350. The cross botonée head and moulded architectural calvary suggest a date in the fourteenth century, perhaps around c.1320-40.

There are several Sir Rogers in the Clifford family, their dates of death ranging from 1231 to 1389, and in all but one case we know who they married although Maud de Gornay is not among the named spouses.¹⁷ Although an unusual term 'compagne' (consort) is used in the inscription, it does refer to a wife; there is a parallel on a semi-effigial slab to a member of the Conyers family from Denton (Co. Durham), but now in the custody of the Bowes Museum. The

most likely explanation is that Margaret was an unrecorded wife of Roger, 2nd Lord Clifford (1299-1326). Various candidates have been suggested for his wife, but none can be confirmed.¹⁸ He had no heir and was succeeded by his younger brother Robert. Sadly we do not know when Margaret died.

RCHM (6)

This is a partial cross slab on the south side of the nave, adjacent to and possibly partly covered by the chancel step. The current dimensions are 96cm long, 51 cm wide at the top and 52cm wide at the bottom. The slab has been trimmed on all the other sides, but part of the stepped calvary remains, indicating that this was originally an undersized slab, unless there was a large blank space below the cross (Plate 2.15). The head comprises a wide straight-arm cross with slightly drooping fleur-de-lis terminals. The feature at the centre of the cross head is eroded and cannot be distinguished, although the RCHM interpreted it as a heart. In consequence it has been questioned whether the slab is linked to the highly significant burial at Aconbury of Llewelyn's daughter, Margaret, who was married to Walter Clifford (d. 1263) after the death of her first husband, John de Braose, and who bequeathed her heart to be buried in the priory church of Aconbury.¹⁹ This unfortunately cannot be the case as the design of the cross is quite unlike Herefordshire cross slabs of the mid thirteenth century and more probably dates from the late fifteenth century.

Assessment

Medieval monuments, of whatever type, had a variety of purposes. Primarily, floor monuments marked out the boundaries of intra-mural burials. Memorials also helped to provide solace to grieving relatives and were crucial to the strategies by which families drew attention to their status and affirmed their position in society, whether they formed part of a noble elite or were of lower social status. Finally, they acted as a prompt for prayers, either from chantry priests or from other onlookers, the purpose of which was to lessen the time the soul of the person commemorated would spend in Purgatory. For this to be successful depended on locational visibility and the presence of identifiers, such as inscriptions, heraldry and merchants' marks on the monument.

Cross slab grave covers were a very common form of memorialisation in the pre-Reformation period, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In England they were superseded by ledger slabs at the time of the Reformation as cross symbolism fell foul of the reformers; curiously the same was not true over the border in Wales where these forms continued in use well into the Early Modern period. Only a minority retain inscriptions recording for whom prayers were solicited. The Aconbury slabs are typical in this respect. The explanation may be that originally additional details, including texts, were painted on the slab;²⁰ these would have been worn away over time. Cross slabs were particularly common in areas such as Herefordshire which had local sources of quality stone. They had two advantages over most other types of memorial. First, these simple compositions were cheap to commission. Secondly, being set in the floor they did not interfere with the liturgical purpose of the church and could thus be positioned in high-status locations, such as the sanctuary. It is for this reason that, as shown by the Pauncefoot and Gournay examples discussed above, their attraction was not limited to relatively-low status patrons. However, this form of monument also had disadvantages. Intra-

mural burial was eagerly sought. Floor space within churches was limited and there was a strong temptation for those in authority to remove old floor monuments and the burials beneath in order to sell the space for new burials.²¹ It is not uncommon for parts of old cross slabs to be found reused as building stones in churches or churchyard walls.

It is highly likely that the six such slabs remaining at Aconbury represent a mere fraction of those originally laid down here. A perusal of antiquarian drawings of Herefordshire cross slabs shows that many known in the nineteenth century no longer survive. Even the number in Hereford cathedral has reduced. As this article illustrates, they remain under risk, especially if not removed from redundant churches.

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Aconbury Priory Church: a National Monument?

by JOE and CAROLINE HILLABY

In 2012 the former parish church of St John the Baptist at Aconbury was acquired by the Duchy of Cornwall which, having embarked on an expensive programme of conservation, seeks to secure a sustainable future for the building. Since its closure in 1974 the church had been used as a store. This paper draws attention to the significance of Aconbury Priory through a survey of its history from foundation in 1216 to dissolution in 1536.

Foundation. King John's Grant

Prompted 'by the terror of approaching death', on 10 October 1216 King John proclaimed: 'Know that for the sake of God we have conceded to Margaret de Lacy three carucates of land [360 acres] to be assarted and cultivated in our Forest of Aconbury to build there a certain religious house [for prayers to be said] for the souls of William [III] de Braose, her father, Matilda, her mother, and William, her brother. And we instruct Walter [II de Lacy] to assign those three carucates of land in the aforesaid forest to Margaret'. The command was addressed to Walter, not as Margaret's husband, but as the man whom John had appointed as sheriff of Herefordshire in August. John died of dysentery at Newark on 19 October 1216.¹

He is not renowned for his religious foundations. His only other was Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, transferred from Faringdon in Berkshire in 1204, and this he did 'as cheaply as he could', a 'repentant sinner' at the command of Pope Innocent III.² Dugdale reports that 'John gave out of his Treasury one hundred Mark for the building this Abby [Beaulieu] in Newforest, and directed his letters to all Abbots of the Cistercian order, to be helpful to the re-edifying of the same out of their several Stocks'.³ This no doubt explains why Dore Abbey 'stood especially obliged to the Munificence of King John who, in the 17th [year] of his Reign, gave, granted, and confirmed to God, and the Church of St Mary of Dore, and the Monks of the Cistercian Order there, serving God, all that Land *tam in bosco, quam in plano*, which lieth between the Water called Dore, and the Rivulet which is called Trivelbrook'.⁴

Stephen Church notes that previous English kings 'had deemed it necessary to found a monastic community whose *raison d'être* was the care of their souls'. John's foundation of the Cistercian house at Beaulieu was for the 'love of god and for the souls of our father, Henry [I, who had founded Reading Abbey], and of our brothers Henry and Richard sometime kings of England, and for Queen Eleanor our mother, and for the salvation of our soul and of [the souls] of all our ancestors and successors'. Church suggests that John was 'trying to assuage God's anger' and that his foundation at Beaulieu was 'possibly intended as his own mausoleum'. The abbot of Beaulieu claimed 'not without good cause' that John had intended to be buried there.⁶ In the event, circumstances dictated that he was buried in Worcester Cathedral. (Fig.1.)

In November 1200 John had arranged the marriage of Walter II de Lacy to Margaret, daughter of William de Braose, at that time the royal favourite due to his powerful presence in the Welsh marches.⁷ Ten years later he had starved Margaret's mother and brother William to death in one of his gaols. Why should John have behaved in such an appalling way? Margaret's mother, Matilda de Braose, had a ready tongue and was not the most tactful of women, but 'a fearsome lord in her own right'.⁸ In 1208 she refused to hand her sons over to one of John's

messengers, who had been sent to collect them as security against her husband's considerable debts to the Crown: 'I will not deliver up my sons to your lord, King John, because [in 1203] he basely murdered his nephew, Arthur [Duke of Brittany], whom he ought to have taken care of honourably'.⁹



Figure 1. The effigy of King John. Photograph by Christopher Guy, courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral.

When Matilda fled from Ulster to escape the king the Scots handed her over to him, with her son William, and the two were starved to death in 1210 in one of John's dungeons, as recorded by 'almost every chronicle of the period'.¹⁰ According to the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* Matilda was found lying between William's legs.¹¹ Painter suggests that 'the quarrel with William de Briouse and his family was the greatest mistake John made during his reign'.¹² Was John, in his grant to Margaret de Lacy, again 'trying to assuage God's anger'?

It was such events that led to Clause 39 of Magna Carta: 'No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any way, nor will we proceed with force against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land'. William de Braose died the following year in exile in France and was buried in the abbey of St Victoire at Paris.¹³ Fortunately Margaret was married to the one man who could put pressure on King John, Walter II de Lacy.

Aconbury is not to be found in Domesday Book. Although today on a very minor road, in the thirteenth century it was on the main road from Hereford, via Little Dewchurch and Hoarwithy, to Ross. Aconbury Hill, the highest peak in the district, rises to 906ft. King John and Walter de Lacy, his sheriff of Herefordshire, were both well acquainted with Aconbury, as most

of the stone and wood used by Walter in John's reconstruction of Hereford castle c. 1213-16 was acquired from this source.¹⁴ Furthermore, Walter was master of the important manor which lay adjacent to its north-east, Holme Lacy.¹⁵ (Plate 3.1. Bryant's map of Herefordshire, 1835)

The Hospitaller Intrusion

Initially, Margaret looked to the Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem for assistance in her task of establishing a convent where King John's, and her own, will could be fully achieved. There can be little doubt that this decision was due to the close relationship that had been established between her husband's family and the Knights Hospitallers. Walter's father, Hugh II de Lacy who died in 1186, had granted the Order two virgates of land in Dinmore with financial support of 12s rent from twelve burgages within the borough of Ludlow, part of the Lacy honour of Weobley.¹⁶

Hugh's two older sons founded Hospitaller houses in Ireland. During Richard I's reign, 1189-99, Walter founded a preceptory, or commandery, of the Knights Hospitallers at Kilmainhambeg in County Meath, north of his great castle at Trim, one of the most formidable in Ireland.¹⁷ Here Free Hospitals or Frank-houses belonging to the Hospitallers 'appear to have been managed by seculars and to have catered only for members of the order when they were travelling'. Walter's younger brother, Hugh III, founded a preceptory of St John-in-Ards at Castleboy, some three miles from Portaferry in Ulster.¹⁸ In County Meath Walter de Lacy's lordship was unchallenged. The Hospitallers were therefore obliged to conform to his authority. In England, however, the situation was quite different. Here it was the pope who wielded authority over the order, which between 1135 and 1154 had become exempt from episcopal authority, making it 'dependent solely on the jurisdiction of the pope'.¹⁹ Margaret's knowledge and experience of her husband's foundation of the Hospitaller house at Kilmainhambeg, and his father's at Dinmore, may well explain her decision to look to the Hospitallers for assistance in her foundation at Aconbury. It is significant, also, that the Hospitallers already held lands near Aconbury. At the instigation of Richard I, Callow (see Map, Plate 3.1) had been surrendered to the Hospitallers by Worcester Cathedral Priory, to whom it had been given by Henry II.²⁰

The names of only three prioresses are known during the period 1216 to 1237. 'Margerie' is no doubt Margaret de Lacy and, one assumes, the first prioress.²¹ Petronilla Lestrangle (*Extranea*) is named prioress in an undated charter in which Roger de Clifford gave 2s rents in Lulham. She was presumably related to John III Le Strange, sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire, who 1216x1240 granted the hospital founded by his family at Nesscliffe, some eight miles northwest of Shrewsbury, with 15 acres of land, the mill and fishing rights at Wivelcote (Wilcott), and other items including livestock. In return the nuns were to provide a priest for St Mary de Rocherio, Nesscliffe. As Eyton notes, the priory had no property at Ness at the Dissolution.²² In two grants, each of a messuage in Hereford for 3s annually, Constantia is described as *magistra*, in one case 'of the holy house of the hospital of Jerusalem of Cornebir'.²³ She was probably the last of the Hospitaller prioresses.

Margaret de Lacy's negotiations with Pope Gregory IX, April 1233 to August 1237, and her triumph over the English Priory of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers

Unfortunately, with her knowledge of the Hospitaller order limited to the Irish houses, Margaret misunderstood its true character. By the spring of 1233, some 16½ years after King John's death, the election of a prioress having already been delayed for three years,²⁴ relations with

the Hospitallers had reached such a state that Margaret, imbued with her father's boldness of spirit, decided to take the case that the nuns of Aconbury should live according to the Rule of St Augustine, not that of the Hospitallers, to Pope Gregory IX himself, in Rome. At a time of severe tensions between Richard Marshal, 6th earl of Pembroke, and the 'alien' favourites of Henry III, it is highly unlikely that she was accompanied by Walter.²⁵

In her initial submission Margaret openly admitted that, 'believing that colleges of women could be established under their rule', she had at their request put the site into the hands of the Hospitallers 'without consulting the diocesan', and without Walter's knowledge. 'Some women were brought by her into the house, and were professed and clothed by the brethren; but, on her considering that ... they were bound to go to other places, and cross the seas, and that, in this case, her purpose [and that of King John, the saying of prayers for the souls of her father, mother and brother], would be utterly frustrated, she went to the pope, and in her simplicity stated that the said women had professed the Augustinian rule ... Margaret therefore prays the pope to overlook her mistakes, and to allow the said women to profess the Augustinian rule'.²⁶ Nicholson, citing Burton, notes that many hospitals followed this rule.²⁷ The Order of St John of Jerusalem records that the Hospital adopted the Augustinian Rule before papal official recognition was given to the Order in 1113, and that Raymond de Puy modified it in line with the Poor Knights' constitution.²⁸

Gregory's response suggests that he was not unaware of the character of the Hospitallers Order. He granted Margaret 'letters to the bishop of Hereford [Hugh Foliot, 1219-34] empowering [her and the nuns] to leave the Hospitallers and live by [the Augustinian] rule'. One would have expected this direct command from the pope to have led to action on Foliot's part, but this was not the case. He ignored it. The principal reason may have been the presence of the Hospitallers, not only in Dinmore, where according to Murray the commandery 'ranked as third or fourth in importance amongst the fifty or more' in England and Wales²⁹, but on his doorstep in Hereford, where Richard I had granted them an acre of land outside the city walls, on what is now the site of Coningsby Hospital in Widemarsh Street.³⁰ (Fig 2) Foliot was also aware that Henry III, like kings Richard and John, was supportive of the Hospitallers. In November 1217 he had prohibited the sheriff from disturbing the brethren or their tenants.³¹

Many will be surprised that it took Pope Gregory IX more than four years to enforce his command to Bishop Foliot. The Hospitallers were determined not to accept the papal decision without a fight. As Foliot failed to respond to his mandate, Gregory recognised that he was going to have great difficulty in getting the Hospitallers to accept his decision, and in April 1233 commanded Alex Stainsby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1224-38, 'to carry out the mandate addressed to the bishop of Hereford'. He added that if 'by reason of the neighbourhood of the brethren' the nunnery was 'suspected, then the elder women being left to take care of the poor and sick of the hospital, the rest are to be placed in other monasteries'.³² Despite Stainsby's political ability and experience as a chamber clerk to Pope Honorius III³³, Pope Gregory commanded William de Blois, bishop of Worcester 1218-36, another strenuous upholder of episcopal rights against the attempted encroachment of religious houses³⁴, to provide additional support. Like Stainsby, Blois had established episcopal authority firmly within his diocese.

The Hospitallers, however, then turned to the prior of the Benedictine abbey of St Albans, who summoned Margaret to a hearing some three or four days' journey beyond Hereford diocese. Unwilling to appear without her husband Walter present, Margaret did not attend. For this the St Albans judges pronounced her 'contumacious', and sought to fine her and her husband



Figure 2. Coningsby Hospital, Widemarsh Street, Hereford; former site of the Knights Hospitaller

£630. Here apparently the firm interest of the Hospitallers in financial matters appears, for their Hereford brethren must have known, as all in the city knew well, that Walter had strong relations with Hamo of Hereford, leader of the city's Jewish community. Walter was responsible not only for the reconstruction of Hereford castle, *c.*1216-20, in which the Jewry would find safety in times of danger, but also for the outer defences of the county, at Longtown castle, with its 'Jews Lane'.³⁵ This fine of £630 which the Hospitallers sought to impose on Margaret and Walter was, with little doubt, but the first of such demands. As Morton has observed, 'the underlying problem seems to have been the [English] Hospitallers' need to draw heavily on Aconbury's revenues to finance their actions in the Holy Land'.³⁶

In July 1233 Pope Gregory again referred the dispute to the bishop of Coventry, who the following year was commanded to revoke the sentence of the prior of St Albans putting the Hospitallers in possession of Aconbury monastery, and to proceed according to the contents of the former papal letters addressed to the bishops of Hereford and Worcester.³⁷

In 1236 a new and important actor appeared on the scene. At Hereford a diocesan penitentiary was appointed by Bishop Hugh Foliot's successor, Ralph de Maidstone (1234-39). As a member of the chapter, the penitentiary 'had special facilities to absolve particularly grave sins' including, one takes it, the neglect of specific papal mandates, such as that of Gregory IX to Hugh Foliot. Along with the bishop of St Asaph and the abbot of Dore, Maidstone was commanded in April 'to revoke what has been done in regard to the monastery of Corneburi, founded by them for sisters, under the rule of St. Augustine, about which there has been much litigation for four years, and an expenditure of 600 marks [400]' by the de Lacys. He ordered

both parties ‘to appear personally or by proctors to receive sentence’.³⁸ This was the second occasion Margaret had to travel to Rome, this time accompanied by Walter, in the hope that his male voice would achieve more than she could on her own.

The following month, May 1236, Pope Gregory’s order was expanded, to ‘put an end to the cause ... in regard to the election of a prioress, which has now been delayed for six years’ and ‘to remit sufficient information to the pope’.³⁹ The last prioress, probably Constantia, had died in or around 1230. Margaret de Lacy complained that the Hospital had impeded free election by trying to force their choice of prioress on the sisters. For their part, the Hospitallers claimed that Margaret had been exercising the rights she considered due to her as founder and patron of the house, acting as prioress and treating the property of the house as her own, until a new prioress was elected. Not surprising in the circumstances!⁴⁰

A ‘further aggravation’ was ‘the ill conduct of the Hospitaller priest appointed to hear [the nuns’] confessions and minister sacraments to them; they have also been despoiled of a certain yearly rent. Besides, Dionisia de Leche and other sisters, presuming on the favour of the Hospitallers, have put off the yoke of obedience, and refuse to obey the sub-prioress [Margaret de Lacy].’⁴¹ In April Pope Gregory had informed his judges in England of a complaint by the sisters at Aconbury that the priest whom the Hospitaller had appointed to their house had been behaving *nimis inhoneste*, ‘excessively dishonourably’.⁴² In 1238 Gregory ‘heard that the brothers kept harlots in their houses’.⁴³

For Margaret the final act came in August 1237, with Gregory IX’s mandate to his legate, Otto, cardinal of St Nicholas in Carcere, ‘to free the sisters of the monastery of Cornbury ... from the observance of the order of the Hospitallers, and to allow them to profess the rule of St. Augustine, the Hospitallers having for five years put difficulties in the way of their doing this’.⁴⁴ At last, some twenty-one years after King John’s command to Walter de Lacy that his wife should found a convent at Aconbury, Margaret was free to carry out the terms of John’s will and, with her nuns, offer up prayers for the repose of the souls of her father, mother and brother.⁴⁵ Certainly, as Sally Thompson has suggested, the expulsion of the Hospitallers will have caused ‘a modification of emphasis within the community’, leading to ‘a greater stress on prayer and contemplation’.⁴⁶

Aconbury Priory: the simplicity of the church

Discussion of Margaret’s conflict with the Hospitallers is important, as it explains the late date of construction of the conventual church of St John the Baptist that we see today. (Plate 3.2) According to the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, it was built c. 1230-40, during the time of her struggle.⁴⁷ This is not the case. For Nikolaus Pevsner, the architectural style of nave and chancel ‘is consistently that of the late C13’. This judgment was slightly modified by Alan Brooks in his 2nd edition of 2012 where he suggests ‘mid- to late C13’. Indeed it was noted in 1931 that ‘the buildings do not seem to have been finished in 1255’.⁴⁸ The church could only have been built by Margaret once her conflict with the Hospitallers had been resolved. In all probability it replaced an earlier temporary, wooden, structure on the site.

The outstanding characteristic of Margaret’s church is the simplicity of its design, reflecting King John’s command that she build a ‘religious house where prayers were to be said for the souls of her father, mother and brother’. It had no chancel arch, aisles or transepts. Nave and chancel are of equal height and width, thus forming a simple rectangle. What, one should ask,

was the inspiration for this simplicity of architectural design? Was it a natural reaction to what Margaret may well have regarded as the unnecessary ceremony of the Hospitaller Order? Or was she indirectly influenced by the Grandmontine ideal of simplicity which her husband had pursued at Craswall, built *c.* 1220? The Grandmontines certainly abandoned ecclesiastical towers and transepts although, by reveals, they carefully recognised the distinction between nave and chancel.⁴⁹

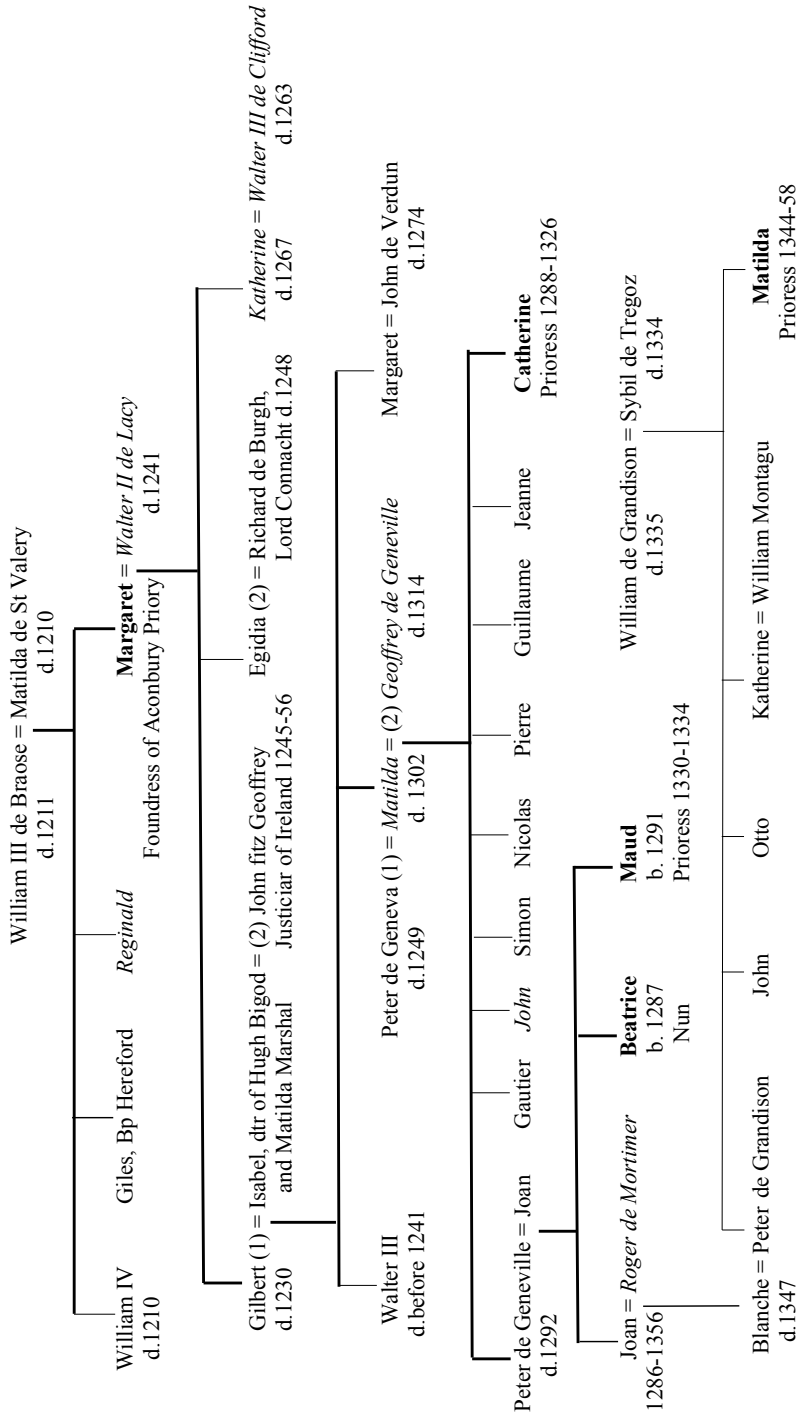
Or was Margaret, although a member of the Augustinian Order, responding to St Bernard of Clairvaux's trenchant criticism of the Cluniacs: 'Tell me O ye professors of poverty, what does gold and silver do in a holy place? To speak plainly, is it not avarice, the worship of idols ... from which you expect worldly benefits, not spiritual fruit? Money is carefully laid out, it returns multiplied many times. It is spent that it may be increased. By the sight of worldly and costly vanities men are prompted to give rather than to pray'.⁵⁰

With Limebrook one of only two nunneries in the county, Aconbury was small, founded, according to Tanner, 'for a prioress and seven nuns'.⁵¹ The patent rolls record that in 1267 Henry III forbade Aconbury to receive new nuns without his consent because it was 'burdened as well by the number of nuns as by debt'.⁵² Five nuns were recorded in the 1379 poll tax, which followed four attacks of the Black Death, and eight in 1539⁵³, three years after its dissolution in 1536. This is consistent with Cox Russell's statement that 'the nunneries declined to somewhat more than a third of their pre-plague membership in the half century following the pestilence ... a revival ... was apparently in full swing at the time of the Dissolution'.⁵⁴

Later Generations (Fig. 3. Lacy family tree)

It is not known when Margaret died. She certainly outlived Walter, being assigned a 'reasonable dower' in May 1242. Cooke reports that, following Godfrey de Gamage's death in 1253, his two 'infant' daughters were entrusted to the care of Margaret de Lacy on their mother's remarriage; but Henry de Pembridge, who was to be appointed sheriff of Hereford in 1257, paid a hundred marks to obtain custody of the lands and marriages of these co-heiresses, Margaret de Lacy being 'directed to sanction such nuptials'. Henry married the younger daughter, Elizabeth, who is referred to as his wife as early as October 1254. One assumes that Margaret was buried in her priory.⁵⁵

Little is known of Walter and Margaret de Lacy's daughter Katherine except that she was married to Walter III de Clifford, on which occasion her father granted him the manor of Mansell Lacy.⁵⁶ One of the earliest Aconbury charters records the grant by Katherine of all the land which she previously held of Walter in his Shropshire manor of Corfham, that is Burley, Vernolds Commonwood plus a further virgate and three nokes of land, a noke being a quarter of a virgate.⁵⁷ This may have been part of a divorce settlement, as Walter de Clifford married John de Braose's widow in 1232. Katherine's confirmation charter explains that her grant was 'for the purpose of sustaining one Chaplain [for Aconbury] to say mass for the souls of her father and mother, her brothers, etc, and her own, and also of the said Walter de Clifford and Margaret his [second] wife and Matilda de Longespee, his daughter, [who confirmed the grant] and Margaret her daughter', the last two evidently added since the original gift.⁵⁸ Henry II had given Corfham Manor, 'one of the finest Crown estates in Shropshire', to Walter I de Clifford 'for love of [his daughter] Rosamund', who lived openly with the king as his mistress in the mid-1170s.⁵⁹ In 1262 Katherine

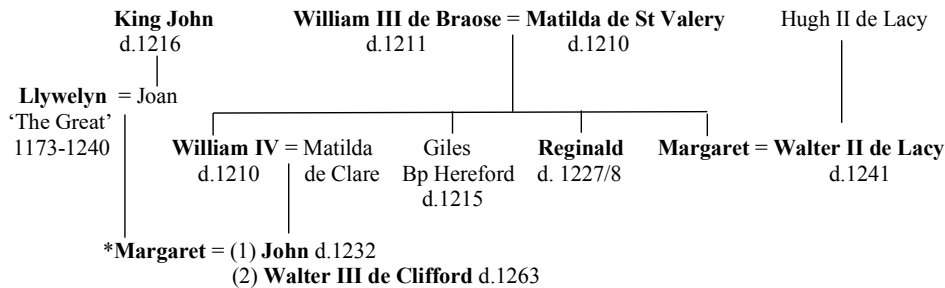


Bold: Prioress or nun of Aconbury. *Italic:* Grantor

Figure 3. Family tree of Margaret de Lacy

granted the priory rents in Stoke Bliss, then in Herefordshire but transferred to Worcestershire in 1897; it was held by Limebrook from 1302.⁶⁰ She died in 1267.⁶¹

Walter III de Clifford's second wife, Margaret, was a daughter of Llywelyn the Great and granddaughter of King John. Her first husband, John de Braose, ruler of the Gower, was the son of William and grandson of Matilda who had been starved to death by her grandfather, and one of four sons who remained imprisoned by him in Corfe Castle until 1218.⁶² (Fig 4. Braose family tree) Within four months of John's accidental death in 1232, Llywelyn had Margaret married to Walter de Clifford – the man who, declaring 'the king's writ does not run in the March of Wales', famously made the king's messenger swallow his writ, seal and all, and return to Westminster.⁶³



Bold: mentioned in text; * willed her heart to be buried in Aconbury church.

Figure 4. The Braose Family: some Marriage Alliances

As Roger Turvey points out, 'Llywelyn used his children to further state policy by carefully arranging marriages in order to cement alliances with powerful Marcher families'. His only son was married to Isabella de Braose.⁶⁴ When Walter de Clifford died in 1263 Margaret apparently reverted to the name of her first husband as Margaret de Braose, lady of Canterscliff, presumably Cantref Selyf, the area around Bronllys and Talgarth, one of the three cantrefs of Brycheiniog⁶⁵. Clearly she was moved by her first husband's family history, and Aconbury cast its spell over her:

'Be it knowne unto all the sonnes of our Holy Mother the Church that I Margarett sometime wife of Lord Walter de Clifford being in my free widowhood doe bequeath my harte to God and the Blessed Mary and all Saints to be buryed in the church of the priory of the nunnes of Aconebury neere Hereford. And with my sayd harte in almes fiteene markes sterling [£10] the sayd guift to bee speedily paid together with other expences out of the goods to mee belonging, to be hounourably performed at my exequies about the burying my hart according to the discreete providence of my executors in my last will to be appointed, so that if by chaunce through oblivion or any other chance whatsoever I shall by my will, or anye ordination goe against this present donation it may be of noe force. In witness hereof to this present writinge I have putt my seale together with the seales of ... Henry Abbott of Dore'.⁶⁶

Margaret's witnesses included the sub-chanter of Dore. This speaks volumes for the profound impression that the humility and simplicity of Margaret's foundation made upon Margaret de Braose, which she clearly preferred to the grandeur of Dore, whose abbot had put his seal on her charter, 'for the more solemne testimony hereof'.⁶⁷

The end of the Herefordshire and Irish lines of the de Lacy Family (see Family Tree at Figure 3.)

When Walter II de Lacy died in 1241 he was blind and deeply in debt to the Crown, members of the Hereford Jewry, and others. Gilbert, his only son, had been killed on active service in France in December 1230. Walter's brother Hugh died in 1242. Gilbert left three children from his marriage to Isabel, daughter of Hugh Bigod, to whom Ewias Lacy passed as dower. Their son, Walter III de Lacy, died shortly before his grandfather whose two granddaughters, Margaret and Matilda, therefore succeeded to the family lands in England, the Welsh marches and Ireland. The Pontefract branch of the Lacy family, on the other hand, continued until the death of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, in 1311.⁶⁸

The impact of Henry III's wedding on the Lacy heiresses

In January 1236 the 'simple and God-fearing' king, Henry III, married Eleanor of Provence, the second daughter of Count Raymond-Berengar and sister-in-law of Louis IX, the Crusader King of France. Thus, as Stephen Church points out, 'Eleanor and her Savoyard relations' dominated English court life, at the heart of the English political establishment.⁶⁹ The marriages of Walter de Lacy's two granddaughters to major members of this courtly group were arranged by Peter de Savoy, uncle of Queen Eleanor. A fellow Savoyard, Bishop Peter de Aquablanca of Hereford left a legacy to the nuns of Aconbury in his will of 1268.⁷⁰

Margaret, the younger granddaughter, was married to John de Verdun, second son of Theobald le Botiller by his second wife, Rohesia de Verdun.⁷¹ The elder, Matilda, was married first to Peter de Geneva, died c.1249, a son of Humbert count of Geneva, and then, by 1252, to Geoffrey de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleurs, on the Meuse in the historical province of Champagne.⁷² Geoffrey's older brother, John, was close to King Louis IX, publishing his *Histoire* in 1309.⁷³ Louis' queen, Margaret, was the sister of Eleanor of Provence, in whose entourage Geoffrey moved to England, where his surname was anglicised as Geneville. Geoffrey's close links with one of Queen Eleanor's uncles, the earl of Richmond, thus explain the marriage which ultimately secured for him the lordship of Trim with the grandest of all Irish castles.

County Meath in Ireland was divided between the husbands of Walter's two granddaughters. Trim and east Meath were granted to Geoffrey de Geneville, and western Meath to John Verdun. The Lacy holdings in Ludlow were similarly divided. With the Ludlow lands came a profound concern on the part of the Genevilles for Margaret de Lacy's nunnery at Aconbury. The story of their Braose forebears' murder by King John, the reason behind the foundation, will have passed down the generations.

The Geneville family and its impact on Aconbury Priory (see Fig. 3)

Matilda and Geoffrey had at least nine children.⁷⁴ During their son Peter's later years at Ludlow, relations between the family and Aconbury priory became much closer. As early as 1267 his parents had granted Aconbury priory a moiety of the rents of Ludlow's four mills, plus 6s 8d from seven burgages. Aconbury 'continued to collect £3 6s 8d rents from borough officers until

its dissolution in 1536'.⁷⁵ Later Peter's sister Catherine, the younger of two daughters, entered Aconbury priory, where she was prioress for nearly forty years, 1288-1326. Catherine was followed by two of Peter's daughters: Beatrice as a nun, and her younger sister Maud, who served as prioress of Aconbury 1330-34.

By contrast, Peter and Joan's eldest daughter, also Joan, was married to the infamous Roger de Mortimer, described by the *ODNB* as 'a man without political principle or political judgement'. Following his execution for treason in 1330 Joan was imprisoned, not for the first time. Not until 1336 did she receive a pardon for her husband's crimes and get her lands back. She died in 1356 and was buried in Wigmore Abbey.⁷⁶ One of Roger and Joan's children was Blanche Mortimer, whose magnificent tomb can be seen in Much Marcle church.

From his earliest days in the Hereford diocese, Bishop Richard Swinfield (1283-1317) was sharply aware of the power and influence that Geoffrey de Geneville had with Edward I. The first two documents in Swinfield's *Register* relate to a request by Edward that Geoffrey's fifth son Nicholas be given a canonry or benefice. Swinfield explained to Geoffrey that Nicholas is 'so young [barely ten years old] that he cannot have an ecclesiastical benefice conferred on him' but that he would 'meantime assign a pension of ten marks to him'. Nevertheless Nicholas was canon of St Patrick's and rector of Trim, 1283-95⁷⁷. It was Swinfield who in 1288 confirmed the election of Nicholas's sister Catherine as prioress of Aconbury. In his will he left her 5 marks, and assigned to her for her lifetime a silver cup sent to him from Ireland by her father, 'frater Geoffrey de Geynuyle', who in 1308 had retired to the Dominican Black Friary he had founded at Trim.⁷⁸ Given this background, one assumes that relations between bishop and priories were good. In 1294 Swinfield carried out an assessment of the property of the convent of Aconbury, 'which was not entered in the king's book'.⁷⁹

In 1290x1305 land in *Margiraweld*, as yet unidentified but possibly Merryvale Farm (see Map, Plate 3.1), was granted to the priory by John de Vaucolour, rector of St Laurence, Ludlow. The nuns were to celebrate his obit annually and to hold a service with music.⁸⁰ Installed as rector in 1290, John de Vaucolour was Peter de Geneville's brother, another of Matilda and Geoffrey's sons. On his brother Walter's death in 1303, he succeeded as lord of Vaucouleurs, 35km as the crow flies south-west of Nancy.

The Priory's Estates

The original charter of 1216 granted Margaret de Lacy three carucates of land. This was evidently not straightforward and there are many pertinent references in the records over succeeding decades. Two years later John Marshal was commanded 'to take the sheriffs of Hereford and Gloucester and 12 prudent knights of the county of Gloucester and ... assess reasonably for Margaret wife of Walter de Lacy three carucates of land in Aconbury, that is to say a carucate of six times 20 acres'.⁸¹

In July 1219 Margaret was to receive a hundred oaks for the nunnery as a gift from Henry III, which Carpenter interprets as an act of conciliation towards Walter.⁸² Subsequently it was alleged that Margaret wished to have the crops of the assart, and that Walter had 'set footmen and horsemen to oppose the justiciar'; Margaret had sold the hundred oaks and claimed a further thirty-three which 'no one will buy in the face of her prohibition'.⁸³ The response to this was that Margaret was to have peace touching the assarts of three carucates of land but anything outside these was to be seized and held until further orders.⁸⁴ Later, Matthews tells us, 'William de

Cantilupe, Hugh de Kilpec and Hubert de Burgh deprived the Priory of its lands in Aconbury'. Significantly, Hugh de Kilpeck, died 1244, relinquished and quitclaimed to Margaret de Lacy and the nunnery 'whatever rights he had as forester in lands and other properties which they held in free alms of the lord king at Aconbury'.⁸⁵ Matthews continues, 'in 1265, after De Burgh had fallen into disgrace, King Henry III restored the lands to the nuns, to hold to farm of the Crown'.⁸⁶ Nearly two decades later the priory was given licence 'to enclose and impark the wood granted to them by Henry III called Athelstanewod'.⁸⁷

Disputes regarding the priory's estates were much in evidence. In 1281 the *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* records the 'decision of the prior and sub-prior of St Oswald, Gloucester, ... relative to the tithes of the mill of Eton in the diocese of Hereford, in dispute between the convent of St Peter of Gloucester ... and the prior of Ewyas of the one part, and the prioress and convent of Acornebury of the other; viz, the nuns to have the toll of the mill, reserving to the prior of Ewyas the title of the fishery of the mill pool and half a mark payable by the prioress to the said prior'.⁸⁸ The corn mill, identified by John Freeman as being at Eton Tregoze on the left bank of the Wye opposite Foy, had been granted to the priory by Sybil de Ewyas who died in 1236.

Aconbury Cartulary

Aconbury Cartulary, TNA E315/55, consists of 194 folios. Most charters concern straightforward property deals, others quitclaims or confirmations, two (nos 44 & 66) record litigation.

Unsurprisingly, three-quarters of the hundred charters relate to Herefordshire, the most notable of which are mentioned elsewhere in the text, as are the major Shropshire grants in Ludlow, Corfham and Nesscliffe. In Hereford money was raised to discharge a debt to Jews.⁸⁹ Gloucestershire charters related to Kempsey, Westbury, Dymock and Tetbury, where John de Braose, died 1232, stipulated that the burgages were to be 'free of all demands and claims according to the privilege of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem'.⁹⁰ Other early charters also reflect the priory's original dedication, including one by Walter II de Lacy 'to the nuns of the hospital of St John'.⁹¹ In Wales Reginald de Braose, 'for the salvation of the souls of his father, mother and brother William', granted a burgage in Abergavenny⁹², one of the places mentioned by Bishop Rowland Lee in 1536, and in Monmouth the prioress, Catherine de Geneville, had to take court action to recover a messuage. The nuns were forever exempt of a tax on the ale brewed in their tenement in Monmouth, and on the wheat used in the process.⁹³

Five chaplains are named in the Cartulary and, similar to the grant by Katherine de Lacy, in 1263 Sir John de Turberville granted 50s annual rents for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate mass in perpetuity for his soul, that of his wife, his predecessors and successors and 'all the faithful dead'.⁹⁴

The bishops' registers, 1275-1535

Historians of Hereford's medieval diocese, its bishops and ecclesiastical institutions, are well served by the Canterbury and York Society's twelve volumes, edited with translations, of the registers of its bishops from Thomas Cantilupe in 1275 to Charles Bothe in 1535.⁹⁵ These throw a valuable light on the history of Aconbury Priory during these years, recording such events as admissions to the nunnery, elections of its prioresses, and presentations by the priory to its churches, as well as commentary and advice by the bishops.

In 1281 Beatrice de Gamages, whose election had previously been 'set aside as irregular', possibly due to illegitimacy, was admitted as prioress of Aconbury.⁹⁶ Beatrice is again named as

prioress in an undated petition to the king that, whereas they held land and wood ‘in pure and perpetual alms, of the gift of King Henry [III], formerly held to farm at 6 marks a year, the Sheriff of Hereford has exacted of them £136 for arrears of rent’. A mandate to permit the Prioress and convent to enclose their wood and grant them respite for two years for £20 due for their lands of Aconbury, held at farm of Henry III, is dated 19 November 1283, but it seems this petition came later. Matthews suggests *c.*1300, although by this time Catherine de Geneville was prioress, having been elected in 1288.⁹⁷

Much of what Bishop Cantilupe wrote to the nuns of Limebrook in 1279 no doubt applied equally to those at Aconbury. Having expressed ‘his pleasure at the zeal and loving union of which he found evidence at his Visitation of their Convent; he exhorts them to observe their vows and the ride of their Order; to limit themselves strictly to the fitting uses of chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, and cloister; to go beyond the Convent buildings only in case of urgent need or solemn processions. The work-rooms should be visited only by those who have duties there, and not even by them unaccompanied. Private property must not be allowed in any form, even when friends and relatives send presents for dress. Women of marriageable age must not be received as boarders. Care should be taken in the choice of domestic servants, and Confessors must be men of exemplary character.’⁹⁸ It is suggested that the *Ancrene Wisse*, ‘Guide for Anchoresses’, was written for nuns at Limebrook and, as Dobson says, it would not be surprising if a copy had been sent to Aconbury.⁹⁹

Aconbury Priory and the appropriation of churches

From about 1180 monasteries began to appropriate parish churches, that is, to receive their tithes and endowments for the maintenance of religious ordinances. Our information on the appropriations of Aconbury priory is drawn for the most part from the episcopal registers and *Charters and Records* of Hereford diocese. As William Dohar points out, ‘there were dangers of abuse here as farmers of benefices, when unwatched, could cut corners at the expense of the very purpose of the church, the pastoral needs of the community’.¹⁰⁰ In her recent study on the appropriation of churches, Kathleen L Wood-Legh concludes that no one ‘who remembers how the system was opposed by some of the best of medieval ecclesiastics, and sees the lasting harm to the parishes for which it was responsible, can seriously defend it’.¹⁰¹ As a Herefordshire example, in 1243 Pope Innocent IV sanctioned the appropriation of the tithes of Ledbury and Bosbury to support Bishop Swinfield’s table.¹⁰²

Four churches were appropriated to Aconbury Priory between 1315 and 1331, three in the diocese of Hereford, the other in Pembrokeshire. The first three were due to the initiative of Catherine de Geneville, great-granddaughter of Aconbury’s foundress Margaret de Lacy, and prioress 1288-1326; the last of her niece, Maud, prioress 1330-34. By 1349, the priory also had the advowson, that is the right to present a member of the clergy to a particular benefice or living, of Little Birch, as evidenced by presentations to St Mary’s being recorded in the registers of bishops Trillek, Trefnant, Mascall and Mayhew.¹⁰³

Bridge Sollers, St Andrew, 1315 (Fig. 5).

According to Cooke, it was Walter II de Clifford (died *c.*1222) who granted Aconbury priory the advowson of Bridge Sollers.¹⁰⁴ On 13 October 1315, ‘at the instance of Walter de Shopdon [Shobdon], whose sister is a nun in the priory of Aconbury’, licence was granted ‘for the appropriation in mortmain by the prioress and convent thereof, of the church of Bruggesolers,

which is of their advowson. By fine of 5 marks'.¹⁰⁵ On 18 December Gilbert de Reigate, rector of Bridge Sollers, granted his formal consent to the appropriation of his church by the convent of Aconbury. The following January he granted the prioress and convent of Aconbury an annual pension of 12d until the appropriation of his church was complete.¹⁰⁶ Gilbert de Reigate resigned in October 1321, and later that month Bishop Orleton commissioned the rector of Dorstone to enquire 'whether the provision made by the Prioress of Aconbury for John de Worcester, Vicar of Bridge Sollers, is sufficient'.¹⁰⁷



Figure 5. One of the four appropriated churches: Bridge Sollers, St Andrew.

Bridge Sollers continued to have an uneasy relationship with Aconbury Priory. An undated deed drafts an agreement between the dean and chapter of Hereford and the prioress and convent of Aconbury 'to refer their disputes concerning the tithes of a portion of Bruggesolers ... to twelve arbitrators, six to be chosen by each party ... both parties meanwhile abstaining from the collection of the said tithes'. If they failed to agree they were to appoint an umpire to act in their stead. The prioress is named as Anne, possibly dating the deed to the period 1415-46, when Anne Barry was prioress.¹⁰⁸ In December 1451 the bishop had to arbitrate between the prioress and the vicar of Bridge Sollers, concluding that 'the vicar shall have the greater tithes, and shall pay to the priory each year 16 bushels of corn, pure, good, and well winnowed'.¹⁰⁹ The following century the rector of Bishopstone was one of three signatories to a bond for £20 to Isabel Gardener, then prioress, that the vicar of Bridge Sollers, Richard Powell, would not bring any action against her in respect of his vicarage.¹¹⁰

Wolferlow St Andrew, 1316 (Figs 6 and 7)

Most of the manor of Wolferlow had been granted, early in the reign of William the Conqueror, to Walter II de Lacy's great-great-grandfather, Walter I, died 1085.¹¹¹ On 18 November 1276 John of Monmouth was presented to the church of Wolferlow by the prioress and convent of Aconbury, 'with the consent of the canons of Bromyard'.¹¹² In fact, there were no canons of Bromyard; as Phyllis Williams points out, Bromyard was a portionary church, as also was Ledbury. Whereas canons lived communally, portioners had their own houses.¹¹³



Figure 6. One of the four appropriated churches: Wolferlow, St Andrew.

Forty years later licence was granted, on 27 November 1316, 'for the prioress and nuns of Aconbury to appropriate in mortmain the church of Wolfrelove, in the diocese of Hereford, which is of their own advowson'.¹¹⁴ Not until 21 January 1321 did Bishop Adam de Orleton formally sanction the appropriation, having commissioned his Official to enquire into the proposal.¹¹⁵ The initiation will have come from Catherine de Geneville, prioress 1288-1326. Given the family connection, this appropriation is hardly surprising. In February 1357 the prioress and convent of Aconbury were licensed 'to farm their appropriated church of Wolferlow to any fit person for five years'.¹¹⁶ Robinson notes that the repair of the chancel of Wolferlow church was charged in 1541 to the confiscated revenues of Aconbury Priory.¹¹⁷

'Wulverlow', with such other English manors of the Lacy honour of Weobley as 'Walterstone, Staunton-Lacy, Ludlow, Malmeshull [Mansell Lacy] and Ewyas-Lacy', passed to Geoffrey and Matilda de Geneville's eldest son Peter in 1283. After his death in 1292 Peter's

widow Joan evidently withdrew to the peace and quiet of Wolferlow with her three daughters, two of whom, Beatrice and Maud, later entered Aconbury nunnery, Maud as prioress 1330-34.¹¹⁸

The nave and chancel arch of its parish church, dedicated to St Andrew, are of the early twelfth century. However, the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments draws particular attention to ‘the freestone effigy of a woman (possibly Joan, widow of Peter Genvile) in long gown, undergarment with tight sleeves, coif and wimple, head supported by angels, feet on dog, c1300’. Enthusiasm for the artistic character of the figure is expressed by Pevsner in his *Herefordshire* of 1963, where he refers to it as ‘an excellent late C13 stone effigy of a Lady’. The 2012 revised edition of Alan Brooks agrees, and continues: ‘Large number of parallel folds, especially the parallel row of angles down the legs, all still in the mid-C13 tradition. Mantle draped over her l. arm, hands at prayer, her dog at her feet. Two angels draw back the veil at her head, a most unusual feature, highly suggestive of Resurrection imagery’. (Fig. 7.)

Designated at Grade II*¹¹⁹, the church was closed in 2002 and at the time of going to press is being sold with planning permission for conversion to residential use.



Figure 7. Wolferlow, St Andrew: late thirteenth-century stone effigy of a Lady (possibly Joan, widow of Peter Geneville).

Mansell Lacy, St Michael, 1331 (Fig. 8)

Like Wolferlow, the manor of Mansell Lacy was granted to Walter I de Lacy early in the reign of William the Conqueror. It was subsequently transferred to William II de Braose on his marriage to Bertha de Lacy, returning to the Lacy family probably on the marriage of Aconbury priory’s founder, Margaret de Braose, to Walter II de Lacy, who in turn granted it to Walter de Clifford on his short-lived marriage to their daughter, Katherine. Several decades later, in 1289 Sir Peter de Geneville, brother of the prioress Catherine, was the patron of Mansell Lacy church.¹²⁰

The patent rolls for 1327 record the grant by Roger de Mortimer, Peter’s son-in-law, of the advowson of Mansell Lacy church, together with an acre of land there.¹²¹ Appropriation followed, probably in October 1331, a year after Mortimer’s execution, when the dean of Weobley put the prioress and convent of Aconbury into possession of the church.¹²² In 1340 the prioress and convent were ‘condemned in court to discharge the debt’, having neglected to pay the annual pensions due to the cathedral choristers of half a mark each from the appropriated tithes of Wolfelow and ‘Malmeshull’. The appropriations had been secured on condition of such annual payments.¹²³



Figure 8. One of the four appropriated churches: Mansell Lacy, St Michael.

The appropriation of St Nicholas and St Teilo, Penally, Pembrokeshire, 1327 (Fig. 9)

The most remote of the four parish churches to be appropriated, this was one of three churches claiming the body of St Teilo after the saint's death—a problem solved, allegedly, by a posthumous miracle.¹²⁴ The appropriation was due to the personal friendship of Catherine, daughter of Geoffrey de Geneville, prioress 1288-1326, with John, a member of the Barry family of Manorbier castle in Pembrokeshire, described as ‘the most perfect example of an old Norman baron's residence’.¹²⁵ The purchase by Aconbury Priory of fifty congors at Penally is recorded while Catherine was prioress.¹²⁶

In 1301 John Barry granted the prioress and convent of Aconbury a perch of land in Penally and the advowson of the church there.¹²⁷ An agreement dated April 1301 between David and John de Barry and Catherine de Geneville stated that the prioress and convent ‘may apply to their own uses the advowson of Penally’, but they were to have the Barry family chaplain to celebrate masses for the souls of John and his wife, Beatrice, their ancestors and all faithful. Following their death an Obit was to be celebrated in the choir.¹²⁸ The grant was confirmed in October 1327. In the interim there had been a dispute between John's son David and brother Richard over the lordship of Manorbier.¹²⁹

It was during the prioresship of Anne Barry (1415-46) that Bishop Spofford found ‘perylouse abusyon’ at Aconbury.¹³⁰ (Fig. 10. TNA seal of Anne Barry) The cartulary records the settlement in 1421 of a dispute between her as prioress and the convent of Aconbury and Eva ap Rhys who agreed to pay 9s biannually for land in Vowchurch.¹³¹ A few years later she is recorded as receiving a bond for 10 marks from the vicar of Penally.¹³² A grant by Isabel Gardener in 1496



Figure 9. One of the four appropriated churches: Penally, SS Nicholas and Teilo.

reveals interesting links with the Cistercian abbey of *Alba Landa* (Whitland), some twelve miles from Penally, from where Strata Florida was founded in 1164, and in 1527 she stipulated that a lease was conditional upon the tenants finding ‘a fit presbiter’.¹³³ At the Dissolution Penally was by far the most valuable of the appropriations, at £10 13s 4d compared with £7 9s for Mansell Lacy, £2 18s 8d for Bridge Sollers and a mere 16s for Wolferlow.¹³⁴

Life in the Priory

Eileen Power writes that it has been ‘insufficiently recognised that the medieval nunneries were recruited almost entirely from among the upper classes. They were essentially aristocratic institutions, the refuge of the gently born ... [which] is not to say that there was no admixture of classes within them’. She gives five motives for taking the veil: a career and vocation for girls; a ‘dumping ground’



Figure 10. Plaster mould cast from seal, originally red, of Anne Barry, 1447. PRO 23/2344. Courtesy of TNA

for political prisoners; for illegitimate, deformed or half-witted girls; nuns forced unwillingly to profess by their relations, typically for their financial gain; and as refuge for widows and occasionally for wives.¹³⁵

Much can be learned about life in the priory from Matthews. In the mid thirteenth century indulgences and remissions ranging from ten to fifty days were granted to those giving alms to the church by, amongst others: popes Gregory IX, who had rescued the priory from the Hospitallers; Innocent IV (1243-54); Alexander IV (1254-61); bishops Ralph de Maidstone and Peter de Aquablanca of Hereford; the bishops of Menevia, Llandaff, Armagh, Meath, Chichester; the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the bishop of Coventry. 'Also many archbishops and bishops this side and beyond the seas have given many indulgences ... And the total of the days of pardon is 1240, the total of the Masses 124 days, forgotten sins, broken vows, offences of fathers and mothers, whether by a blow of the hands or of the feet'. The Prioress and convent held 'the true originals sealed, which it appears perilous to us to carry about and burdensome to you to hear'.¹³⁶

In 1317 expenses registered by Dame Alice Ate included pittances made by Dame Maud de Nevill, Sir Roger de Mortimer, Sir Richard de Hereford, the Countess de Mortimer, Sir Edmund, the king's brother, and others. A charter of Katherine de Lacy, which Scott dates to c.1262, applied a 2-mark rent at Stoke Bliss to provide 2s pittances on the feasts of St Margaret and St Edith, as well as 20s for fish for Lent and 2s 8d for lights on the feasts of the Virgin and St Catherine.¹³⁷ There are later references to pittances of Sir Gilbert de Lacy and Dame Margaret de Lacy.

Fish included pickled and fresh herrings, eels and oysters. As part of 'the provision for Lent' 1316 a knave was paid 8d to carry fifty (salted?) congers bought for 20s 10d at Penally to Lydney, where two messes of 336 fresh herrings were bought for 12s 6d. At 5d each, conger was a highly-prized delicacy which, James Bond observes, was a popular dish in the household of Bishop Swinfield. Herrings by contrast were widely available and cheap. As well as the nuns, there were servants, guests and others to feed so, with an allowance of two to three herrings per day during Lent, 336 was not a large amount; any unconsumed fresh herrings would have been salted.¹³⁸ It cost 9½d for four men and four horses to take the fish and herrings from Lydney to the priory, some 20 miles as the crow flies. Interestingly, given that the priory had its own fishponds (Fig. 11), 12d was paid to fishermen of Wilton for fish in the fishpond. Geese were bought for Christmas, beef and pullets for St David's day. For Palm Sunday 6lb almonds and 3lb rice were purchased. It is noted that the Prioress went away on the Wednesday after the feast of St John Baptist (24 June), a not uncommon occurrence, as Scott shows.¹³⁹

Adam the bailiff's accounts for 1340 include the proceeds of sale of rusks (bark, especially of apple trees, according to Matthews), briars, and pastures; the agistment of 21 beasts; and receipt of 30s 7d for yearly rents at neighbouring Caldicot (see Map, Plate 3.1), lands, tenements, meadows and pastures of which Isabel Gardener leased in 1528 to William Weyle, his wife and 'too [*sic*] of their first children between them lawfully begotten if it shall please God to send them any such' during their lives for 20s half yearly.¹⁴⁰ Two-generational leases were not uncommon. Expenses included the 'free coffer of the Prioress for perquisites of court', 15s 10d; a thousand tiles, 10d; 4s for keeping the new mill, the highest upstream of five along the Wriggle Brook, to the bailiff of Rowleston (see Map, Plate 3.1), which had been granted in 1275 by John de Lacy on payment of 80 marks by the prioress and nuns; part purchase of an ox, 3s; and parchment for Court Rolls and extracts, 1d. Wages included 9d to Roger Wydheed for 9 days getting stones in

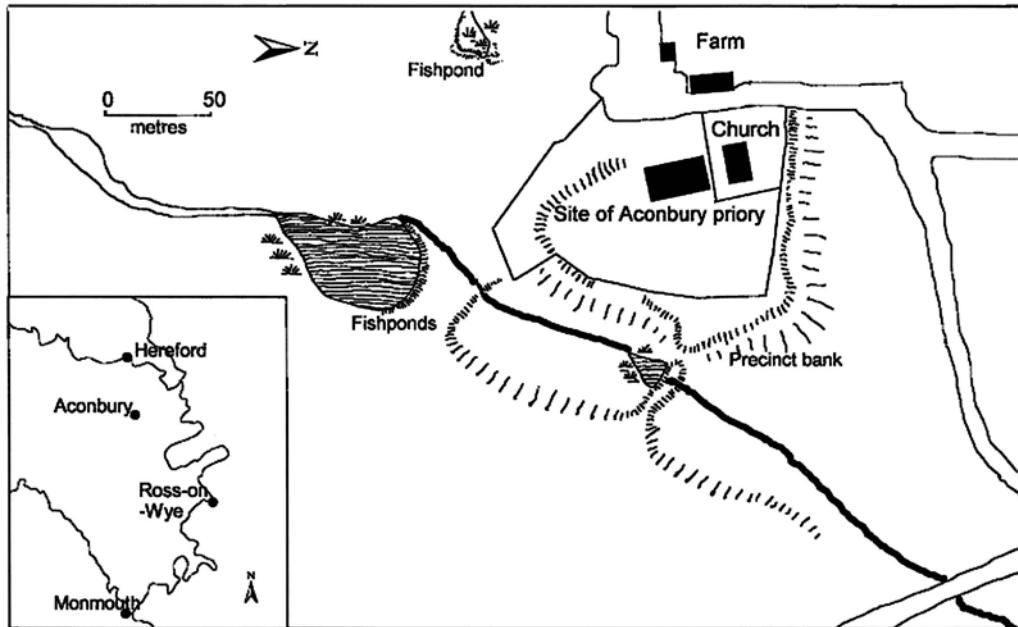


Figure 11. Sketch plan of precincts of Aconbury Priory, showing fishponds. Drawn by David Whitehead in 1980 and reproduced with his permission.

the quarry and mending the bridge at the gate of Court; 2d for fixing 200 laths to repair the hall; and 17d for mending the hey (hedge or fence) around Cruxden wood.¹⁴¹

The expenses of Dame Joan la Galesch de Bonshull in 1342 included 5 yards of blanket for the shoes of the Convent, freshening and currying the leather, cutting out and making 30 pairs of shoes. A later item was for grease to polish boots. Along with other provisions, meat was bought for the sewers and tailors, and the women who watered flax. A 'keler' (shallow tub) for the friars' room cost 1d. Thick twill was bought to border the loaned surplices, and 34½ rods of cloth bought at the Hereford fair in summer for coats for Convent, 26s 6d; shearing the said cloth cost 8d. For Dame Joan personally there were 30 yards of thick cloth, and a bench. Vestments received by Dame Matilda included six copes and eleven chasubles for ferial and festal days, twelve albs and nine tunicles. Two boys were paid 18d and 12d respectively to tend the cattle and the cows; tending the geese cost 6s.¹⁴² In 1344 the nuns 'produced 34 gallons of cider from their manor of Bonshill [Bunshill, granted to the priory in 1258], of which 24 gallons were sold; eight years later they sold twice that quantity from their grange at Malmshill [Mansell Lacy]'.¹⁴³

The receiver of corn accounted in 1348 for, *inter alia*, bread baked for the use of the convent on Sundays, bread for the poor, for horses, and 'for distribution on the days of the deaths of divers prioresses'. Grain was also given for ferry crossings at Hoarwithy and Wilton.¹⁴⁴ The bailiff's accounts for 1399-1400 show a degree of buying and selling. Hens, wool, cows, wheat, meslin (a grain mixture) and barley were sold. Thirty-six sheep were bought for 56s, sixty having been sold for £4 7s 6d, at 17½d each. Forty-five skins were sold for only 2s because they were putrid.¹⁴⁵

The same accounts give details of some rents, a pound of cumin costing 4d being paid to Kilpeck castle for the meadows in Kiverknoll. Concern is shown for the priory's tenants. Amongst the 'Defects of rent' is noted that the bailiff 'dare not distraint' in Foy, or levy in Ewyas, and at Monmouth Matilda Grandison, 'late Prioress', had agreed a lower rent. Elsewhere there was a want of tenants. Necessary expenses included the shoeing of four horses, salt, and gloves bought for eleven servants, which Matthews says were for hedging. In the bailiff's absence for twelve weeks on the prioress's business, a man was paid 1d a day before Lady Day, 1½d thereafter, to raise stone from the quarry and hold a plough. Barley was bought for sowing, malt and oats for brewing.

About 1400 a carpenter was paid 20s 10d for 30 weeks' work to repair the great cloister on the east, saw timber, and make the granary at Childesmalmeshull¹⁴⁶, whereas a tiler received 18s for 16 weeks, both 'less festival days'. Matthews notes annual wages, for the bailiff, £1; vicar 13s 4d (1 mark); six men working the ploughs, 62s; carter and under-herdsman 10s each; for the herdsman an astonishing £8. William Bruwer the baker received 52 quarters of wheat for bread to the hospice, and 30 for making the capital brew. The Friars Minor (Greyfriars) of Hereford, who Matthews suggests probably acted as confessors extraordinary, received 4 bushels 'out of the Lady Prioress' house'; 2 bushels were delivered to Roger Smith 'by my Lady's orders', and two 'in my Lady's house to the poor'. Wheat was evidently given as a bonus to such as William the Baker for bread and the washerwomen. The bailiff accounts for bullocks, cows, boar, sows, pigs and sucking-pigs, three pigs having died of distemper, two being turned into bacon. 'For pigeons nothing because they are used in the hospice.'¹⁴⁷ In 1453 Agnes King granted Robert Wylcop (?) property in Burley 'on condition that while he is able he will exercise the office of bailiff of this manor ... for the time of his life'.¹⁴⁸

Matthews refers to 'many receipts for sums paid annually by the prioress to the priory of St Guthlac in the late 15th century'. No reason is given. An entry in Bishop Spofford's register records that he had appointed the prior and convent of St Guthlac to collect the second portion of the tithe, but Aconbury was amongst those houses exempted on account of poverty.¹⁴⁹

Later Nuns and Prioresses

Various sources provide further details about the occupants of Aconbury Priory.¹⁵⁰ In 1320, during the prioresship of Catherine de Geneville, Dean John de Aquablanca left half a mark (6s 8d) to the nuns of Aconbury¹⁵¹, with another half a mark to Margerie de Conflens, described as *domina*. He also left 5s to the nuns of Limebrook to pray for his soul.¹⁵² Matilda de Grandison (1344-58) illustrates the high status of the prioresses. She was, according to Dr Bull, the sister of Otto de Grandison and therefore also of John, bishop of Exeter 1327-69, and of Peter, who married Blanche de Mortimer. Thus she was related by marriage to the Geneville family (see Fig 3).¹⁵³ In 1351 the archdeacon of Exeter received on Matilda's behalf 'five long mantles' left to her by 'Dame Katherine de Montagu, sometime countess of Salisbury'—her sister.¹⁵⁴

In 1350 Matilda agreed to waive the rent on a meadow at Ashperton if it was flooded.¹⁵⁵ In the same year Trillek's register records the 'dispensation of illegitimacy' for Joanna Blount, a nun of Aconbury who became prioress by 1363, when she granted a ninety-year lease of a messuage with land in Penally¹⁵⁶. Joanna de Ledbury, 1374-99, named prioress of Aconbury in Bishop Gilbert's register and elsewhere, was followed by Anne Barry¹⁵⁷ and Agnes King, named as prioress in 1452, 1453 and 1465¹⁵⁸.

From 1406 Aconbury is included in several references in the registers of bishops Mascall, Lacy, Polton, Spofford, Stanbury and Mayhew amongst the ‘benefices which owing to losses in the war or the poverty of poor nuns and hospitallers are exempt from paying the king’s aid’, those ‘which are under £10 annual value, and therefore exempt from payment’ or ‘certain monastic houses and churches which are exempt owing to their poverty’.

Bishop Thomas Spofford (1422-48), as Ian Forrest notes, ‘seems to have taken a special interest in female religion, in 1422 translating into English St Thomas of Hereford’s ordinances for the nuns of Limebrook Priory’.¹⁵⁹ This is not altogether surprising as, before becoming bishop of Hereford, Spofford was abbot of St Mary’s Abbey, York, where he eventually managed to retire to in 1448¹⁶⁰ and was buried in 1456, and had been involved with Henry V over the reform of the English Benedictine order. Whilst at Hereford he commissioned the reglazing of St Thomas’s chapel in the bishop’s palace at Sugwas, being depicted as a donor offering his heart to Anne and Mary; the window is now in St Mary’s, Ross-on-Wye.¹⁶¹ (Fig. 12)

A man of ‘energy and reforming zeal’, in March 1438 Spofford carried out a visitation to the convent of Aconbury, where ‘he found the “perylouse abusyon” of only receiving as sisters those who brought money or lands to the convent. Some rich women even retained money, and, living apart, provided for themselves privately’.¹⁶² It is notable that on such occasions he wrote in English, his lengthy letter concluding:

‘Wherefore wee wille that no sustre bot yoo that ben seke and kepeth the fermery after this tyme ete but in common place, and to ordeigne servants to bye their vitail and make it in commyn, and noght thus iche by hir selfe, of the payne of inobedienc. And for iche day that thei offend and eteth in privat place thei to faste in brede and water als mony daies therfor, bot yif ony bodyly sekeness lett thaim, forbedynge the prioress for the tyme that shee yife no licence to the contrary under the same payne.’¹⁶³

In 1473 Joan Draper, a nun of Limebrook, was confirmed as prioress of Aconbury by bishop John Stanbury, who left 20s to the prioress and nuns of Aconbury, the same to the nuns of Limebrook. Joan was not the first to transfer from Limebrook, Alice Opie having come from there in 1432 to be admitted as a nun at Aconbury.¹⁶⁴

The register of Thomas Milling records that ‘in spite of being so often absent *in remotis*, the bishop—or his agents—made some attempt to check abuses in the diocese. At least nine incumbents were deprived for immorality or for non-residence and neglect of duty’, including the vicar of Wolferlow, one of four parishes whose revenues were sequestrated due to ‘absence and neglect’, in 1481. He was removed from office the following year. Among the ‘thirteen aged incumbents [who] were retired on pensions of varying amounts’, Cecily Mason, prioress at Aconbury since 1481, was assigned a pension of 5 marks in 1490, with a nun’s allowance of food and drink.¹⁶⁵

There are several references to Isabel, sometimes Elizabeth, Gardener who was appointed in March 1490 following the resignation of Cecily Mason, and presided for some forty-five years.¹⁶⁶ As well as difficulties at Bridge Sollers in 1505 she was cited in a dispute about that date over a message in Bunshill¹⁶⁷, and in 1523 in a ‘release of all actions’¹⁶⁸. Richard Mayhew’s register includes a moving and interesting ‘profession’ by Alice Draper, a nun of Aconbury, in 1509:



Figure 12, Ross-on-Wye, St Mary's. Bishop Spofford (1422-48) offers his heart to St Anne and the Virgin Mary.

'I, Alys, professe and promitte by these presentis me to kepe from hens foreward the religion of sainte Austen, truly to kepe the speciall vowes of the same religion, chastity, voluntarie obedience, and poverté. In witnes of this I have subscribed this bill with my own hand'.

Similar professions, made 'in the presence of lady Elizabeth, prioresse', by 'sister Joyce', 'lady Cecilia', Matilda ap Huy and Margery Tomisyne, all nuns of Aconbury, are found in 1522 and 1525 during Charles Booth's episcopacy.¹⁶⁹

In 1534 Isabel granted a 'tenement with close lying under Shokenhill [Shucknall]' for 39 years, the annual rent of 4s, a rose and a pottle [half a gallon] of wine to be paid at the feast of All Saints only.¹⁷⁰ The last prioress was Joan Scudamore, whose nomination in 1535 by John Vaughan was approved by Cromwell. At the dissolution she was awarded a pension of £9 a year.¹⁷¹

The Dissolution to Closure in 1974

Aconbury was one of the religious houses with a revenue of less than £200 a year that was dissolved by the Act of Suppression of February 1536 which alleged that 'manifest sins and vicious and carnal living is daily used in such small abbeys and priories of monks, canons and nuns'.¹⁷² Allowing for eligible expenses, including 14s 7d alms for the poor in the form of rye, cooked food and money, 'anciently established for the souls of the founders', its net income was £67 13 2½d; Limebrook's was some £22.¹⁷³

As late as December 1536 Bishop Rowland Lee, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and lord president of the council in the marches of Wales, with a reputation as a hanging judge, wrote to Cromwell requesting that the nunnery of Aconbury be not dissolved. His reasons were that 'the gentlemen of Abergavenny, Ewyas Lacy, Talgarth and Brecon and the adjoining parts of Wales sent their women and children to Aconbury to be brought up in virtue and learning'.¹⁷⁴ Brecon and Abergavenny were both Braose lordships.¹⁷⁵ Ruth Richardson suggests that Blanche Parry was one of the young ladies who was taught 'vertue and lernyng' at Aconbury Priory, where she would have learned the culinary and medicinal uses of herbs such as the dwarf elder which the Reverend Mr Jones, vicar from 1940, asserts was introduced by Isabel Gardiner, prioress 1490-1534.¹⁷⁶ Saffron is also mentioned.¹⁷⁷

This is all the more surprising as Eileen Power points out in an interesting section on 'Nunneries as schools for children' that 'the reception of children by the nuns was never approved and always restricted by their ecclesiastical superiors', who objected to all boarders, whether adults or schoolchildren, 'for the same reason that they objected to pet dogs and silver girdles and with just as little success'. In Herefordshire Bishop Spofford wrote to the nuns at Limebrook priory in 1422: 'wee ordayne and charge you under the payne of unobedyence that no sustre hald nor receyfe ony surgyner, man or woman, weddyd other maydens of lawful age to be wedded, knave chylidren aboven eght yeer of age'.¹⁷⁸

Power concludes that 'possibly about two-thirds' of nunneries took children; that the children 'were drawn exclusively from the upper and the wealthy middle classes, from people, that is to say, of birth and wealth'; that the practice was a purely financial expedient on the part of the nuns, the usual rate for board seemingly about 6d a week¹⁷⁹; and that the education received was 'extremely exiguous', being limited by the nuns' own limitations. 'It was a general custom

among the English nobility and gentry to send their children away to the household of a lord, or person of good social standing, in order to learn breeding and it was not uncommon to send boys to the household of an abbot ... the boys who went as wards to abbeys seem often to have taken their tutors with them, or at least to have been taught by special tutors'. At Lilleshall the commissioners found four 'gentylmens sons and their scolemaster'.¹⁸⁰

Bishop Lee's comments would suggest that the practice of sending women and children to Aconbury priory 'to be brought up in virtue and learning' was well established. Given the very considerable pride the Geneville family took in their literary achievements, possibly either Geoffrey de Geneville's daughter Catherine or her niece Maud established a school at Aconbury during their prioressships, 1288-1326 and 1330-34 respectively. However, there is no reference to a school at Aconbury in any of the Hereford bishops' registers.

Bishop Rowland Lee and John Scudamore were both on good terms with Cromwell but did not see eye to eye. Lee objected to Cromwell that John Scudamore 'is a gentleman dwelling nigh the welshry and kinned and allied in the same'.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless Scudamore was one of the Particular Receivers of the suppressed lands in Herefordshire, a post from which he benefitted considerably, receiving Athelstan wood, some 121 acres, and in 1540 purchasing the house and lands of Abbey Dore for £379.¹⁸² As Jack explains, the work proceeded very slowly and, amongst the last, the Herefordshire sites were only just receiving their first visitations in September 1536.¹⁸³

What became of the nuns? In 1536 Scudamore recorded that six nuns received 'payments' of £2 5s 6d and 'rewards' of £7 6s 8d; sixteen servants, including 'a certain decrepit woman', received £5 3s 6d and £1 16s respectively. The report of eight nuns at Aconbury in 1539 suggests they managed to stay on, perhaps 'under the radar'.¹⁸⁴ More generally, Margaret Goodrich observes 'From a variety of sources we can piece together something of their subsequent lives. For some life went quietly on, for others it took challenging and surprising, if not eccentric, turns.' Five former nuns lived in the diocese c.1554, four of them in Shropshire. Joan Scudamore was the only one from Aconbury Priory; another had been at Limebrook. At £9, Joan's was the highest pension, the others ranging from £1 13s 4d to £4 13s 4d. She had evidently returned home, as she was living at Holme Lacy, 'of virtuous life, aged 60 and never married'. Some ex-religious, it seems, did marry: in Lincoln diocese at this time at least five former prioresses and a dozen nuns were married. As Margaret observes, no doubt their husbands appreciated their pensions!¹⁸⁵

Leland, writing about 1540, describes 'One Richard Philippes marchaunt of Herford, buried of late days *in cemiterio S. Mariae infra claustrum S. Mariae in septo ecclesiae [de Hereford], tegitur saxo quod erat super altare prioratus de Aconbyri*' (in the cemetery of St Mary, within the cloister of St Mary in the yard of the church (of Hereford) covered by a stone which was the altar slab belonging to the Priory of Aconbury).¹⁸⁶ In 1934 Francis James interpreted this as saying that Richard Phelips (*sic*), who died soon after the dissolution, was buried 'either in the west walk of the Bishops' cloisters or in the yard just outside it', and that the slab was 'possibly rescued by his widow as a sacred stone on the demolition of the east end of the Priory of Aconbury'. Alternatively, perhaps Phillips took it himself. James notes that it was 'unusual and doubtless an honour for a civilian to be buried in the Lady Arbour'. A brass plate to Richard Phelips, on the wall of the south aisle of the nave, asserts that he was mayor seven times although he appears only six times in the list.¹⁸⁷

Aconbury's conventual church was retained as a parochial church. It continued to receive notable burials, such as Sir Henry Barnard, died 1680, whose daughter Elizabeth married James Bridges, 8th Baron of Chandos, whose family vault lies beneath the chancel.¹⁸⁸ The last inspection of the church before its closure in 1974 was made in 1968: 'The main structure was found to be in fairly good condition, with the exception of the bell turret, but the dense growth of ivy and the badly maintained gutters pointed to a lack of maintenance.'¹⁸⁹

The Site Today

Of the Augustinian priory built by Margaret de Lacy after her defeat of the Hospitallers in 1237 only the conventual church survived the dissolution. The church that we see today is of the original thirteenth-century structure, apart from the east end and that part of the northern wall as far as the second window. The chancel was 'probably' (RCHM) or 'possibly' (Pevsner) shortened and its early fourteenth-century east window, with the bullseye above, re-set after the dissolution of the nunnery in 1536 (Plate 3.3) The mid-thirteenth-century northern fenestration of the choir was, however, lovingly retained and traces of grisaille glass remain. (Figs 15-17) The south wall retains the integrity of its original features, the two single-light windows and the two doorways, that on the west serving the nuns and that on the east their priest. Between the doorways the

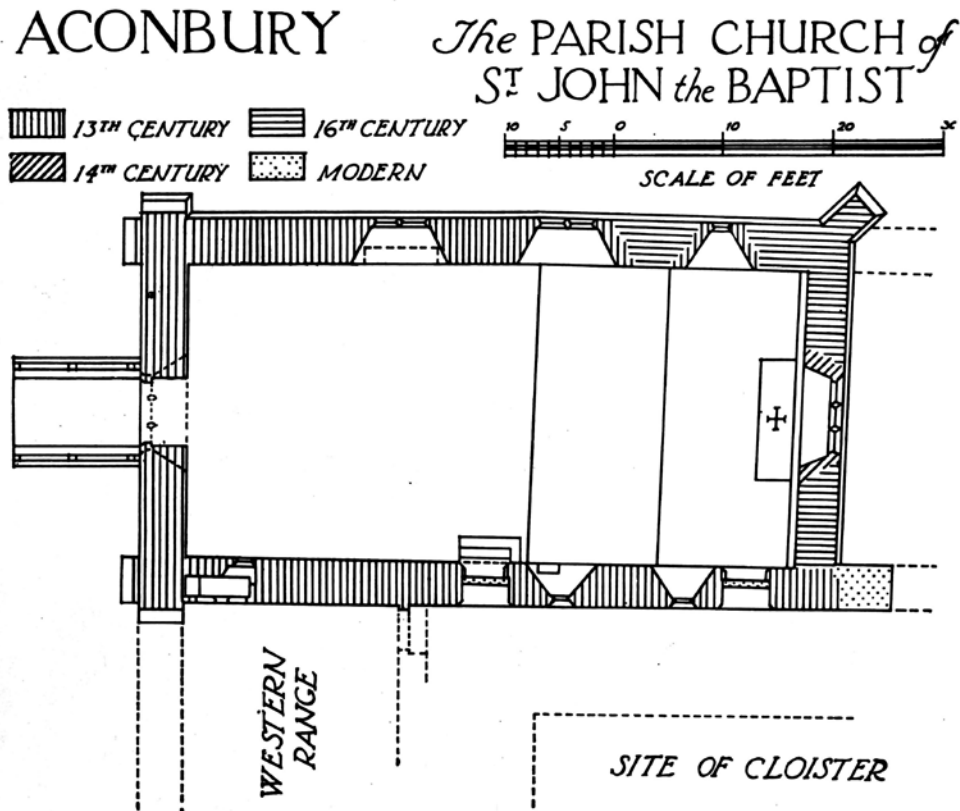


Figure 13. RCHM Plan of Aconbury Church, 1926, now in Historic England Archive. Photo courtesy David Lovelace



Figure 14. RCHM photograph of 1926, now in Historic England Archive, of interior north wall, showing windows with grisaille glass, wall painting, altar rail, pulpit, pews and recess by Maud de Gurney tomb slab. Photo courtesy David Lovelace.

church retains its piscina, a ‘recess with moulded jambs and trefoiled head, quatre-foiled drain with front partly cut away’.¹⁹⁰ (Plate 3.4)

Given the overall simplicity of Margaret’s church, it nevertheless has one outstanding feature, which is described in some detail by the RCHM. ‘Near the W. end of the [south] wall and high above the floor is a small chamber in the thickness of the wall; it was entered from the first floor of the western range of the monastic buildings by a doorway, now blocked and with a quatre-foiled opening set in the blocking; looking into the church is a small square-headed window; the chamber has a stone seat at the W. end and at the E. end remains of a string or label of doubtful purpose.’ The chamber is some 6ft long.¹⁹¹ (Figs 18 and 19). On its east wall have been found remains of a ‘possible figurative’ medieval wall painting.¹⁹²

Whereas the Historic Environment Record suggests that the chamber was for invalids unable to attend the services¹⁹³, the RCHM considers it ‘may have been used as a pew in connection with the guest-house or it may possibly be the head of the night-stairs from the dorter; in the first case the guest-house must have occupied the upper storey of the western range; in the second case the same building must have formed the dorter; there are, however, no actual remains of any staircase’, although a doorway at first-floor level is visible from outside. Manuscript notes ‘suggest a stairway, now blocked, leading down to the Church’.¹⁹⁴

The western range would have provided the premises for the educational facility referred to by Bishop Rowland Lee, the ground floor being the teaching area for these women and children, the upper floor their dormitory. The chamber within the wall thus connected with the dormitory, enabling supervision to maintain discipline. It may well have been created by Margaret de



Figure 15. Some of the grisaille glass in the north-east window.

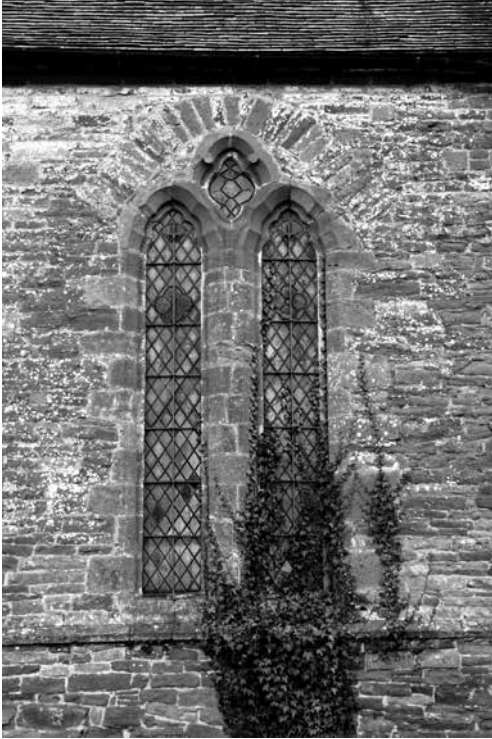


Figure 16. One of the two-light windows in north wall.

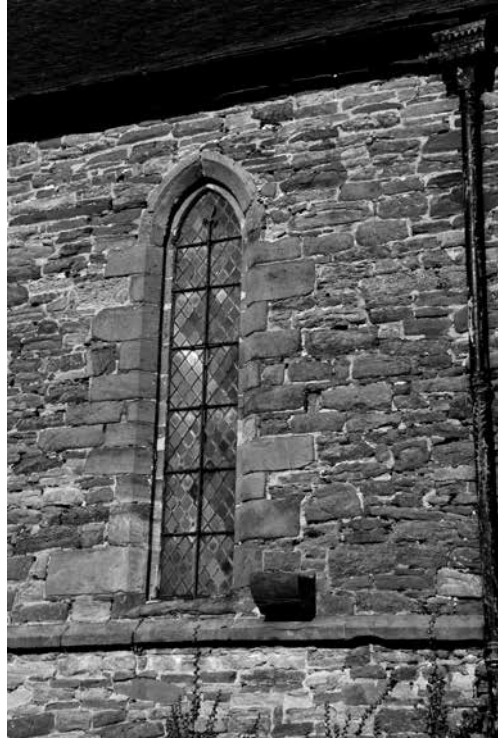


Figure 17. South wall: one of the two single-light windows in the chancel.

Lacy as a private chapel where she could say prayers for the souls of her mother and brother, whose horrific death must always have haunted her.

The west end of the church has a large thirteenth-century window of three trefoiled lights, with three quatrefoils in its tympanum. (Plate 3.2) It has been suggested that the two heads represent Margaret and Walter de Lacy¹⁹⁵; alternatively, perhaps Matilda and William de Braose? The fifteenth-century porch with its remarkable timber fenestration is a fitting companion. (Plates 3.5-6) In the 1940s the Reverend Mr Jones noted a fourteenth-century bell, now inaccessible, inscribed *Omnes Sancti ora pro nobis*.¹⁹⁶

Medieval wall painting

Remains of the original wall painting can still be seen, and the medieval scheme formed the basis for George Gilbert Scott's 1863 recreation. It was common practice in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries to decorate walls to imitate ashlar masonry, starting with single joint lines. (Plate 3.4)

‘As the convention developed, double joint lines were introduced along with flowers, scrolls and tendrils. Arcades around windows and doors were often picked out in alternating colours. Comparable schemes exist at Michaelchurch Tretire and Pipe Aston in Herefordshire, and Martley in Worcestershire.



Figure 18. Intramural chamber, showing access from west range.



Figure 19. Intramural chamber, showing window into church for occupant to participate in services, visually and aurally.

‘At Aconbury the ashlar is rendered with double lined joints in red ochre with inset cinquefoil flowers in blue; fictive quoins around the window embrasures to windows to the north, south and east side are painted in alternating red and yellow ochres with double lined joints in red ochre between them; the stoning and roses scheme extends into the window reveals as well as over the sills with the exception of the west window where the embrasures support a running tendril design.

‘The same scheme extends over the window tracery above the three main lights with two Consecration crosses, one in red the other yellow, set in circles between the quatrefoil lights above. The trefoil heads of the main lights are subject to similar treatment to the embrasure elsewhere with alternating red and yellow quoins. The outer mouldings of the west window appear to have been differentiated in the same palette of polychromy. The tracery of the larger windows in the north wall also supports painted decoration in the form of a diagonal diaper, possibly fictive leading, again with the edges double lined in red.’¹⁹⁷

Sally Badham discusses the six remarkable medieval tombstones yet to be seen in the church.¹⁹⁸ Sadly for the historian, she has shown that the slab described by the RCHM as a

‘fragment with incised cross with arms of fleur-de-lis form and heart in middle, late 13th-century’ is in fact late fifteenth-century. It is therefore not the burial of Llywelyn’s daughter, King John’s granddaughter Margaret, married first to John de Braose and after his death to Walter Clifford, who bequeathed her heart to be buried in the priory church of Aconbury.

The Cloister and Conventual Buildings

Along the eastern half of the south wall of the church, immediately below the two lancets, one can clearly see the line of the stone weathering of the cloister roof showing that it had originally occupied the northern side of the cloister. (Plate 3.7) This provides us with the ability to understand the character of the whole building, with its two doorways in the south wall, providing access for the nuns at the west and the priest to his choir at the east. Just to the west of the nuns’ entrance one can see the vestiges of the western end of the west range, including parts of the north jamb of a thirteenth-century doorway on the south face of the church, and the outline of the doorway into the chamber within the wall. The imprint of the western range provides valuable information about the width and height of that range, and thus evidence as to the layout of the conventual buildings. Built of stone, its overall width is some 27ft; of its length, however, we have no knowledge.

Sadly, little if anything remains to confirm the original structures of the other three sides of the Aconbury cloister, which will have extended east of the current church. We can assume from the design of other Augustinian nunneries that the chapter-house will have formed a part of the eastern range, with the nuns’ dormitory above, whilst the south range would have provided the nuns’ refectory. A kitchen at its western end will have served both the nuns and the visitors’ accommodation in the western range.

Conclusion

It is particularly characteristic of modern attitudes that such a remarkable church, which former ages so carefully treasured, should be considered an appropriate place to store the metal work for the Three Choirs Festival in the nave and subsequently random items which our parish churches considered superfluous in the choir. Even in the nineteenth century, when the church served but a small community, its restoration in 1863 was carefully placed in the hands of Sir George Gilbert Scott, ‘the leading architect of the Gothic Revival’ (Victoria and Albert Museum). We must be thankful that the Duchy of Cornwall, having acquired the building in 2012, has embarked on an expensive programme of conservation with a view to securing a sustainable future for the building.

A church founded by the will of King John, requiring over four years of direct intervention by Pope Gregory IX, and where Llywelyn’s daughter, Margaret, granddaughter of King John, bequeathed her heart to be buried, is surely ‘of exceptional interest’ and merits a Grade I listing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CAD</i>	<i>Calendar of Ancient Deeds</i>
<i>Cal Papal Reg</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 1, 1198-1304</i> , ed W.H.Bliss (1893) available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol1/
Charter	Charter in Aconbury Cartulary, TNA E315/55. Calendar printed in the <i>Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper Public Records</i> (1847) pp. 135-9 and Scott, pp. 163-268.
Cooke	W. Cooke, <i>Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in continuation of Duncumb's History. Hundred of Grimsworth, Part I</i> (1886)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
HARC	Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
Matthews:	J.H.Matthews, <i>Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in continuation of Duncumb's History. Hundred of Wormelow Upper Division, Part I</i> (1921)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, <i>An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire</i> , Vol. I (1931)
<i>Rot Litt Claus</i>	<i>Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> edited T.D. Hardy, Volume 1, 1204-1224 (1833); Volume 2, 1224-1227 (1844).
<i>Rot Litt Pat</i>	<i>Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> edited T.D. Hardy (1835) available at http://neology.com/timelines/JohnItinerary.html
Scott	M.E.Scott, 'A Herefordshire Nunnery. A Calendar, with Introduction, of the Aconbury Cartulary', unpub MPhil thesis, University of Southampton (2001).

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² Stephen Church, *King John: England, Magna Carta, and the Making of a Tyrant* (2015) pp. 128-9; S.Painter, *The Reign of King John* (1966) pp. 54, 153.

³ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1693) vol II, p. 242.

⁴ M.Gibson, *A view of the ancient and present state of the churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempsted* (1727) p. 9; Dugdale *Monasticon*, vol I, p. 102.

⁵ King Stephen had founded Faversham Abbey.

⁶ Church, *King John* pp. 128-9, 253.

⁷ J.Hillaby, 'Hereford Gold, Part II' *TWNFC* (1985) p. 200.

⁸ Church, *King John*, p. 170.

⁹ *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History* edited J.A.Giles II (1849) p. 248. The best account of John's vengeance on the Braose family is Norgate, pp. 287-8. See also W.L.Warren *King John* (1974) p. 81. For the most recent discussion of these events, Church, pp. 109-10, 165-6, 170-3.

¹⁰ Norgate, p. 288.

¹¹ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, edited with introduction by Francisque Michel (1840) pp. 111-15, available through <https://archive.org>.

¹² Painter, pp.249-50.

- ¹³ R.V.Turner, 'Briouze [Braose], William', <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3283>.
- ¹⁴ *Rot Litt Claus*, I, pp. 133-4.
- ¹⁵ *Domesday Book. Herefordshire* ed F. & C. Thorn (1983) 2.12
- ¹⁶ *Rotuli Hundredorum* II, p. 69; M. Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), p. 58. This predates the charter of Richard I which names Brother Thomas as the founder: Rev E.Hermitage Day, 'The preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Dinmore, co Hereford', *TWNFC* (1927), pp. 45-76 at 46. H.J.Harris, *The Knights Hospitallers in Herefordshire* (1944), pp. 157-62.
- ¹⁷ Hillaby (2016) Plates 3.1, 3.2.
- ¹⁸ A.Gwynn & R.N.Hadcock *Medieval Religious Houses. Ireland* (1988) pp. 333, 337, 335.
- ¹⁹ J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers. The History of the Order of St John* (1999) p. 61.
- ²⁰ B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names* (2009) p. 168.
- ²¹ Charter 8.
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- ²³ Cartulary, ff. 82-4; HCA, MS 477.
- ²⁴ Cal Papal Reg, p.153.
- ²⁵ For the 'alien' favourites, see below, p. 70.
- ²⁶ *Cal Papal Reg*, p.134.
- ²⁷ H. J. Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire' *J Eccles Hist* (October 1999), p. 639; J.Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*, pp. 49-50.
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- ²⁹ R.H.Murray, *Dinmore Manor and the Commandery of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem at Dinmore* (1936), p. 5.
- ³⁰ W.Rees *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and the Welsh Border* (1947), p. 44; *RCHM* p. 129; H.J.Harris, 'The Knights Hospitallers in Herefordshire', *TWNFC* (1944), p. 159.
- ³¹ *CChR*, 9-10 February 1227, pp. 4-5; *Rotuli Chartarum*, li (1837) edited T.D.Hardy, p. 15; *Rot Litt Claus* p. 339.
- ³² Cal Papal Reg p.134.
- ³³ Stainsby [Stavensby], Alexander of <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37103>.
- ³⁴ VCH *Worcester* II, p. 13
- ³⁵ Hillaby (1985), see n.7, p. 212; idem, 'Walter II de Lacy and the Foundation of Craswall Priory: the Historical Contexts', *TWNFC* (2016) pp.714.
- ³⁶ N.Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders 1120-1314* (2013), p. 111.
- ³⁷ *Cal Papal Reg*, pp. 136, 141.
- ³⁸ *Cal Papal Reg*, p. 152.
- ³⁹ *Cal Papal Reg*, p. 153.
- ⁴⁰ Nicholson (1999), p. 641.
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- ⁴² *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers* ed Joseph Delaville le Roux (Paris, 1894-1906) no 2140
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- ⁴⁵ Nicholson (1999), pp. 629-51.
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- ⁴⁷ *RCHM*, p. 129.
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- ⁵⁴ J.Cox Russell, 'The Clerical Population in Medieval England' in *Traditio* (1944), pp. 182, 183.
- ⁵⁵ *CPR* 1242, pp. 263, 287; 1254, p. 374; 1257, p.551; Cooke, p. 117.
- ⁵⁶ HCA, MS 3241. See below, p. 76.
- ⁵⁷ See n81.
- ⁵⁸ Charters 3, 7.
- ⁵⁹ H.Clifford, *The House of Clifford* (1987), p.20.

- ⁶⁰ J.W.Tonkin, 'The Nunnery of Limebrook and its property' *TWNFC* (1974), pp. 154, 157-8.
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- ⁶² See n13.
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- ⁶⁴ R.Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great. Prince of Gwynedd* (2007) pp. 76, 126
- ⁶⁵ With grateful thanks to Professor Madeleine Gray of the University of South Wales for this suggestion.
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- ⁶⁷ Malay, pp. 181. Sadly, as Sally Badham explains, the cross slab identified by the RCHM as a heart burial 'probably dates to the late-fifteenth century' and therefore cannot have been that of Margaret de Braose.
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- ⁷³ Joinville's *The Life of St Louis* is available in English as a Penguin Classic, Joinville & Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (1963).
- ⁷⁴ Delaborde, p. 226.
- ⁷⁵ Faraday pp. 7, 15, 79, 109.
- ⁷⁶ <http://mediaeval-pembridge.com/2016/07/04/joan-de-geneville-2nd-baroness-de-geneville/>; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19354>
- ⁷⁷ Delaborde, p. 227, suggests that Geoffrey de Geneville had two sons names Nicholas, just as he had two named Peter.
- ⁷⁸ CHCM II, pp. 772, 774.
- ⁷⁹ *Reg Swinfield*, pp. 304-5.
- ⁸⁰ *Charter* 62; Scott, p. 114.
- ⁸¹ *CPR* 1218, pp. 162-3. This indicates a virgate of 30 and noke of 7½ acres. For a discussion of land-measures, J.&C. Hillaby *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough* (2006) p. 213.
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- ⁸³ C.Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms* (2014) pp. 178-9 citing TNA SC 1/1/213; J.Goronwy Edwards, *Cal Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales* (1935) p.8.
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- ⁹² *Charter* 23.
- ⁹³ *Charter* 66.
- ⁹⁴ *Charter* 28.
- ⁹⁵ Also available online at <http://www.melocki.org.uk>, accessed 22 November 2018.
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- ¹⁰³ *Reg Trillek*, p.377; *Reg Trefnant*, p. 186; *Reg Mascall*, p.178; *Reg Mayhew*, p.285.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cooke, p. 23.
- ¹⁰⁵ *CPR* 1313-17, p. 357.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Reg Swinfield*, pp. 505-6.
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- ¹⁰⁸ *CAD* 2, B3588.
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- ¹¹⁰ *CAD* 1, B530, dated 8 February, 20 Henry VII (1505).
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- ¹¹² *Reg Cantilupe*, pp. 107-8.
- ¹¹³ P. Williams *Bromyard. Minster, Manor and Town* (1987), pp. 19-25; J.Hillaby, 'The Early Church in Herefordshire: Columban and Roman' in *The Early Church in Herefordshire* ed A.Malpas *et al* (2001) pp. 61-4.
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- ¹¹⁷ C.J.Robinson, *A History of the mansions and manors of Herefordshire* (1872) p.4 citing 'letters of John Scudamore, of Holme Lacy'.
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- ¹¹⁹ <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101217197-church-of-st-andrew-wolferlow#.XDexyv1zw4k>.
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- ¹²¹ *CPR* 1327, p. 24.
- ¹²² *CAD* 2, B2547.
- ¹²³ *Charters and Records*, pp. xv, 222-3. Canon Capes identifies *Malveshulle* as Mansel Gamage, but Mansell Lacy is more likely.
- ¹²⁴ W.J.Rees, *Liber Landavensis* (1840), pp. 353-4. See also pp. 321, 370, 374, 540.
- ¹²⁵ S.Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* II (1840); Scott, p. 150. Giraldus Cambrensis was born at Manorbier c1146.
- ¹²⁶ Matthews, p. 46.
- ¹²⁷ *CPR* 1301, p. 577; TNA, C 143/34/12.
- ¹²⁸ National Library of Wales, MS 3791C, f29.
- ¹²⁹ Scott p. 89. There appears to be no evidence for Margaret Davies's assertion in 'Spotlight on Penally' *Cylchgrawn ... Dyfed*, Vol 8, no3 (Aug 2003) p98 that the Barrys founded a nunnery at Penally. *West Wales Historical Records* III (1913) pp. 240-1 makes no mention of a nunnery here. The tradition continues, however; the authors were greeted at Penally with statements such as Aconbury was 'where the nuns came from', that the prioress from Aconbury used to come on retreat to Penally, and that the ruin in the grounds of the fine hotel called Penally Abbey was her hermitage.
- ¹³⁰ See below, p. 82.
- ¹³¹ Charter 44.
- ¹³² TNA E 210/2823.
- ¹³³ HARC, CF50/79/8 & 4. CF50/79, 'Extracts from conventual leases, grants etc belonging to several religious houses in the county of Hereford' (1763) is a very valuable archive.
- ¹³⁴ *Valor ecclesiasticus* vol.3 (1817), p. 18.
- ¹³⁵ E.E.Power *Medieval English Nunneries, c.1275 to 1535* (1922, available print on demand) pp. 4-6, 25, 29, 30, 33, 38.
- ¹³⁶ Matthews, pp. 41-2.
- ¹³⁷ Charter 15.
- ¹³⁸ With thanks to James Bond for his personal communication.
- ¹³⁹ Matthews, pp. 45-6; Scott, pp. 149-51.

- ¹⁴⁰ Matthews, p. 47; HARC, CF50/79/12.
- ¹⁴¹ Matthews, pp. 47-8. For New Mills and Rowston, A. Harvey, 'Aconbury Priory' in *Little Birch on Aconbury Hill: A History of the Parish and Its People* Little Birch & King's Thorn History Group (2006), pp.38-9, also 124-5.
- ¹⁴² Matthews, pp. 50-53.
- ¹⁴³ J.Bond *Monastic Landscapes* (2004) p. 163. John Freeman clarifies Bonshill: 'Bunshill SO 4342, now in Bishopstone but until the 19th century a detached part of Mansell Lacy'.
- ¹⁴⁴ Matthews, p. 53.
- ¹⁴⁵ Matthews, p. 54.
- ¹⁴⁶ John Freeman explains 'Child's Mansell' may have been geographically in Mansell Lacy but appears to have been a separate manor. 'Child' appears to be from Middle English, 'noble youth, aspirant to knighthood', or a personal name Child from that.
- ¹⁴⁷ Matthews, pp. 54-7.
- ¹⁴⁸ HARC CF50/79/2.
- ¹⁴⁹ Matthews, p. 57.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Heads of Religious Houses 1216-1377* ed. D.M.Smith & V.London (2001) p. 537.
- ¹⁵¹ *Avenebury* in text.
- ¹⁵² *Charters and Records*, p. 188.
- ¹⁵³ Dr Bull, 'Fragments of the History of Aconbury Priory and Church', *TWNFC* (1885) p.303. For Grandison family see J.Hillaby, *St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury* (2003) pp. 80-4 and Fig 8.7.
- ¹⁵⁴ *CAD* 3, D. 1220.
- ¹⁵⁵ TNA E326/159.
- ¹⁵⁶ *CAD* 2, B2904.
- ¹⁵⁷ See above p. 77.
- ¹⁵⁸ Bull, p. 302 and see above.
- ¹⁵⁹ <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/95148>
- ¹⁶⁰ *Reg Spofford*, pp. ix-x reports that Spofford sought to be released from his episcopal cares as early 1429 and, claiming he was now *corpore debilis ac senior confractus*, made his will in 1440. Two years later he was allowed a second suffragan but he had to continue for a further six years.
- ¹⁶¹ D.O'Connor, 'Bishop Spofford's Glass at Ross-on-Wye', *Hereford: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. D. Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (1995), pp. 138-49 includes a detailed description and photographs.
- ¹⁶² *Reg Spofford*, p. vi.
- ¹⁶³ *Reg Spofford*, pp. 223-4.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Reg Spofford*, p. 234.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Reg Myllyng*, pp. iii-iv, 70, 80-1, 124, 198.
- ¹⁶⁶ Scott, pp. 142-3; Bull, pp. 302-3.
- ¹⁶⁷ TNA C 1/276/22.
- ¹⁶⁸ *CAD* 3, D640.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Reg Mayhew*, p. 93; *Reg Booth*, pp. 133-4, 170-1.
- ¹⁷⁰ HARC CF50/79/10.
- ¹⁷¹ Bull, p. 302.
- ¹⁷² G.H.Cook *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages* (1961) p. 247.
- ¹⁷³ *Valor ecclesiasticus* vol.3 (1817), pp. 17-18; Knowles & Hadcock, pp. 227-9.
- ¹⁷⁴ Scott, p16 citing *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 11, July-December 1536; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp547-566>. P. 1. Add.: Lord Crumwell, lord Privy Seal. Endd.
- ¹⁷⁵ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a study of their origin and descent, 1086-1327* (1960) pp. 21-2.
- ¹⁷⁶ R.Richardson, *Mistress Blanche: Queen Elizabeth I's Confidante* (2018) 32-4; Revd. D.E. Jones, *Aconbury: the Priory, the Church and the Camp* (n.d.), p. 8.
- ¹⁷⁷ HARC CF50/79/5 and see Bull p. 304.
- ¹⁷⁸ Power, *Medieval Nunneries*, pp.270-1, p. 573; *Reg Spofford*, p. 82.
- ¹⁷⁹ Power, *Medieval Nunneries*, p. 269.
- ¹⁸⁰ Power, *Medieval Nunneries*, pp. 266-7.
- ¹⁸¹ [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/scudamore-\(skydmore\)-john-1503-71](https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/scudamore-(skydmore)-john-1503-71).

¹⁸² J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1971) pp. 212-16 provides Scudamore's accounts for Herefordshire – Monmouth, Dore and Clifford as well as Aconbury – 'with a declaration of all goods, grain, cattle, money and jewels, debts, lead, and bells', and his expenses. A vestment of cloth of gold from Aconbury was valued at 66s 8d.

¹⁸³ E. Jack, 'The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol 21 (1970), pp.97-124.

¹⁸⁴ Youings, p. 215; see above, p. 67.

¹⁸⁵ Margaret Goodrich, prior to a forthcoming publication. We are indebted to her for drawing attention to F.C. & Penelope Morgan, 'Some nuns, ex-religious and former chantry priests living in the diocese of Hereford (c. 1554)' *TWNFC* (1963) pp. 135-48: 'Some ... nuns found homes in other houses and others sought a livelihood in the secular world, being granted dispensations from their vows to do so.'

¹⁸⁶ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, edited L. Toulmin Smith, II (1964), p. 66.

¹⁸⁷ F.R. James, 'Copy of a Deed by Richard Phelips, dated 1535' *TWNFC* (1934) 101-2; J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford I* (1804), p.366; HARC B56/12, p. 372..

¹⁸⁸ For more on the post Dissolution history of Aconbury Priory see M. Gibson *A View of the ancient and present state of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempsted* (1727) pp. 133-4; *Hereford Journal* 6 June 1863, on the 'Restoration and Reopening of Aconbury Priory Church' following 'the partial restoration of its ecclesiastical grandeur under the recreative power of Mr. Gilbert Scott'; *The Builder*, 27 June 1863; Robinson (1872) p.4; Bull, p. 305; Matthews, pp. 38-9; Youings, pp.212-16; David Whitehead, 'Aconbury Nunnery: A Field Survey' *WNFC HAN* 51 (1989) pp. 18-20, 21; and *Little Birch on Aconbury Hill*, pp. 67-9.

¹⁸⁹ Extract of Report courtesy of Hereford Diocesan Office.

¹⁹⁰ For detailed description *RCHM* pp12-13; Pevsner (2012), pp. 78-9.

¹⁹¹ Estimated from RCHM plan.

¹⁹² Cliveden Conservation Workshop Ltd, 'St. John the Baptist church, Aconbury. Outline condition survey'. Report prepared for The Duchy of Cornwall, April 2017.

¹⁹³ SMR Number 6476 accessible at <https://htt.herefordshire.gov.uk/her-search/monuments-search/search/Monument?ID=6476>.

¹⁹⁴ Original investigator notes for RCHM.

¹⁹⁵ Matthews, p. 31.

¹⁹⁶ Jones, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹⁷ Extract from Report by permission of the Duchy.

¹⁹⁸ Sally Badham, 'The cross slab grave covers remaining in Aconbury Priory Church', *TWNFC*, 66 (2018), pp 54-60.

John Matthews (1755-1826) of Belmont

By HENRY CONNOR

John Matthews qualified as a physician at the age of 26 but practised in London for only two years before retiring from medicine and returning to his native Herefordshire. He commissioned James Wyatt to build a house at Belmont and engaged in an acrimonious debate with Richard Payne Knight after employing Humphry Repton to landscape the grounds. With a large family to support and having borrowed heavily to enlarge his estate, he maintained his gentlemanly lifestyle by acting as a banker to supplement his income. He was a longstanding alderman and magistrate and also served terms as Mayor and Member of Parliament for Hereford. After setting up a local regiment of militia he styled himself as Colonel Matthews.

John Matthews (1755-1826) was born at Burton Court in Linton near Ross on Wye in Herefordshire, the only surviving child of William Matthews (1722-99) and his wife Jane (d. 1768) who was the daughter of Philip Hoskyns of Bernithan Court near Ross on Wye.¹ The two families probably knew each other well as they lived only eleven miles apart. William Matthews served as High Sheriff for Herefordshire in 1777.²

Medical Career

John was educated at Eton for two years, after which he studied at Merton College Oxford where he matriculated in 1772. He told the diarist and landscape painter Joseph Farington (1747-1821) that he went to Edinburgh in 1776³ and according to one biographer he attended the university there, but no records of his matriculating or of his joining the Edinburgh Medical Society have been found.⁴ He qualified BA in 1778, MA in 1779 and Bachelor of Medicine in 1781, the same year in which he was appointed as a physician to St George's Hospital in London.⁵

The following year (1782) he was awarded his medical doctorate, just three years after his MA, although according to the university's regulations he should not have been awarded his doctorate until seven years after he had been awarded his MA. It is not known how he managed to circumvent this. Neither Merton College nor the University of Oxford has any record of a doctoral thesis, which was not compulsory at that time, or of his undertaking any oral exercises but this requirement had lapsed by the later eighteenth century.⁶

He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (FRCP) in 1783. In 1784 he gave the Goulstonian Lecture at the College, a considerable honour which is awarded each year to one of the four youngest fellows of the College. Unfortunately the College has no record of the subject matter of Matthew's lecture, not even the title, though it does still have his receipt for the payment of his honorarium which was £8 in 1784.⁷ Eight pounds in 1784 would now be worth about £900 using the retail price index,⁸ but the current honorarium is only £100.

That Matthews was able to proceed to his doctorate after only three years and to obtain the appointment at St George's so soon after qualifying suggests that he must have been exceptionally able or have benefitted from powerful patronage or both. He was evidently on the threshold of a glittering medical career but, by the time he gave the Goulstonian lecture, he had already resigned his post at St George's. *The Medical Register for the Year 1783* lists him as the fourth of the four physicians at St George's Hospital and living conveniently nearby in Brompton-row

(now part of Brompton Road). However the appendix shows that, in the same year, he moved to Hereford where it would seem that he retired from the practice of medicine either immediately or very soon afterwards.⁹ Why he should have had this abrupt change of mind is not known. In 1778 he had married Elizabeth Ellis (1757-1823), the sole daughter and heiress of Arthur Ellis of Much Marcle in Herefordshire and his wife Jane Holder of Worcester.¹⁰ He was therefore of independent means and perhaps his inclinations lay elsewhere. He certainly had poetical leanings and in 1780 had published a parody of Pope's *Eloise to Abelard*.

Return to Herefordshire: The Landowner and the debate on 'The Picturesque'

By 1786 he had been elected to the Common Council which had been the governing body of the City of Hereford since 1597. One of his fellow members was the attorney Lacon Lambe, the father of William Lambe (1765–1847) MD, FRCP who had been born and educated in Hereford and who is remembered as an early and influential advocate of vegetarianism.¹¹ Although no evidence has been found of Matthews practising medicine in Hereford, he did chair a general meeting of the Governors of the Hereford Infirmary in 1788.¹² Also in 1788 Matthews and John Brewster (d. 1804) of Burton Court in Eardisland bought the Old Hill estate in the parish of Clehonger for £3,250. Shortly afterwards Matthews bought out Brewster's share to become the sole owner. The estate consisted of only 150 acres and, even though Matthews had some other land holdings in the county, the sum of the properties did not constitute a financially viable entity.¹³

On the 5 November 1788, a date which marked the annual celebration of the Gunpowder Plot, the 200th anniversary of the defeat of the Spanish Armada and, most especially in Matthews's eyes, the 100th anniversary of the Glorious Revolution, he and Francis Campbell MD (1724-1804), the recently retired senior physician at the Hereford Infirmary, organised a day of celebration in the city with processions, feasting, fireworks and much ringing of church bells. During the morning Matthews led a party two miles south of the city, where he laid the foundation stone of his new house on a site overlooking the Wye.¹⁴ The three-bayed house was built on a hill overlooking the River Wye and so he called it Belmont. (Fig. 1) The architect was James Wyatt (1746-1813) who, at that time, was in partnership with Humphry Repton (1752-1818), and so the landscaping was undertaken by Repton. Matthews planted a sapling oak from the estate of Uvedale Price (1747-1829) at Foxley in Herefordshire.¹⁵ Price was a pioneer of the Picturesque style of landscape gardening and Matthews' action may suggest an interest in the newly developing Picturesque Movement.

The Picturesque was an aesthetic ideal, part of the emerging Romanticism of the later eighteenth century, and it was one in which Herefordshire was to play an important part. The Reverend William Gilpin (1724-1804)¹⁶ had defined it rather vaguely in *An Essay upon Prints*, which was first published in 1768, as 'that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture.'¹⁷ He elaborated on this, when describing the landscape of the River Wye, as 'adapting the description of natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape'.¹⁸ The picturesque was seen as intermediate between the 'sublime' and the 'beautiful'. The sublime landscape was grandiose, remote, awesome, even terrifying. By contrast a beautiful landscape was a harmonious one, one in which there was smoothness with gradual variation in form and which evoked sensations of familiarity and gentleness. By comparison with the smoothness of the beautiful and the awesome power of the sublime, the essential characteristic of the picturesque was contrast, whether that

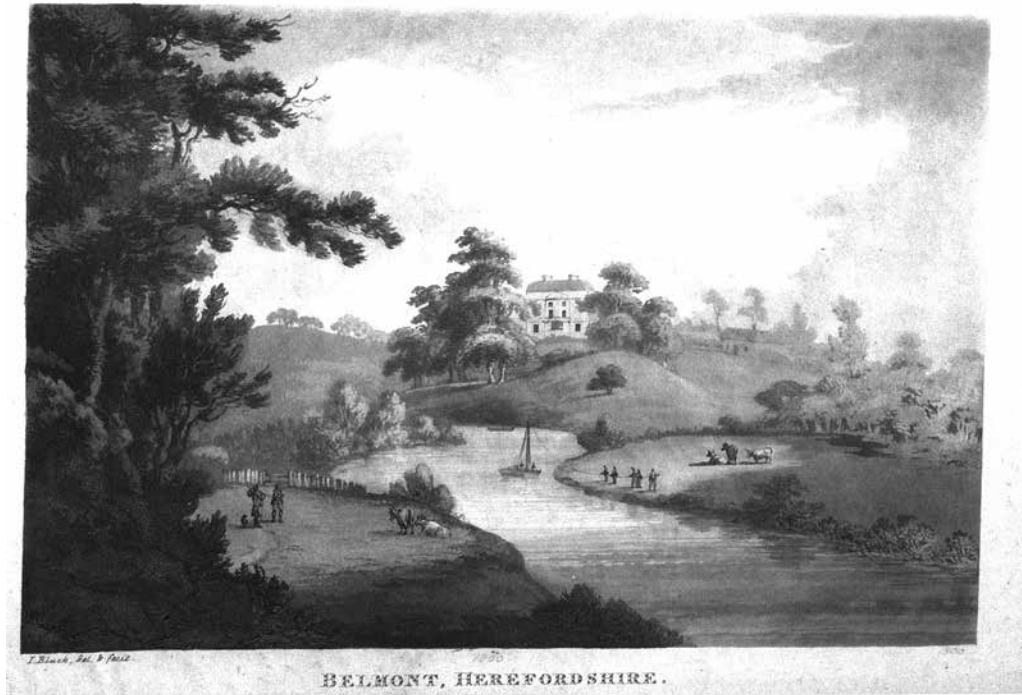


Figure 1. Belmont in 1800 by I. Fluck. Courtesy of Herefordshire Libraries

contrast was due to irregularity, variety or some other feature. Most advocates of picturesque landscaping believed that the designer should follow the rules of landscape art with a foreground, middle ground and background.

At first sight Matthews' choice of Repton to landscape his estate is a strange one if he did indeed have picturesque leanings. Repton saw himself as the successor to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (*bap.* 1716-1783) whose gentle sweeps and curves were characteristic of the 'beautiful' landscape. Brown's work was heavily criticised by two Herefordshire landowners, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) of Downton Castle who were the great proponents of the picturesque in relation to landscape gardening.¹⁹ Matthews probably knew both Price and Knight socially, and would certainly have met them because all three were commissioners for the new County Gaol which was completed to designs by John Nash (1752-1835) in 1796.²⁰ In 1794 Price described how a gentleman, who may well have been Payne Knight, and 'whose taste and feeling, both for art and nature, rank as high as any man's, was lamenting to me the extent of Mr Brown's operations: 'Former improvers,' said he, 'at least kept near the house; but this fellow crawls like a snail all over the grounds, and leaves his cursed slime behind him wherever he goes.' Price himself complained, in his *Essay on the Picturesque*, that Brown and his followers applied Brown's guidelines too mechanically and without adapting them to specific conditions.²¹

However Repton did adapt his suggestions to what he considered appropriate for specific environments. In contrast to the estates of Price at Foxley and Payne Knight at Downton Castle, there were panoramic views at Belmont and at Sufton (near Mordiford) and here Repton

employed a Brownian approach. At Ferney in Shropshire he employed Brownian principles on one side of the house and the Picturesque on the other. Sir George Cornewall, the owner of Moccas in Herefordshire, and a friend of both Price and Payne Knight, initially followed the advice of 'Capability' Brown in 1778, but in another part of his estate in 1793 he employed Repton who advised a picturesque landscape which Cornewall then implemented.²²

In 1794 Richard Payne Knight published what he described as 'a didactic poem' entitled *The Landscape* in which he criticised Brown in particular and those landowners who employed professional landscapers.²³ Politically both Price and Knight were Whigs and supporters of the radical Charles James Fox (1749-1806), but whereas Price had been careful to avoid any politically contentious issues in his *Essay on the Picturesque*, Knight associated his Picturesque views on gardening with his sympathies for the revolutionaries in France and also with his distaste for what he regarded as Christian superstitions.²⁴ By contrast Matthews was politically a Tory and an orthodox Anglican Christian.

When Matthews discussed the books of Price and Knight with Joseph Farington in August 1794, he described Price's work as written 'with information and spirit' but he thought 'very moderately of Mr Knight's which is a Didactic poem only in title.'²⁵ However he was much more forthright when he published, initially anonymously, a riposte to Knight in the form of a satirical poem.²⁶ Matthews was evidently stung not only by Knight's criticism of Brown and Repton but especially of those landowners like Matthews himself who employed them. He attacked Knight most vigorously, accusing him of plagiarism and of misquotation. He also appreciated the political dimension of Knight's essay and, by references to Thomas Paine and Mary Wollstonecraft, he contrived to suggest that Knight was a dangerous radical reformer. By mention of possible French honours for Knight he also hinted, in the sensitive years following the French Revolution and at a time when a French invasion seemed a real possibility, at a most unpatriotic Jacobin tendency. This was unfair on Knight whose radicalism was almost certainly restricted to cultural rather than political matters.

Matthews was gentler in his criticism of Price's work, probably because it lacked Knight's political and anti-Christian opinions. He asked only why the purchasers of 'ready-made taste' like himself deserved to be treated so contemptuously and questioned what Brown had done to deserve such severe censure. He concluded that Brown's crime was, in Price's eyes, to have made 'the Beautiful his sole aim, without sufficiently attending to the Picturesque.' He also suggested that the creation of a Picturesque landscape was not always a practical possibility, especially as the landscaper, unlike the artist, also had to consider utility and convenience.²⁷

Matthews was by no means the only critic of the opinions of Knight and Price. Repton, who had thought himself a friend of both men, was cut to the quick by their criticisms. He delayed publication of his *Sketches and Hints* to incorporate additions and rebuttals.²⁸ Horace Walpole (1717-1797) and the poet and gardener the Reverend William Mason (1724-1797) were particularly critical of Knight's radical politics and anti-Christian views;²⁹ while George Mason (1735-1806), a Hertfordshire gentleman, gardener and bibliophile who sought to distinguish between desirable contrast and undesirable incongruity, conducted an increasingly bitter dispute with Price.³⁰

In 1809 Matthews purchased the adjacent Haywood Estate adding nearly two thousand acres to his property. This was the relic of the medieval royal forest which had been a favourite hunting venue of both King Henry III and King John but which, by this time, had become a

pastoral landscape. Matthews employed Nash to build seven new cottages on the estate, several of which were in the Picturesque style. In view of the Nash-Repton connection, it seems probable that it was Repton who was responsible for the new plantations and pools at Haywood. The planting around the pools followed Price's recommendations for such sites.³¹

Those landowners like Matthews, who had a social conscience, felt obliged to ensure that their Picturesque landscapes were also economically viable for their tenants. This was especially important in the early decades of the nineteenth century when a series of poor harvests added to the economic difficulties which were the consequence of the French wars. Matthews concerned himself with agricultural improvements and seems to have been a good landlord.³² He was active in the Herefordshire Agricultural Society which, like other county agricultural societies, aimed to improve standards of husbandry and other agricultural practices. He served as President of the Society in 1807 and was a noted breeder whose bulls, heifers and sheep all won prizes from time to time.³³

Public Service in Herefordshire

In 1793 Matthews was elected as the 412th Mayor of Hereford. He later became the senior alderman and was a magistrate for 20 years. As Chairman of the Quarter Sessions he was involved in commissioning the new Shire Hall which was built between 1817 and 1819 to a design by the London architect Sir Robert Smirke (1780-1867). Smirke's artist father, also Robert Smirke (1753-1845), was esteemed by Matthews 'as the Artist who perfectly feels Shakespeare' and who he commissioned to paint three pictures for his own home.³⁴

The pages of the *Hereford Journal* show that Matthews was involved in many of the county's charities, notably the infirmary, the lunatic asylum, subscriptions for relief of the poor and the Hereford Music Meeting (now the Three Choirs festival) which raised funds for impoverished clergy and their relatives.

In response to the Napoleonic threat, Matthews founded a Corps of Volunteers to which he presented its Colours, designed by himself, on the King's birthday in 1798.³⁵ The Corps later became the first regiment of local militia in the county with Matthews as its Colonel, after which he increasingly assumed the title of Colonel Matthews in place of Dr Matthews.³⁶

He founded a bank which was initially successful but which, like many others, collapsed during the banking crisis of 1825. Matthews was probably dependent on income from banking and investments because he borrowed heavily to fund his purchases of land which, as already noted, were never sufficient to constitute a financially viable estate. He was certainly quick to sell the family property at Linton when his father died in 1799.³⁷ From 1827, the year after John Matthews's death, two of his sons, John Holder and Frederick Hoskyns Matthews, were involved with another bank in which a sometime partner was Dr John Bleeck-Lye (1788-1864). Bleeck Lye was a physician in the city and held an honorary appointment at the Hereford Infirmary for nearly fifty years.³⁸

Matthews also served as a Tory Member of Parliament for one of the county seats in Herefordshire from 1803 to 1806, even though he had not stood for election. Another Herefordshire landowner, John Geers Cotterell, had ousted the Whig candidate but was disqualified for treating (bribing voters with food or drink) as indeed were all the candidates. By a compromise Matthews, who had been chairman of Cotterell's election committee, was elected unopposed. He always regarded himself as a *locum* and did not stand at the next election.³⁹

Matthews spoke on only six occasions during his time in Parliament, the first being just six months before he left the House of Commons. On five occasions he spoke in opposition to the proposals of the Whig Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, William Windham, to reform the volunteer militia. Matthews claimed that these reforms would damage morale among both officers and men and ultimately would lead to the demise of the corps. This was a matter of great concern at a time when Britain was at war with France.⁴⁰

Eight years after Edward Jenner (1749-1823) had introduced vaccination there was still debate over whether it was an improvement on the older procedure of inoculation against smallpox. In a speech in July 1806 Matthews declared himself a strong advocate of vaccination which he thought greatly superior to, and much safer than, inoculation.⁴¹ He may have been influenced in this by the opinions of another Herefordshire gentleman, Thomas Westfaling (d. 1814) of Rudhall near Ross. Westfaling had supported Jenner when the latter was trying to get his paper on vaccination published in 1797.⁴²

Matthews was greatly impressed by the 'extraordinary powers' of William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806) who was Prime Minister when Matthews entered Parliament and who he thought 'much above any other member'. However he was less impressed with Pitt's successor, Henry Addington (1757-1844) who was 'a very well meaning man, but had not that strength of mind which could raise him above others.' He also believed that the aristocracy were averse to Addington's government, 'not liking that a man of his degree should rule.'⁴³ This was a reference to the Addingtons being only minor gentry in their home county of Oxfordshire. Henry's father, Anthony (1713-1790), had been a physician in Reading where he was also involved with a private asylum. This was considered 'below the pale' and Addington's reputation had been further impugned by Horace Walpole who had criticised his management of Lord Chatham's illness in 1767, writing that Addington was 'originally a mad doctor' and 'some kind of empiric'.⁴⁴ In fact Anthony had a very distinguished medical career. After moving to London in 1754 he delivered the Goulstonian Lectures in 1757 and built a successful practice with patients who included not only Chatham (William Pitt the Elder 1708-1778) but also George III.⁴⁵

In 1819 Matthews announced that he would stand as a candidate for the city of Hereford in the forthcoming election⁴⁶ but apparently 'he feared a contest' and withdrew.⁴⁷ It may not have been the contest itself but the expense of the contest which Matthews feared, because he had a large mortgage and fourteen children to support.

Family and Social Life

Matthews and his wife had eight sons and six daughters.⁴⁸ Several of their sons came to public notice. Charles Skinner Matthews, a Fellow of Downing College, was perhaps the cleverest but also the most eccentric, temperamental and high spirited of all the Cambridge friends of Lord Byron who lamented Charles's death by drowning while bathing in the river Cam in 1812. According to Byron, Charles was among the band of 'profane scoffers' who would rouse William Lort Mansel (late Bishop of Bristol) from his slumbers in the lodge at Trinity College. When the angry Master appeared at the window they responded, in a parody of the Litany, "We beseech thee to hear us Good *Lort* - Good *Lort* deliver us."⁴⁹

Charles's younger brother, Henry (1789-1828), was described by Byron as 'the image, to the very voice, of his brother Charles, only darker - his laugh in particular. The first time I ever met him... I nearly dropped, thinking that it was his [Charles's] ghost.'⁵⁰ Henry was a

sickly young man who undertook an extensive tour of the Continent in the hope of regaining his health. He later published a popular account of his travels.⁵¹ The cure seems to have worked to an extent because he went on to enjoy a distinguished legal career in Ceylon but died aged only 39.⁵² His son, also Henry Matthews (1826-1913) and also a lawyer, was the first Roman Catholic since the reign of Elizabeth I to become a minister of the crown. Ennobled as Viscount Llandaff he was buried with Roman Catholic rites in the Anglican family plot at Clehonger beside his grandfather.⁵³

Another son of Colonel Matthews, Arthur Matthews (1788-1840), became a prebendary and canon residentiary of Hereford Cathedral but died aged 52, a month after suffering a fractured leg and dislocated ankle in a coach accident.⁵⁴ His younger brother Alfred (1792-1873) served in the Royal Navy reaching the rank of captain.⁵⁵ Two other sons of Colonel Matthews, John Holder Matthews (1783-1849) and Frederick Hoskyns Matthews (1798-1883), lived in Hereford where the latter was a noted eccentric. John Holder served as a captain under his father in the volunteer militia. Together with Frederick he was in charge of the family bank when it again ran into difficulties in 1849, the year in which John Holder died.⁵⁶

Frederick was nicknamed ‘Teapot’ by the local street urchins, apparently from the manner in which one elbow jutted out from beneath his cloak. When the urchins shouted ‘Teapot’ at him, the old man would chase after them at a speed which was ‘quite wonderful’ and, if he caught them, would belabour them over the back and shoulders with his umbrella. He planned to write his will in Greek Iambics. After John Holder Matthews died, Frederick was the sole surviving partner in the City and County Bank but was ‘utterly unfitted to control the affairs of a Bank, and an old man named Hughes managed its business in a very primitive way’. The bank closed in 1863 when its London agents would no longer honour its drafts.⁵⁷ In 1878 Frederick published a book of poems, most of which are truly awful.⁵⁸

That John Matthews was an art connoisseur and familiar with many contemporary artists is evident from his conversations with Farington. He thought ‘the British Institution [for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom] a desirable establishment as it rendered the difficulty of finding artists at their respective dwellings unnecessary.’⁵⁹ Apart from commissioning Robert Smirke to provide works for his drawing room, Matthews also accumulated a large collection of family portraits. Most of these are now at Sizergh Castle in Cumbria, having arrived there with Alice de La Chere (1857-1943), the grand-daughter of John’s son Henry, who married Alfred Hornyold (1850-1922) of Sizergh.⁶⁰ Of the twenty seven portraits, all but five appear to have been painted during Matthews’s lifetime and were probably commissioned by him. Four of the paintings are by elected members of the Royal Academy (John Opie (2), William Owen and Alfred Chalon) and another four by artists who were regular exhibitors at the Academy (William Lane, William Hobday, Samuel Shelley and Joseph Slater). Two portraits at Sizergh, of John Matthews and his wife, are copies of works by George Romney which are now in Tate Britain. Romney was an extremely fashionable artist who had a difficult relationship with the Royal Academy where he refused to exhibit, insisting that a good artist did not need to do so! The portrait of Matthews by John Opie (Plate 4.1) was painted for 10 guineas in 1784 and shows him in his doctoral gown in the year in which he delivered the Goulstonian lectures. Opie was known as ‘The Cornish Wonder’, his arrival in London from the village of Mithian having been most effectively promoted by another ‘medical truant’, the priest and poet Dr John Wolcot.⁶¹ The third portrait of John Matthews at Sizergh shows him in later life and is by William Owen. (Fig.

2) The Wedgwood Museum at Barlaston near Stoke-on-Trent has his likeness on a medallion.

The Sizergh collection includes two portraits, one of them a self-portrait, by his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (1781-1860). She was a talented amateur artist who provided all but three of the illustrations in *Pomona Herefordiensis* (Plate 4.2) which was published by the Herefordshire Agricultural Society with text by Thomas Andrew Knight F.R.S., who was the President of the Royal Horticultural Society and the younger brother of Richard Payne Knight.⁶² In 1844 Elizabeth and three of her sisters were still unmarried and living in Hereford.⁶³

The *Hereford Journal* records that the family attended Hereford races on several occasions and we get glimpses of their social life in letters left by their neighbour Mrs Edmund Pateshall of the neighbouring estate of Allensmore. We learn that the Matthews invited the Pateshalls to dinner



Figure 2. Dr John Matthews by William Owen, Courtesy of Herefordshire Library Service.

followed by a dance at Belmont, that Colonel Matthews and Pateshall met to shoot woodcock and partridge, that their wives attended fêtes together and that Mrs Matthews asked Mrs Pateshall for the loan of a four gallon cask for 'a little made wine'—presumably home-made wine and more than a little if a four gallon cask was required.⁶⁴

Matthews died in 1826 after a long and painful illness. An obituary in the *Hereford Journal* claimed that 'His poetical effusions were of that peculiar grace and felicity never to be forgotten' but according to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* some of his verse was described by contemporaries as 'contemptible' and 'much of it was badly received.'⁶⁵

He and his wife have a memorial stone in Clehonger Church. His prolix obituary in the *Hereford Journal* is matched by another memorial in Hereford Cathedral which, in the style of the times, reads:

'To diffuse happiness, uphold the laws and promote improvements of every kind were the leading objects of his useful and active life. For the furtherance of these he possessed intellectual and moral qualifications not often united with ability and zeal and temper for the exemplary discharge of public duties. He joined the kindly virtues and cultivated talents which cheer and embellish social life. Respect and confidence waited him abroad: at home the tenderest affection. In every vicissitude of joy and sorrow he maintained a meek composure of mind and a constant sense of divine providence worthy of his Christian faith.'

Fate has not dealt kindly with Belmont since his death. It was bought by Richard Prosser, prebendary and archdeacon of Durham, who bequeathed it to his grand-nephew F.R. Wegg-Prosser, the founder of the Benedictine Belmont Abbey. After his chosen architect, E.W. Pugin, had completed the abbey he added a large and incongruous neo-gothic extension to Wyatt's elegant Georgian house. The damage done to Wyatt's house in the nineteenth century was then compounded by the despoliation of Repton's landscape in the late twentieth century with the construction of a golf course which is already defunct.

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Gun-ports and Loops at the Blackfriars, Hereford: Chivalric Revivalism Revived

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

The remains of the Blackfriars' monastery and its famous preaching cross lie behind the Coningsby Hospital in the Widemarsh Street suburb of Hereford. The building has received its share of antiquarian attention and was fully described with a plan in the RCHME volume for South West Herefordshire in 1931.¹ Unfortunately because the building was 'much overgrown with ivy' the commissioners failed to provide a photograph. The surviving remains represent the west range of a residential cloister of the early 14th century, which was converted into a townhouse for Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court, Herefordshire in the late 16th century.

Coningsby created a two-storey dwelling where the ground floor formed a hall whilst the first floor², with a fireplace inscribed TPC (Thomas & Philippa Coningsby), contained a great chamber with a number of additional rooms. These were reached by a circular staircase in a round tower added to the south-west corner of the cloister. On the south front the fourteenth-century fenestration was kept on the ground floor and possibly the first floor, whilst the west front, which became the principal façade of the new dwelling, was completely remodelled. It was given square profiled mullion windows— including a first-floor oriel window—whilst the ground floor entrance, set nearer the south end, has a round head and is flanked on the north by a large chimney breast.

Beyond the chimney breast on the west front there is a garderobe tower. This last feature contains a gun-port which is 175mm in diameter, set between two uneven blocks of sandstone c.45 cm across (Fig. 1). The port is recessed into the blocks on the inside and is about 60cm below the eaves, marked externally by the remains of a waterspout. It is also about 1.20m above the floor level of the garderobe i.e. the first floor chamber, which it served. Neither the garderobe nor the chimney breast are bonded into the wall of the cloister and are therefore both additions made during the Coningsby refurbishment. The garderobe has no pit, so it presumably contained a close-stool. In the north wall of the garderobe tower at about the same level as the port, is a slit or loop 250mm high and 75mm across which, may also have had a military purpose. Three similar loops also appear on the ground floor at the south end of the building. These

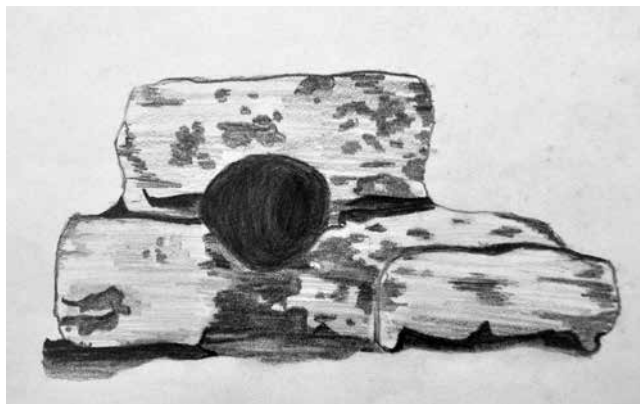


Figure 1. A measured drawing of the gun-port on the west front of the Blackfriars (Susan Whitehead, 1982)

penetrate the medieval masonry and are set at a convenient level for hand guns. A smaller slit appears on the same face as the gun port, but at the floor level of the garderobe and this appears to have been a drainage channel.

Two early sketches of the east front of the Coningsby range with the round tower on the left (south) show two bays of the original cloister fenestration and on the far right (north) a substantial stretch of 17th-century walling, which appears to terminate the structure. The earliest sketch by Simon Fisher probably dates from the late eighteenth century and shows the wall in reasonable condition.³ The second sketch is anonymous and undated but is catalogued as 1859 and shows the wall in an advance state of decay.⁴ Both illustrations show another round opening level with the top of the 14th-century arcade (Fig. 2). Today this opening survives on the summit of the remaining wall, which was reconstructed in the Coningsby era. It has a diameter of 450mm and has circular holes for a cross bar, which suggest that at some point it may have been glazed. Another larger feature can be seen over the west door, which again was glazed as an oculus and in this position may have illuminated an interior lobby. At Raglan gun-ports come in different sizes, the largest being 260mm in diameter, which is comparable with two smaller openings here, albeit the opening on the east front is inconveniently placed for use as gun-port.⁵

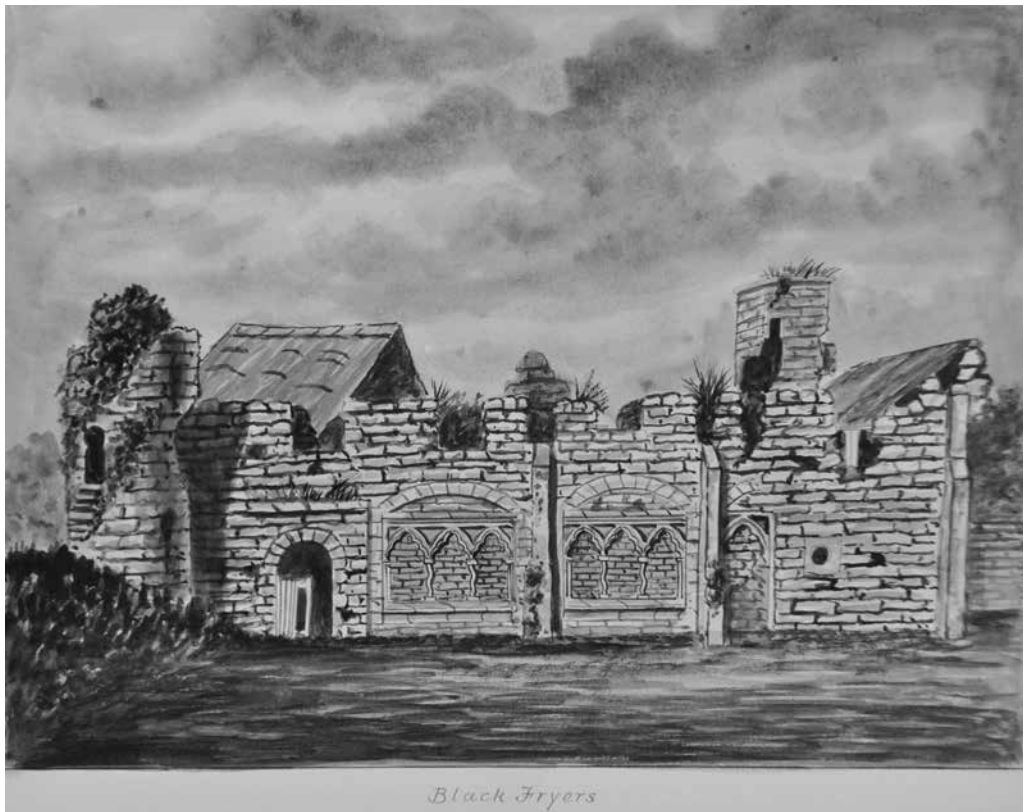


Figure 2. Watercolour dating from the late 18th century from an original sketched by Simon Fisher in the British Museum. (Image from a commercial copy made by Jonathan Nield, Great Russell Street, London in the late 19th century, now in the possession of John Eisel)

The existing gun-port in the garderobe tower conforms to Kenyon type B⁶ and is now unique in Herefordshire as the only other example, at ground level on the north gate-tower of Bronsil Castle, Eastnor, disappeared during a serious fall of masonry in February 1990.⁷ (Plate 5.1) Similar examples, some placed in garderobes, occur at Raglan Castle, Gwent but these, and the example at Bronsil, date from the mid to late fifteenth century. Kenyon's assessment of gun-ports at Raglan suggests that most of them were functional, even if placed at the back of fireplaces and garderobes. The few that were inaccessible were still useful in that they made 'the defences look impressive from outside'. The main purpose of gun-ports was deterrence, especially from 'small scale threats'.⁸

Sixteenth-century gun-ports occasionally occur on buildings elsewhere in England e.g. Brereton Hall, Cheshire, dated *c.*1585, but after 1600 they are more unusual.⁹ Round ports of a stylised kind are depicted on the Magicians Castle, erected by James I as the centrepiece for a fireworks display, and organized to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in 1613.¹⁰ Gun-ports exist on the 15th-century gatehouse at Tretower Court, Gwent and there are also loops here, dating from the early 17th century in the garden wall to the south-west of the Court. These are rectangular in form, similar but larger than the loops on the north face of the garderobe tower and those penetrating the walling at the northern end of the Blackfriars. Those at Tretower Court are judged to be functional.¹¹

What persuaded Sir Thomas Coningsby to provide his townhouse with gun-ports? Notwithstanding the frequent brawls which took place in early modern Hereford between the young blades of local gentry families, reflected in the city court rolls, it seems surprising that the Blackfriars was fortified. Instead we must look at Coningsby's career and notice that he stood at the centre of the chivalric revival, which flourished at the court of Elizabeth I. He was born in 1551 and at the age of twenty he took part in one of the May Day tournaments revived to flatter the Queen.¹² Coningsby was a patron of the prolific poet, John Davies, occasionally a resident of Hereford, who helped to develop the cult of the Virgin Queen and wrote 26 poems describing the accession day celebrations in 1599, which included a series of tournaments.¹³ In 1573 Coningsby visited Italy with Sir Philip Sydney and subsequently married Sydney's cousin, Philippa Fitz William.¹⁴ Naturally, Coningsby was a member of the bellicose anti-Spanish faction at Elizabeth's court, a cause for which Sydney became a martyr when he died in the Netherlands in 1586. Locally, this led to a 'violent struggle' with Sir James Croft, of Croft Castle, one-time Comptroller of Elizabeth's household and the leading royal servant promoting peace with Spain. In *c.*1580 Coningsby displaced Croft's stepson, Thomas Wigmore, as Recorder of Leominster, which led to running battles in the streets of the town in which at least one man was killed. At Croft's request Coningsby was hauled before the court of Star Chamber. He was, apparently, especially annoyed at being called an 'Italianate knave'—a reference, perhaps, to his trip to Italy with Sir Philip Sydney. The conflict between the two factions spread to Kington, London and Hereford where Wigmore claimed '60 or more' of Coningsby's men attacked five or six of his and, with a pistol in hand, Coningsby disturbed the assizes being conducted by Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.¹⁵ Ultimately Coningsby's patriotism was vindicated and with Croft's death in 1590, he achieved local dominance, taking control of the principal shire seat in Parliament.¹⁶ He was closely allied at court with Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester but with his death in 1588, he transferred his allegiance to the rising royal favourite, Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex, who was a native of Herefordshire and assiduously cultivated clients among

the border gentry. If we are to take the gun-ports seriously at the Blackfriars, the dispute with Sir James Croft may have provided a reason for some outward sign of a security system at a suburban townhouse, outside the walls and gates of Hereford. Also the Essex rebellion in 1601 created alarms in Herefordshire as loyalists and rebels raised forces for the respective sides.¹⁷

Coningsby was among the ‘gallant troop’ which Essex took to France in 1591 in support of Henry of Navarre and acted as muster master of the English forces at the siege of Rouen. He was one of the twenty-four knights created by Essex, much to the chagrin of Queen Elizabeth. During the campaign he kept a journal observing the minutiae of siege warfare, tempered with sympathy for its casualties. But it also reflects Coningsby’s fascination with siege works, canons, castles and horses.¹⁸ On the 17th November 1599, the anniversary of the queen’s accession, Coningsby is disappointed that the English commanders before Rouen were unwilling to organize a tournament, to show-off their chivalric skills to the enemy and their French allies. Like his contemporary, Sir Charles Cavendish, the builder of Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, Coningsby was a famous horseman, keeping a ‘right worshipful equipage’ at Hampton Court, his ‘castle’ near Leominster. A late-17th-century writer refers to the Hampton Court as ‘a college full of the sons of gentlemen who at his expense were instructed in the arts of riding, fencing and other many exercises, nor was Sir Thomas wanting to instruct them in the proudest methods of living, being pleased to make them his companions’.¹⁹ Hampton Court was described in the 15th century as a ‘fortalice’ with a great tower, replete with elaborate machioliations and fancy cross-slits for crossbows in the gate-tower. A painting by Thomas Bates of Thomas, Lord Coningsby in the late seventeenth century shows the Court in the background before it was refurbished, perhaps by the royal architect, William Talman (1650-1719) in the early 18th century. Where later there would be Italianate gardens, Bates shows the unmistakable details of a tiltyard, flanked by pepper-pot pavilions, designed for chivalric display. Thus, it is hardly surprising that Coningsby gave his townhouse the trappings of a ‘fortalice’, for gun-ports were the emblematic successors of arrow slits.²⁰

Sir Thomas, it seems, was the very epitome of the Arcadian knights of Elizabethan literature, and like his patrons, Sir Philip Sydney and the earls of Leicester and Essex, he took his tournament role very seriously but unlike them he survived and found himself out of place in the new Jacobean age, which heralded peace with Spain and marginalized Protestant chivalry. Ben Jonson is said to have had Sir Thomas in mind when he created the self-esteeming knight Puntarvolo in *Everyman out of his Humour* first performed at the Globe theatre in 1599. Jonson was also a veteran of the Spanish war, serving in the Netherlands, and chronicled the disappointing shifts in English life, which occurred with the arrival of the Stuarts.²¹ It is not clear when Sir Thomas converted the Blackfriars building into a town house but in the foundation document for his hospital in Widemarsh Street, dated 1st July 1617 it refers to the ‘ancient quadrangle’ on one side of which was ‘the ancient monastery in which the said Thomas Coningsby did some times reside’.²² The new hospital was built on the site of the old gatehouse, which appears to have been reused by Coningsby and provided with a new entrance flanked by Doric columns to facilitate a ceremonial approach to his town house (Fig. 3). It was already blocked and provided with a window opening in the late eighteenth century. It seems likely that Coningsby refurbished the cloister range of the Blackfriars as a town house some time after his return from France late in 1591. He became a J.P. of Herefordshire in February 1592 and acquired the principal shire seat in Parliament in February 1593. A residence in the county-town would have become valuable to him albeit the property had come into the hands of the family earlier in Elizabeth’s reign.²³



Figure 3. Sketch of Simon Fisher's view of the Widemarsh Street frontage (John Eisel)

Although his new townhouse was constructed within the ruins of the Blackfriars monastery, the lands held by Sir Thomas in Widemarsh Street were derived principally from Knights of St John, whose preceptory was at Dinmore. As a latter-day Protestant knight, fighting against the evils of Spanish imperialism, Sir Thomas seems to have identified himself with the traditions of the old Knights of St John, a crusading order, still active in the eastern Mediterranean even in his lifetime, fighting against the Ottoman Turks. Thus, in the deed of enrolment for the new hospital he notes that:

Being seized in fee of houses, lands and parcels of the Commandery, which were the inheritance of those Knights of St John of Jerusalem formerly employed in the sustentation of Christian valour and courage; the said Thomas ordained that all the quadrangle or square building of stone should be and remain a hospital for ever, under the name of Coningsby's Company Old Servitors.²⁴

Thus, the superannuated soldier, laid low by the 'malice and evil' of his enemies found a new focus for his declining energy and income. He retained the original 13th-century range belonging to the Knights, renewing it as a chapel and hall. Adjoining it, to the south he built a military blockhouse around three sides of a courtyard. The windows were self-consciously medieval with single trefoil-headed lights. Sir Thomas adopted the title of 'commander' of the

new establishment, which was recruited solely from veteran soldiers and sailors, and old serving men and ‘in memory of those worthy governors who once presided over the military society in this place’ he installed himself in the ‘commandery’—as he believed—across the hospital garden. The earliest account books of the hospital show that the day-to-day running of the institution was in the hands of the ‘corporal of the comerada’ who received the weekly allowance for the support of the community from Coningsby’s cousin, Joyce Jeffries, who also rather conveniently, lived in Widemarsh Street.²⁵

It is possible that the old soldiers’ revelries led to the refurbishment of the Blackfriars cloister, a decade or so before, when it was reconstructed to complement the nostalgic ethos, which governed the hospital. It was embellished with architectural symbols reflecting not only Coningsby’s chivalrous youth but also the age of the Knights of St John. Among the features that must be assessed in this context are the gun-ports, the loops and the oriel window with projecting corbel-like supports. There was also a tall slender tower, shown on Fisher’s drawing, at the north end of the cloister. This tower appears to be crenellated and sits above masonry dating from the Coningsby era and seems out of place set against the low profile of the cloister. As we have seen there are also oculi, which also appear on Bolsover Castle and the Magicians Castle where they



Figure 4. Dingley’s view from the east showing Coningsby’s tower and wall walk

were used for water squirts. Coningsby's most significant structural addition to the building was a round staircase tower at the south-east corner of the building erected on a substantial plinth. Bearing in mind his aspirations for the building, it looks like a minor version of the later medieval towers found on fifteenth-century castles like Bronsil, Croft and Treago. It balances the tall tower at the north end mentioned above. The illustration provided by Dingley shows that the spiral staircase was also illuminated by several loops—one of which survives today—and the top of the tower was crenellated (Fig. 4). Not only did the tower provide access to the first floor of the house but a door on the east side led out onto a wall-walk, where the commander could take the air, and look down at the garden court, perhaps laid out with the sort of conceits that still decorate the walls of the hospital i.e. based on the Coningsby arms and associated ciphers.

Thus, the gun-ports and loops at the Blackfriars are not only a vital clue to the chivalric aspirations of the 'right well-accomplished knight, Sir Thomas Coningsby' but also demonstrate, yet again, the pervasive influence of the Middle Ages upon the architecture of provincial England in the age of Inigo Jones. Coningsby's work is an example of the chivalric revivalism of the Elizabethans which looked back to the Wars of the Roses and reflected a nostalgic yearning for the age of the Barons' Wars in the 13th century.

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¹² Girouard, *Smythson*, 212; J. Nichols, *Progresses, Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth II* (1823), 334; R. Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits I* (1969), 49-50 discusses a portrait of Coningsby by George Gower, painted in 1572, the year of the tournament, with a city either London or Hereford in the background.

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The Longtown Castles Project and a new history of Ewyas Lacy

By MARTIN COOK AND NEIL KIDD

The parish of Clodock and Longtown lies at the heart of Ewyas Lacy in the south-west corner of Herefordshire on the border with Wales. At Longtown there are the remains of a castle with a fine stone keep and two walled courtyards, while just over half a mile away, where Clodock and Longtown meet, there are the earthworks of another castle—the motte and bailey of Ponthendre. (Figs 1 and 2).

It had long been an intriguing mystery why there should be two castles in this rural parish. What was the relationship between them? When were they built and who built them? Ponthendre had never been properly investigated. Although Longtown Castle had been the subject of some research, excavation reports had failed to materialise or gone missing and historical records for the two castles are sparse. Unfortunately much of what has previously been written about the castles is surmise without a sound evidential base.

In 2014, members of the Longtown and District Historical Society, with advice from Herefordshire Archaeology and consultation with English Heritage, put together a research plan aimed at answering some of the questions about the castles of Ewyas Lacy. The plan involved a combination of historical research, modern survey techniques and archaeological excavation. In addition, the locations of the two castles were assessed in order to understand their wider context and Longtown Castle was re-examined in detail from a structural viewpoint to gain a better understanding of its construction and development.

The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) generously agreed to provide a grant and the Longtown Castles Project came into being. The results point the way to a major revision of the history of Longtown and Ewyas Lacy.



Figure 1. Longtown Castle (photo M. Cook).



Figure 2. Ponthendre motte (photo M. Cook).

THE TWO CASTLES TODAY

The earthworks at Ponthendre have all the appearance of a typical early Norman motte and bailey castle. They are located on a spur of high ground pointing into the valley of the River Monnow, where it is joined by the Olchon Brook. A circular ditch was quarried into the spur and the

resulting spoil was piled up to make a motte, some 44 metres across at the base and 10.5 metres high. A crescent-shaped area to the east of the motte was levelled to form the bailey, protected on the south side by a natural scarp and to the east by the steep slope down to the Olchon. There are no visible signs of any structures on the motte or within the bailey.

Longtown Castle occupies about one third of an earlier ditched and embanked enclosure. In the past, antiquarians noted the square rampart and identified Longtown as the Blestium of the Antonine itinerary XIII. Blestium is now generally accepted as being at Monmouth. Roman remains were reportedly found during the building of Longtown School in 1869 but the details are unknown.¹ In more recent years small-scale excavations failed to produce any Roman finds, leading modern historians to cast doubt on Longtown's Roman origins.² Various writers have suggested that the rampart could be Iron Age, Roman, Saxon or Norman but there are problems with each of these. The shape is too regular to be Iron Age. While it has the right area and shape for a Roman fort, the ramparts standing at five metres are far too high. Although it resembles an Anglo-Saxon *burh*, the lack of Saxon placenames shows that Ewyas Lacy was never colonised by the Mercians. With an area of around four acres it would be an exceptionally large and unusually regular Norman bailey. (Fig. 3)



Figure 3. Longtown Castle and the square rampart (3-D model by Adam Stanford, Aerial-Cam).

A Norman motte has been superimposed on the north-west corner of the rampart. It is around 48 metres across at the base and currently stands 7 metres high, although it would have

been higher when it was first built and topped by a wooden tower. Later, this tower was replaced with a cylindrical stone keep rising from a sloping plinth, now mostly robbed out, that not only added strength but more importantly spread the weight of the keep on the motte. Uniquely Longtown's keep exhibits a remarkable 3-fold symmetry unseen anywhere else in Britain or France. It was buttressed by three equally-spaced projecting turrets. One, now collapsed, contained a spiral stairway. The other two turrets are mostly solid, one containing a chimney and the other a garderobe chamber. It can be seen from the overhead view and section that these added little to the structural stability of the main tower and simply provide the impression of strength, as do the structurally insignificant pilasters of many early Norman towers. (Figs 4 and 5).



Figure 4. Longtown keep, aerial view (photo Adam Stanford, Aerial-Cam).

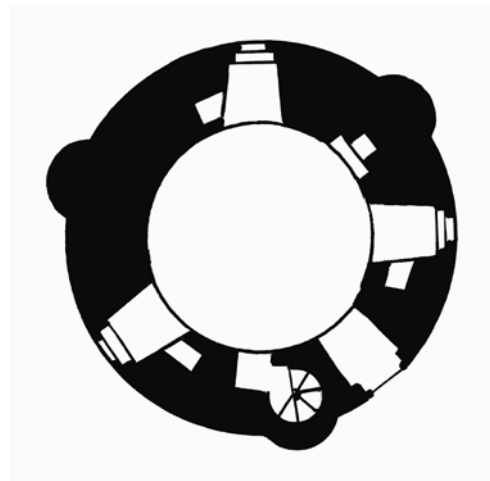


Figure 5. Longtown keep, section at hall level (drawn by M. Cook).

The spiral stairway connected three circular rooms, one above the other, before continuing on up to the wall walk. The lowest room was an undercroft, used for storage and perhaps serving as an occasional prison. Above this was a small hall with a fireplace and above this, the sleeping quarters for the lord or his constable. Joists for each of the two upper floors were supported by a setback in the wall and a diametrical main beam braced with two struts rising from corbels below.

Longtown Castle lacks the arrowslits normally seen in towers from the 13th century. The undercroft was unlit, while the small windows of the upper storey provided light but not positions for archers or crossbowmen. The hall has three wide windows, fronting generous embrasures, each containing a window seat and a cupboard built into the wall. Externally, each window has a relieving arch of dressed stone voussoirs to divert the weight of the overhead stonework from the lintels above the windows.

The RCHME survey of 1931 suggested that the windows are 14th-century alterations but that seems extremely unlikely.³ Inserting the pitched-stone segmental arches of the embrasures would have necessitated demolishing much of the structure above them and there is no evidence for this in the stonework. The uniformity of the three windows in terms of their position, shape, dimensions, and structure argues strongly for their being part of the original build.

Strangely, the voussoirs of the northern window, hidden from view from anywhere within the castle, are carved on both their outer and lower faces with motifs typical of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture. (Fig. 6). This group of sculptors was active in the second quarter of the 12th century, providing distinctive carved stonework for ecclesiastical buildings in Herefordshire and the surrounding counties.⁴ It has long been held that these stones were re-used from an earlier building.⁵ However, careful examination reveals that about a third of the central stone is missing, while the second stone from the right was clearly never finished. Its lower surface is uncarved and flawed, so it had not been used in another building. Presumably these stones were intended for a church somewhere, but being unacceptable perhaps remained in the mason's yard until a less critical use was found for them at Longtown Castle, in a place where they would be out of sight.

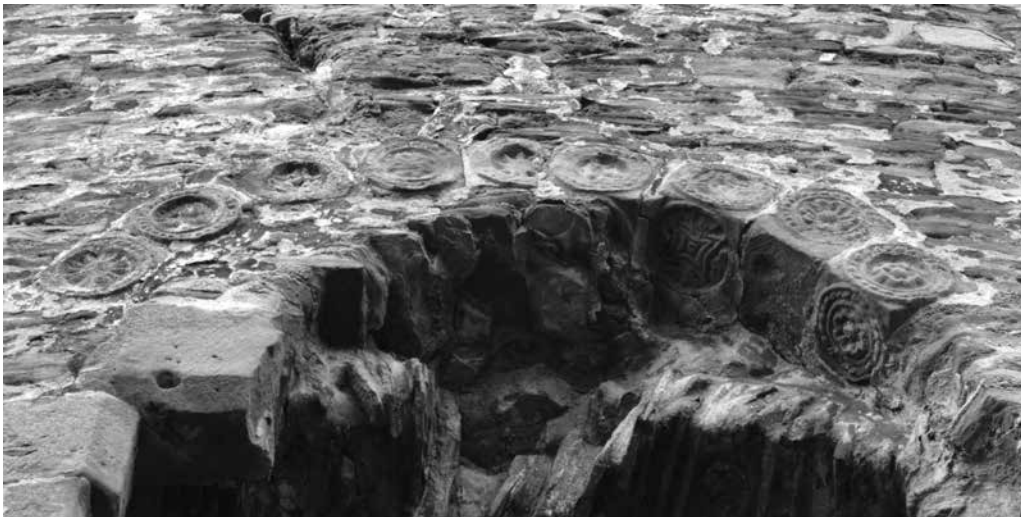


Figure 6. Romanesque voussoirs (photo M. Cook).

Near to the top of the tower there were nine square beam slots (seven remain since the collapse) radiating through the thickness of the wall, three between each of the three turrets. These have been represented as carrying the beams for a hoarding or fighting platform jettied out from the wall from where missiles could be dropped on to attackers at the foot of the wall. In reality they are too few and too widely spaced to support such a structure and anyway Longtown had no need of it since the plinth continued the slope of the motte leaving nowhere for attackers to stand. Internally these slots are heightened to hold the principal rafters of the roof and they were extended out through the wall to allow rainwater to escape via lead or timber gutters.

The tower wall continued up above the gutters to shield the roof before being topped with a circular wall walk and parapet. From here steps led up to the three raised turrets, which were protected by horseshoe-shaped parapets. In case of attack, the keep would be defended from the wall walk and the turrets. From this elevation the defenders could also command the baileys and their curtain walls, which were all within bowshot range.

What is left of the main gateway to the bailey can be recognised by building lines in the mass of masonry alongside the present entrance to the castle. If there was a gatehouse or gate tower, it was undeveloped and did not project beyond the curtain wall. Little now remains of the curtain wall but it is clear from the earthworks that it was not reinforced with enfilading towers. The curtain wall was keyed into the plinth of the keep so there is no reason to suppose that they were not built more or less consecutively.

The bailey was later divided in two by a cross wall with a surprisingly small gatehouse. This has solid D-shaped projecting turrets, a slot for a portcullis and a pointed arch. The doorway to the inner bailey is at the rear of the gatehouse and no more than 1.8m wide, which would have severely restricted the number of attackers who could assault it.

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Recognising the volatility of the border between England and Wales, Edward the Confessor allowed some of his Norman followers to build castles in Herefordshire, including one at Ewyas (later to be called Ewyas Harold), five miles to the east of Longtown.⁶ At this time, the western part of Ewyas, including the area of Longtown, was still held by the Welsh.

In 1055 Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, who briefly attained sovereignty over all Wales, joined with the exiled Earl Ælfgar to defeat the Earl of Hereford's forces before looting Hereford cathedral and burning the city.⁷ Harold Godwinson, who later became King Harold, commanded the army that chased Gruffydd back into Welsh territory. They 'encamped beyond Straddele', now the Dore Valley, which places them in what was later to become Ewyas Lacy. Harold took part of his army back to Hereford where they repaired the city defences with 'a wide ditch and an earth embankment'. The rest of the army was ordered to remain in Wales and prepare for a Welsh attack, which failed to materialise.⁸

Orderic Vitalis recorded that after the Conquest, King William granted 'the county of Hereford to William FitzOsbern, high steward of Normandy, giving him the charge, in conjunction with Walter de Lacy and other tried soldiers, of defending the frontier against the Welsh, who were breathing defiance. Their first expedition was a bold attack on the people of Brecknock'.⁹ William FitzOsbern was arguably the Normans' most able military commander. Apparently determined that Hereford would not burn again, he set about building a chain of castles commanding the main routes out of Wales, as well as the approach from the Severn Estuary that had been used by mercenary fleets of Vikings based in Ireland. This work included re-fortification of the castle at Ewyas Harold.¹⁰

Before he died in 1071, FitzOsbern had granted extensive land holdings to Walter de Lacy and it is clear from the siting of the de Lacy castles that they were working together to secure the border.

During the Revolt of the Earls in 1075, Walter de Lacy demonstrated his loyalty to the Crown and proved his martial skills by helping to prevent the forces of FitzOsbern's son, Roger de Breteuil, from joining up with the other rebels.¹¹ In the aftermath of the rebellion, King William appointed no new earl of Hereford and distributed the lands of the earldom among a number of notable barons thereby preventing any one of them becoming too powerful. Walter de Lacy held land in both the castleries of Ewyas Harold and Clifford, and should have been an obvious candidate to receive at least one of FitzWilliam's castles, but was presumably excluded because he was already in possession of a substantial power base along the border.

Walter died in 1085 and the following year the Domesday Book recorded the lands inherited by his son, Roger. He was tenant-in-chief of around 80 manors in Herefordshire alone.¹² Of particular interest is the property outside the jurisdiction of the castle and the county, considered to be the first reference to Ewyas Lacy. 'Roger also has land called Ewias within the boundary of Ewias. This land does not belong to the castlery nor to the Hundred. From this land Roger has 15 sesters of honey, 15 pigs when the men are there and justice over them.'¹³ Unusually for Domesday this entry gives no indication of the extent of cultivated land and is so short on detail that it is doubtful if the Domesday commissioners went there. However, at other holdings paying a rental of honey, the rent per plough averaged around one and a half sesters (approximately three pounds) of honey. In Herefordshire a plough was equivalent to half an English hide or roughly 60 acres. This suggests that Roger's fifteen sesters of honey could be the rent for 10 ploughs or more, equal to a square mile of cultivated land. To feed ten plough teams, made up of perhaps 60 oxen, would have required extensive pasture and meadowland. In addition, the payment of fifteen pigs suggests a herd of around ten times that number, using the pannage of acorns and beech mast from a substantial acreage of woodland. It is clear that soon after the Conquest, the de Lacys were defending a large and valuable landholding within Wales.

After William the Conqueror's death, Roger de Lacy twice conspired unsuccessfully against the new king, William Rufus, who exiled him to Normandy. His property in England and the Marches passed to his brother, Hugh de Lacy. When Hugh died childless around 1115, Ewyas Lacy was granted to Payn FitzJohn who was killed in a Welsh ambush in 1137. During the civil war known as the Anarchy, Roger de Lacy's son, Gilbert, fought to regain his father's property and by 1149 he had recovered the main part of his inheritance, including Ludlow, Weobley and Ewyas Lacy.¹⁴ These honours subsequently passed to his sons, Robert and then Hugh, who went on to acquire huge estates in Ireland.

When Hugh was murdered, his son, Walter, was still in his minority and for a time Ewyas Lacy was held by the Crown and administered by the Sheriff of Hereford. The pipe rolls from 1187 to 1190 record that he spent £37 *per annum* on the custody of the de Lacy Castle of Ewyas and the New Castle. It has long been assumed that the Castle of Ewyas was Ponthendre, while the New Castle was Longtown.¹⁵ The Longtown Castles Project proved that this assumption was only partially true.

The de Lacy dynasty ended in 1241 when Walter died, heavily in debt. As his son and grandson had both died earlier, the lordship and its remaining estates were divided between Walter's two granddaughters.

THE SURVEYS

English Heritage, now Historic England, kindly provided funding for a comprehensive geophysical survey of Ponthendre, Castle Green, and part of Longtown Castle's outer bailey. Although resistivity, gradiometry, and ground penetrating radar were all used, the results were largely uninformative and frankly disappointing. Those anomalies that were detected were amorphous and unresolved. Only excavation was going to explain why.

Both locations were overflowed by a camera-carrying drone. Several thousand high-definition photographs were processed to provide accurate 3-dimensional models of the two castles and their surrounding areas. Later this technique was also applied at Walterstone motte and bailey.

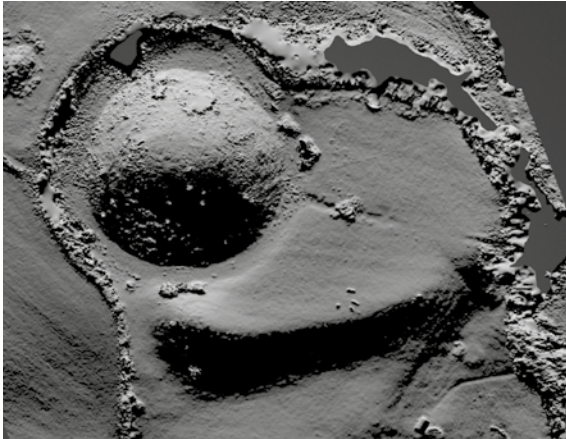


Figure 7. A 3-D model of Ponthendre (Adam Stanford, Aerial-Cam).



Figure 8. A 3-D model of Walterstone (Adam Stanford, Aerial-Cam).

In addition, LiDAR data provided a ground-form model of the whole Monnow valley from Longtown to Clodock. This showed that a remarkable amount of the medieval landscape still exists. The results are discussed later.

THE EXCAVATIONS

We decided to excavate both at Ponthendre and Longtown Castle Green for two three-week seasons during 2016 and 2017. To the best of our knowledge this is the only time that a community archaeology project has excavated at two scheduled monuments simultaneously. After a process of competitive tendering we appointed Herefordshire Archaeology to supervise the excavations and Tim Hoverd put together a first-rate team of professional archaeologists. Meanwhile we recruited a team of willing volunteers, mostly from Longtown and the surrounding area, although one came from Alaska for both seasons! The detailed excavation reports have been published elsewhere so the following is just a summary of the most relevant points.¹⁶

At Ponthendre, trenches were cut on top of the motte to look for remains of the tower and across the edge of the bailey to investigate the perimeter defences. Two more trenches were sited to look for buildings and activities within the bailey.¹⁷ We discovered that the bailey had been protected by a moat and a low rampart built of the turf, earth, and broken stone that came from digging the moat. We also located the entrance to the bailey.

Soil analysis showed that the Ponthendre earthworks were built on a deep layer of forest soil. Clearing trees from the site and its surrounding area would have provided timber for building stockades and a tower. The big surprise was that there were no signs of the expected stockade and no indication that a tower had ever been built on the motte. Within the bailey there were no remains of any buildings, in fact nothing to show that the castle was ever completed and occupied. This explained why the geophysics results were so uninformative. There was no significant archaeology below the turf apart from the earthworks themselves. This was disappointing, though it was now evident that Ponthendre was not the de Lacy Castle of Ewyas mentioned in the pipe rolls. A review of other castle sites in the area resulted in our concluding

that the Castle of Ewyas must have referred to the motte and bailey at Walterstone, three miles south of Longtown.

At Longtown Castle Green a priority was given to exposing a section through the rampart (Trench 1). This showed that the rampart had been built in three phases. Firstly blocks of turf had been stacked to form a bank, currently around a metre in height but presumably somewhat higher when built and before being compacted with age. The second phase was layers of earth, subsoil and decayed sandstone and mudstone, probably all derived from enlarging the ditch, raising the height of the rampart to about five metres. This had been left long enough for a layer of soil to develop before the third phase added at least another 0.35m to the height of the rampart. There was no indication of any wall or timber palisade built on the rampart. Either its height and surrounding ditch were considered to be sufficient defence or it may have been topped with a thorn hedge that left no archaeological trace. Unfortunately the rampart contained no dateable pottery but charcoal from the lowest turf layer gave a radiocarbon date range of 355-117BC. Soil analysis indicates that the land below the rampart was grazed before the coming of the Romans.

Three other trenches were located to sample activities within the area enclosed by the rampart. It soon became apparent that much of the Green had been used over the centuries as a dumping ground, which is what had obscured the geophysics results here. It wasn't until near the end of the second excavation season that we found clear evidence of Roman occupation in the form of 1st-century pottery, mostly typical of Severn Valley Ware, backed up by radiocarbon dating. One large sherd was later identified as part of a Dressel Type 20 amphora, used to transport olive oil from southern Spain and found frequently at Roman military sites. Other features included kilns or ovens and a remarkably well-preserved line of carbonised timber planks. In Trench 2 the Roman occupation layers were overlain by a 13th-century metallised road surface, flanked on one side by a ditch and on the other by a line of stones that probably supported the sill beam of a timber building. The ditch contained evidence of blacksmithing.

Trench 3 in the south-west of the Green was cut into a formidable sloping pile of dumped material. A thick upper layer contained pieces of daub retaining the imprints of wattle, as well as charcoal and mid 13th-century pottery fragments. This deposit appeared to be the debris of buildings cleared from elsewhere and it seems probable that it came from demolition work in preparation for building the new wall and gate dividing the bailey.

Below this were deposits containing 12th-century pottery, a soil layer and then another massive dump of sandstone rubble and clay, devoid of any occupational debris. If this material had come from quarrying a new defensive ditch, it would surely have been used to build up the rampart, rather than being carted away. A more likely suggestion is that it was derived from lowering the motte to make a large enough surface for the new stone keep. The tops of the mottes at Ponthendre and Walterstone are around 12m across. Assuming that Longtown's motte was originally similar, then lowering it to the present 20m diameter would involve removing around 500 cubic metres of material that would have to be disposed of.

Trench 4 contained hearths, a pit and what appeared to be a clay-lined cistern for water storage or some industrial process. Pottery from the 13th century intermingled with some from the 1st century, indicated that medieval activities had cut into Roman deposits.

The finds provided a glimpse of activities that took place in and around the castle.¹⁸ The bulk of the medieval pottery sherds was from plain black cooking pots, the earliest being Worcester cooking-ware, often found associated with the earliest levels of 11th-century castles

such as Clifford and Wigmore.¹⁹ Among the dumped material there were also pieces of high-quality, decorated, green-glazed tableware. A turned stone spindle whorl provided evidence of cloth making. A horseshoe and several horseshoe nails showed that a farrier worked on the Green. A white glass gaming piece would have been used for playing chequers or backgammon. A piece of Wye Valley millstone, half a mile from the nearest watermill, perhaps suggested the presence of a windmill. The other de Lacy honour of Weobley had a windmill and two watermills in 1403.²⁰

Remarkably the Green appears to have been more or less unoccupied after the 13th century, indicating that after then there were no further major alterations to the castle.

A REVISED HISTORY

Using the results of the surveys, the excavations, and the review of documentary sources, we are able to propose a revised, evidence-based history for Ewyas Lacy and the development of Longtown.

Ewyas Lacy, Prehistoric to pre-Conquest

The project provided evidence for prehistoric activity at Ponthendre and Longtown, with flint blades excavated at both sites. Waste flakes demonstrated that tools were made on site and not simply imported. Although these worked flints could not be dated, a polished stone axe head recently found beyond the excavated sites show that the Longtown area was occupied during the Neolithic period.²¹

The Olchon Valley above Longtown saw Beaker cist burials and a burial cairn with remains of at least 21 cremation burials during the Bronze Age.²²

There are Iron Age forts not far from Longtown, at Walterstone, on Hatterall Ridge, and on the Skirrid. Recently a 1st-century AD Colchester-type cloak pin was found in one of the fields adjoining Longtown Castle.

The early radiocarbon date range for the turf bank at the base of the Longtown rampart might suggest an Iron Age construction, but Iron Age enclosures are invariably irregular or subrectangular at best. Either the charcoal was residual or it came from the heart of a mature tree. The square shape with rounded corners and the 1st-century pottery found within the rampart both confirm that it began as a Roman fort, similar in size and shape to those located at Caerhun, Gellygaer, Pen Llystyn and several other locations in Wales and the Marches. Longtown was part of the network of Roman forts extending along the border with the territories of the Silures and Ordovices. It is roughly equidistant from, and a comfortable day's march from, the larger forts at Clifford and Clyro and the settlements of Gobannium (Abergavenny) and Magnis (Kenchester). The complete lack of stonework or ceramic building material found during the excavations and the absence of Roman finds elsewhere in the Longtown area indicate that Longtown fort was soon abandoned and did not result in any significant Romano-British settlement.

Later, the Roman turf bank was enhanced to a massive rampart, some 5m. high and 12m. wide. Such an undertaking, involving the movement of around 10,000 cubic metres of material, was the work of a substantial body of men, yet they left no obviously perceptible archaeological signature. The most likely candidate has to be the larger part of the army of Harold Godwinson, 'encamped beyond Straddele' and waiting for a Welsh attack, while the rest of the force was refortifying Hereford with a bank and ditch. While Snodhill and Mouse Castle have also been

put forward as possible alternative locations for Harold's army camp, both are actually within Straddle, rather than beyond, leaving Longtown as the most likely setting.

Ewyas Lacy after the Conquest

The period immediately after the Conquest is more difficult to resolve but in spite of a paucity of specific historical evidence, it is possible to reconstruct a rational history for the development of Ewyas Lacy that explains why there is an unfinished castle at Ponthendre, little more than half a mile away from the castle at Longtown that was to become the *caput* of Ewyas Lacy.

The Domesday Book indicates that soon after the Conquest the de Lacys were in control of a substantial landholding within Wales and outside English administration. It seems implausible that holding this territory would have been possible without fortifications. Unfortunately the Domesday Book provides no information on de Lacy castles. The Herefordshire section names only six castles. These are the two pre-Conquest castles of Richard's Castle and Ewyas Harold, William FitzOsbern's castles at Wigmore, Clifford, and Monmouth, and lastly Caerleon, built after the annexation of Gwent. Except for Richard's Castle they are all referred to as *castellaria*, castleries, signifying their special status. The Domesday Book does not provide a comprehensive list of castles. Many others are known from different sources. For example, Hereford Castle is not mentioned although it is known to have been already in existence by 1067 from the account of Aedric the Wild's attack on its garrison in that year.²³ The dense concentration of motte and bailey castles along the border implies that most were built in the early years after the Conquest but before the Norman push into Wales. Few have any recorded history. It is highly improbable that no castles were built along the Welsh/Herefordshire border in the 15 years between the death of FitzOsbern in 1071 and Domesday in 1086. It is equally unlikely that Walter de Lacy, specifically charged with defending the border with Wales, had no castles during the first two decades after the Conquest.

The subjugation of Ewyas Lacy would have begun at the castlery of Ewyas Harold, FitzOsbern's re-fortification of a pre-Conquest castle. Walter de Lacy held land and houses there, and there is little doubt that it was he who advanced into Welsh-held Ewyas to build the motte and bailey at Walterstone—Walter's town.²⁴ The high motte was thrown up using the earth and stone from a very deep and wide ditch. While there is plenty of stone visible on the motte, there is no sign of any built structure so it was presumably only ever topped with a timber tower. The crescent-shaped bailey to the east of the motte would have housed a garrison. Siting his castle on relatively flat ground suggests that Walter was minded to establish a borough there. From here Walter could venture further into Welsh territory and also give advance warning to Ewyas Harold in the event of an attack from Gwent or Brycheiniog. Doubtless the castles of Ewyas Harold and Ewyas Lacy would have been mutually supportive and were near enough to provide reinforcements to each other if ever the necessity arose. The question is, what happened next? The suggestion that the powerful Lords of Ewyas Lacy failed to secure Clodock, just two miles up the Monnow Valley, until the time of Payn FitzJohn, while other marcher lords had already reached Pembroke, lacks credibility.²⁵

A glance at the map shows that once Longtown Castle was founded, building a castle at Ponthendre would be pointless (Fig. 9). Therefore the Ponthendre earthworks must have been built before Longtown Castle was established. That leads on to the questions of when was Ponthendre constructed and why wasn't it built at the more strategically advantageous site of Longtown?

The presence of the fort at Longtown, reinforced by Harold Godwinson's army only a decade before the Conquest, would surely have posed a serious military threat to both Walter's castle at Walterstone and FitzOsbern's at Ewyas Harold. A sensible response to this threat would be to place a motte and bailey at Ponthendre, on the northern boundary of Clodock where the road from Longtown crosses the Olchon Brook. The fact that building started at Ponthendre rather than at Longtown indicates that the fort was indeed occupied, presumably by a hostile force of Welsh, perhaps supported by

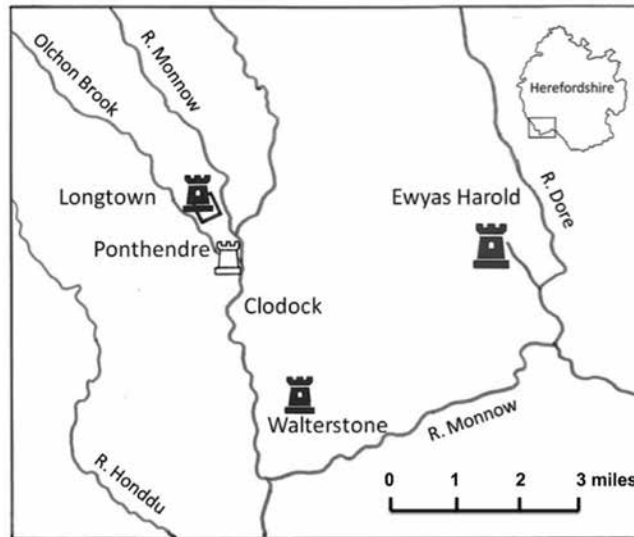


Figure 9. A map of the early castles of Ewyas (drawn by M. Cook).

displaced English. However, FitzOsbern and Walter had been charged with defending the border and not precipitating a war with the Welsh. In the early years after the Conquest the Normans had to contend with numerous uprisings and a constant threat of foreign invasion. When the Danes did come in 1069, the indefatigable William FitzOsbern was ordered north to pacify and secure York.²⁶ It is understandable that he and Walter de Lacy might have preferred a policy of containment rather than taking an aggressive stance against the Welsh occupying a well-defended position in Longtown.

The occupants of the Longtown fort certainly wouldn't have appreciated a castle being built just over half a mile south of their position and were doubtless 'breathing defiance'. When FitzOsbern and Walter acted against the people of Brycheiniog, clearing the fort at Longtown may well have been part of this action. The outcome was that a new castle was built at Longtown, preventing any further Welsh use of the rampart. With the newly created territory of Ewyas Lacy now safely triangulated by the three castles of Ewyas Harold, Walterstone and Longtown, the uncompleted castle at Ponthendre would have become an irrelevance that could be safely abandoned. As the excavation proved, it was never to be completed or occupied.

Our conclusion is that Ewyas Lacy was one of the very first Marcher lordships, probably established before the death of William FitzOsbern in 1071, with its *caput* initially at Walterstone but later transferring to Longtown from where it could dominate the whole of the upper Monnow as far north as Cusop and extend its influence into the Llanthony Valley.

The stone castle at Longtown

In Britain few round keeps have been accurately dated but New Buckenham is generally accepted as having been built by 1150.²⁷ Orford and Conisbrough, with their projecting turrets, followed soon afterwards. During the 13th century a cluster of round keeps was built in south Wales. Unlike Longtown, none of these has round projecting turrets, except for Skenfrith with a single stair turret and Caldicot with a turret containing a latrine.²⁸

It has been suggested that Longtown was rebuilt in stone in the early 13th century by Walter de Lacy II, its design based on William Marshall's round keep at Pembroke, built around 1200.²⁹ We found no solid evidence to support this proposition and comparing the structures of Longtown and Pembroke reveals far more differences than similarities.

	<u>Pembroke</u>	<u>Longtown</u>
Storeys	Four	Three
Projecting turrets	None	Three
Symmetrical plan	No	Yes
Arrowslits	Yes	No
Floor structure	Radial joists	Setback and main beam
Wall walk	Two tiers	Single
Hoarding	Yes	No
Roof	Stone dome	Timber rafters

Cathcart King classified castles as being either primitive or scientific, with the transition occurring around 1154 when Henry II took the throne at the end of the Anarchy.³⁰ Pembroke, with its arrowslits, developed gateways, and enfilading towers along the curtain wall, is cited as an example of a scientific fortification. Longtown, on the other hand, completely lacking in arrowslits and without a developed main gateway or curtain wall towers, definitely falls within the category of primitive castles. Stylistically, it appears that Longtown predated Pembroke and since the only similarity between the two keeps is their basic drum-shape, it seems we should look elsewhere for Longtown's inspiration.

In France, round keeps were being built from the beginning of the 12th century and soon after there was a vogue for symmetrical keeps, both square and round, with round projecting turrets. Of particular interest is a group of four keeps built not far from Paris, around the middle of the 12th century (Fig. 10). Like Longtown they each have geometrical designs based on arcs of circles. They are certainly impressive and practical strongholds for their time, but their complex and unique plans offer no particular defensive advantages in either structural strength or in improved sightlines. It seems that their master builders simply had an appreciation of geometry and symmetry.

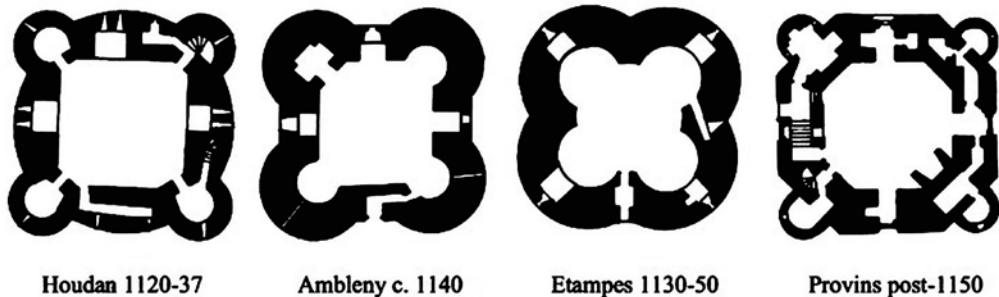


Figure 10. Mid-12th-century geometrical keeps in France and their probable dates (drawn by M. Cook).

The one most similar to Longtown is at Houdan, guarding the approach to Paris from Normandy (Figs 11 and 12). It has a drum-shaped keep with four projecting round turrets. There are four, rather than three storeys but the different quality of the masonry of the fourth storey suggests that it may be a later addition. The first floor has round arches of dressed stone over the windows. It is thought to have been built between 1120 and 1137 by Amaury de Montfort who was Count of Évreux in Normandy. Currently it is used as a water tower, which coincidentally was a role served by Longtown Castle until the 1970s.



Figure 11. Houdan keep (from an original photo by G. Freihalter via Wikimedia Commons licence).



Figure 12. Longtown keep (photo M. Cook).

Longtown Castle contains decorated stones from the second quarter of the 12th century that have now been reassessed as being part of the original build. Because of the dating of these stones, Thurlby suggested that Payn FitzJohn might have ordered the building before his death in 1137.³¹ Interestingly the dates of his lordship of Ewyas Lacy correspond closely with that of Amaury de Montfort at Évreux. However, a new stone castle only fourteen miles from Hereford would surely have attracted the attention of the warring parties during the following 17 years of the Anarchy, yet it receives no mention in the chronicles. There is, however, circumstantial evidence to suggest that Gilbert de Lacy was more likely to have been the builder.

Ludlow Castle, also held by the de Lacys, was one of the earliest castles to be built in stone. During the Anarchy, Gilbert experienced sieges at Ludlow on a number of occasions, both as attacker and defender, so he was well placed to appreciate the advantages of stone castles. In the bailey at Ludlow there is a chapel with a round nave, typical of Templar churches (Fig 13). Although not a defensive structure, it is capped with crenellations in the form of a round keep. During his lordship Gilbert de Lacy ceded a number of manors to the Knights Templar, before

joining them and departing on crusade around 1160.³² He is therefore the most likely builder of the chapel at Ludlow. In order to build a chapel emulating a round keep Gilbert must have been familiar with the form and there is a strong possibility that he knew Amaury de Montfort's keep at Houdan. Brought up in Normandy, Gilbert held a knight's fee from de Montfort in Évreux and named his youngest son Amaury. He and his sons, Hugh and Amaury, witnessed charters for Amaury de Montfort's son, Simon. This link between the de Lacys and Évreux continued down to Walter II's lordship when Nicholas d'Évreux was his seneschal.³³

Gilbert may have regained control of Ewyas Lacy soon after Payn FitzJohn's death but is unlikely to have been in position

to start rebuilding the castle in stone until the more settled times after he had recovered Weobley and Ludlow in 1149. If this was the case then Longtown Castle was probably constructed in the decade after 1150. The elapsed time of around 80 years between raising the motte and building the stone keep would have been adequate to allow for settlement and deep foundations were not required. If the work was not completed by the time he left for the Holy Land, Longtown may have been completed by his sons, Robert and Hugh, the latter a noted castle builder in Ireland. In the pipe rolls of 1187-90 it was still referred to as the New Castle.

During the troubled times of the 13th century, it was felt necessary to improve the castle's defences. Buildings were cleared from the bailey, their debris being removed and dumped on the Green in order that the bailey could be divided in two by a cross wall with a more modern and more defensible gatehouse, incorporating towers and a portcullis.

This proposed timeframe for the development of Longtown Castle is consistent with the 12th and 13th century activity on the Green detected by excavation. Therefore it appears that Longtown is probably the earliest round keep in Wales and the Marches, and one of the earliest in the whole country.

The development of the borough

The borough of Longtown was probably founded at the same time as the stone castle, although there would almost certainly have already been a settlement around the earlier wooden castle.



Figure 13. The Templar chapel at Ludlow (photo M. Cook).

Most properties of the township lie on a single street, running down the ridge between the valleys of the rivers Monnow and Olchon before continuing to the parish church at Clodock a mile away. By 1292 it was referred to as '*Longa Villa*', the Long Town of Ewyas Lacy.³⁴

The excavations on Castle Green showed that the area within the square rampart was not settled after the 13th century and before that time was probably reserved for military use. The borough developed in two embanked areas to the north and south of the rampart. These are generally thought to be medieval in origin but there is a possibility that they were based on annexes to the Roman fort, either used during its construction or as extensions to contain workshops. Previous small-scale excavations did not provide any useful dating evidence. North of the castle, medieval activity is largely obscured by modern development. The southern enclosure contained the triangular marketplace. Here a chapel of ease dedicated to Saint Peter was built in the 12th or 13th century, although Saint Clydawg's at Clodock, founded in the 6th century, retained its position as the parish church.³⁵

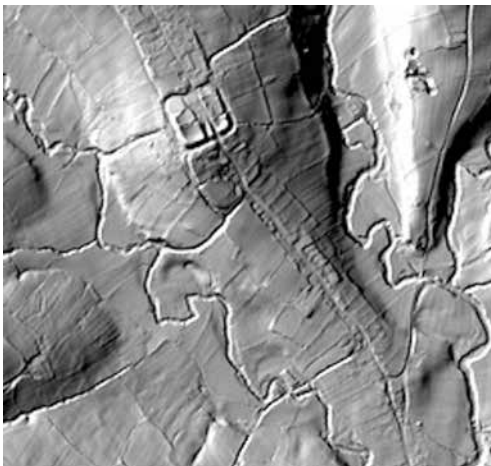


Figure 14. LiDAR image of Longtown (N. Kidd).



Figure 15. LiDAR interpretation (drawn by M. Cook).

LiDAR imagery, although to date only low resolution, has provided some new insights into the plan of the borough (Figs 14 and 15). To the east of the road going south of the castle there are around 25 burgage plots, seen as distinctive terraces bounded by low banks. These appear to have been laid out within the boundaries of earlier underlying strip fields. Recent house building still respects the divisions of the burgage plots, although dividing them in two. Strangely there are no burgage plots visible to the west of the road, an area that appears to be divided into a number of closes. This rather suggests that the establishment of the borough of Longtown failed to live up to expectations. Later there was an episode of encroachment on the west side of the road, still apparent in the narrow properties lining the road today. According to Beresford, by 1310 the borough had 100 burgages.³⁶ This number is at odds with what the LiDAR shows so must include properties lying outside the nucleus of Longtown, probably from Clodock to the south as far as Craswall to the north. Around 1234, Isabel, the widow of another Gilbert de Lacy, Walter II's son, endowed the priory with a fulling mill at Ewyas and a burgage with 8 acres of land attached to the mill.³⁷ Clearly a burgage with that amount of land and enough water

to run a mill was not in the heart of the borough. By 1316 the divided de Lacy lordship held three watermills worth £10. These were named as Michaelchurch, Clodock and Castle Mill. Since there are no mill sites nearer than half a mile from Longtown Castle, Castle Mill may refer to Trewyn Mill below Walterstone Castle.

The large closes east of the castle rampart were de Lacy demesne land that was still held by the lordship in the 18th century. The damper parts of the river valleys were unploughed meadows. Elsewhere the surrounding land was generally divided into selions or strip fields with ridge and furrow ploughing, known locally as ‘cop and reen’.

The borough didn’t prosper. Division of the lordship on the death of debt-laden Walter II in 1241 must have brought administrative problems, doubtless exacerbated by the Black Death, which saw the income from the borough fall from £82 in 1332 to only £49 in 1369.³⁸ The three mills were in ruins for the whole of the 16th century, when the lordship was held by the Lords of Abergavenny and the Crown.³⁹ Queen Elizabeth gave her half of the lordship to Dudley, her Master of Horse in 1566. His surveyors reported:

The said town is a very long town being but one street in it, old houses and no inns nor lodging in it, the most part of all my Lord of Burguany’s houses are kept in good reparations, the rest being now your Lordship’s portion utterly in decay, and many house and burgages that have yielded rent now hath waste not possible to be re-edified again because there is no man (if they were built again) that would take them to dwell in for that there is no manner of ground belonging to them, but the very plot where the house stood.⁴⁰

Although Longtown didn’t grow into a flourishing market town, neither did it become a deserted medieval village. By the 17th century the mills of the lordship were in private hands and working again, soon in competition with several others, and in more recent times Clodock and Longtown boasted seven inns, as they say locally, one for every day of the week.⁴¹

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Street names and numbers in Hereford in the middle of the nineteenth century: a warning to historians

By JOHN C. EISEL

*O*ften one of the most difficult things for a local historian is to actually identify a building within a town. A street name and number, when available, are very useful, but are not always foolproof, as both of these do get altered, and this must be borne in mind in any interpretation. This is particularly true of Hereford in the middle of the nineteenth century, and such alterations caused problems to the citizens then and still cause problems to historians today!

BACKGROUND

In the middle of the nineteenth century the present Commercial Street, Hereford, was one of the major parts of the commercial centre, but was then called Bye Street, a name which suggested that it was something of a backwater. Clearly this was not a view that would be supported by those involved in trade, and it is not surprising that Mr Abraham Myer, a prominent silversmith and pawnbroker with premises in Bye Street, tried to get this altered. At a monthly meeting of the Commissioners under the 1774 Lighting and Paving Act which took place on 4 March 1851, he gave notice that at the next meeting he would move that ‘the name of “Bye-street” should be altered to “Commercial-street.”’ Two days later he presented a petition to this effect from the inhabitants of Bye Street to a meeting of the Town Council. However, when Thomas Evans, the Mayor, who was in the chair, was handed the petition he remarked that since it was addressed to the Commissioners of Paving and Lighting, it should be presented to them, but remarked that ‘it was, in his opinion, a matter of regret that the affairs of the city should be transacted by two distinct bodies.’¹

There was another proposal for a new name for Bye Street, as the *Hereford Times* of 8 March 1851 published a letter from ‘LOYALTY’ which suggested that ‘Queen-street’ or ‘Victoria-street’ would be an appropriate alternative. The editor, however, pointed out that in Hereford there was already a Victoria Street and an Albert Street, and stated that Bye Street was thought to be a corruption of ‘Bishops-gate-street’. This latter point was taken up in a letter by ‘G.J.C.’, published in the *Hereford Times* the following week, which suggested that the old name be reverted to, as streets named ‘Queen’ or ‘Victoria’ were often applied to streets of very poor description, as was also the name Commercial Street, quoting examples of the latter. It is somewhat surprising that when Abraham Myer presented a petition to the meeting of the Commissioners under the 1774 Act that took place on 1 April 1851 the petition called for the name to be changed to Queen Street. This found no support—his proposal did not even get a seconder—and so failed.²

AFTER THE IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1854

The situation in Hereford changed with the passing of the Hereford Improvement Act, which received the Royal Assent on 2 June 1854. By this the Commissioners under the 1774 Act were abolished, leaving a single authority for the city. No doubt this helped when the question of

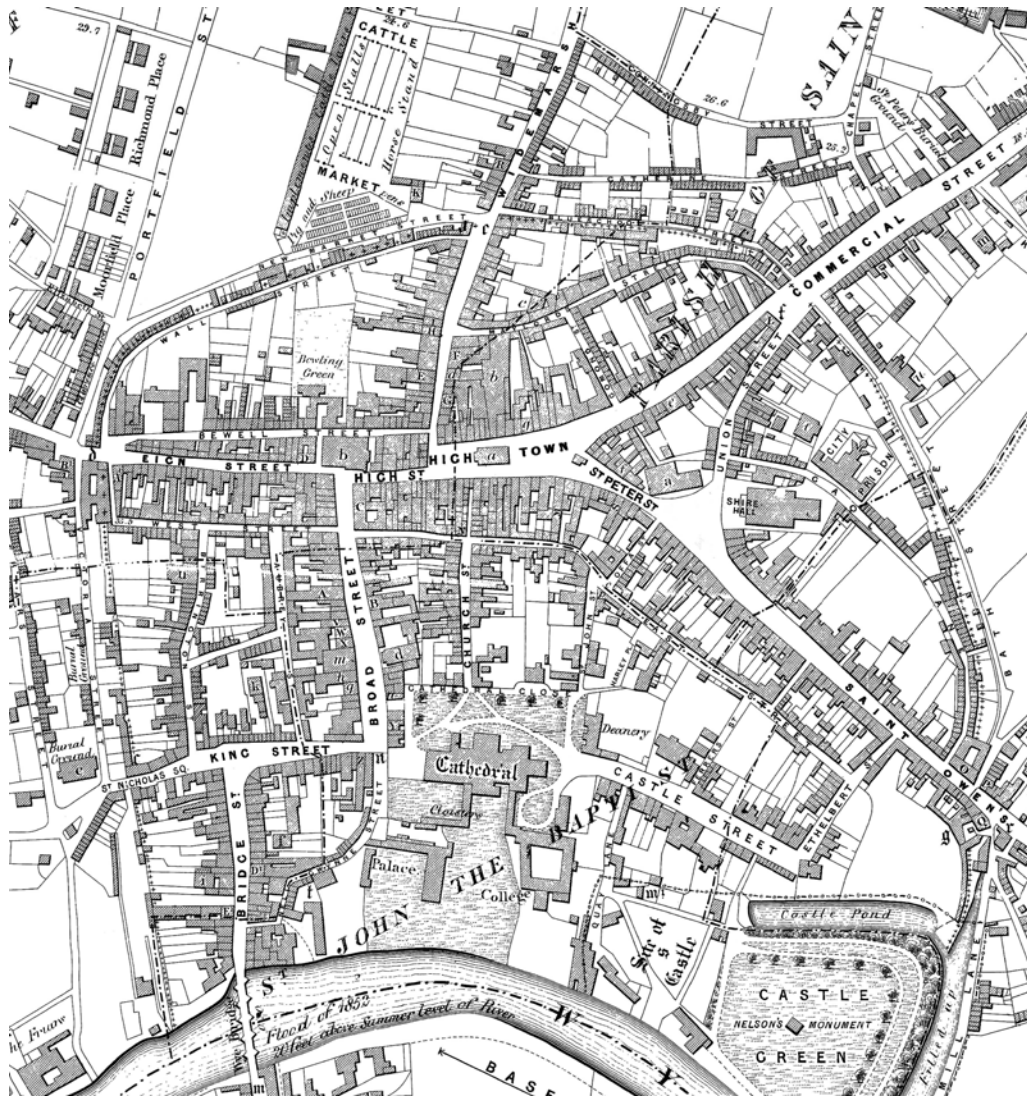


Figure 1. The centre of Hereford, taken from of Curley's map of Hereford, which was published in 1858: the names of the streets which are discussed in this paper are in bold lettering. This digital image has been made from a copy of the map found in the basement of the Town Hall by Ken Lee in the 1950s, and kindly provided by Dr Derek Foxton.

a more general renaming of streets was raised in a letter that appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 3 March 1855, written by "P". In this he called attention of the authorities of the city to an improvement which could be effected at a very slight cost, by naming and numbering the streets, going on to say:³

At present, nearly all the streets of Hereford have *two* names, and none are numbered. If the *actual* names were conspicuously fixed at the end of each street,

and the houses numbered, it would very materially assist a stranger, who now is sadly puzzled to hit upon the right Davis, Williams, or Jones, in this semi-Welsh county.

It seems that the residents of Hereford had their own names; so, for instance, what was generally known as Cat's Lane had an alternative name of St Catherine Street.⁴ It is also clear that generally the streets had no signs and that the houses were not physically numbered, although numbers had been in use since at least the beginning of the century.⁵

Then, on 6 June 1855, a news item in the *Hereford Journal* called attention to the re-naming of certain streets, going on to say 'Cat's-lane has been transformed into Catherine-street, and other localities have been given more euphonious names than they formerly possessed' and calling attention to Bye Street, which the opening of the railway had given a greater prominence.

One street in the city has within the last few days put on an importance equal to that enjoyed by any other street the town—it has become a great railway thoroughfare and is still designated "Bye-street!" How *mal apropos*. This may have done for the middle ages, but won't do for the present time. Let it henceforward be known as "Commercial-street." The inhabitants should have it painted up at the two extremes of the thoroughfare, and the old title will soon be forgotten.

This seems to have been soon acted upon. In a court case that was tried at the Shirehall on 23 June 1855 there was a reference some stolen clothes having been found in a second-hand clothes shop in Commercial Street.⁶ Then on 1 August 1855 it was reported in the *Hereford Journal* that Mr [James] Vaughan, a dyer of Commercial Street, was one of principal showers of picotees in the Hereford Horticultural Exhibition.⁷ Clearly the residents of Bye Street were taking matters into their own hands! Perhaps this stimulated the Town Council into action, for at an adjourned meeting on 9 August 1855 it was decided to set up a committee to revise the old street names and name new roads. The names of the seven members of the committee, headed by that of the mayor (C. Anthony), were listed in the report of the meeting in the *Hereford Journal* of 15 August 1855. The committee set to work and its report was adopted at the annual meeting of the town council which took place in the Guildhall on 9 November 1855. The full details were published in a long report of the council meeting that appeared in the *Hereford Times* next day (there was no delay in publication, no doubt helped by the fact that Charles Anthony was the owner and editor!). The first recommendation was that Bye Street should be renamed Commercial Street 'in compliance with a wish expressed by a numerous and highly respectable body of the inhabitants of Bye-street'. (Fig. 2). Many of the recommendations were simple, such as changing



Figure 2. The present name exhibited on Commercial Street air-brushes a period of the history of the street.

‘Mill Lane’ to ‘Mill Street’, and there were a number of such changes. The change of ‘Cat’s-lane’ back to ‘Catharine-street’ was confirmed and a number of new roads were named.

All this is well known, and a summary of the changes was printed in 1911 in Collin’s *Modern Hereford* Part II (p.38). In reference to the changes noted above, he added the comment that ‘Those persons whose surnames were Lanes were for some time humorously addressed as Mr Street.’

However, these changes were slow in being implemented, and it seems that “P” wrote again to the *Hereford Times*, as on 9 May 1857 the following was published in a section of ‘Notices’, really replies to correspondents:

“P”—The Committee of the Town Council have “revised and corrected” our street nomenclature, and we expect daily to hear of the names being affixed, and the houses numbered in accordance with the Act of Parliament. We entirely agree with our Correspondent that these things are noted by visitors who, we hope, will be numerous in the ensuing summer—as signs of the state of civilization of a community.⁸

Clearly nothing had happened so far, and this explains why Cassey’s directory of Herefordshire, published in 1858, uses the old names, the information evidently being collected before these changes were fully implemented.

RENUMBERING FINALLY TAKES PLACE

While the new and amended street names gradually came into common usage—the name Bye Street was still being used occasionally several years later—the issue of numbers was left unresolved for several more years.⁹ At a quarterly meeting of the town council that took place on 6 August 1861 Mr Orlando Shellard made three suggestions to the meeting, the second one of which was ‘numbering of the houses in the streets.’ In response, Mr Anthony stated:

As to the second suggestion it was barbarous not to have the houses numbered, for nothing could be more unpleasant than for a stranger to go “mooning up and down the streets in search of a house.”

Accordingly a resolution was passed that Mr Shellard’s suggestions be carried out.¹⁰

Although renumbering began not too long afterwards, evidently this was not considered a matter of urgency as it was not until 31 May 1862 that the *Hereford Times* reported:

HOUSE NUMBERING.—We are glad that the work of consecutive house numbering in our streets has been progressing rapidly during the past week; A comparatively minor yet very important improvement will thus be effected, when the work is entirely completed upon the systematic plan on which it has so far been carried out.

Inevitably there was a reaction, a letter from 'A CITIZEN' querying the renumbering that was being carried out appearing in the *Hereford Journal* three weeks later: this was not just fixing house numbers to properties but also altering existing numbers, even if by a small amount.

SIR—Will you permit me to enquire, through the medium of your columns, if any of your readers can tell the motive that prompted the Corporation to act upon such contrary purposes in numbering the streets of our city, and reverse the route previously adopted, as is done in four of the principal streets—Widemarsh-street, for instance, with its 152 houses. It commences No. 1 where the last number formerly was, and runs backward upon the old numbers till 152 is brought to the place of No. 1. High-street, also Broad-street, with 58 houses, and St Owen-street, with its 151 houses, are treated just upon this moving backward principle; in the other streets a very loose plan is adopted, some houses having two numbers on them, others none, and all are so altered that out of every 100 houses 95 have fresh numbers placed thereon, to the great annoyance of the inmates, with considerable loss to some, and to the public generally much perplexity in finding, by the new figures, where the places are or how to address a letter with any certainty of correct delivery.

But we learn that a new light broke in upon our Corporation to insist upon commencing their plan of numbering all the streets from the left hand side, we hear to follow the course of the sun, thereby chiefly reversing the old mode of numbering. This notion appears erroneous, and certainly inconvenient, but the Act of Parliament gives arbitrary power to the Corporation, who engraft their crude notions upon it and carry them out to the utmost limit.

It possibly may be desirable to number the houses, but why go backwards in doing so in the four streets named? It is not so in other cities. The great metropolis proclaims against it; look at Oxford-street, its length and wealth, that is numbered from the right hand. The same course should have been pursued here, as required, and the convenience of the general public considered and adopted as much as possible.¹¹

Deciding which was the left-hand side was straightforward in that this was the left-hand side looking out from the city centre. Anomalies were inevitably caused by this wholesale renumbering. For Widemarsh Street, the pub called No. 5 (because that was its street number), became 148 Widemarsh Street. Similarly, the New Inn, a little further down, had been changed in title to No. 10 somewhere about the year 1860, only to find that in 1862 its street number was altered to 142, but both pub names persisted.¹²

For High Street, an internal street, the numbering could have been started from either end, but the initial numbering, on the right-hand side, was begun from the Broad Street end: when the renumbering took place it began at the High Town end, which merely reversed the direction of numbering on either side, but because of combination and division of properties the process was not straightforward.¹³ (Fig. 3)

The very minor alterations to some of the numbers caused frustration to the citizens and resulted in one court case. Abraham Powell, a grocer in a good way of business at 9 Eign Street

(now Eign Gate), was so annoyed with the new number that was placed on his business premises that he immediately removed it and objected in the strongest terms in a letter to the city surveyor, Mr Cole, who had been instructed by the Town Council to number the houses. It seems that the placing of the numbers was left to Mr Cole's discretion. The house next door to Mr Powell, No. 8, although one house, had been divided into two dwellings, and Mr Cole numbered them separately as Nos. 8 & 9, so that Mr Powell's shop became No. 10, and all the rest of the premises, down as far as the Maidenhead Inn, at the end of that side of Eign Street, a total of nineteen premises, were altered accordingly. In a letter to Mr Cole Mr Powell asked 'Why not put that No. 8, and No. 8¹/₂ over the temporary division?' This reasonable suggestion was ignored, and Mr Cole was instructed by the Town Council to write to Mr Powell and send him an abstract of the relevant Act of Parliament, which gave the Town Council powers to do more or less as they pleased with regard to numbering.¹⁴ Accordingly Mr Cole wrote to Mr Powell, the latter being infuriated when the letter was not even signed! As Mr Powell did not replace the number by a specified date, he was summoned to appear before the magistrates, where all this was gone into at length, and he took the opportunity to bring in other grievances. However, all the magistrates were empowered to do was to enforce the law, which in this particular case was in the favour of the Town Council, and the case was adjourned for a week. At the resumed hearing, when Mr Powell accepted that he 'had nothing to do but bow to the decision', the charge was not pressed, and on payment of costs of 7s. 6d. he left the court without a conviction.¹⁵

From the very minor alterations to the numbers, it is clear that Eign Street was already numbered on the left-hand (south) side, returning on the north side. However, at the renumbering the south side was numbered as far as Barton Station (by the traffic lights for Sainsbury's), returning from there on the north side. This extension clearly caused annoyance, and when J. H. Ing advertised his stock of dresses, etc. in the *Hereford Journal* on 10 January 1863 he gave his address as 46 & 47 Eign Street 'CORPORATION NUMBER 83 & 87.'

While 'A CITIZEN' made reference to the renumbering of four of the main streets the opposite way round, he made no mention of High Town, Church Street, St Peter Street, Commercial Street, King Street, and Bridge Street: to give a complete picture evidence relating to each of these will be considered in turn.

HIGH TOWN

For High Town, early in the nineteenth century the numbers began with 1 High Town at the north-west corner, a shop that was for many years occupied by the book- and print-selling business of

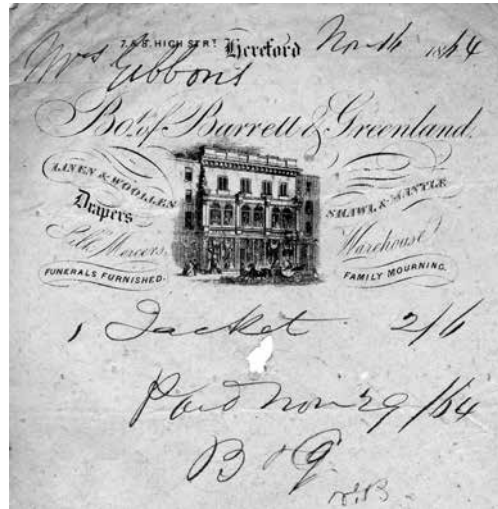


Figure 3. At the time that this invoice was issued, 7&8 High Street had been renumbered as 1 High Street, and so the old stock of headed notepaper was being used up. (Derek Foxtan Collection)

three generations of the Davies family, Thomas, and Thomas Theophilus Davies, senior and junior.¹⁶ (Fig. 4) Premises were then numbered to the east as far as 16 High Town (as it was then). However, on the south side of High Town the numbering began at the west end with 9 High Town, with numbering up to at least 32 High Town at the east end, so nos. 9-16 were duplicated. As a consequence of this awkward arrangement it was inevitable that High Town would also be renumbered, at least in part.

How this peculiar situation arose is relatively easy to explain. What is now the open expanse of High Town was divided into two, not only by the Town Hall but by Cooken Row and Butchers' Row which backed onto each other, and Taylor's map of 1757 shows that High Street then stretched as far as 'The Butchery'.¹⁷ The street on the north side was not named by Taylor, but we may surmise that it was probably called High Town. From the Old House, Butchers' Row continued part-way down what is now St Peter Street. To the north of the Old House stood the Tolsey, at the wider, western, end of Bye Street, but because of its poor condition it was demolished in 1770.¹⁸ Price's map of 1796 refers to this whole central part of Hereford as 'High-street or High-town' and the block map of the centre of Hereford, published on 1 March 1804 to accompany the first volume of Duncumb's *Collections...*, still marked only High Street. In 1827 Rees referred to it as '*High-street, more commonly called the High-Town;...*'¹⁹ Numbering evidently took place when the southern part of High Town was still called High Street, and so numbers ran continuously from 1 High Street (south side, at the Broad Street end), with the highest number at the east end. As the space was gradually opened out, the south side became recognised as part of High Town, and referred to as such, but the numbers remained, so that 9 High Street was referred to as 9 High Town until the renumbering in the 1860s, the other premises similarly. Here it should be noted that no evidence has been found of any numbering of Butchers' Row, nor of how the north side of the present High Street was numbered, but it could not have been numbered from 9 onwards until after the eastern part of High Street was subsumed into High Town. Evidence proving the earlier numbering system of the south side of the present High Town is discussed below.

North side

For premises on the north side numbered up to nos. 8 & 9 the occupants of each can be traced by a series of adverts or other sources of information, both before and after the period of



Figure 4. An early-nineteenth-century engraving of T. T. Davies's shop on the corner of Widemarsh Street/High Town. (Derek Foxtton Collection)

renumbering. In 1856 Thomas Wall, an ironmonger in a good way of business at 8 & 9 High Town, retired, and the following year Thomas Ambrey Court moved his County Tea Warehouse to Wall's former premises, the advert stating that these adjoined the entrance to the new market. After renumbering Court's shop was stated to be 8 High Town, indicating that the property had previously been in two parts, which were then combined under one number.²⁰ (Fig. 5) On the right of the entrance to the new market was an old-established grocer's and seedsman's business run by Henry Clarkson. This was established in 1810 by John Parry, and later was in the hands of his son J. B. Parry who took Henry Clarkson into partnership in 1850. By December 1860 Parry had either died or retired, and the business was solely in the hands of Henry Clarkson.²¹ No change of address was advertised, and so the conclusion is that the business remained in the same premises. Frustratingly, while many adverts for the business appeared in the local press in the 1850s none give a number, but this can be deduced to be 10 & 11 High Town. After Cole had done his work, Clarkson's premises were numbered as 9 High Town, Cole again consolidating two parts of the same building under one number, and Fig. 5 shows that both of these premises on either side of the entrance to the market had two entrances, giving access to each part of the premises.

On the east of Clarkson's premises at nos. 10 & 11, there was an ironmonger's business at 12 High Town, run by Charles Bennett, which became 10 High Town after renumbering. Late in 1847 Charles Bennett had taken over George Bonnor's ironmonger's business at 12 High Town, which was stated to be two doors down from the City and County Bank, and evidently prospered, as in 1858 he opened a branch shop in Broad Street. The adverts for the business at 12 High Town continued until late in 1861, and Charles Bennett died on 31 December 1861. A month later his widow advertised that she had taken on Richard Brown, who had worked for her husband for four years and that the firm would be Bennett and Brown. There is no suggestion that the business had moved premises, but it was now stated to be at 10 High Town and not 12 High Town. Clearly the number had changed, not the premises, strongly suggesting that the renumbering of High Town took place in December 1861 or earlier in January 1862.²²

That the number of the premises of the Bennett business was altered, and not the location, can be confirmed by reference to the position in High Town of the City and County Bank. (Plate 6.1) The very fine lithograph of the bank premises indicates that these were shared by Alfred Gurney, who ran a tea and coffee



Figure 5. An engraving of the properties on either side of the entrance to the Buttermarket, which was completed in 1860: Court's business on the left and Clarkson's on the right. (Derek Foxtton Collection).

warehouse. (Plate 6.2) In 1850 Charles Brunson had taken Alfred Gurney into partnership at 14 High Town, in the premises which can be seen to be part of the bank, two doors along from Charles Bennett's business at what was then 12 High Town. In 1860 the business at 14 High Town was being run by Alfred Gurney on his own account. The City and County Bank went out of business in 1863 and the furniture of Henry Hughes, the chief cashier, was advertised to be sold by auction in that year at 12 High Town. Now Henry Hodges would have lived over the premises, so the street number of the bank had also changed, in line with that of the Bennett business. Then in 1867 Alfred Gurney advertised that he had moved into the bank premises next door; Littlebury's directory of that year shows that this was at 12 High Town, confirming that 14 High Town had indeed become 12 High Town.²³ His former premises were renumbered separately, becoming 13 High Town, introducing an extra number, so that what had been 15 High Town, adjoining the bank building on the east, became 14 High Town. At what point this building was divided into two premises as at present cannot be deduced, but an engraving of 1837 shows the building with two shop-fronts. Thus prior to 1861/2 the numbering must have gone up to 16 High Town, reduced by one at the renumbering, after which the numbering then continued with 16 High Town at the south-east corner.²⁴

South side

In view of the unexpected form of the early numbering of the south side of High Town, it is first necessary to confirm this, and then to establish what happened at the renumbering in 1861/2.

Firstly, it is possible to suggest the approximate period when 9 High Street was renamed as 9 High Town. The ironmonger George Croose set up in business at 4 High Street in 1811 and in 1819 advertised that he had moved to 9 High Street 'opposite Widemarsh-street'. However, an advert for gunpowder that appeared in 1824 describes him as being of High Town, indicating that a change had taken place in the meantime. His business was taken over in 1833 by Thomas and Henry Carless, who used the 9 High Town address on the letterhead of the business, also stating that it was 'opposite Widemarsh Street', possibly to differentiate it from the other shop of that number.²⁵ (Fig. 6)

Next door to the Carless's business, at no. 10, there was, for many years, a confectioner's business, run by Mr Fluck and latterly run by his widow, Mary. After her retirement in 1853 the premises were taken over by William Seward, chemist, who advertised from 10 High Town. Adjoined the Fluck's business on

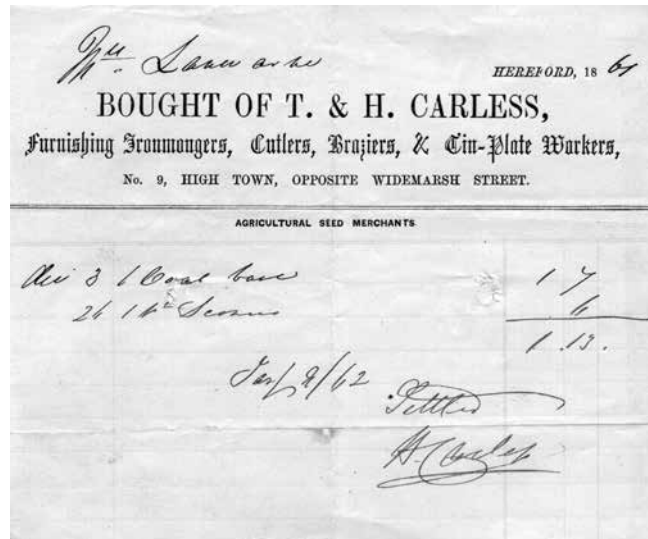


Figure 6. The letterhead used by T. & H. Carless. Shortly after this their premises were renumbered as 34 High town. (Derek Foxtton Collection)

the east was 11 High Town, and in 1847 this was advertised as being for sale: in the details it was stated that at the rear it extended back to East Street.²⁶

Other businesses on the south side include the old-established clothing warehouse of Miss Musgrave at 14 High Town, which an advert in the *Hereford Times* on 17 November 1858 stated was on the corner of Capuchin Lane (Church Street). On the other side of the entry, at 15 High Town, was the ironmonger's business of J. L. Stephens which he had taken over in 1848. He retired in 1861 and the business was taken over by John Grout.²⁷

Further to the east, 27 High Town was taken over in 1859 by the clockmaker George Price, who had moved from East Street. Adjoining him was 28 High Town, occupied from 1852 by the chemist G. W. Stephens, who, in 1856, was appointed agent for the Asam Tea Company.²⁸ Still further to the east was 31 High Town, where James Newman, a draper moved in 1831, the advert stating that the premises were opposite the Old Bank: in 1834 S. Gates briefly had his London Boot and Shoe Warehouse here.²⁹ Adjoining was 32 High Town where Charles Honiatt had been in business as a brazier for many years. He retired in 1823 and the premises at 32 High Town were taken over by Thomas Imber, a cutler, and he was there until 1831, when he moved a few doors down to 27 High Town, later occupied by George Price.³⁰ The statement that 31 High Town was opposite the Old Bank (Figure 1, Plate 6.1) shows clearly where the property was situated, in what is now part of St Peter Street. After the mid 1830s there is no real evidence for the higher numbers of High Town, and this is when this part of High Town, east from the Booth Hall Passage, no. 29 onwards, became part of St Peter Street. The evidence for this is discussed under St Peter Street, below.

After renumbering all the businesses above, from 9 to 28 High Town had their numbers changed, with the numbering on the south side being reversed, with 16 High Town at the east end, and 34 High Town at the west end: this then followed the approved way of numbering. Thus at the east end Stephens's business at 28 High Town became 16 High Town, and at the opposite end the ironmongers' business of Messrs Carless at 9 High Town became 34 High Town. The numbers in between were altered accordingly, but because of a quirk of the numbering, 22 High Town remained unaltered.³¹

CHURCH STREET

One of the problems of identifying how any numbering of properties in Church Street was altered was that there were several names used, all at the same time. Thus, for instance, there was Cabbage Lane, and the more upmarket Capuchin Lane, as well as Church Street, with sometimes the designation 'Little' for the narrower (north) end and 'Broad' to mark the wider part on the south. It is clear that Church Street was numbered from at least the early part of the nineteenth century: thus, for instance, an advert in the *Hereford Journal* on 11 August 1830, referred to china etc. being for sale at 3 Church Street. Whether this indicates that Church Street was an official name for part of this road is not certain, but the narrower part seems to have been officially called Narrow Cabbage Lane, for this was one of the name changes agreed by the City Council in 1855.³² In order to avoid any confusion with any possible earlier numbering system in Church Street, only evidence from the period around 1861/2 will be taken into consideration.

In 1858 there were a series of adverts for patent pig and cattle food, obtainable from T. Bigglestone's Ale and Irish Porter Warehouse at 3 Church Street. Helpfully, it was stated that this was three doors from the Grapes tavern, locating it on the west side.³³ Where the numbering

started is clarified by an advert for a shop to let that appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 25 June 1859, which stated that details could be obtained for W. Stephens' paper-hanging warehouse 'No. 1 Church-street, near High-town Entrance, High-town, Hereford.' This confirms that the numbering ran down the west side of the street, beginning at the High Town end, and is likely to have come back up the other side, although no confirmation of the latter has been found so far.

The businesses mentioned above did not straddle the critical period, but evidence of the reversal of numbers is found in the adverts relating to a commercial school run by Thomas Carpenter. From 23 June 1858 onwards he advertised that, after the vacation, he would be opening a school in Church Street, in a house formerly occupied by Mr Robert Molton, This was evidently successful, and the adverts for the reopening of this school in January 1859 gave the address as 12 Church Street.³⁴ When the second half (term) of 1861 was advertised in the *Hereford Journal* on 3 July, the address was still given as 12 Church Street. However, when the first half of 1862 was advertised in the *Hereford Journal* on 4 January 1862 the address had been changed to 28 Church Street. This implies either a change of location, which was not advertised, or a change in number, and the positions worked out on the basis of the two numbering systems correspond. Thus the renumbering had taken place by the beginning of January 1862.

ST PETER STREET

It is a remarkable fact that, despite being recorded on Taylor's map of 1757, and Cole's map of 1806, St Peter Street does not feature in the local press until 1836.³⁵ Prior to that period, the properties on the south side of what is now St Peter Street, as far as those opposite the Old Bank, were in High Town: after that, they were in St Owen Street, although the exact point of division has not yet been identified. At a meeting of the Paving Commissioners that took place on 19 February 1833 it was decided that the names of several of the streets 'to be affixed', and specified 'St Owen Street to begin at the Boothall passage.' Whether this was actually implemented is open to doubt as another meeting of the commissioners on 3 May 1836 decided that the names of the streets and lanes should be painted at the ends or corners, and this decision probably triggered off the re-designation of St Peter Street, although there was no mention in the relevant minutes, or in the minutes of the new-constituted Town Council.³⁶ (Fig. 7) When St Peter Street reappeared in 1836, High Town was deemed to have terminated at No. 28, and numbering of St Peter Street began at the Booth Hall Passage, subsuming 29 High Street onwards, on the right-hand side: thus 17 St Peter Street was near the corner of St Peter Street and Bye Street. As a consequence St Owen Street then began on the south side at what was marked as Milk Lane on Curley's map of 1836, now Offa Street.

Confirmation of this can be found in the local press. On 13 August 1836 D. Byers advertised in the *Hereford Times* that he was moving his tea and grocery warehouse from 10 to 3 St Peter Street 'late St Owen's', into premises previously occupied by Mr Newman, mercer. Now James Newman had moved to 31 High Town 'opposite the Old Bank' in 1831, and this establishes that 31 High Town had become 3 St Peter Street and that the numbering then began at Booth Hall Passage.³⁷ Thus the numbering went round anti-clockwise, and the last of the seventeen properties in St Peter Street would have been at the corner with Bye Street.

Although not mentioned by 'A CITIZEN', the numbering of St Peter Street was reversed in 1861/2. On 11 December 1861 an advert appeared in the *Hereford Times*, seeking a cook



Figure 7. A section of an engraving of 1837, which shows that the street names had been painted as decided by the Paving Commissioners. (Derek Foxtan Collection)

for the Star dining rooms, the address then stated to be 17 St Peter Street. Two months later an advert for the Star commercial boarding house and dining rooms at 1 & 2 St Peter Street, run by W.H. Maclean, appeared in the *Hereford Times*.³⁸ Clearly the numbering of St Peter Street had been reversed in the interim. That being so, as with 22 High Town, the designation of 9 St Peter Street should have been unaltered at the reversal, and this can be confirmed: in May 1847 Mrs. Esther Maclean moved her stay and bonnet warehouse here and in 1856 was joined by Miss M. A. Maclean—assumed to be her daughter—running a millinery and dressmaking business here, and this was still being carried on by Mrs. Esther Maclean at 9 St Peter Street in 1867.³⁹ It would appear that the same family was much involved in commerce!

This only leaves the matter of the naming and numbering of the five premises on the north side of the present St Peter Street before the change of name. In 1830 John Pearce, an ironmonger, advertised his wares from his premises at 3 St Owen Street ‘Adjoining the Old Bank.’⁴⁰ This must have been the central one of the five premises on this side of the street, thus giving no indication of the way the numbering went. However, if it conformed to the right-hand rule, it must have started by St Peter’s Church, so that the premises at the Bye Street end would be 5 St Owen Street. The numbering would then cross over somewhere opposite the Old Bank, and go in the opposite direction.

There are also cases where the old number was quoted with the new name of the street. For example, in 1840 there was a reference to 30 St Peter Street, ‘nearly opposite the Old Bank’, and

in 1849 to 32 St Peter Street: these should have been 2 and 4 respectively. Also, in 1838, when James Matthews expressed his thanks for support at the Elephant and Castle, he gave the address as 1 St Peter Street. This was not the previous number, which was on the other side of the street, nor could it be the then current number (8); the point remains unresolved.⁴¹

ST OWEN STREET

Evidence suggests that prior to 1836 St Owen Street began by St Peter's Church, being numbered on the right-hand side. The numbering then crossed over what is now St Peter Street to continue opposite the Old Bank, and then continued down the right-hand side, returning back up the opposite side. Effectively, this makes a circuit with St Peter's Church the start and finish of the numbering. Inevitably, with the designation of St Peter Street, the numbering was altered, and began at Milk Lane (Offa Street). The reversal by Cole is confirmed by the house rented by C. Gwatkin Hill; prior to Cole's renumbering it was No. 4, and after it was no. 148, which correspond.⁴²

COMMERCIAL STREET

Another street not mentioned by 'A CITIZEN' as being affected by renumbering was Commercial Street, the change of name of which sparked all this off! There is much more evidence of what happened, but because of an anomalous result this will be considered in detail. An analysis of the street numbers indicates that prior to the renumbering this was also numbered along the right-hand side, looking out of town. Thus, for instance, John Dillon, in business as a brazier etc., advertised in 1834 from 4 & 5 Bye Street 'opposite the Judges' House' and in 1860 from 5 Commercial Street, 'opposite the Judge's Lodgings'⁴³ (Fig. 8). The position of the Judge's Lodgings was clearly marked on Curley's map of 1855 (Plate 6.1) This establishes that the premises on the south-east side of Bye Street/Commercial Street were numbered consecutively, and, since the premises mentioned above were much closer to the High Town end of Bye Street/Commercial Street, that the numbering had begun at the High Town end, so that the highest number in Commercial Street, before the renumbering, was at the High Town end on the north side. After the renumbering this was reversed.

The reason that this reversal of numbering in Commercial Street was not mentioned by 'A CITIZEN' must be considered. As with High Town, Church Street and St Peter Street, it may, of course, have been overlooked. On the other hand, it could have been that the renumbering had already taken place. One piece of evidence that suggests that this might be so is in the enumerator's book that covers the north-west side of Commercial Street in the 1861 census, which was carried out on 7 April 1861. This records the new numbers, which had not been agreed to until August 1861. However, on 25 May 1861 John Dillon was still advertising from 5 Commercial Street, confirming that the renumbering had not then taken place, and this anomaly can be explained by the fact that those new numbers appear to have been inserted in the enumerator's book at a later date.⁴⁴ Confirmation of this is found in the adverts inserted in the local press by the chemist and druggist Thomas Longstaff. In 1859 he took over the business of Isaac Lee at 8 Commercial Street, where Lee had been since 1849, first as 8 Bye Street and latterly as 8 Commercial Street. Longstaff's adverts up until 23 March 1862 use that number; after a gap, on 22 November 1862, Longstaff advertised from 56 Commercial Street, presumably being renumbered in the interim, in line with the general renumbering of the period.⁴⁵



Figure 8. The Judge's Lodging, a reference point in Bye Street/Commercial Street, in its glory days. The Odeon cinema was built on its site in the 1930s. (Derek Foxtton Collection)

Confusion in Bye Street/Commercial Street

There is also the strong possibility that more than one shop was numbered 1 Bye Street/Commercial Street at the same time. One of these seems to be a straightforward error. On 23 September 1854 an advert in the *Hereford Times* advised that the furniture of Mrs Ann Frewen (usually Frewin), deceased, was to be sold by auction at 1 Bye Street, Hereford. A more detailed advert in the *Hereford Journal* four days later included the information that 1 Bye Street was opposite the Kerry Arms. This seems to be a typographical error for, say, 21 Bye Street, as there is no other suggestion that the low numbers were at the far end of Bye Street, away from High Town. No other reference so far found has given a street number for the Frewin shop.

At the High Town end there are problems with numbering which have not so far been resolved, about where the starting point for the numbering before 1862 actually was. Isaac Lee, mentioned above, who retired in 1859, had begun his business as a chemist and druggist in 1841 at 1 Bye Street.⁴⁶ From November 1848 this shop and premises were advertised as being to let from the beginning of the following May. A very full description was given in the advert, which locates the property on the north side of High Town, stating that the shop was located 'four doors below the City and County Bank.' Particulars were obtainable from Joseph Carless, butcher.⁴⁷ These make it clear that these were large premises, and with an eye to extending the range of possible tenants, it was stated:

Should any party not require the whole Premises in trade, it is well adapted to let part, either as Offices or Apartmentss [*sic*], having a private entrance from the front street.⁴⁸

Isaac Lee notified his removal to the opposite side of the street in an advert in the *Hereford Times* on 14 April 1849, stating that his new premises were ‘four doors above the National Provincial Bank.’⁴⁹ (Plate 6.1) An advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 29 May 1850 shows that these were at 8 Bye Street, where he continued in business until his retirement in 1859.

After Isaac Lee left 1 Bye Street in 1849 no notice of a new tenant appeared in the local press until April 1851, when it was announced that William Pritchard, tailor, had moved there after being in business in West Street for the previous 15 years.⁵⁰ The advert also stated that Pritchard’s new premises were next door to Mr Joseph Carless, his landlord, whose property adjoined on the west. It is assumed that William Pritchard first lived over the shop at 1 Bye Street, but within a few years he was living at Hampton Lodge, where, in 1858, furnished apartments were offered to rent: ‘Apply, for particulars, to Mr PRITCHARD, on the premises, or to No. 1, Bye-street, Hereford.’⁵¹ The property in Tupsley had been bought by James Pritchard, William’s brother, and James’s son, another William Pritchard, also lived there. On 22 September 1860, William Pritchard advertised in the *Hereford Times* for an unfurnished house in the country to rent, although he continued to live at Hampton Lodge.⁵² The Pritchard family business continued in the premises, latterly at 1 & 2 Commercial Street, until 1963. At the time of the 1861 census 2 Commercial Street was occupied by Jordan Lilley, a hairdresser, and the plan of 1868, discussed in endnote 47, shows that each property then had a small shopfront. The widowed Mrs Diana Lilley was still at 2 Commercial Street in 1876, but had moved out by the following year, when it had been absorbed into the Pritchard business. (Fig. 9) This extra accommodation would have been welcome, as when James Pritchard died in 1865, he left a life interest in his property in Tupsley to his daughter Susan, and his son William went to live over the shop and raise his family.⁵³

There is also another succession of references to 1 Bye Street/Commercial Street which are distinct from those above. From 12 April 1854 John Stephens, fishmonger, poulterer and fruiterer, advertised regularly in the *Hereford Times* and *Hereford Journal*, his premises being stated as being in Bye Street ‘Opposite the Judges’ Lodging.’ However, on 27 May 1857 his advert in the *Hereford Journal* changed and from then on his address was stated to be 1 Bye Street, implying that he had moved premises closer to High Town. Later the number

8/169.

1 & 2, COMMERCIAL STREET,
HEREFORD, *Sept.* 1877.

J. James Bay
Bot. of William Pritchard,
TAILOR AND WOOLLEN DRAPER.
Agent for H. J. NICOLL'S PALETOTS, &c.

TERMS, NETT CASH.

1877			
June 30	To A/c. Wondersley		9 18
Aug 11	To a Trainers 30		1 10
Aug 18	Coat cleaned & repaired		3 36
	To a Blue Flannel Suit		3 15
			15 0 0
	Credit by Cash July 21/77		4 18
			10 8 6

Oct 9th 1877
W. Pritchard

Figure 9. This letterhead for Pritchard’s tailoring business proves that 2 Commercial Street had been absorbed by 1877. (Frank Bennett Collection)

was dropped when the address became Commercial Street.⁵⁴ The possibility that he was then sharing premises with William Pritchard can be ruled out: at the time of the 1861 census John Stephens was recorded as being at the west end of the south-east side of Commercial Street, a position where 1 Commercial Street would have expected to be with the street numbered from the right-hand side. Later in 1861 John Stephens purchased the house and premises of Mr Goodman, clothier, on the opposite side of Commercial Street, to which he moved his business, and after the renumbering in 1862 this became 16 Commercial Street.⁵⁵

From the discussion above it is clear that, prior to the renumbering in 1862, Bye Street/Commercial Street was numbered from the right-hand side looking out of the city, beginning at No. 1, consistent with the system adopted in other main streets in the city. However, the highest number, which should have been where William Pritchard had his shop, remarkably reverted to No. 1, the reason for which cannot be currently explained. This of, course was not unique as eight numbers were duplicated in High Town, but might have been a vestige of an earlier numbering system. One consequence was that when Commercial Street was renumbered from the left-hand side in 1862 William Pritchard's shop was the only one which did not have its number changed.

It should also be pointed out that the two premises numbered 1 Bye Street/Commercial Street were not directly opposite one another, that on the north side being slightly further to the west

KING STREET AND BRIDGE STREET

For the sake of completeness of the main commercial area, both of these need to be mentioned. King Street, like Eign Street, was numbered from the left-hand side already. In 1860 Mr Williams, of 1 King Street, offered a pipe organ for sale, and he is most likely the James Williams who moved from 1 King Street in 1863, on which occasion his furniture and part of his stock-in-trade was offered for sale by auction. Thus the numbering had not been altered, at least in the way it went round.⁵⁶

Bridge Street was also numbered from the left-hand side. Around the period of the renumbering there were regular adverts by Levason and Robertson, surgeon-dentists, all of which give the number as 11 Bridge Street, so there is no evidence of change.⁵⁷

CONSEQUENCES

Although not mentioned by 'A CITIZEN' there is clear evidence of three other streets that were renumbered on the 'backward principle', and much necessary renumbering in High Town, the latter removing eight duplicate numbers. 'A CITIZEN's' estimate of the proportion of 95 houses out of 100 in the commercial centre being affected is likely to have been accurate.

The inevitable consequence of all this is that if the street number of a business in Hereford changed it cannot necessarily be assumed that a change of premises had taken place. If the relevant date range includes 1861/2 then it is much more likely that the premises were the same and that it was the number that had been altered.⁵⁸ This conclusion has a wider resonance, and historians who identify premises solely on the basis of their street numbers would be advised to check that there have been no similar changes as it seems unlikely that Hereford was alone in this respect.

It should be pointed out that this paper relies heavily on newspaper reports and adverts, from which deductions have been made, and the conclusions may possibly be altered slightly

if further information is found, but it is unlikely that the general conclusions will be affected. It should also be said that this account only deals with changes that took place in the middle of the nineteenth century and not later changes. However, it is worth pointing out that other alterations were made in the early 1950s: for instance, separate numbering was created for St Peter's Square, and in the consequent renumbering of St Owen Street, odd numbers and even numbers were on opposite sides; similarly Widemarsh Street was again renumbered, with odd and even numbers on opposite sides, one consequence of which was that the pub No. 5 was renumbered as 10 Widemarsh Street!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Derek Foxtton for much help on discussing the problems of renumbering premises in Hereford, and by searching relevant material in his remarkable collection of material relating to Hereford, and to Frank Bennett for access to his collection of ephemera. Also to David Lovelace for the use of one of his photographs of the 1855 Curley map, now on display in the rear lobby of the Town Hall. This paper is much enhanced by a number of images from those collections, acknowledged in the text.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ *Hereford Journal* (henceforth *HJ*) 5 March 1851, *Hereford Times* (henceforth *HT*) 8 March 1851.

² *HJ* 2 April 1851.

³ I have used 'he' rather than 'he/she' as at this period letters to the press were almost invariably from male correspondents.

⁴ In a court case in the magistrates' court on 3 September 1846 a charge of assault and using obscene and indecent language had been brought by one Anne Fowler 'who lived at No. 8 St Catharine-street, which, we understand, is a modern improvement to the new name of Cat's-lane...' *HT* 5 September 1846. Other reports of the period call it 'Catharine-street', without the sanctification. See for instance, *HJ* 4 Feb. 1846 and *HT* 10 Feb. 1849.

⁵ So, for instance, a Mr Edwards, ironmonger moved to 4 High Street in 1801 (*HJ* 13 May 1801), and J. Allen's circulating library was operated from his premises at 2 High Town in 1806 (*HJ* 26 Nov. 1806). At this early period very few numbers were used in adverts. In 1836 it was ordered that street names be painted up, (for which see later in the text), but this seems to have been neglected.

⁶ *HT* 30 June 1855.

⁷ A picotee was a type of carnation.

⁸ The 'Act of Parliament' was the 1854 Improvement Act.

⁹ For instance, in 1860 Ephraim Hoskins gave evidence in a court case, deposing 'I keep a boot and shoe shop in Bye-street...' – see *HJ* 21 March 1860. Even as late as 1862 tickets for a performance at the Corn Exchange in Broad Street could be obtained from 'Mrs. McAlister, Bye-street' among others. *HJ* 4 Jan. 1862.

¹⁰ *HT* 10 Aug. 1861

¹¹ *HJ* 21 June 1862

¹² This change in street numbering was noted in R. Shoesmith and J. C. Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004) pp.159-60. There had evidently been some sort of sub-division of property between the two premises.

¹³ Before reversal, the numbering began on the south side at the Broad Street end, as far as High Town, then came back on the north side of High Street. However, prior to about 1820, No. 9 onwards continued along the south side of what is now High Town, so these numbers could not be applied to the north side of the street until after that period. No evidence has been found as to what the earliest numbers were. On reversal in the early 1860s Nos. 7 & 8 High Street, occupied by Messrs Barrett and Greenland, became 1 High Street.

¹⁴ 10th and 11th Vic. (1847) cap. 34 sec. 64.

¹⁵ *HJ* 21 & 28 June 1862.

¹⁶ In 1804, as part of the widening of the south end of Widemarsh Street, Thomas Davies bought from the Paving Commissioners the materials of one of the houses that were demolished. (HARC BG11/14/1, f. 301.) The next year there is also a reference in those minutes to 'Mr Davies's new house,' (*ibid.* f. 318). For the number, see for example, the advert in *HT* 23 Dec. 1837. After the renumbering in 1862 it remained the same, and was given as such in Littlebury's directory of 1867.

¹⁷ Although this row of houses was marked as Cooken Row on Taylor's map of 1757 and on Cole's map of 1806, but the name seems to have dropped out of common use. The row was sketched by James Wathen on 17 August 1797, but no name is given, nor is it mentioned at this period in the minutes of the Paving Commissioners. It seems most likely that it was considered part of Butchers' Row, and demolished as part of that. (*D. Whitehead and R. Shoemith, James's Wathen's Herefordshire, 1770-1820*, unpaginated. HARC BG11/14/1&2.).

¹⁸ Eisel, J. C., 'Notes on the former Hereford Market Hall and the Tolsey', *TWNFC* (2005), p.36.

¹⁹ Price, J., *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford*, (1796), p.59. Rees, W. J., *The Hereford Guide* (1827), p.35.

²⁰ *HT* 29 Dec. 1855 & *HJ* 2 Jan. 1856. *HT* 20 June 1857, *HJ* 1 Dec. 1858. *Littlebury's Directory 1867*.

²¹ *HT* 14 March 1857, 6 July 1850, *HJ* 12 Dec. 1860.

²² *HJ* 24 Nov. & 15 Dec. 1847. *HT* 1 May 1858. Adverts until *HT* 2 Nov. 1861, *HT* 4 Jan. 1862. *HJ* 25 Jan. 1862.

²³ *HJ* 29 May 1850 & *HT* 8 June 1850. *HT* 16 June 1860. *HT* 8 Aug. 1863. *HT* 29 June 1867 and *Littlebury's Directory 1867*.

²⁴ On the lithograph of the City and County Bank the name on the adjacent shop on the east can be seen as 'HARRIET G...' In 1856 Harriet Grey took over the glass and china business formerly run by John Scattergood, but no street number was given. (*HT* 9 Aug. 1856) In 1866 she disposed of the business to R.H. Manlove (*HJ* 24 Feb. 1866), and in Littlebury's directory of 1867 his address was stated to be 14 High Town. In the renumbering the number was only altered by one, implying that another number had been introduced after the new 12 High Town, clearly the property from which Gurney moved in 1867. Littlebury's directory of 1867 records Thomas Grundy, butcher, at 15 High Town. See also *HT* 14 March 1863. Earlier references to 16 High Town (before it became 15 High Town on renumbering) can all be demonstrated to be for the property on the south side of High Town, and the occupant(s) have not so far been identified.

²⁵ *HJ* 1 May 1811, 9 & 23 June 1819, 24 Nov. 1824, 13 Nov. 1833 & *HT* 16 Nov. 1833. In 1813 a subscription was raised for the demolition of a house at the south end of Butchers' Row, the materials of which were offered for sale in that year. (*HJ* 28 April, 19 May, 28 June 1813). A further subscription towards removing Butchers' Row was raised in 1817, in 1818 one of the houses fell down, and then in 1819 an advert by the Commissioners for Paving and Lighting reported that only about a third of the houses of Butchers' Row remained. (*HJ* 20 & 27 Aug. & 3 Sept. 1817, 16 Sept. 1818, and 6 Oct. 1819). The last of the demolitions took place in 1837, leaving the Old House in splendid isolation. (*HJ* 10 May, 14 June, 13 Sept. 1837).

²⁶ *HJ* 20 Oct. 1830. Hunt's directory 1847. *HT* 30 July 1853 and *HJ* 17 Aug. 1853. *HT* 10 Dec. 1853. *HT* 20 Feb. 1847, *HT* 7 April 1849 & *HJ* 4 Feb. 1857. *HT* 22 Oct. 1864. 'East Street' seems to have been a colloquial name for Packer's Lane, the section between Church Street and Broad Street being changed officially first to West Street and then, in the middle of the last century, to East Street.

²⁷ *HT* 19 Jan. 1861. *HJ* 12 April 1848, *HT* 20 July 1861, the latter repeated and corrected, as the first in the series had 'Grant' vice 'Grout'.

²⁸ *HT* 30 July 1859. *HT* 28 Aug. 1852, *HJ* 5 Nov. 1856.

²⁹ Wood's survey of 1836, which seems to be inaccurate for some of the footprints of buildings, has the Old Bank in the middle of the north side of St Peter Street. However, the property was offered for sale by as an investment in 1848, indicating that the property was rented. It failed to sell, and was then offered for sale by private contract, but seems to have stayed in the occupation of the Old Bank. The sale description matched the building as recorded by Curley in 1855, and there is no reason to think that the bank changed premises. (*HT* 8,15 & 22 Jan., 5 & 12 Feb. 1848, *HJ* 12, 19 & 26 Jan., 9 & 16 Feb. 1848.)

³⁰ *HJ* 26 Oct. 1831, *HT* 6 Sept. 1834. *HJ* 16 July 1823, 9 Dec. 1824, 5 Aug. 1831, 26 Oct. 1861,

³¹ *HJ* 13 Feb. 1864. Littlebury's directory 1867. Other examples derived from continuity in businesses include No. 27 to No. 17 (*HJ* 4 Jan. 1862); No. 15 to No. 28 (*HT* 11 Jan. 1862); and No. 10 to No. 33 (*HT* 22 Oct. 1864). As a consequence of the crossover in numbers, the only business on the south side of High Town whose number was not changed was the draper's business of James Badham at No. 22; for this see, for example, *Lascelle's Directory 1851*, *HJ* 25 Jan. 1862, 7 April 1866. The deeds for 33 High Town confirm ownership by the Fluck family and those for 34 High Town of ownership by the Carless family. (HARC AC13/4 & 5; the latter indicate that the Carless family owned the premises from 1839-1885.) The two corresponding sets of numbers (9-28 and 34-16) indicate 20 and 19 properties respectively, indicating that one of the properties must have been sub-divided, with the part to the rear in separate occupation, but recombined under a single (new) number by Mr Cole. Plotting known equivalents on a map shows that this subdivision was in one of the properties with earlier numbers 18 to 21. Of these the most likely was no. 18, built in 1860 on the site of the former Sun Tavern, with an entry to the rear, but there is no firm evidence either way.

³² *HT* 10 Nov. 1855.

³³ *HT* 6 March 1858, *et seq*, 25 Sept. 1859.

³⁴ *HJ* 23 June 1858, *HT* 26 June 1858, *et seq.* At that period it was usual to divide the school year into two halves. *HJ* 22 December 1858, *HT* 25 Dec. 1858 *et seq.*

³⁵ Not to be confused with Mr Cole, the town surveyor in the 1860s. The map of 1806 was drawn by G. Cole, engraved by J. Roper, and published to accompany the Herefordshire section of Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*.

³⁶ HARC, BG11/14/2, ff. 193 & 236, BG 11/9/A/9. There had been an earlier decision to paint the street names for at a meeting of the Paving Commissioners on 29 April 1808 it was 'Ordered That the Names of the Streets and Lanes in this City be painted at the different corners.' However, on 10 May 1808 it was decided 'That the Painting [of] the names of the Streets &c of this City be put off until the end of the ensuing Summer.' Nothing further seems to have been minuted and the inference is that this did not happen. (BG11/14/1 ff. 292 & 294) Although nothing was mentioned in the 1774 Act, in a later Act of 1816 the Commissioners were given specific powers to name streets/roads should they wish to do so.

³⁷ *HJ* 26 Oct. 1831. *HT* 6 Sept. 1834. On 12 Jan. 1833 Byers advertised in the *Hereford Times* that he was moving to 10 St Owen Street 'nearly opposite the Old Bank.', hence Byers was using his former number, which, in the basis of the numbering postulated later in the text, would have on the east side of the Elephant and Castle.

³⁸ *HT* 1 Feb. 1862, 16 Nov. 1867, *Littlebury's Directory 1867*.

³⁹ *HT* 8 May 1847, *HJ* 21 April 1856. *Littlebury's Directory 1867*.

⁴⁰ *HJ* 29 Sept. 1830.

⁴¹ *HT* 12 Sept. 1849, 7 April 1849. The latter was still referred to as 32 St Peter Street in 1860 (*HT* 1 Dec. 1860). *HT* 25 Aug. 1838. In 1776 the Elephant and Castle was stated to have been in St Owen Street (*HJ* 15 Aug. 1776); in later years, after the 1861/2 renumbering, its address became 10 St Peter Street.

⁴² *HJ* 2 July 1856, *HT* 12 July 1856. *HJ* & *HT*, both 14 June 1862,

⁴³ *HJ* 3 Sept. 1834, *HT* 6 Sept. 1834; *HT* 17 Nov. 1860.

⁴⁴ *HT* 25 May 1861.

⁴⁵ *HT* 14 April 1849, *HJ* 18 April 1849. *HT* 6 Aug. 1859, 24 May 1861, *HJ* 2 Oct. 1861, 29 March 1862, 22 Nov. 1862.

⁴⁶ *HT* 2 Jan. 1841, *HJ* Wed. 6 January 1841.

⁴⁷ At this period the property was part of the endowments of the Vicars Choral of Hereford Cathedral, and a there are a series of leases from 1790 onwards preserved in the records of Herford Cathedral, Ref. 3645 i – xii. From 1840 it was rented by Joseph Carless who sublet the property. Then in 1868 Joseph Carless bought the property from the Custos and Vicars Choral for £600, and at that time the property was divided into two, one part occupied by William Pritchard and the other by Mrs. Lilley, hairdresser. The earliest leases state that the property was in Cooken Row, then Bye Street, and finally the conveyance of 1868 identifies it as 1 & 2 Commercial Street. The conveyance has a good block plan attached, showing the division into two properties, identifying Carless's as the owner of the adjoining property on the west side.

⁴⁸ *HJ* 15 Nov. 15 Nov. 1848, *HT* 30 Dec. 1848, *et seq.*

⁴⁹ This was repeated in *HJ* 18 April 1849.

⁵⁰ *HT* 12 April 1851 & *HJ* 16 April 1851.

⁵¹ *HT* 31 July 1858. William's brother, James, a successful builder from Hay, had bought the adjoining properties of Hampton Lodge and Hampton Place, and the family turned Hampton Lodge into a family home. William lived there with his brother James, and James's children Susan and William, the latter being also involved in the family tailoring business until his death in 1913. It is thus uncertain which of the Pritchards had to be contacted about the accommodation. Harrison, John, *The Tailor of Hereford* (2016), p.4.

⁵² Littlebury's directory 1867.

⁵³ Harrison (2016), pp.6, 7 & 11.

⁵⁴ *HJ* 5 Aug. 1857, where the premises were stated to be in 'COMMERCIAL-STREET, (LATE BYE-STREET)'.
⁵⁵ *HJ* 20 Nov. 1861.

⁵⁶ *HJ* 26 Sept. 1860, *HT* 7 Feb. 1863.

⁵⁷ See, for instance, *HJ* 4 Jan. 1860, *HT* 3 Jan. 1863. There is no reason to think that the advert was not updated.

⁵⁸ As part of the preparation for my paper on Augustus C. Edwards (*TWNFC*, Vo. 64 (2016) pp.97- 106) I checked to see if the street numbering had been altered in 1861/2: unfortunately I used the Badham business at 22 High Town as a test case, and as this was the only number which was invariant under the change a false conclusion was the result. However, the premises at 26 High Town became 18 High Town after the renumbering, and the only difference in conclusion is that George Pember did not move premises and that it was merely a change in number.

Reports of Sectional Recorders, 2018

Archaeology, 2018

By KEITH RAY

This report summarises a wide variety of archaeological investigation and studies carried out in the county in the past year. This is my first solo effort to bring this material together to provide as comprehensive an introduction as possible to the results of the various endeavours. An innovation this year is the organisation of the report into two principal sections. The first provides information on research and community-focused work, while the second outlines investigation projects that for the most part have arisen following the attachment of archaeological conditions to planning permissions. It is extremely gratifying in the former section to again include a report on finds reported under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). This part of the report also includes another innovation: a brief review of the challenges of trying to create a synthesis of post-excavation study of artefacts locally, in this case later prehistoric pottery.

One of the most important study-projects in the county in recent years has been the two-season (and Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) supported) Longtown and District Local History Society project at Longtown. This took place in 2016 and 2017 and involved excavations at both Longtown Castle and Pont Hendre motte and bailey, with some remarkable results: the discovery of a probable Roman fort beneath Longtown Castle, and the demonstration that Pont Hendre was created as an earthwork but apparently never put into commission. Another season of excavations took place at Dorstone Hill, where more of the early Neolithic causewayed enclosure was investigated. And elsewhere, a likely pre-Norman defensive enclosure was test-excavated at Breinton, while the Bartonsham ‘Row Ditch’ was found to be a natural terrace apparently modified to be used as a breastwork during the Civil War siege of Hereford in 1645. The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) continues to produce remarkable finds: among those reported in the press was a gold band of Bronze Age period found near Garway, declared as Treasure in May 2019 (to be described hopefully in next year’s PAS account). Jane Evans has contributed a brief discussion-piece on work comparing the (albeit small) assemblages of Iron Age pottery recovered during excavations in recent years at hillforts in the county, which she is writing up as a chapter in a forthcoming monograph.

New development projects are cumulatively changing the landscape east of Ross-on-Wye, and several archaeological projects (one of which is briefly reported here) have been underway at Bromsash at the site of the Roman small town/industrial complex known as *Ariconium*. Other development-related work in 2018 included excavations in advance of an extensive planned series of housing and infrastructure development projects at the current outer edge of Hereford’s suburbs. For example, work by Worcestershire Archaeology at the ‘Hereford Point’ site west of Holmer church and north of Roman Road provided new insights into the origins of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Hereford area. The notorious fire-damaged site near The Old House in Hereford’s High Town was the subject of a detailed, if small-scale, excavation by Headland Archaeology.

Throughout the report, each site-based entry is identified by city, town or parish, and the site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. Many of the references are to unpublished internal organisation reports (grey literature), which may be consulted in the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record (HER) database maintained by the county archaeology service at the Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre (HARC) at Rotherwas. Others are available on the internet. The HER number is prefixed by HSM and Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers by SM number. Reference is made to the archaeological ‘event’ concerned (watching brief, excavation, and so on) by an EHE (Event in Herefordshire) prefix.

I would like to offer my sincere thanks on behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club to the staff of all the organizations who have willingly provided the information that has hopefully made this report a valuable and up-to-date source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2018.

RESEARCH AND COMMUNITY HERITAGE INVESTIGATION PROJECTS

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

The county service has continued to provide routine advisory casework (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-base projects, four of which are described below.

BARTONSHAM: Row Ditch, Bartonsham (SO 24384658); [HSM 31823, SAM 1001780, EHE 80299]

Bartonsham History Group successfully applied for a HLF grant to investigate the well-known (but nonetheless poorly understood) linear earthwork known as Row Ditch. Herefordshire Archaeology was commissioned to carry out investigations in 2018 as part of a community project. The south-facing bank, descending up to three metres down from the top to the floodplain below, extends for around 700m from the Wye Bridge near Bartonsham Farm in the west across almost to the confluence of the Eign Brook with the Wye downstream to the east, effectively cutting off a major meander of the Wye from lands to the north. Of this length, the central 493m is a Scheduled Monument. The gardens of houses on the south side of Park Street terminate on top of the bank for all but the western-most 45m, which is then truncated by farm buildings. The earthwork, with traces of a ditch and the base of the bank to its south, has traditionally been regarded as a work constructed by the Scottish Army to protect the quarters of its soldiery and cavalry during the six-week siege of Hereford by Parliamentary forces in the summer of 1645. However, given that the scale of the earthwork is considerable, it has been proposed, variously, that these forces re-used a pre-existing work, whether part of Offa’s Dyke, or a canal or spillway for over-watering the adjacent meadows, or indeed a natural Pleistocene river terrace and paleo-channel feature.

Two trenches were dug at the foot of the south-facing scarp, to test the idea that a ditch had been dug here, running parallel with the bank. In Trench 1, all deposits other than those very close to the surface (which contained 20th-century items) comprised naturally deposited silts and gravels, the latter eroding from the concreted gravel ridge above. The absence of a ditch here corresponded with gaps in the ditch still evident by the time of partial infilling of the ditch

in 1959, and thought to have provided a ramp for the passage of horses and cannon through the bank during sorties around St Owen's Gate in 1645. Trench 2 encountered a substantial cut feature at the base of the gradient, dug into the sequence of natural gravels underlying the field to the south, and into the much coarser natural gravel deposits filling in the paleo-channel following and underlying the base of the gradient (Fig. 1). This cut feature can be shown to have been 0.9m deep (or slightly more if contemporary topsoil is taken into account) when 19th-century transfer-printed earthenware was current and appears to have had an original depth of *c.* 1.3m. It is suggested that this cut represents the Civil War ditch which has gradually silted up prior to being filled and levelled in the 1950s. It is presumed that the material excavated from the ditch was thrown onto the top of the river terrace to heighten it and produce the extra cover in the form of a breastwork.



Figure 1. Bartonsham Row Ditch, Trench 2: section across outer part of the ditch south of the natural bank, from the west.

The project has revealed the development and use of the earthwork known as the Row Ditch and has confirmed that this feature was largely a natural feature having been formed by ancient courses of the River Wye. However, it has also indicated that most of its length was 'enhanced' during the Civil War to form a convenient defensive/ offensive line of cover (breastwork) behind which the cavalry and its horses could be kept safe with adequate grazing and water, but from behind which sorties or forays could be launched upon the suburb of St Owen's. Whilst little relating to the Civil War enhancements can be seen today, it is clear that the buried ditch survives over most of its length, cut into the paleochannel. The project has also confirmed that the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey mapping of the monument is absolutely correct and that the two 'gaps'

in the ditch were access ramps used to launch sorties onto the eastern gate of Hereford city and to destroy St Owen's Church. It is likely that most of the breastwork was slighted immediately after the siege.

(Baker, N. and Hoverd, T., HAR 379.)

BREINTON, *Breinton House* (SO 4719 3956); [HSM928, SAM 1001740, EHE5252]

As part of a study of early field systems in Breinton parish undertaken since 2015, it was noted from LiDAR data that a large and hitherto unsuspected earthwork had once existed to the south-west of St Michael's church. This earthwork formed a trapezoidal ditched enclosure containing an area approximately 180 by 50m, facing southwards onto the River Wye and therefore having no ditch on that side, along the edge of the riverside bluff overlooking Breinton Spring. Intriguingly, the ditch appeared to be some 20m broad. The LiDAR data appears to indicate that the parish church was built on, and partly across, the outer lip of this enclosure, suggesting that the enclosure pre-dates the 12th century. At the centre of the enclosure a stone-walled and ditched site known as Breinton Camp was created on a much smaller scale. This was excavated between 1959 and 1962 (*TWNFC* 37, 272-94) and the pottery from that complex is compatible with the idea that it was the summer residence of the Treasurer of Hereford Cathedral between c.1150 and 1520AD. With the kind permission of the owners of Breinton House, an exploratory excavation was undertaken in September 2018, directed by Keith Ray and Liam Delaney, with practical support from Herefordshire Archaeology and local volunteers, on behalf of Breinton Parish Council. The fieldwork and subsequent (for instance, ongoing ceramics) analysis was funded in part by a generous donation by the Wegg-Prosser family.

The single excavation trench located the truncated remains of an earthen bank facing northwards that had originally been fronted with stacked turves, and into the front of which had been placed river-cobbles and weathered blocks of stone (Fig. 2). These latter had either slipped from the front of the bank, or had been deliberately pulled downwards, and were found to have come to rest on the inner lip of a ditch. The location of the bank and the ditch intercepted in the excavation trench was found to correlate exactly with the line of the ditch that had been picked up in the LiDAR. A possible post-hole was discovered within the bank material. However, no contexts with material suitable for close carbon-14 dating were found. Potsherds recovered from the surface and upper levels of the clay bank appear to correspond to the medieval activity relating to the Treasurer's House. Subsequent deposits (mostly gravel and silt, and broken bricks and mortar) represented chiefly infilling of the ditch to level the ground in front of Breinton House. This most likely took place between 1790 and 1800, the period during which the building of the house and the creation of its grounds took place.

The trench therefore successfully located a point where the basal deposits of the bank around the original enclosure survived, and the front of that bank was found to have been of a particularly distinctive form. A date and an exact historical context for the construction of this unusual fortification are currently uncertain, but it may not be coincidental that the breadth and (relatively) shallow character of the ditch mirrors closely the ditch encircling the Anglo-Saxon defences of Hereford itself.

(K. Ray and L. Delaney, *An interim report on an excavation at Breinton House, Herefordshire, in 2018*, MS report, BPC, forthcoming.)



Figure 2. Breinton House excavation: north-facing edge of the enclosure ditch, with stones tumbled from the bank (at right), viewed from the south-west.

CLODOCK, *Pont Hendre motte and bailey castle (SO 3259 2811); [HSM 1038, SAM 1001763, EHE80253]*

Longtown and District Historical Society consulted with archaeological professionals, staff of Historic England and local historians before obtaining a HLF grant for a community project to conduct historical research, surveys and archaeological excavations at the sites of both Longtown Castle and Ponthendre Castle. The programme of investigations was to take place over three years and was to include two seasons of archaeological fieldwork. Herefordshire Archaeology successfully bid to become the archaeological contractor to deliver the excavation component of the study. The first year comprised the production of a series of surveys including geophysical survey, aerial survey and *Structure from Motion* 3D modelling. The excavations were undertaken over two three-week seasons during July 2016 and 2017. The results of specialist analyses of the excavated materials were not fully available until 2018 and that is why it appears within this year's Sectional Recorder's report.

Approximately 1km to the south of Longtown Castle, Ponthendre motte and bailey is perched on the end of a spur which juts out into the valley overlooking the confluence of the River Monnow and the Olchon Brook. The motte mound has commanding views both north and south along the valley. It is therefore strategically a very suitable location for a castle. The name 'Ponthendre' in Welsh means 'bridge at the old settlement' or 'bridge by the winter farm'. The tree-covered motte is 10.5m high and 44m in diameter. The enclosing ditch is up to 12m wide and as much as 3m deep even in its infilled state. There is a rampart facing towards the river that

is 12 m wide and 3m high on the south east side, and 11m wide and 1m high on the north-west side. It has been suggested that the castle was built by Walter de Lacy who died in 1085, and that the castle was replaced by Longtown Castle to the north in the twelfth century.



Figure 3. Ponthendre Castle: section across the earthwork bank and ditch surrounding the bailey, looking east.

A total of eight trenches were excavated over the two seasons of work here (Fig. 3). These included two areas within the bailey, a section across the rampart, two trenches on top of the motte, two trenches along the top of the rampart and one across the bailey entrance. The lack of any internal structural features such as post holes, pits, beam slots and so on within the excavated areas is surprising. A total of just 12 sherds of pottery were retrieved during the excavation, indicating that the fortification was never fully occupied. And yet the scale and near-completed state of the earthworks clearly indicates that it had been intended that the site should be commissioned as a castle. Before this had happened, it appears that the works were abandoned: but exactly why this should be so remains puzzling. (See also, M. Cook and N. Kidd. ‘The Longtown Castle Project and a new history of Ewyas Lacy’, in this volume).

DORSTONE, *Dorstone Hill (SO 3262 4231)*; [HSM 1551, EHE6403]

An eighth season of investigations at the 4th millennium BC (Early Neolithic) hilltop site took place from late June to late July 2017. The excavation was directed by Professor Julian Thomas of Manchester University and Dr Keith Ray, the former County Archaeologist for Herefordshire: once again this year in association with Dr Nick Overton of Manchester University and Tim Hoverd of Herefordshire Archaeology. The project was staffed in 2018 by local volunteers

and by students from (mostly) the Universities of Manchester and Cardiff. These excavations continued those of 2014-15 to the west 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, *TWNFC* 65, 158-9). Access to the site was once again kindly granted by the owners of the land, the Hughes family.

Excavation in 2018 was focused upon the causewayed enclosure towards the southern end of the hill. This involved another area excavation 40m by 20m in extent along the course of three ditch segments. A particular feature of the area uncovered was that it included a number of large sandstone boulders that had apparently been deliberately placed both along the inner sides of the ditches (probably originally fronting an earthen bank), and also assembled as a group of three boulders further into the interior of the enclosure. The two westernmost ditch segments were found to have been cut through the overlying clay deposits and into a natural layer of corn-stone (calcareous conglomerate). This had the effect of increasing the alkalinity of the lower ditch deposits and had led to localised preservation of organic material (elsewhere on the hill the acidity of the soil had meant that only calcined bone had survived). This meant that bones survived from joints of beef brought onto site in that form, and from sheep that had been slaughtered on site: indicating that people had gathered here and had enjoyed feasting together—from the carbon 14 evidence most likely at points during the 36th century BC. An extensive ceramic assemblage was recovered from the enclosure ditches in 2018, combining sherds with characteristics closely similar to the carinated bowls encountered in earlier seasons of excavation of the long mounds to the north on the hill, with open bag-shaped bowls. The exact significance of the co-occurrence of these distinct forms has yet to be determined.

LONGTOWN *Longtown Castle* (NGR SO 3217 2917); [*HSM 1036*, *SAM 1021347*, *EHE80252*] Longtown Castle stands on the south end of a ridge overlooking the river valleys of the Monnow and the Olchon. The fortifications comprise a rectangular enclosure of about three acres with a motte at the north-west angle on which stands a circular keep. The western half of the enclosure is divided into two parts of which the northern formed the inner bailey and the southern the outer bailey. The inner bailey is bounded by a curtain wall on the north-east, east and south sides, with an entrance gateway in the south wall. There appears to be no wall on the west side where possibly the steepness of the scarp made any formidable masonry unnecessary. The keep is thought to have been constructed in the first half of the 12th century and the remains of the curtain walls to the inner bailey, together with the remains of the southern gateway, are believed to be of late 12th- or early 13th-century date.

The surviving earthworks consist of a rectangular enclosure with rounded angles enclosed by a rampart and ditch, the latter now filled in on the north-west and the south sides. On the west side the rampart connects directly with the motte while on the north side there is a gap between the motte and the rampart. Near the middle of the south rampart there is an inner ditch or sunken entrance running from it and at right angles to the outer ditch, dividing the enclosure roughly into two halves. Only the southern part of this ditch remains, but it probably originally continued northwards across the enclosure and formed an outlet through the existing gap in the north rampart by the east side of the motte.

Excavations were limited to the eastern area of the bailey known as ‘Castle Green’. Trench 1 was excavated across a damaged section of the rampart in order to record its construction



Figure 4. Longtown Castle, Trench 1: section across the east bank of the enclosure, from the south-west.

material and method and possibly provide a date for its initial construction. The section revealed by Trench 1 showed that the rampart had been built in three distinct phases (Fig.4). The earliest phase rose to a height of 0.55m above the natural ground surface and was clearly made up of stacked turves that had decayed to a claylike consistency. The second phase, raising the rampart to a height of 5 metres, was made up of layers of earth, gravel and decayed sandstone. These were identifiable as locally derived material and were presumably sourced mainly if not entirely from the ditch surrounding the rampart. The layers were of varying thickness, with no apparent pattern to the sequence. They had remained in place long enough for a layer of turf to grow on them before the third phase was added raising the height of the rampart to around 5.5m. No stone structures were found on or within the rampart and neither was there any evidence of post-holes or timber revetments. No artefacts were found within the rampart except for a few sherds of abraded 13th- and 14th-century pottery in the upper layers: and these may have been introduced by burrowing animals. Samples of the turf from the bottom of the rampart were collected and processed by flotation to recover small amounts of charcoal for radiocarbon dating. These returned a calibrated date range of 355-117 cal BC. The basal deposits within Trench 2 also returned dates from the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods and included small quantities of 1st and early 2nd century pottery, the remains of an oven and a carbonised plank walkway. (Plate 7.1) Roman pottery was also evident within Trench 4. However, here it appeared to have been redeposited within 13th-century layers.

Trench 2 also contained a series of 13th- and 14th-century gravel floors, some associated with post holes and one with a light stone wall. The presence of slag, and often also large

quantities of stone chips, suggests that this area was used as a working area for the upkeep of the castle. Trench 3 contained substantial deposits of 12th-century redeposited rubble, charcoal and domestic refuse including large quantities of pottery. The thickness of these deposits (over 2m) and the close dating from within them, indicates that this material was likely to have been spread over the bailey in an effort to raise the ground surface and that this material must have come from a large scale re-organisation of the castle. Trench 4 contained evidence of small-scale metal working dating from the 13th and 14th centuries.

The carbon-14 date from the turf forming the rampart within Trench 1 has now confirmed that the unusual square-shaped rampart, whilst being added to during the medieval period, is in origin late Iron Age or (most probably) Roman in origin. This has long been suggested but without any dateable material it has been difficult to verify. The presence of a reasonable quantity of Roman pottery recovered from Trenches 2 and 4 would support the contention that even if the turf enclosure was late Iron Age in origin, there was most definitely a Roman presence within the square enclosure. The fact that several features dated securely to the Roman period are present within Trench 2 suggests that the Roman occupation was of some scale and intensity. It should be remembered that the date provided from the charcoal within the turf rampart does not date the construction of the rampart and it may be that the charcoal had lain within the turf for a considerable time. It may also have originated from a large tree.

All these factors may suggest a date of construction which could be considerably later than that which the second century BC carbon date indicates. Bearing this in mind, it is certainly possible that the turf rampart was constructed in the Roman period. Interestingly no Iron Age pottery was recovered from any of the trenches, and this may add some weight to the argument for the turves having been used for the construction of a Roman fort rather than a late Iron Age enclosure which continued to be used into the Roman period. The pottery assemblage contains fabrics which one would expect to find as part of a military presence. The pottery and C14 dates therefore all strongly suggest the existence of a 1st century AD Roman fort here at Longtown, crowning the ridge that the medieval castle and borough of Ewias Lacy later occupied.

It is clear from the excavation of Trenches 2, 3 and 4 that what is evident here on Castle Green is a major phase of re-development of the medieval de Lacy castle. Trench 4 was excavated down to bedrock and no *in situ* early deposits were found to survive, whilst the primary deposits within Trench 2 were found to have been severely truncated and in the main survive because they have slumped into a ditch, as the natural bedrock dips downslope. This, in turn, leads one to assume that the massive deposits of medieval dumping recorded within Trench 3 must cover the Roman deposits. The implications therefore of Trench 3 for the long-term management of the monument are interesting. In summary, in this area, medieval surfaces and structures survive to within c.0.6m of the current ground surface. The 12th- or 13th-century rubble deposits on which these were built represents a protective, very resistant deposit over a metre in depth, sealing occupation deposits which, it can now be presumed, are of 12th-century and earlier origin. The lowest deposits of Trench 3 were damp; quite possibly the pre-12th-century deposits in the south-eastern corner of the castle—the lowest corner of the site—are permanently waterlogged, offering investigators of the future the potential to examine an uninterrupted sequence from the late Iron Age to the early medieval period. The dating from the pottery and the C14 samples strongly suggest that the re-development phase (and by this it is inferred the re-building of the castle in stone), occurred no earlier than the middle of the 12th century and that this was very extensive and possibly fairly short-lived.

Both castles have their own fascinating stories and investigations at both sites have added greatly to our knowledge not just of these two castles, but of castle development and use within the Welsh Marches as a whole. The fact that Ponthendre Castle was constructed as an earthwork but never developed into a defensible military asset raises the possibility that this may not be a unique occurrence. This in turn leads to consideration of whether many other earthwork castles were built as earthworks but were not actually used? This could have significant implications for our understanding the militarised zone of the entire medieval Marches landscape. It seems likely that Ponthendre Castle became overtaken by events after initially having been constructed as a forward operating base as far up the valley as was possible, such that by the time the earthworks were constructed, the site at Longtown had become available. The date for the development of Longtown Castle from timber to stone has now apparently been confirmed as occurring during the 1150s or early 1160s and this has significant implications concerning the use of circular tower keeps. The excavations have also shown that the square enclosure is not medieval in origin and that it is either late Iron Age or more probably Roman. The amount of Roman stratigraphy was patchy and truncated but proved more than enough to indicate intensive occupation during, and possibly also just after, the 1st Century AD.

(Hoverd, T., HAR 375.) (See also, M. Cook and N. Kidd. ‘The Longtown Castle Project and a new history of Ewyas Lacy’ in this volume).

HEREFORDSHIRE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES (PAS)

The PAS was established in 1997 and Herefordshire has had its own reporting officer (the FLO, Finds Liaison Officer, shared jointly with Shropshire) since 2003. Peter Reavill is based at Ludlow Museum, but his work is supported also by Herefordshire Museum Service. A small selection of the most significant finds reported during 2018 is presented here, and as ever it is worth emphasising the continued importance that the general public play in reporting their archaeological discoveries. Any identifications not attributed to named individual PAS or other specialists are by Peter Reavill. All the records reported here are available for further scrutiny via the online database which can be found at www.finds.org.uk

BRIMFIELD: A complete cast copper alloy harness fitting / terret ring of later Iron Age-early Roman date, 100 BC-100 AD. PAS Reference: HESH-4586CB.

The terret is sub-oval (D-shaped) in plan with an irregular sub-oval (D-shaped) cross section. (Plate 7.2). The attachment bar is rectangular with two flanking circular mouldings or lappets. Each lappet has two circumferential grooves separating the mouldings into three parts. A similar cast device is present at the apex of the ring and again is similarly decorated. The external edge of the ring is further decorated with opposing C-shaped arcs which taper from each moulding creating two triangular shaped wedge-like panels which conjoin at their apexes. There is no other decoration present. There are no wear marks on the internal edges of the ring or the strap bar. The terret is a mid-green colour with an even, but slightly corroded patina which covers all surfaces. The corrosion and slight abrasion are most evident on the right-hand side of the ring. This has distorted the ribs and flanking mouldings. A light green powdery corrosion product is present here. A direct parallel for the terret has not been found. A number of these terrets have been recorded from late-Iron Age and Roman contexts within the West Midlands and they are often found in association with other harness equipment or carts. The overall form of the terret is

unusual and is likely to be a hybrid of Lewis' 'Triple lobed terret type' which is dated to the Iron Age / Roman transition and into the 2nd century AD.

Lewis A.S.G., 2015, 'Iron Age and Roman-Era Vehicle Terrets from Western and Central Britain: An Interpretive Study', Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester.

ORLETON: Two broadly contemporary early Roman cast copper brooches. PAS References: WMID-8A1BCB and WMID-899210.

These brooches were recovered from the spoil dredged from a brook. Both examples are in extraordinarily fine condition, suggesting that they have at some time been lifted from a primary deposit. (Plates 7.3 and 7.4) The typologically older brooch (WMID-8A1BCB) can broadly be dated to the Iron Age / Roman transition (25 BC - AD 75) and is of the Augenfibel/eye type. It is broadly P-shaped in profile, with all components, including the spring and pin, being complete. Above the upper bow is the chord which is held by a rearward-facing hook. The spring consists of eight turns, plus another turn in the centre which extends to form the pin. The pin is intact and still retains its sharp point. In profile the upper bow is highly arched. Where the bow narrows and extends to the lower section is a central moulding which is slightly angular in form rather than rounded. The lower part of the bow is narrow and curves to a moulded terminal knob. The catch-plate at the rear is trapezoidal in profile and has a fold along the length in order to hold the pin. The brooch has a mid-green coloured patina across all surfaces. The surfaces have been abraded. Mackreth (2011, p.106 Plate 103, No 6207) illustrates similar examples with the 'emaciated' and plain lower bows. They are suggested as continental brooches and similar to Pannonian types. Bayley and Butcher (2004) suggest they came over with the army and are common in the forts of the Rhine-Danube Frontier.

The second brooch is also complete and is a Kräftig-profilierete type (AD 43-100). The brooch is also broadly P-shaped in profile, with all components including the spring and pin being complete. Above the upper bow is the chord which is held by a rearward facing hook above a wide crossbar. The spring consists of eight turns with the central turn extending to form the pin. The pin is almost intact, perhaps just missing the tip where it just reached the catch-plate at the rear. The upper bow is triangular in plan and narrow to a horizontal crossbar. In profile the upper bow is highly arched. Where the bow narrows and extends to the lower section is a central triple moulding which extends to the rear of the brooch. The lower part of the bow narrows and curves to form a moulded terminal knob with a raised circular pellet at the centre. The catch-plate at the rear is trapezoidal in profile. The brooch has a mid-green coloured patina across all surfaces. The surfaces have been abraded. Again, Mackreth (2011, p.106 Plate 103) illustrates similar examples with perforated catchplates which are believed to be imports from Pannonia. Examples such as this one from Britain are rarely perforated and are believed to be later in the series than perforated examples. Non-perforated examples are possibly British copies of the continental type (Bayley & Butcher, 2004, p.59 & p.148). There are a small number of brooches recorded on the PAS database of Kräftig-profilierete type however this is only the second example from Herefordshire. The PAS record was compiled by Victoria Allnatt and Sally Worrell.

Bayley, J. and Butcher, S., 2004, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study Based on the Richborough Collection* (London: The Society of Antiquaries), 68.;

Mackreth, D.F., 2011, *Brooches in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain* (Oxbow Books).

COLWALL: A very late Early Medieval / Anglo-Scandinavian (c. AD 900 to 950) sword guard. PAS Reference: WAW-5B39CA.

The guard is rectangular in plan with a concave lower edge and convex upper edge. In section the guard is slightly trapezoidal with rounded corners, most probably Petersen (1919) Type P. The guard is hollow and has a slot running the length of the lower edge and is crushed together. (Plate 7.5) This slot would have fitted over the upper part of the blade and the tang of the blade would have passed through the rectangular hole. The upper edge has a central sub-rectangular hole with a circular cell or rivet hole either side. The guard is heavily abraded and much of the original surface is lost; that which remains is decorated with inlaid niello which forms a linear plaited (interlaced) design. In one area the design is infilled with a finer interlace within the voids. The decoration on the upper edge around the circular cells has a triangular pattern. The guard can be classed as a Petersen Type P and is similar to an example in the British Museum Collection (1887, 0209.1) which was acquired from the Temple Church, City of London from the Tomb of the Earl of Pembroke after possibly being previously recovered from the banks of the River Thames.

Petersen, J., 1919, *De Norsk Vikingesverd* Kristiania, I kommission hos J. Dybwad. Record compiled by Angie Bolton and Edwin Wood.

HEREFORD: A medieval vervel / hawking ring of medieval date 1380-1450. PAS Reference: HESH-4DED0C.

The vervel is a cast and engraved annular silver ring (Fig. 5). The edges are slightly faceted and the central hole is relatively unworn. The upper face is inscribed: * *Marche* =; and the lower is inscribed < * *(G / V / B) luctre*. The script is in an angular black-letter hand with augmented serifs created with the same graver. The lettering on the upper face is also unevenly spaced with the letters M A R being evenly spaced on the upper edge and CHE being grouped together. The same hand has been used to cut both faces as the letters r and c are identical in appearance. The initial mark on both faces is an eight-pointed star formed from a saltire and vertical cross being overlapped. Vervels are small inscribed tags, most commonly in the form of annular rings, which connect to either the hawk's leashes, thongs or leather jesses to its perch in a mews. These tags are often inscribed with the owner's name, residence or coat of arms (Margeson and Gaimster: 1989). They are also often made in pairs, with one usually bearing the owner's name and the



Figure 5. Hereford, medieval vervel / hawking ring. PAS Record: HESH-4DED0C.

other his address/place of residence. Though, conceivably, the pair might be duplicates and bear both the name and the address one on each face. In broad terms they fulfil the same function as modern day pigeon rings.

This style and form of vervel is relatively common with a number being reported under the Treasure Act (1996)—they date usually from the period 1500-1700. Several parallels of this common form can be seen in section XIV ‘Hawking vervels and bells’, in the *Treasure Annual Report, 2005-2006* (pages 165-6). However, based on the style of the black-letter script of this example, it is better paralleled against examples dated to the period AD 1380-1450. This vervel is similar in form and script to a gold example discovered in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, now in the British Museum (1855,1201.217). This gold example once belonged to Henry IV and he used his title of the Duke of Hereford, which was given to him by his cousin Richard II. It is therefore likely that this example dates from the period AD 1399-1413. Another very early vervel from Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire inscribed EDWARD PRINCE in similar blackletter script is dated to the later 15th century and is likely to be associated with Edward IV, or Edward V (Edward of Westminster d: 1471), son of Henry VI (Slarke 2009).

Details of the find were shared with Dr Malcolm Jones, a specialist in medieval inscriptions and scripts. His observations are paraphrased here. ‘The inscription on the vervel can be read as *marche*, which may also mean *marshes* (as the letter <c> letter often stands in for <s> in this form of script at this date). The reverse presents a different problem: in particular, the opening letter which can be read to replace with a ?, so I read ?*luctre* which may mean ?*lustre*. It is possible that the initial letter (which looks like a ‘v’), could perhaps be a ‘b’ or possibly a G, to give us *Glustre* i.e. Gloucester. However, the form of the G is nothing like that exhibited on the British Museum’s Prince Henry’s vervel where the inscription is also in Latin. If it did read Gloucester then there are two Dukes of Gloucester: Thomas of Woodstock (1385-97) and Humphrey of Lancaster (1414-47). However, this leaves as uncertain, the word “*marche/marshes*”. This might be a Medieval English form of modern ‘marquis’ and the Medieval English Dictionary shows several *march-* spellings, including *marches* ... but, the ‘Marquis of Gloucester’ is not a known title. A Marquis is a rank between Duke and Earl and there seem to have been both Dukes of Gloucester and also Earls. The other potential interpretation is that since *March* is certainly also attested as a 14th-century English surname and is usually representative of the geographical area (The Welsh March / Marches). Given the above uncertainties it is impossible to be certain of the original owner. The find-spot near to the city of Hereford might possibly allow for the speculation that this was from the hawk belonging to either the first or second Duke of Gloucester, both of whom were closely linked to lands in Herefordshire through their familial relationship with the de Bohuns who were Earls of Hereford.

[Anon] 2007: *Treasure Annual Report 2005-6*. DCMS: London.

[Anon] A vervel of Henry IV in the collections of the British Museum https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=44155&partId=1&searchText=vervel&page=1

Margeson S. and Gaimster, D., ‘A post-medieval silver hawking vervel’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, **XL**, part III, 1989, pp. 326-7.

Slarke, D., 2009, A medieval vervel from Eaton Bray Bedfordshire. Treasure Number: 2009-T62: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/246323>

A VIEW FROM THE HILLS: Herefordshire hillforts and regional ceramics research**By Jane Evans, later prehistoric pottery consultant, Malvern, Worcestershire**

This brief note provides a summary of work in progress on a chapter on Iron Age pottery for inclusion in 'The Iron Age and its Hillforts in Herefordshire,' edited by Keith Ray and to be published as part of the Herefordshire Studies in Archaeology series. The volume aims to report on significant projects undertaken between 2009 and 2013 (at Credenhill, Eaton Camp and Little Doward hillforts), to review other projects relevant to understanding the group of larger later prehistoric enclosures in the county, and to contextualise these by reviewing and summarising ceramic and environmental studies resulting from these and other projects.

The chapter by Evans reviews the background to Iron Age pottery studies in Herefordshire, and the wider region in the light of excavations undertaken between the 1950s and early 80s at Sutton Walls, Croft Ambrey, Midsummer Hill, Credenhill Camp, Dinedor and Poston; the significant contributions made by David Peacock and Elaine Morris, drawing on these assemblages; the various outcomes of the resource assessment and regional research framework for the West Midlands region, and Keith Ray's *The Archaeology of Herefordshire: An Exploration* (2015); the significance of radiocarbon dates from Conderton Camp and Kemerton Camp, on Bredon Hill, Worcestershire; and the regionally important body of work, regrettably still unpublished, on the Beckford (Worcestershire) assemblage. This latter work has built on the quality of the recording methodology developed by Deborah Klemperer and Helen Rees in the 1980s, and the more recent phase of research on the Beckford material which has provided C14 dates for local and regional fabrics.

The chapter reviews the results from the three more recent, small scale studies undertaken since 2007 by Herefordshire Archaeology. It discusses the challenge of interpreting these in the context of the major Herefordshire assemblages, highlighting four issues: the modern commercial focus and the decline of the regional pottery specialist, the need for more scientific dating and for standardised recording of fabrics, forms and decoration, and the importance of trying harder to understand transitions in pottery production and use (and especially the appearance of regional pottery industries in the Middle Iron Age, and subsequent changes in pottery production and use). The chapter also suggests ways forward, including bringing on a new generation of pottery specialists: for instance, by the funding of a PhD revisiting the Herefordshire hillfort assemblages, using a standardised and more current methodology, in line with the current Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group guidelines (as done for Worcestershire assemblages from Conderton Camp, Beckford, Kemerton Camp and Blackstone). It will be important to integrate careful use of carbon-14 dating and its routine use for stratified groups, as done for these Herefordshire Archaeology projects, particularly where there are burnt residues on pottery. Enhancing the Worcestershire Ceramics Online Database with the form and decoration codes devised for Beckford, to encourage a standardised approach to recording Iron Age assemblages from the region. The forthcoming chapter reports fully upon the ceramics from the recent Herefordshire hillfort projects and discusses the points raised above in much greater detail, providing a research framework for future Iron Age pottery studies. The volume will hopefully go to press by mid-2020.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS**THE ARCHAEOLOGY COMPANY**

BRAMPTON ABBOTTS, St Michaels's Church (SO 6010 2641); [LB: 1099258, HSM 6834, EHE 80400].

During archaeological monitoring and recording of ground works for the removal of the existing perimeter drain and the installation of a new French drain at St Michael's Church, Brampton Abbots traces of a stone structure were found. This possibly belonged to a building predating the early-12th century date of the present Church of St Michael. However, no finds were recovered that might allow the conclusive dating of the structure.

DILWYN, Land Adjacent to the Great House (SO 4137 5452); [HSM 56509, EHE 80361].

A survey was undertaken of a pasture containing extant earthworks immediately to the south of the A414 and to the west of the Great House, Dilwyn, prior to the determination of an application for housing development. This survey identified that within the proposed development area there are several raised features forming levelled areas and possible linear field divisions.

HEREFORD, Archaeological Monitoring of a Trench in the Vicars Choral, Hereford Cathedral (SO 5102 3969), [HSM 47260, LB 1196828, EHE80313].

The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral commissioned the company to undertake a programme of archaeological monitoring during the excavation of a new service run to the south of the Vicars Choral. The original service run appears to have been wider in places than the new service run and was in areas cut deeper than expected. However, a series of features truncated by the original service run remained at the lower levels of the excavation, for instance a brick-built well and two possible stone surfaces that were identified below the current yard surface at a depth of *c.*0.40m (55.82mAOD) and below the area of the Dean's garden at a depth of *c.*0.70m (54.63m AOD), respectively.

NEWTON ST MARGARET'S, West Barn, Cwarelau Farm (SO 3413 3161); [HSM 56512, LB 1224504, EHE 80366]

An historic building survey was undertaken in advance of proposed works. The examination of the barn structure indicated that the original building comprised of a rectangular two-floored residential dwelling, with an open floor plan on both floors. The remaining architectural features within the building such as roof trusses, door frames, windows and the fireplace suggest that the original building was constructed in the late Jacobean (1603-1625) period and served as the main farmhouse. Following the construction of the main house, a timber-framed extension was added to the southern elevation. Within the extension evidence remains to suggest that this building had two floor levels, the first-floor level matching that of the main house and most probably functioning as a hay loft with cattle byre below.

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY

HOLMER, HEREFORD, Land to the north of Roman Road & west of the A49, Holmer West (SO 50491 42528); [HSM 48838, EHE80350]

An archaeological field evaluation of approximately 3ha of land in connection with the conversion and extension of a listed farmhouse to apartments, conversion of two traditional barns to residential use, demolition of more modern barns and a new residential development comprised 22 trenches, each of 20m × 2m. A possible linear feature running north-east/south-west was investigated in Trench 14 and was found to contain 13th-century pottery and cattle, horse and sheep/goat bone, together with a vertebra of freshwater bream, a popular freshwater food fish during this period. No evidence was encountered within the trench to establish its function, although the character of the finds does strongly suggest a focus of medieval occupation somewhere in the vicinity. A substantial fence-, gate- or marker-post recovered from this trench was identified as oak, with an age in excess of 100 years and evidence of sawing suggesting a later-medieval or post-medieval date. It is considered likely that there may be an association with orcharding, as shown on historic maps, or with hop cultivation. No further archaeological features were present within the remaining 21 trenches; however, there were areas of residual pottery and ceramic building material (brick, roof tile, floor tile etc.) dating from the medieval to post-medieval periods.

(Bromage, L., Border Archaeology report BA1816HHH.)

HEREFORD, Harley Lodge, St John Street (SO 5110 3988); [HSM 56712, EHE80331]

Archaeological observation was carried out during excavations for the foundations of a single-storey extension, garden walls and steps. Use of raft foundations avoided deep excavation, thereby preventing foundations affecting any more deeply-buried archaeological remains and the relatively shallow foundation depth may account for the absence of features or deposits of medieval or Saxo-Norman date. The only deposits seen were of post-medieval date, including layers of garden soil and a mixed post-medieval subsoil, together with former paths associated with the gardens of Harley House. A number of rubbish pits with pottery of late-18th to 19th-century date was also present. Although St John Street is thought to lie outside the former Cathedral burial ground, a small number of disarticulated human remains were recovered (under a Ministry of Justice licence) from the fill of an existing drain trench, and these bones were subsequently reinterred. Further observation in the area revealed no further human bones and it thus seems likely that the small amount recovered may have been accidentally imported, possibly in topsoil. The Cathedral Close was landscaped in the 19th century, at which time about 1m of the upper surface of the burial ground was removed. In addition to the human remains, a single sherd of Romano-British greyware (reduced Severn Valley ware) was recovered from the post-medieval subsoil. Although unstratified and visually insignificant, it adds further to the evidence for Romano-British activity in Hereford, particularly in the area around the Cathedral. (Crooks, K. H., Border Archaeology BA1763HLH.)

PEMBRIDGE, Land Adjacent to The Old Stores, Bearwood Lane (SO 3900 5806); [HSM 56527, EHE80372]

Archaeological observation of groundworks for a two-storey two-bedroom dwelling was carried out next to The Old Stores, a Grade II* listed building with a possible 14th-century core, that was

extensively remodelled during the 17th and late 19th centuries. The site lies within the historic settlement, close to the Church and Scheduled Moated site at Court House Farm, in an area considered to be archaeologically sensitive, particularly with regard to the medieval and Saxo-Norman period. A large pit containing 18th-century pottery was revealed on the eastern side of the site, with further 18th- or 19th-century pottery present to the north. An absence of subsoil, together with substantial dumps of post-medieval building material seen at the entrance, suggest the site had been levelled/landscaped, potentially removing any earlier archaeological features/deposits that may have been present.

(Crooks, K. H., Border Archaeology BA1803CHCP.)

WEOBLEY, Land to the north of the Red Lion Hotel (SO 4019 5179); [HSM 56514, EHE80353]

An archaeological field evaluation of land to the north of the Red Lion Hotel was undertaken in connection with the proposed construction of a new dwelling. The site was located within the core of the Weobley Conservation Area. Two trenches, each measuring 10m × 2m, were positioned with reference to features and structures shown on historic maps. Features and deposits were encountered in both trenches, together with sherds of pottery, confirming the presence of medieval activity. Trench 2, on the eastern side of the site, revealed a potentially medieval feature cut by post-medieval linear features, possibly relating to buildings occupying this area up to the early 19th century. Medieval pottery was found in a pit in the northeast corner of Trench 2. The medieval features may relate to burgage plots known to have occupied the site. A linear feature in Trench 1 contained 14th- to 15th-century pottery.

(Crooks, K. H., Border Archaeology BA1819 (1764) RLH.)

COTSWOLD ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, Former Bus Depot, Friar Street, Hereford (SO 50578 39834); [HSM 56504, EHE80322]

An evaluation and excavation by Cotswold Archaeology identified large pits dating from the 12th to 15th centuries and most likely representing rubbish pits. In one area, these were replaced by unlined wells or storage pits of 12th- to 16th-century date. Eight inhumation graves and a section of walling are likely associated with a known Quaker meetinghouse located to the north-east. A structure of unknown function correlated closely to buildings associated with workers accommodation first depicted on the 1842 Tithe Map.

(*Former Bus Depot, Friar Street, Hereford: Archaeological Evaluation.* Cotswold Archaeology, 2017, typescript report 17703 and 2018 further report forthcoming.)

HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) Ltd

HEREFORD, Archaeological Building Investigation and Recording at 16-18 High Town and 12 East Street, (SO 51047 39998); [HSM 15999, LB 1196842, EHE80307]

Recording took place at buildings damaged by fire in October 2010 and in reference to the resulting planning application to develop the land. The structure originated as two 16th-century timber-framed buildings that had been through multiple uses, including as a public house, before becoming retail units in the 19th century. The later stages of the 19th century and majority of the 20th century saw rapid and extreme changes to the construction and layout of the buildings with

much of the original structure lost. A Level 3 survey was undertaken for the historic core of the building and a Level 2 survey for the outbuilding and other more recent additions. (Bennett, I., and Cochrane, T., Headland Archaeology, HAS1285.)

HEREFORD, 16-18 High Town and 12 East Street, Archaeological Excavation (SO 51058 39993); [EHE80356]

Excavations in advance of reconstruction and redevelopment works revealed deposits potentially associated with the former Saxon period town ramparts. The remains of three phases of stone foundations of buildings of possible medieval date were revealed, along with yard surfaces, refuse pits and cess pits. Post-medieval and later structural remains were also identified, including two wells. Evidence of iron working and probable textile processing in the vicinity of the site during the medieval period was recovered, together with a small pottery assemblage dating from the 12th to 16th centuries (Fig. 6).

(Thomson, S., Headland Archaeology, HAS 1315.)



Figure 6. Hereford, excavations at 16-18 High Town: medieval stone foundations and cobbling; and deposits forming the front of the Anglo-Saxon town defensive bank.

HEREFORD, Water Main Lifecycle Replacement, County Hospital (SO 5156 4011); [HSM6498, EHE80364]

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during groundworks for the replacement of water main pipes at the County Hospital. The investigation identified a single, undated, stone-built retaining or garden-wall foundation along with construction related deposits and made

ground. No archaeological remains or features associated with the former priory or associated burial ground were recorded.

(Thomson, S., Headland Archaeology, HAS 1309.)

HEREFORD, Stonebow Unit S136 Extension, Hereford County Hospital (SO 51568 40227); [HSM6498, EHE80316]

An archaeological watching brief during groundworks associated with the construction of an extension to the Stonebow Unit involved the location of a series of apparently north-east/south-west orientated pits, dating from the post-medieval period, although no specific function could be attributed. Disarticulated fragments of human remains were identified within the fills of three features, potentially suggesting the burial ground associated with St Guthlac's Priory extended into the area.

(Thomson, S., Headland Archaeology, HAS 1287.)

RUBICON HERITAGE

LINTON, Bromsash: Land at Fairfield (SO 6465 2413); [HSM 842, Evaluation EHE80352; Watching Brief EHE80288]

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken in 2017 prior to residential development adjacent to the eastern edge of the scheduled Roman town of *Ariconium*. The trenches identified a dark layer in all trenches, notably thicker (c. 0.3m) in the southern part of the site, containing significant quantities of Roman pottery, slag and animal bones. This layer sealed cut features, with pottery recovered dating from the 1st to the early 3rd centuries. A subsequent watching brief in 2018 during construction groundworks recorded a possible pit and ditch in the north-eastern area of the site, again containing 1st-3rd centuries AD pottery, small amounts of animal bone and slag. The upper level of the dark Roman layer was identified across much of the stripped area, and was again thinner to the north and east, away from the previously recorded extent of *Ariconium*. (Rubicon Heritage, Report FBRH16.)

WORCESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

HOLMER: Land east of the A49, Holmer, Herefordshire (SO 5065 4245); [HSM 56529, EHE80385]

An archaeological evaluation at land east of the A49 at Holmer comprised seven trenches revealing two undated ditches of uncertain function, as well as evidence of colluvial movement and post-medieval landscaping of the hillside. No artefactual or ecofactual evidence earlier than the post-medieval period was recovered from the site. No evidence to contradict the long agricultural function of the site was forthcoming.

(Lovett, P., 2018, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2586.)

HOLMER: Land North of Roman Road and West of the A49 (SO 50235 42478); [HSM 48838, EHE80323]

An archaeological strip, map and sample excavation was conducted at land between Roman Road and the A49 in the parish of Holmer. The site consisted of a large area of agricultural land, encompassing some 22 hectares. A previous archaeological evaluation of the site had identified features of archaeological significance including several ditches and a corn drying oven (Fig.

7). Four areas were excavated covering an area of 1 hectare, focusing on areas of high potential highlighted in the evaluation.

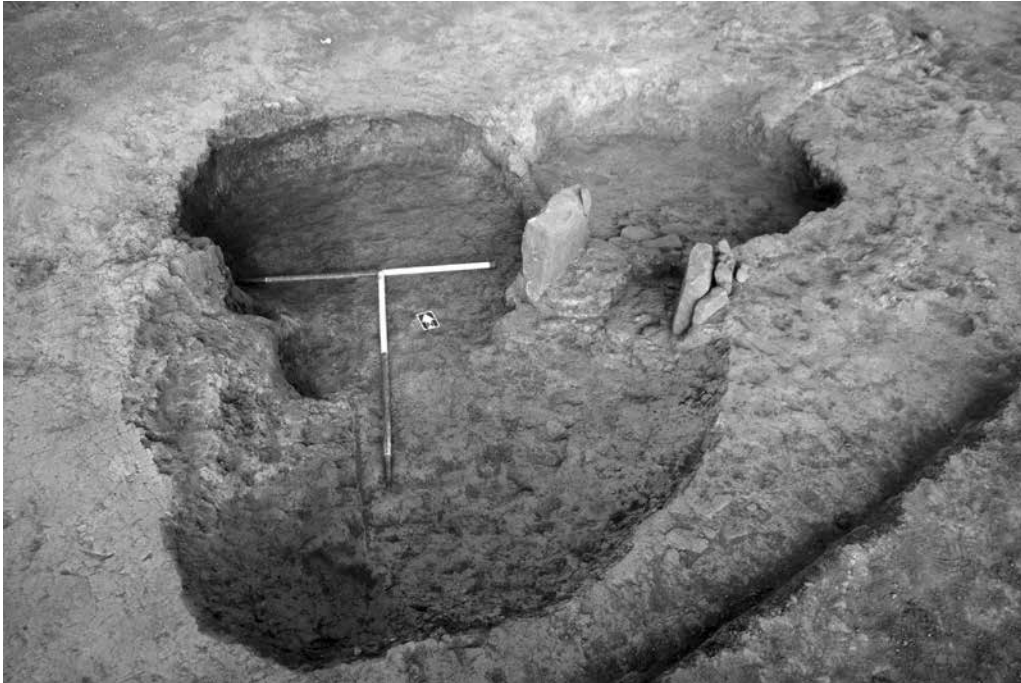


Figure 7. Holmer: corn-drying ovens.

A possible prehistoric storage pit was found in the northern area, with residual worked flint from some of the boundary ditches. These flints may relate to a probable prehistoric cremation cemetery recorded in the evaluation stage to the north-east, but deliberately excluded from the development area. A group of ceramic loom-weights was uncovered in the base of a small sub-circular feature with an exceptionally rich charred plant assemblage (Plate 7.6). A sample of barley from this context was radiocarbon dated to 722 - 945 cal AD. A series of corn-drying field ovens were found to the west of the stock enclosures. A rubble floor of a threshing barn was recorded in the central area relating to later activity on site, together with modern spreads of stone dating from later agricultural use of the site. The excavation also revealed the buried remains of features relating to a small medieval farmstead with settlement, field boundary and stock enclosure activity dating from the 9th-13th century AD, contemporary with the founding of Holmer church to the southwest and the original settlement of Holmer.

The findings demonstrate that, as suggested in the earlier works of the desk-based assessment and evaluation stages of the project, the original Holmer settlement was centred around the church and later contracted to the current settlement that is all to the east of the church. A trackway in the south of the development area, recorded in the evaluation stage but not affected by the development, may have provided access between the settlement on the hill, which seems to have gone out of use by the time of the inclosure of the land during the 18th

Century. The project has most importantly provided an insight into the early medieval settlement of the northern hinterland of Hereford in what later became Holmer parish. (Arnold, G., Rogers, T. & Bradley, R., 2018, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2534.)

STAUNTON ON ARROW: *Land adjacent to Stone House* (SO 3707 6008); [HSM 56528, EHE 80384]

An archaeological evaluation took place at land adjacent to Stone House, Staunton on Arrow, Herefordshire. The site is located within the village and sits less than 100m east of the medieval motte. Two 30m long trenches were excavated across the site, positioned to sample the principal areas of the development. Overall, there were few archaeological features and it is suggested that the land was previously agricultural in use at least throughout the medieval period and likely also into the early post-medieval period. A possible field boundary ditch and a small gully are thought to be the product of agriculture and a pit containing late-16th to 17th-century pottery was considered likely to be agricultural or related to the use of the land as an orchard.

(Ilf, E., 2018, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2554.)

WELLINGTON: *Wellington Quarry Phase 2 2016-2017 works interim reports* (SO 5053 4700); [HSM 5522, EHE 2057]

The ongoing long-term programme of archaeological work at Wellington Quarry (NGR SO 503 473) continued in 2018 on behalf of Tarmac Limited, before the extension of mineral extraction into new parts of the permitted area. An alluvial sequence recorded across the area consisted of a reddish-brown alluvium underlying the turf line. This overlaid a yellowish-brown alluvial deposit of prehistoric date, itself overlying a reddish-orange alluvial unit which directly overlaid the sand and gravel mineral deposit. In one area was found a paleo-channel within and beyond which a thin peat-rich deposit had spread over a large extent of the lowest lying parts of the site. This was in turn sealed by a grey clay (stasis) horizon as well as the yellow alluvium. In the eastern part of the area this was replaced by a grey clay (stasis) horizon, with both the peat deposit and grey clay (stasis) horizon overlying the yellow alluvium. The paleo-channel ran north to south along the western side of Phase 2, continuing the alignment of this feature from its observed extents in previous phases.

A Roman period recut of the paleo-channel was also recorded, yielding Severn Valley ware dating from the 1st century AD, with later material in associated drainage ditches running across the field dating from the 2nd century AD. These contained gleyed blue-grey fills and further Roman ceramics. Although small, the finds assemblage is sufficient to demonstrate that Roman settlement and associated field patterns observed in previous phases to the north continue into this area of the site.

To the east of the paleo-channel, discrete pits with associated finds and localised flint and ceramic scatters were found to date from the Neolithic to Bronze Age periods. These were focussed on the higher ground and extend a well-recognised pattern at the site of a scatter of earlier prehistoric activity occupying drier parts of the floodplain (Jackson 2007). These are understood to relate to regular but short-lived periods of occupation by small and largely nomadic communities exploiting the rich resources of the floodplain and adjacent terraces. A larger pit was found in the south-eastern extent of the site, which was cut through the yellow alluvium and may have been a waterhole. Later features comprised a series of ditches and drains associated

with a water-meadow system which has previously been identified through aerial photography and LiDAR mapping. Medieval and later field boundaries and land-drains were also recorded. These later features reflect agricultural use of the site and efforts to drain the land to improve access and use.

(Arnold, G., 2017, Worcestershire Archaeology Reports 2413 and 2472.)

Jackson, R., 2007, 'Pits, pots, places and people: approaching the Neolithic at Wellington Quarry', in Garwood, P. (ed.) 2007, *The undiscovered country. The earlier prehistory of the West Midlands, The making of the West Midlands, vol 1* (Oxbow Books), 109-22)

Buildings, 2018

By DUNCAN JAMES

Over the last year a number of buildings were visited including the following:-

Chapel Farm, Wigmore.

Lat/Long:- 52.310672, -2.889880. Map ref:- SO 394 684. Hereford SMR:- 1678. RCHME Wigmore monument No. 3.

Chapel Farm is a timber-framed chapel of 15th-century date, and one of the most important historic buildings in the county. It is listed Grade 1 for its superb roof and the fact that it retains intact so much of its primary structure. In my report of 2008/9 I proposed a construction date of c.1430-40 based on the decorative features and the parallels that can be drawn with three other houses, Bryndraenog, (Beguildy), tree-ring dated to 1436; Swan House, Pembridge, tree-ring dated to 1451, and 5 Harley Court.¹

Tree-ring analysis of the primary structure of Chapel Farm was commissioned by the owner in 2016.² This has given a felling date range of 1428-1442, which is satisfyingly close to the previous estimate of 1430-40, however, it does raise the question of whether the chapel was constructed before Bryndraenog and influenced its decorative design, or followed the building of Bryndraenog with the influence coming the other way.

A date range of 1559-89 was also established for the inserted floor within the chapel that may well indicate when it was converted to domestic use.

A further date range of c.1619 to c.1632 was established for the construction of the adjacent barn. This building had been considered to be of interest because it contained decorative features that suggested some domestic function. I had written that it was ‘...possibly built following the conversion of the Chapel in the late 16th century for domestic use...’ or that an alternative might be that ‘...it was built prior to the Dissolution as an adjunct to the Chapel and that it functioned as an accommodation block...’.³ The tree-ring dates indicate that it was built in the early 17th century following the conversion of the Chapel, although its exact function remains problematic.

Greenfields, Dilwyn, Herefordshire, HR4 8JW

Lat/Long:- 52.190575, -2.847310. Map ref:- SO 42175 55042. RCHME Dilwyn monument No. 18.

The house, which is not listed, stands on the northern edge of Dilwyn Common, 750m north-east of Dilwyn Church. From the exterior it appears to be a modern house but it contains a single bay from a larger, probably 15th-century, house, that formerly occupied the site. The bay is c.15ft 6in (4.74m) long and 17ft (5.18m) wide (internal measurements) and single storey, but has been raised in height to two storeys. It is on a south-west to north-east alignment.

The north-eastern gable end contains a tie-beam truss, hidden from the outside, that includes cusped bracing and evidence for a central, shuttered window (Fig.1). This area of framing and the principal rafters above are clearly the ‘lower’ face of the frame and have been dressed with a side-axe although one of the cusped braces has diagonal saw marks and evidence for a parallel snap-off. The principal rafters have windbrace slots. Above the tie-beam there is a king

post flanked by queen posts (Fig. 2). Above the blocked window opening there is a rebate in the lower edge of the tie-beam that would have housed the upper edge of a pair of sliding shutters.

At the south-western end of the bay is an internal (hidden) tie-beam truss with, on the ground-floor, faced up towards the north-east, an exposed crossframe, which includes the site of a much modified primary doorway where one door jamb has been moved and the soffit of the girding beam crudely cut (later) to form an arched head (Fig. 3).

An axial beam, lodged on the girding beam of the crossframe, has been inserted into the bay to support a later floor.

Although the early fabric at Greenfields is incomplete and no more than a single bay, it does indicate that a house, probably of 15th-century date, stood on the site, with two or more bays extending to the west. The presence of cusping in the gable-end framing along with the shuttered window indicates that the building had a domestic function. There are also chamfers on the soffit of the girding beam above the crossframe. Diagonal sawmarks on the timbers indicate a date prior to 1530/40⁴ whilst the



Figure 1. Greenfields, Dilwyn. One of two panels of cusped decoration in the south-east end frame. Above is a rebate for the shutter slide to the adjacent (blocked) window.

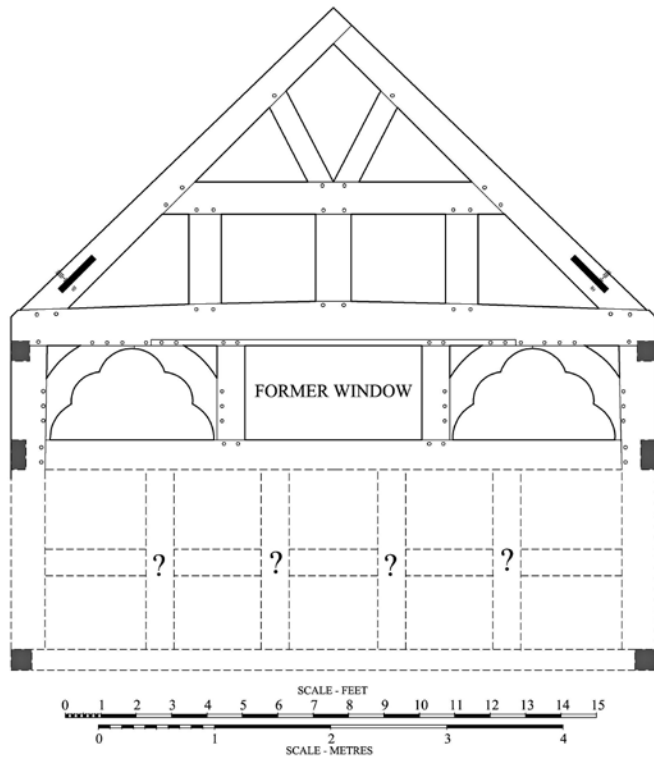


Figure 2. Greenfields, Dilwyn. Partial reconstruction of the internal view of the south-east end frame.

cusped braces push the date firmly into the 15th century. The height of the structure suggests that this was a single storey range and this is confirmed by the position of the window in the end wall which would have been too low had there been a first floor. It is almost certain that this was an open-hall house, of either three or four bays and of modest size. The surviving bay, in view of the off-centre position of the doorway in the crossframe was probably the service bay. This orientation would place the solar at the south-west end of the building, which was common practice in Herefordshire in the 15th century.⁵ The fact that there are wells on the site of Greenfields⁶ adds to the likelihood that this was the service end of the range.

On the south-west side of the site an eccentric boundary indicates that this is a relatively recent change dividing Greenfields off from the land related to the former farm to the west.

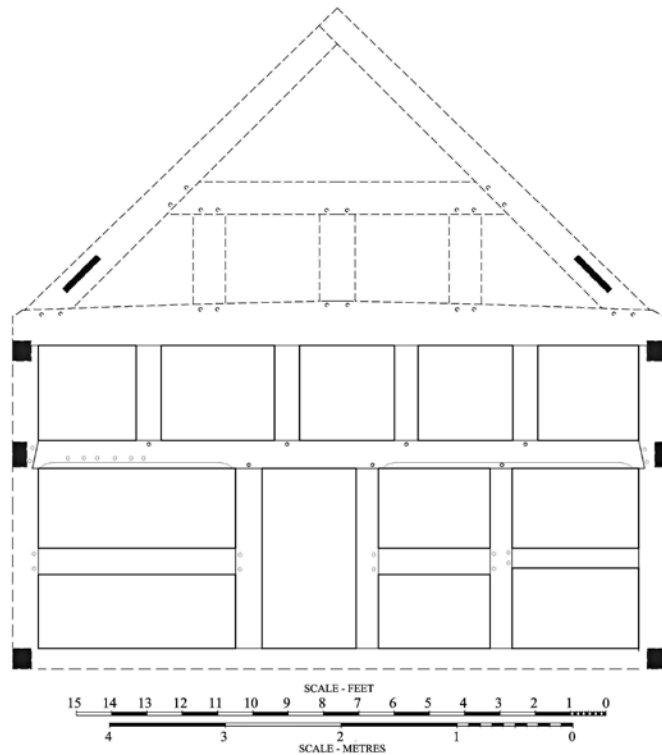


Figure 3. Greenfields, Dilwyn. Reconstruction drawing of the internal crossframe, west elevation.

45-49 Mill Street, Leominster, Herefordshire. HR6 8EB. Lat/Long:- 52.231622, -2.738901. Map ref:- SO 49632 59526.

This linked range of three separate dwellings is not listed and it was not noted by the RCHME survey in the 1930s. The front wall of Nos 45 & 47 is of stone to ceiling level and brick above that. There is a dentil course under the eaves that continues across the face of No. 49 (Fig. 4). The range contains the remains of a two-bay cruck-framed hall. The upper bay of the hall is in No. 45 and the lower bay in No. 47. The service bay would have been at the east end on the site of No. 49 although how much of the framing survives is not known. The solar which would have been attached to the west end of the hall has been lost but there is evidence to indicate that it was in the form of a crosswing, very probably two bays in length.⁷

The two-bay hall (Nos. 45 and 47) was built as a single-storey structure but has been raised in height to a full two storeys and floors have been inserted.

The party wall between 45 and 47 incorporates the principal cruck truss that would have been over the middle of the hall and is now visible in both dwellings. The cruck blades are



Figure 4. 45-49 Mill St, Leominster.

elbowed in shape and have an arch-braced collar, above which there are vee struts that are cusped, as are the blades and collar to form a central quatrefoil flanked by two trefoils. These are partially hidden within the attic space of No. 45 (Fig.5). The pegs in the truss are driven from the west. There is heavy soot/carbon encrustation on the west face. A packing piece is in place on the north blade.



Figure 5. 45 Mill St, Leominster. The apex of the smoke blackened cruck truss over the middle of the former hall showing the quatrefoil decoration and the shallow angle of the later, raised roof.



Figure 6. 45 Mill St, Leominster. The truss at the west end of the former hall which uses the wallplate of the lost crossing for a tie-beam. Note the upper edge of the principal rafters where the thatch on the original roof has kept the timber clear of smoke blackening.

At the west end of No. 45 there is a roof truss above a long tie-beam. The truss is heavily smoke-blackened and is almost certainly coeval with the cruck truss (Fig. 6). The beam that it

rests on is probably the wallplate of a lost box-framed solar crosswing at the upper end of the hall. This integration of cruck frame and box-frame is not unusual.⁸

There is an inserted ceiling in No. 45 with two axial beams and short, lateral bridging beams forming a six-panel ceiling. Since this would have been the upper bay of the hall this is a higher quality ceiling than that in the lower bay. The beams have 4in (approx) (10cm) wide, steep chamfers and stepped stops.

There is a fireplace with stone jambs and an oak lintel in the southern side of the east wall. This fireplace shares the stone chimney stack that has been built within No. 47 where it occupies much of the floorspace forming a baffle entry to the present front door. There is a blocked doorway to the right of this, which is almost certainly on the site of the doorway to the crosspassage that passed through the lower end of the two-bay hall.

The party wall between Nos 47 and 49 retains the original cruck blades and some of the primary framing. It includes an inserted, heavily weathered timber, decorated with blind quatrefoils. (Fig. 7). This may have come from another part of the building, perhaps from a bargeboard that embellished the gable end of the lost crosswing. The lower edge is weathered whereas the upper edge, which would have been protected by the projecting edge of the roof, is less damaged.



Figure 7. 47 Mill St, Leominster. A possible re-used barge board with quatrefoils re-set in the east wall of the house.

Although there is evidence for a few 15th-century open halls in Leominster⁹ this is the only example with cruck framing so far discovered.

Steps House, Market Square, Pembridge, Herefordshire, HR6 9DZ.

Lat/Long:- 52.217735, -2.893692. Map ref:- SO 39041 58101.

Steps House (formerly Steps Cottage) is not listed and was not noted by the RCHME in the 1930s. It is sited on raised ground on the boundary of the church precinct, facing on to the Market Square (Fig. 8). The principal component is a two-bay, 1½-storey, timber-framed structure laid out on an approximate east-west alignment. The roof has been raised at the eaves to create a full two-storey structure and the west front has been extended forward, in brick and stone, possibly encroaching on the market area. Under the west bay of this range, where the ground falls away, the high, stone plinth now forms an undercroft.

On the south side of the range there is a wide flight of steps that links the marketplace with the church and churchyard. On the north side of the range a narrow flight of steps gives access to the first floor of the range. These well-worn stone steps were possibly once external but they have been brought within the house following the construction of the low 1½-storey addition, in



Figure 8. Stepps House, Pembridge. Note the blocked loading door on the site of the large window.



Figure 9. Stepps House, Pembridge. East elevation showing the raised roof.

brick, to the north side. The small garden extends to the north-east of the house along the edge of the graveyard.

This two-bay timber-framed range is two panels high on the ground floor and originally a single panel high at first floor level, now raised to two panels high. The framing has been infilled with brick at a later date, probably when the roof was raised. The primary structure may have been laid out, in plan-form, as two square bays; the west bay being extended later, in brick, by some 4ft (1.22m).

The east end roof truss is visible on the exterior of the range as is the evidence for the raising of the roof, which has created a shallower pitch (Fig. 9). The roof is tiled but the primary roof with its steeper pitch was probably thatched.

Major components of the primary central roof truss and crossframe survive within the building aligned with the east side of an inserted elm staircase. In line with the west side of the staircase is a later crossframe and above this a tiebeam truss, which is not a primary structure, supports the raised roof. The primary purlins appear to have been re-used in the extended west bay between the inserted tiebeam truss and the west gable-end, which is brick.

There are two chimney-stacks in the east-west range both of which have been added later. That at the east gable end is built in brick. The chimney-stack in the south side of the west bay is almost certainly an addition that was made when the bay was extended. It is also in brick and rises from the stonework of the undercroft. It seems likely that the addition of the chimney-stacks

marks the moment when the building was converted from commercial to domestic occupation. In the west gable end, on the site of the main window, there is a blocked loading doorway, evidence for the former commercial use of the building.

The building on the north side of the main range has its ground floor at the same level as the undercroft and a low first floor that is at the approximate level of the ground floor of the main range. Built in brick using Flemish bond it is a later addition to the main range, forming, in effect, a service wing with a kitchen on the ground floor. The doorway in the front wall has become the principal entrance although it is possible that the doorway in the south side of the main range, that gave direct access to the churchyard steps, once formed the principal entrance.

This is an interesting building, sited on land that may once have been in church ownership. The timber-framed range is perhaps late-16th or early-17th century in date although it seems not to have been built as domestic accommodation and its position, adjacent to the marketplace and the market house, suggests that it would have had a commercial function.

It was probably in the late 18th or early 19th century that it was converted to form a domestic building by raising the roof and adding the two brick chimney-stacks whilst also extending the west bay by a few feet. In the 19th century the low north building was added to create service accommodation. It is worth considering the possibility that there may have been a shop-front trading on the south side, at the top of the steps to the church, where the timber frame has been replaced with brick.

Yew Tree Cottage, Stoke Prior, Herefordshire. HR6 0NB

Lat/Long:- 52.206760, -2.703422. Map ref:- SO 39041 58101.

The house is not listed. It is timber-framed with two bays laid out on a north-west/south-east alignment with a modern, single-bay extension at the north-west end (Fig. 10). The north-west bay is almost square in plan while the south-east bay is smaller. There is a timber-framed partition, originally closed (infilled) with only a single door on the ground-floor adjacent to the south-west side wall.

At first sight the primary structure appears to be a 1½-storey structure, later raised in height to a full two storeys. However, close inspection suggests that it was a single-storey structure open to the ridge, into which floors have been inserted in both bays.

Both floors have axial beams that appear to be of elm rather than oak. That in the north-west bay has been tenoned into the central post in the partition crossframe and lodged into the central post in the north-west end frame by cutting into the side of the latter. The joists on each side are modern and tenoned into the sides of the axial beam using the primary mortices. The outer ends of the joists are lodged on modern 'half-beams' bolted to the sidewall framing.

The south-east bay has had the axial beam re-set at a higher level but here the joists are contemporary with the beam into which they are tenoned, the outer ends resting on timbers fitted to the side-walls. There is a modern (brick) fireplace within the frame at the south-east end of the south-east bay. The south-east end wall is of brick, with a cement render, constructed against the outer face of the end wall although none of the end wall framing is visible which suggests that it may have been totally replaced by brick.

The fireplace itself has modern, crudely constructed jambs of stone and an oak lintel that may be re-used, either from an earlier fireplace in the building or from elsewhere. There is the trace of a chamfer that extends past the inner edge of the jambs so the lintel may have come from



Figure 10. Yew Tree Cottage, Stoke Prior. Rear elevation of the two bay house showing the raised roof. The weatherboarded structure on the left is modern.

a wider fireplace. There is a scribed centreline. In the ceiling above the fireplace there is boarding that would have supported a hearth for a small first-floor fireplace, now closed off, positioned to the left of the centreline. The brick chimney-stack has two flues.

The timber-framing of the north-west end wall is now inside the building because a kitchen bay has been constructed against that end of the primary range. The north-west face of this framing is heavily weathered and a doorway has been cut through on both the ground and first floors—in the case of the latter doorway both the primary tie-beam and the collar have been cut to make this possible.

At the south-east end of the range the corner posts survive and there is no indication of pegholes for mortices that would suggest there was ever a further bay.

The primary doorway in the front wall, now enclosed by a modern brick porch, may have been where the present 18th-century panelled front door is fitted.

The timbers of the primary structure (apart from the axial beams) are of oak and substantial. They are pit sawn, so post-date 1540.¹⁰ It is suggested that the primary frame is 17th-century in date although it could possibly belong to the second half of the 16th century. The roof raising (at the eaves on both sides) and the insertion of the floors may be an 18th-century upgrading of the building, which at the same time probably replaced the original thatched roof with slates.

The front and back doors would have been positioned opposite each other either adjacent to the south-east side of the crossframe or adjacent to the north-west side.

This building was almost certainly domestic rather than agricultural although the absence of an early fireplace is problematic. It is possible that the brick fireplace at the south-east end is a replacement for a large stone fireplace that has been removed—which could explain why the south-east end wall has been rebuilt in brick.

Church House (formerly Church Cottage) Titley, Herefordshire, HR5 3RS.

Lat/Long:- 52.235199, -2.979499. Map ref:- SO 33206 60120.

Church House is a timber-framed range, probably of early 16th-century date that has been raised in height and enlarged with brick and stone additions of various dates.¹¹ Two, narrow, single-storey lean-to additions have been made to the back along with a central two-storey block that is partially or wholly of 20th-century date. In the past the building has been subdivided to form two, or possibly even three, separate dwellings (Fig. 11).



Figure 11. Church House, Titley. The front elevation in 2017. The upper row of windows are a later insertion following the raising of the eaves level. The brick bay and the lean-to are later additions.

The building is not included on the current statutory list of buildings of significant architectural and historic interest and it was not noted in the 1930s by the RCHME inspectors. However, this is a significant building, partly for the survival of Arabic assembly marks on the north front of the frame but also because it is a building with what appears to be a byre end that also illustrates the transition from hall house to ceiled hall designs in the early years of the 16th century.

Titley is recorded as the site of a small monastic cell of the order of Tiron which was founded in the village in 1120-1 and which was, as an alien priory, dissolved in 1391.¹² The mother abbey was Tiron Abbey (Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinite de Tiron) founded in 1109 in the woods of Tiron (Thiron) in Perche, 35 miles west of Chartres. The monks were known as ‘grey monks’.

The exact site of the monastic cell in Titley is not known although it is marked on the Ordnance Survey map as being within what is now a wooded area (Priory Wood) south-west of the church. This area of land, with a watercourse on each side and a pond with springs, could have formed a natural enclosure and it is worth noting that there are earthworks along the north and west sides.¹³ It is also close to the site of The Old Priory, a timber-framed hall house of 15th-century date.¹⁴

Another potential site for the monastic cell is to the south-east of the church on the opposite side of the road, east of Church House and now partially within its grounds, where it was noted that there was evidence for fishponds and house platforms.¹⁵ Again, it is a site flanked by streams. Perhaps supporting this as a possible site is an excavation carried out by Monmouth Archaeology in an area slightly south of the fishponds at map ref. SO 3316 5998, where evidence was found in the form of sill-beam slots and post holes, for a wooden building, 46ft x 11½ ft (14m x 3.5m) aligned east-west. It did not contain a hearth and therefore was not domestic. It was suggested that it was possibly the chapel of St Tirella.¹⁶ The Terrier of 1392, held in the archives of Winchester College, listed the Chapel as 40ft long (12.19m) and 15ft wide (4.57m) so it is a possible contender.

Church House stands on an irregular plot that once probably included the adjacent land to the north and also to the south where The Old Vicarage stands. The south-east end of the Church House garden contains part of the large pond noted above as a possible former fish pond associated with the lost monastic cell. Church House is set some distance back from the road and it is clear from the OS map of the 1830s that there was another building on the site positioned parallel to the road and that the pond may once have been larger than it is now.

The primary structure of Church House is a four-bay timber-framed building approximately 49ft long (14.93) and 17ft wide (5.18) laid out on a north-east to south-west alignment (Fig. 12). The bays are of varied internal lengths and the house was built with walls of square framing, a nominal three panels high.

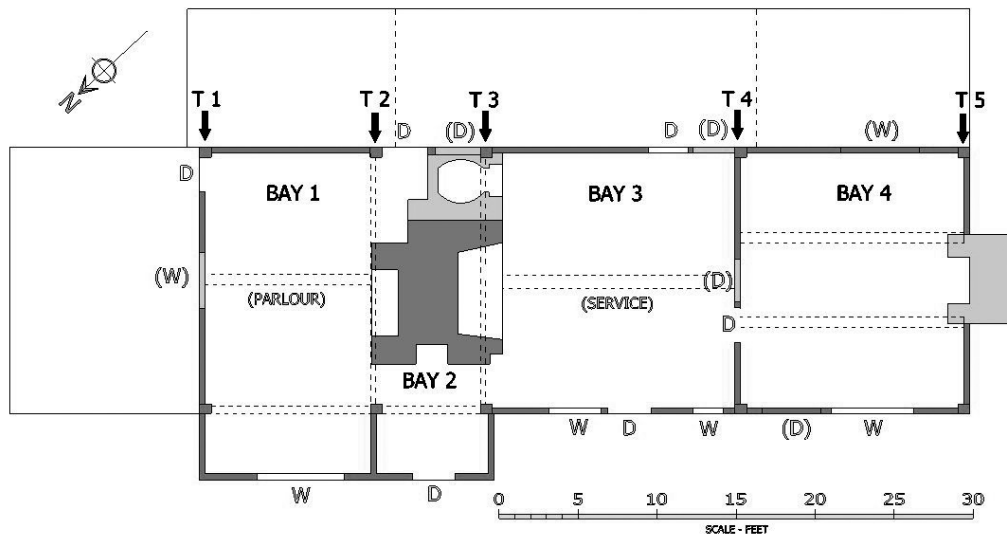


Figure 12. Church House, Titley. Ground plan showing the four primary bays. The partition at T4 is a later insertion.

In Herefordshire, open-hall houses were built throughout the 15th century. It was the standard form in which the principal feature was the single-storey central hall with an open hearth from which the smoke rose to a vent in the ridge of the roof. At one end of the hall was the crosspassage and service room or rooms, and at the upper end the parlour and solar chambers for the master of the house and his family. By the end of the 15th century the construction of open halls was being abandoned in favour of halls with ceilings and chimney-stacks, features that offered greater comfort for the occupants. So, the decades before and after 1500, in Herefordshire, were a period of transition in house design and layout and the evidence suggests that Church Cottage belongs to this time of change.

As built, Church House appears to have been a single-storey structure without an upper floor, with the ground-floor rooms open to the ridge of the roof. In the 16th /17th century this height for a cottage was not unusual, it would have formed a 1½-storey building with an upper storey tucked under the roof. Church Cottage however was not a 1½-storey house, the floors have been inserted later and there is no evidence that the primary structure was anything other than single storey.

Of the four bays of the house the smallest is the chimney-stack bay. In some early-16th-century houses this bay would have formed a smoke bay—that is, it would enclose an open hearth. Sometimes a smoke bay will have had a chimney-stack built within it but the evidence of its former function would survive as smoke blackening on the internal surface of the timbers in the bay. At Church Cottage there is no smoke blackening; the bay was built to house the chimney-stack which has been sited, in effect, within a crosspassage forming what is known as a baffle entry.

Bay 1 forms the parlour or ‘upper’ end of the house with a primary window in the gable end. There may have been a sleeping-platform in this bay or even a full first-floor level but there is no evidence for this and the present floor appears to have been inserted later.

Bay 3 is the longest bay at a little over 15ft (4.57m) and formed the service bay, with a large fireplace, and a window in the front wall.

A principal feature of bays 3 and 4 is that they seem not to have had a primary partition between them. The present crossframe under T4 is a later insertion related to the introduction of ceiling beams and inserted floors in both bays. The roof truss at T4 is a simple collar-braced arrangement without a tie-beam and with the lower ends of the principal rafters jointed into the tops of the storey posts (Fig. 13). Thus bays 3 and 4 would have formed a single

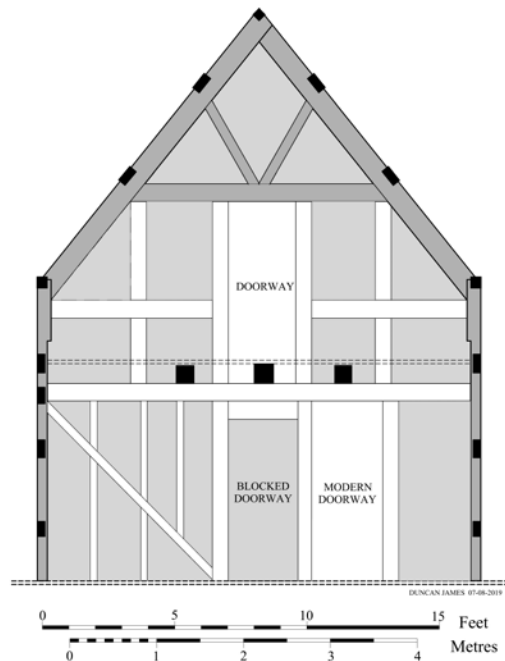


Figure 13. Church House, Titley. A diagram of the crossframe at T4 inserted beneath the primary truss.

room nearly 30ft (9.14m) long but with some kind of divider between them such as a rail, because it seems likely that bay 4 served as a byre or stable, forming housing for valuable animals such as oxen or horses. This would explain the need for a door, with a sturdy arrangement for the jambs, situated in the front wall of bay 4 (Fig. 14) and it could also explain why there were two windows in the bay—one at the front and one at the back—the latter having three mullions and possibly unglazed, perhaps for ventilation.

If bay 4 was a byre it could explain the need for the now blocked door in the back wall of bay 3, positioned adjacent to the T4 storey-post as this would have allowed access for feeding the animals (Fig.12).

The panel infill to the walls would have been wattle and daub. It is likely that the roof was thatched. Later, the front leaf (only) of the roof was raised at the eaves by about 3ft, which allowed windows to be inserted on the front elevation. The timber-framed out-shot on the front of bays 1 and 2 may have been added at the same time creating a bigger entrance lobby and extending the side of bay 1 along with introducing a window on the front elevation.

The bread oven is a later addition to the south-east side of the principal chimney-stack in bay 2.

This is a fascinating house in which the majority of the primary framing has survived and as a transition house of early-16th-century date with a byre-end it is rare. But it has an additional feature: the frame has assembly marks on the front but these are not the usual Roman numerals, because here there are Arabic assembly marks (Fig.16). These use circles and lines to create numbers.¹⁷ To the author's knowledge this is the only example so far discovered in Herefordshire. Because at least 12 of the primary components are missing on this elevation, the sequence is incomplete and the effect of weathering has also caused some losses on existing timbers. However, the highest identifiable number is 23 and the lowest 3. Most of the numbers follow the early forms of Arabic numbers as recorded on other buildings in the country. The 3, 4



Figure 14. Church House, Titley. A diagram of the reconstructed front elevation.

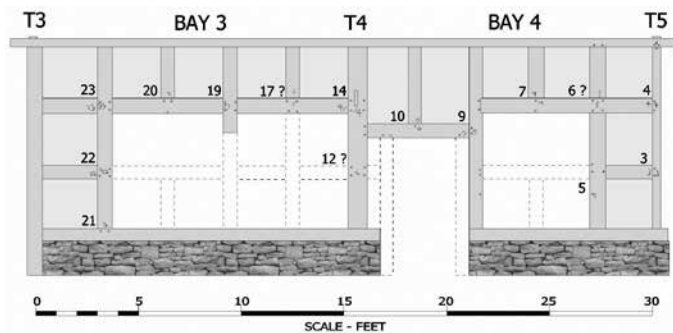


Figure 15. Church House, Titley. A diagram of the numbered timbers on the front of bays 3 and 4.

and 5 are common forms—the 5 without the top line. Numbers 7 and 9 follow early convention as does 10, which is simply a circle. Number 12 in the sequence shows as a 2 because the 1 has been lost. Numbers 14, 18 and 19 are straightforward although the 8 in 18 also has incomplete circles. The number 20 has lost the 0. Finally, numbers 21, 22 and 23 are clear although it appears that 23 started out as 22 and has been modified by the addition of the lower part of the 3.

The numbers are all cut with a ‘race knife’, a device that includes a fixed radius compass to cut the circles and semicircles. In this case the radius is 23mm giving 46mm circles (slightly larger than 1¾ inch).

The faces of the primary timbers show clear evidence of trestle-sawing, a conversion method that, in Herefordshire, ceased to be used after 1530/40.¹⁸ These marks are clearly visible on the framing that survives on the front of the house. There are no indications that this is re-used material. However, the tie-beams of the roof trusses, which are primary components, are pit-sawn, having saw-marks that are at, or near, a right angle to the run of the timber. This would date them as 1530/40 or later. This overlap of conversion methods suggests that the building may belong to the decade between 1530 and 1540.

At the northern end of the range there is the brick bay, a two-storey addition that is either coeval or later than the raising of the roof on the primary range.

Lower Hope Farmhouse, Ullingswick, HR1 3JF.

Lat/Long:- 52.149590, -2.611984. Map ref:- SO 5822 5032. Hereford SMR 56040.

This is a listed building described as late-18th-century of stone rubble with red brick window dressings (Fig. 17). There is exposed 17th-century framing at one end. It was omitted from the RCHME survey of the 1930s.

It is however of considerable significance because it contains *in situ* a cruck truss, with arch-bracing below the collar, that was the principal component of a medieval two-bay hall with a solar bay at the south-west end and (lost) service bay at the north-east end, forming what was probably a four-bay axial range. This might seem relatively unremarkable as there are many similar surviving cruck framed hall houses of 15th-century date. But at Lower Hope the cruck truss is 14th-century in date. It has been sampled for dendrochronological analysis and this has given a felling date of spring, 1374, making it the earliest known example of a cruck frame in the county.¹⁹

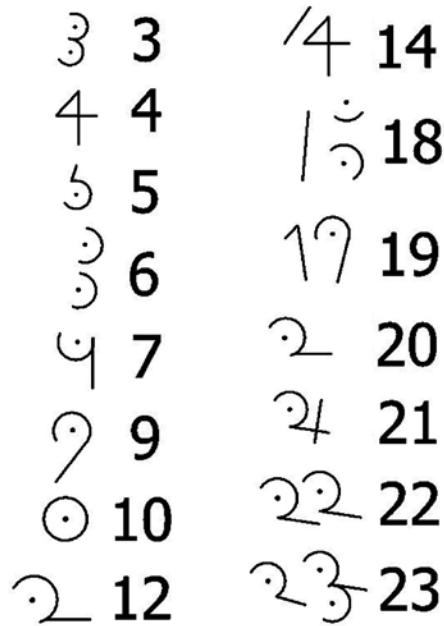


Figure 16. Church House, Tilly. A drawing to illustrate the form of the Arabic numbers on the front of the timber framing. The lines, circles and semi-circles were cut with a race knife.



Figure 17. Lower Hope Farm, Ullingswick. North-east elevation.

The principal surviving component of the hall is the central pair of cruck blades (Fig. 18). These are faced-up south towards the upper bay (bay 2) of the hall. The cruck truss has an arch-braced collar (now mutilated) and a yoke at the apex that is lapped into the north face and retained using skew pegs (Fig. 19). The roof has been raised, mainly at the eaves and slightly at the apex, giving a roof with a shallower slope than the original. Additional timber (some modern) has been added to provide extra support over the cruck truss. On each side of the roof over bay 2 the lower purlins are primary components that have been repositioned in the later raised roof. They both retain lap joints in the back face and pairs of peg-holes to secure lost diagonal windbraces.



Figure 18. Lower Hope Farm, Ullingswick. Southern side of the surviving cruck truss with the later tie-beam truss for the raised roof. Note the cut collar with arch-bracing below.

It was noted that the upper (heartwood) face of the cruck blades appeared not to have any sawmarks. This suggested that the blades may have been produced by cleaving the timber and dressing the cleft faces with a side axe. This is a feature that usually indicates an early date for the cruck blades and therefore the primary structure of the hall range.

The present building occupies and extends the footprint of the 14th-century range. The service bay appears to have been replaced by a timber-framed crosswing of 17th-century date that survives beneath a later over-sailing roof, while at the south-west end a two-bay, two-storey timber-framed crosswing has been built across the end of the range, retaining rather than replacing the primary solar bay. This crosswing is probably of late-16th- or early-17th-



Figure 19. Lower Hope Farm, Ullingswick. The apex of the cruck truss with the yoke lapped into the 'lower' (northern) face and secured with skew pegging.

century date as suggested by the ground-floor ceiling beams that all have ovolo mouldings. The crossframe between the bays on the ground-floor is of substantial framing with a primary doorway at the north end which has evidence for a lost doorhead. On the ground floor there are two primary doorways in the north wall that gave access into the crosswing, one with a shaped Tudor doorhead and squinted ends, and a plainer doorhead, without squinted ends. This suggests that the Tudor doorhead lead into the superior (west) bay and this is supported by the fact that the crossframes and roof truss between the bays are faced up towards the west. This reading also explains why there is a large fireplace in the west bay with a decorative pair of stone chimney shafts. On the first floor the ceiling beams in both bays have wide chamfers and run-out stops.

Later changes include the insertion of a floor in the hall range probably in the late 16th century. When this was done in an open hall it was usual to make the upper bay of the hall the site of the best ceiling and this appears to be the case at Lower Hope, where bay 2 has massive beams in the ground-floor ceiling. The roof of the solar crosswing has been raised to create a top storey. The external timber-framing to the hall and solar crosswing has been replaced in stone although the north side of the service wing has exposed framing.

Thus the evidence for the 14th-century building on the site rests on the survival of the central, dated cruck truss and some re-set purlins that retain lap joints for long passing windbraces. The orientation of the cruck truss in terms of upper and lower face indicates the positions of the upper and lower bays of the hall and, from that, the service and solar ends of the range which even now are reflected in the present layout of the house in that the kitchen is still in the service bay and the 'best' end of the house is within the solar crosswing. Finally, the orientation of the range places the upper end towards the south-east quadrant, which is similar to the usual layout for hall houses of the period in Herefordshire.²⁰

Lower Hope Farmhouse illustrates the way in which the component parts of a medieval hall house are modified and/or replaced over the centuries as a result of changes in fashion and wealth.

Gayleys, Westhope, Canon Pyon,

Lat/long:- 52.155766, -2.784486. Map ref:- SO 46427 51122.

The house is a 1½-storey building of two bays with a single storey lean-to kitchen at the east end. It is not a listed building (Fig. 20). It is laid out on an east-west axis at right-angles to the road that passes to the west. It is sited on rising ground and the building platform has been cut into the hill along the north and east sides (Fig. 21). The west bay is the principal bay at c.13ft long (3.96m) and the east bay the service bay (originally) at c.11ft (3.35) long.

The building has walls of stone and brick. Above the eaves there is a single, two-light dormer window in each bay with decorated bargeboards and moulded pendants. The roof is of slate.

The gable-end façade faces the road. It is of dressed stone up to tie-beam (eaves) level and there is a large external chimney-stack with a two-flue chimney shaft of brick. Above the stonework the gable is set back slightly. Its pebbledash finish hides a timber truss with cambered tie-beam that rests on the stonework.



Figure 20. Gayleys, Westhope, Canon Pyon. South elevation.

The end elevation of the east bay is of timber framing, the end truss having a cambered tie-beam and a double collar. There are four studs below the lower collar and two above. Above the upper collar there are curved 'V' struts. The lower parts of the frame are now brought within the building by the single-storey, rendered-brick lean-to built against the east end in the 1950s.

There is a tall brick shaft of a single-flue chimney-stack, positioned to the south of centre and against the end wall of the east bay that rises through the roof of the lean-to. This is for a stove (originally a small fireplace) within the east bay.

The stonework of the north sidewall of the east bay has been rebuilt presumably because it was leaning outwards more than the side wall of the west bay which is only slightly off-vertical. In the north wall between the bays there is a section of the bay post embedded in the stonework. The sidewall of the west bay has two windows at ground-floor level; one small aperture (now glazed) illuminating the stone winder staircase, the other a larger opening with mullion mortices in the lintel and sill for diamond shaped mullions. Between the mortices there are holes that are large enough to suggest wooden rather than iron stanchions. In the upper face of the sill is a groove that may have been used to locate the lower edge of a removable shutter. The size of the stanchions suggests that this was never a glazed opening.

Between the east and west bays there is a crossframe of studs with a mid-rail, on the ground floor, and a roof truss at first-floor level. The truss has a cambered tie-beam and a single collar

with four studs below and ‘V’-struts above. Below the tie-beam there are four studs down to the girding beam at the top of the ground-floor crossframe. The tie-beam has been cut to allow the insertion of a doorway.

The west bay is the larger bay, with two axial ceiling beams and short, transverse beams to create a six-panel coffered ceiling. All the beams, and the half-beams along the north, west and south walls, have wide, steep chamfers. In each panel there are four chamfered joists with diagonal cut stops. These are mostly hidden by a later lath-and-plaster ceiling—probably of late-18th-century date.

The east bay has two axial beams that are chamfered, and stopped using shallow scroll stops with extended tails. The lateral joisting is plain, without chamfers. The ceiling beams appear to be coeval with the crossframes into which they are tenoned.

On the ground floor there is a later partition that runs from west to east on the line of the north ceiling-beam in both bays. This is simple studwork of late-18th- to early-19th-century date which now forms a corridor in line with the west door (within the west porch) that passes from west to east through the building into the lean-to at the east end of the range. Within this area, in the west bay, there is a narrow stone winder staircase giving access to the first floor of the west bay and by means of a later doorway through the crossframe, also into the first floor of the east bay.

The timber used in the two principal bays of the building is all pit-sawn which places the date after the 1530/40 change in sawing methods in Herefordshire.²¹ The scroll stops on the beams in the east bay suggest a date in the 16th century. The beams in the west bay have steep, wide chamfers and the chamfered joists use diagonal, cut stops. The wide chamfers and the cut stops are typically a 16th-century detail.²² The ‘smart’ ceiling in this bay indicates its higher status in contrast to the service function of the east bay.

The spiral stone staircase is not unusual for a 16th-century house and can be compared, for instance, with Old House Farm, Bredwardine, a two-bay stone house with stone spiral stairs. The construction date there, from tree-ring sampling, was 1595.²³ However, it seems possible that it is a later addition associated with the construction of the north stone walling.

The west wall is a replacement for the primary stone wall at that end of the building. The position of the chimney-stack places its fireplace central on the wall in that room and the fireplace site has been influenced by (i.e. postdates) the insertion of the corridor (and, probably, the west front door). It is likely that the original 16th-century room was unheated.



Figure 21. Gayleys, Westhope, Canon Pyon. East elevation tie-beam truss and rebuilt lean-to.

The walls of the building up to eaves level on the north, west and south sides, were originally of stone because there are no mortices in the soffit of the west-wall tie-beam for any timber structure below. Also there are no mortices in the soffit of the wall plates for timber structure below.

An unresolved issue is the framing in the east wall. Why is this not stone?

The answer could be that there was, when built, a timber-framed, or stone, lean-to on the site of the present one, so the lower part of the east-end frame was in effect an internal partition. The fact that the corridor, created along the north side of the building passes through into the lean-to, as it did in the 18th/19th centuries suggests that there may well have been an earlier lean-to/scullery on the site of the present structure.

Also unresolved is where the service fireplace stood. It seems possible that it could have been in the north-east corner of the east bay where the wall has been rebuilt.

So, the evidence suggests that this was a two-bay, stone built 1½-storey house constructed in the second half of the 16th century (1550-1600), with a spiral staircase. The 'best' end of the house (the parlour) was the west bay and the east bay the service bay. There is likely to have been a lean-to on the site of the present one.

In the 18th/19th centuries in one or more campaigns of repair and remodelling the west end front door, which has a 19th-century architrave, was inserted and a corridor created through the building when the west front was wholly or partly rebuilt and a chimney-stack added. At the same time the south wall of stone was taken down and rebuilt in brick forming a wall that was thinner than the wall it replaced. In the 1950s the lean-to was rebuilt in brick and (possibly) the enclosed porch added to the west front.

Church House Farm, Wellington, Herefordshire, HR4 8AZ.

Lat/Long:- 52.130010, -2.734705. Map ref:- SO4980348221

Hereford SMR 855. RCHME Wellington monument No. 3.

Church House Farm is, as the listing description suggests, an 18th century remodelling of earlier fabric. The building is listed for its group value (GVII) although in the light of recent discoveries concerning painted decoration within the building, this was at the time of writing under review. The building was noted as Monument 3 within Wellington parish in the survey by the RCHME, published in 1932. The entry was brief, with a hint that there was earlier fabric within:-

Church House Farm, house, on the N. side of the road, 60 yards E. of the church, has been much altered late in the 18th or early 19th century. Inside the building is a re-used moulded ceiling-beam and on the first-floor one room has a 17th-century plaster moulding round the ceiling.²⁴

The building is set back from the main east-west road through the village, laid out on an approximate east-west alignment²⁵ (Fig. 22). An 18th-century timber-framed barn recently converted to domestic accommodation abuts the west side of the house.

To the west of the house, on raised ground, is the church of St Margaret. North of the church is the Wellington Brook which passes around the back of the Church House Farm site before turning south past the east end of the building. To the east of the Church House Farm and



Figure 22. Church House Farm, Wellington. The south elevation.

on a similar alignment, is Bridge Farm, a hall house with crosswings that is likely to be of 15th-century date.²⁶

Church House Farm stands on the site of a lost medieval hall house. Its present form is the result of many changes including a major remodelling in the late 18th or early 19th century. It is of two storeys beneath a slate roof with hipped ends; there is a cellar beneath the west end and a single-storey former dairy at the east end. The west end of the house incorporates a timber-framed crosswing.

The southern façade is of coursed, semi-dressed stone, the principal part being a near symmetrical arrangement of windows on each side of a central doorway that would have formed a lobby entrance before it was blocked and converted into a window. There is a string course between the two levels. The windows have segmental arched lintels in dressed stone although the blocked front door is less smartly dressed as its segmental arched lintel is in brick although the jambs are of dressed stone. It is possible that this is because the lintel was formerly hidden by a projecting hood, removed when the doorway was demoted.²⁷

A replacement doorway, which now forms the principal entrance to the house, has been inserted adjacent to the recessed bay on the left of the front.

The back of the house is of brick, with a timber-framed section at the right-hand end, which has panels infilled with brick (Fig. 23).

The earliest surviving part of Church House Farm appears to be the east-west two-storey, timber-framed crosswing, parts of which are visible within the west end of the house and visible externally at the back of the building. The timber-framed east wall of the wing, now internal,

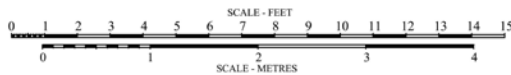
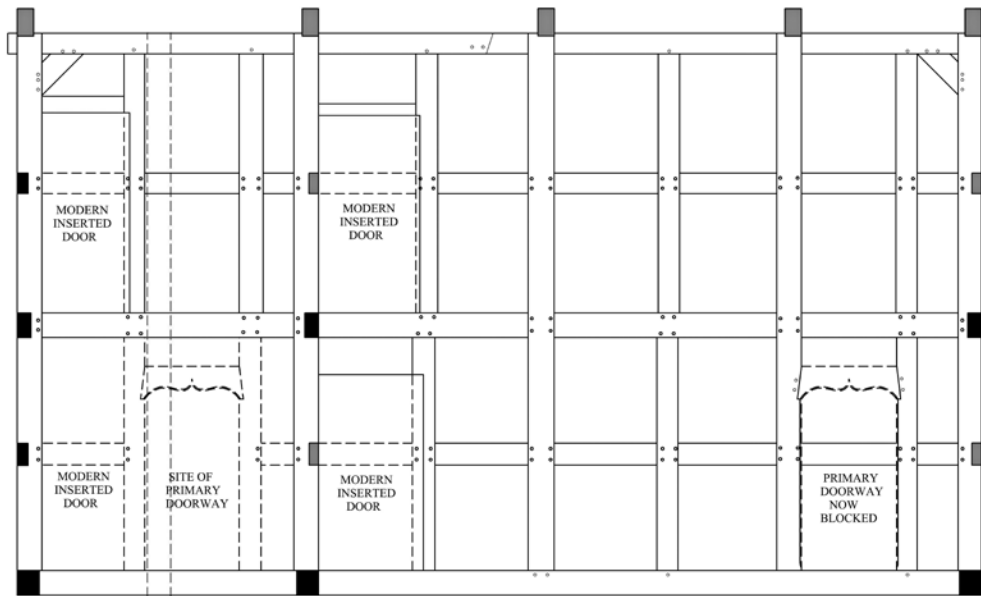
is substantially complete (Fig. 24).

The west sidewall of the wing also retains some of the primary timber framing including evidence towards the southern end for a narrow (blocked) doorway on the first floor, and below it on the ground floor a similar, equally narrow doorway, also blocked. It is likely that these relate to a lost garderobe tower formerly attached to the outer face of the wall.

The wing is divided on both floors by a secondary lateral crossframe forming a small room to the north, and a south room that is more than double the area of the



Figure 23. Church House Farm, Wellington. The north-west elevation showing the timber framing on the north end of the crosswing alongside the projecting staircase housing.



CHURCH HOUSE FARM, WELLINGTON.
Internal (west) elevation of east wall in crossing

Figure 24. Church House Farm, Wellington. The internal (west) elevation of the east wall framing of the crossing.

north room (Fig. 25). The two rooms were linked by primary doorways in the crossframe on both the ground and first floors. It is likely that the smaller, north room contained a staircase. One doorhead, a nominally four-centred Tudor arch, survives on the first floor. The posts on the left end (west) of the crossframe are set alongside the wall post which indicates that the partition is likely to be a later insertion.

There is evidence for two primary doorways in the ground-floor east wall, which, by their positions, indicate that the crosswing formed the solar accommodation of a lost hall. The doorways have lost their doorheads but these were large (i.e. deep) and probably shaped. The position of these doorways indicates the likely width of a lost hall range that abutted the crosswing, while the absence of primary doors on the first-floor of the crosswing sidewall shows that the hall was unlikely to have been of two storeys and was, almost certainly, of earlier date than the crosswing.²⁸

From structural, decorative and timber conversion evidence²⁹ it is highly likely that the crosswing was built in the second half of the 16th century (1550-1600) and replaced an earlier solar that was either in the form of a crosswing or, more likely, a single axial bay in line with the hall range. There is evidence, on the east elevation of the east sidewall, of mortices and pegholes that probably secured a 'dais' bench at the upper end of the hall. Further evidence for an open hall can be seen on the east side of the frame at first-floor level (in the middle bedroom) where there is a diagonal weathering mark showing the slope of the lost hall roof.³⁰

In common with many open halls, one of the first stages in modernisation was the introduction of a fireplace and chimney-stack to replace the open hearth. This cleared the way for the insertion of a floor to create an upper storey and at Church House Farm this addition has survived in the form of a counter-change ceiling.³¹ This was installed in the upper bay of the

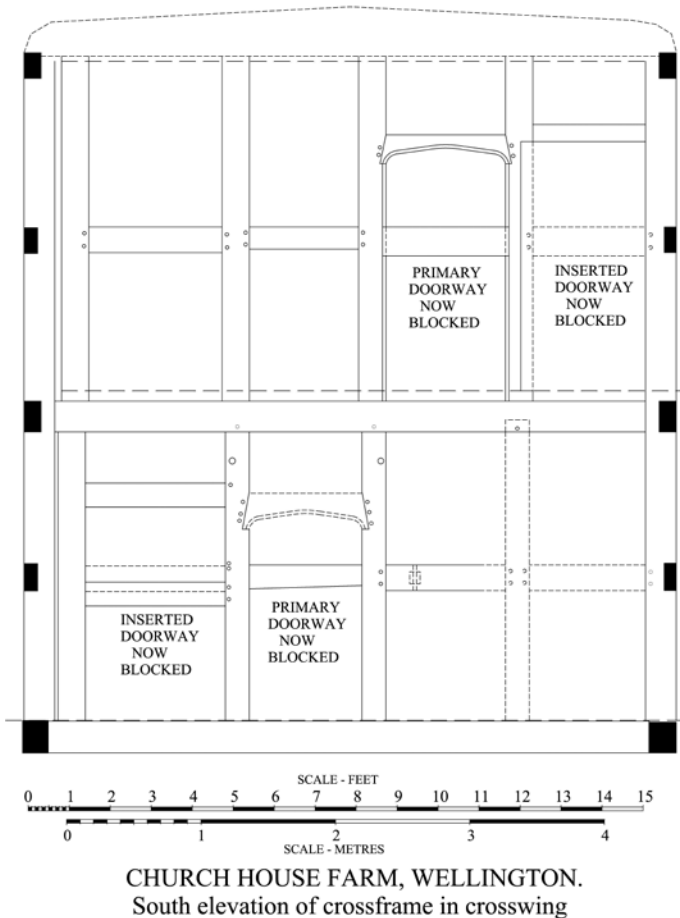


Figure 25. Church House Farm, Wellington. South elevation of the crossframe in the crosswing.

hall.³² The ceiling had eight coffered panels each with the joists installed in different directions creating a chequerboard effect. The floorboards would also show a similar pattern as they were therefore laid in alternate directions above each panel (Plate 8.1). Typically these ceilings date from the second half of the 16th century, however, it is almost certainly later than the crosswing. Had it been coeval with the wing, it would have been attached to the framing using face-pegs to secure the half-beam along the west side. It is however, supported along that side by a massive beam and a series of ad hoc brackets. Had the ceiling been in place before the construction of the crosswing then the latter would have had provision for access at first-floor level. Perhaps the most important aspect of this ceiling is that it serves further to confirm the width of the lost hall and the likely length of the upper bay. It may also have prompted the construction of a staircase tower on the site of the present, possibly enlarged, brick structure that now houses the main staircase.

The present roof of the house has been rebuilt. It has not, so far, been studied in detail but appears to contain evidence for a significant phase of the development of the building because it incorporates heavily charred re-used beams showing extensive fire damage from an earlier roof. The tie beams have been extended in length with scarfed-in sections to bridge the width of the present building.

The most remarkable and important feature of this house is the recent discovery of large areas of painted decoration on the first floor of the crosswing. The majority of the surviving decoration is on the east wall where it had been protected by a later, lath-and-plaster partition constructed just a few inches away from the painted surface (Fig. 26). Both the west wall and the south face of the partition were also painted with a continuation of the same scheme but only fragments survive on the timber framing, that on the panels having been lost. The south end of the room has lost its framing so the painting there does not survive.

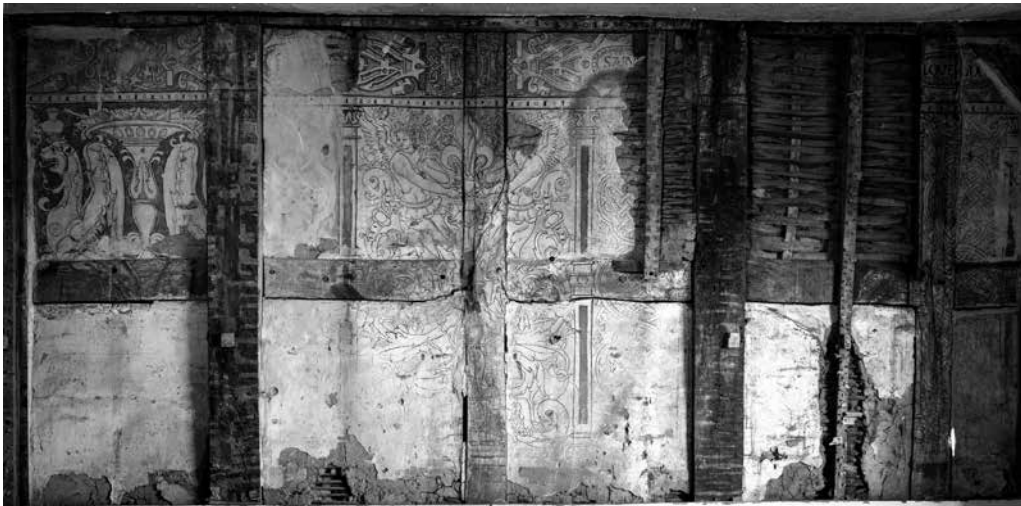


Figure 26. Church House Farm, Wellington. The 16th-century wall paintings exposed on the east side of the first floor of the crosswing. This is before cleaning and conservation.

This complex decorative scheme is probably of late-16th-century date and its symbolic significance has yet to be fully investigated. The central motif is bounded by painted pillars and shows two winged, male figures, foliated below the waist, each holding in one hand a sprig of foliage that has three flower heads, probably roses, and each supporting with the other hand a large fleur-de-lis that they appear to be lifting off a pedestal or probably setting it into place (Plate 8.2). On each side of the lower part of the pedestal there is a creature of uncertain identity, with a serpent's tail and scales. The design incorporates much sweeping, leafy foliage.

In narrow panels on each side of this central panel, again bounded by painted pillars, is an elaborate interlaced decorative scheme. There are also painted pillars on each side of further panels with depictions of a pair of winged, breasted lions on each side of a central vase or cornucopia, filled with foliage and fruit (Plate 8.3). Significantly, each lion has a two-handled vase on or above its head.

Above the compositions is a wide band of decoration incorporating medallions with supporting strapwork. The medallions feature text, only one of which is complete with 'LOVE GOD' within an oval. The source for the strapwork design has been identified as being based on two cartouches by a Florentine painter, Benedetto Battini, published as 'Vigilate quia nescitis diem neque horam' in Antwerp in 1553.³³

From evidence in the roof and elsewhere it is possible to propose the following simplified sequence of development.

- 1) 15th century. An axial hall house stood on the site in the form of a two-bay, possibly cruck-framed, hall with a single bay solar at the west end and a single service bay at the east end.
- 2) 16th century. The single bay solar of the hall range was demolished and the crosswing built as a replacement upgrade to the upper end accommodation. A garderobe tower was built against the southern end of the west wall.
- 3) 16th century. An oriel window on the west side-wall was removed and a chimney-stack built, with a fireplace on the ground floor.
- 4) c.1575-1600. The hall was upgraded by the insertion of a counter-change ceiling in the upper bay. By this time the central chimney-stack in the hall was probably in place having replaced the open hearth.
- 5) Late 16th century. A crossframe was inserted in the crosswing, dividing it into two rooms. The larger first-floor south room was decorated with an elaborate painted scheme on all four walls.
- 6) Late 16th/early 17th century. The hall range was demolished and a full, two storey range built in its place and on the same footprint. A full-height post in the back wall of the building is a surviving, *in situ* fragment as are the reset beams in the present roof. It is possible that phases 5 and 6 were coeval.
- 7) 18th century. A fire destroyed or damaged the hall and service parts of the house such that it was rebuilt in stone, stepped forward on the south side from the line of the earlier front, and built in brick at the back. The present roof structure, with its shallow pitch and hipped ends was made by re-using many of the fire damaged timbers and extending the tie-beams to bridge the increased width of the house.

It is relevant to note here that, on the evidence of the way in which the re-used timbers were originally converted, they were all 16th-or 17th-century material.

Since this report was prepared, Historic England have modified the listing from II to II* in view of the significance of the wall paintings. A further report by Rebecca Lane of Historic

England has been produced as Research Report No. 50/2019 and this can be downloaded from the H.E. website.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Mr & Mrs David Grace, Karen Oliver, Steve Palmer, Gavin Plumley, Alastair Tighe, John Hopkins, John Turner, Mr & Mrs Clive Richards, Mr & Mrs Mike Brown, Dr John Stevenson, Ben Andrews.

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¹ D. James, 'Chapel Farm, Deerfold, Herefordshire, a re-appraisal' Part 1. *TWNFC*, Vol. 56 (2008), pp.73-98. D. James, 'Chapel Farm, Deerfold, Herefordshire, a re-appraisal' Part 2. *TWNFC*, vol. 57 (2009), pp.65-88.

² Tree-ring dates 2018, *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 49 (2018), p.124.

³ D. James, 'Chapel Farm, Deerfold' Part 2, p.80.

⁴ D. James. 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance.' *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 43 (2012), pp 7-18.

⁵ The alignment places the upper end of the range towards the south-west quadrant which accords with the usual practice in Herefordshire. D. James, 'An Investigation of the Orientation of Timber-framed Houses in Herefordshire'. *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 34 (2003), pp.20-31.

⁶ Personal communication.

⁷ The roof truss at the west end of the range uses the surviving wall-plate of the lost crosswing wing to serve as a tie-beam.

⁸ Examples of the mix of cruck framed hall and box-framed crosswing can be seen at West End Farm, West Street, Pembridge and Bridge Cottages, Bridge Street, Pembridge.

⁹ Nos. 2-4 New Street (since destroyed) and 104 South Street where the upper bay of an open hall survives.

¹⁰ See note 4.

¹¹ At the time of writing Church Cottage was about to be modernised. This short report relates to the building before alterations had been made.

¹² D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses of England & Wales* (Longmans, 1953) p.102.

¹³ This was noted by the County Archaeological unit. See SMR ref. 205.

¹⁴ D. James, 'The Old Priory, Titley, Herefordshire. A recording and analysis of the timber frame,' January 2012. Unpublished report for the owners.

¹⁵ See SMR ref. 31734.

¹⁶ See SMR 41527. Unpublished report by Monmouth Archaeology MA33.04.

¹⁷ D. James, 'Carpenters' Assembly Marks in Timber-Framed Buildings', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 49 (2018), pp 1-31.

¹⁸ Trestle-sawn timber, also known as see-sawn timber, has 45 degree saw marks. These are the result of propping up one end of the timber on a trestle and sawing down, probably with a large frame-saw, from one end using the saw horizontally. When the mid-point is reached the other end of the timber is raised on the trestle and sawing proceeds from the other end until the first cut is reached. This results in a triangular snap-off. If, after the first cut the timber is rolled through 180 degrees before starting the second cut, a parallel snap-off is left on the timber. D. James. 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance.' *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 43 (2012), pp 7-18.

¹⁹ A. J. Arnold and R. E. Howard, 'Tree-ring analysis of timbers from Lower Hope Farmhouse, Ullingswick, Herefordshire' (unpublished report c.2012, by The Nottingham tree-ring dating laboratory).

²⁰ On the subject of orientation, see note 5.

²¹ See note 18.

²² These can be seen, for instance, in an early 16th-century house in Kington. D. James, '35 Duke Street, Kington, Herefordshire: an Architectural Analysis of the Historic Fabric', September 2006, unpublished report for the owner.

²³ D. James, 'Old House Farm, Pentre Lane, Bredwardine. A report concerning the historic fabric of the house.' July 2013, unpublished report commissioned by the owners.

²⁴ RCHME, *An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire. Vol. 2, East* (1932), H.M.S.O., p.203.

²⁵ See note 5.

²⁶ RCHME, *Herefordshire Vol.2, East*, Monument 2, p.202. The listing note gives a more detailed partially analytical description.

²⁷ On each side of the brick arch there appears to be an infilled area of the correct size to have housed the ends of supporting beams for a hood.

²⁸ There are many examples of the replacement, or rebuilding, at different times, of one or other of the three basic units of a hall house rather than the total demolition and replacement of the entire structure.

²⁹ See note 18.

³⁰ This line also crosses a panel that has been replaced, probably due to weathering, and there is water damage to timber on the edge of the lost panel as can be seen on the west side.

³¹ Two panels above the former sitting room have been lost.

³² It was common practice to fit these fancy ceilings in the upper bay of the hall. Counter-change ceilings are a feature of houses in Herefordshire and Shropshire where there are over 30 examples but they are relatively rare or even unknown in other counties. They date from the second half of the 16th century.

³³ I am indebted to Dr John Stevenson for this information.

Geology, 2018

By MOIRA JENKINS

GEOPARK EXTENSION LAUNCH

The Abberley and Malvern Geopark extends along a line of weakness in the Earth's crust, the Malvern Axis, from Bridgnorth to the Severn Estuary south of Gloucester. This year its area has been extended to include the Woolhope Dome, Shucknall Hill and the Wye Valley as far south as Goodrich (Fig. 1). A launch of the extension to the Geopark was held on 25th May 2018, attended by members of the Woolhope Club, Jesse Norman MP, a representative of the Geopark and members of Merlin Energy Resources Limited who sponsored the event. A photo of the launch event can be seen in Earth Matters, the newsletter of the Woolhope Club's Geology Section.

The additional area contains interesting and varied geology which was much studied by the Victorian geological pioneers in the early days of the Woolhope Club. The Woolhope area is underlain by Silurian rocks folded up into a dome. In the centre of the dome are sandstones and these are surrounded by concentric rings of limestones alternating with shales. The more resistant limestones stand up as ridges and the shales form the vales between them. There is Old Red Sandstone along the course of the Wye Valley with wonderful examples of cross-bedding and former river channels seen in the Devonian Brownstones Formation in the cliffs by Wilton Road in Ross-on-Wye.

Sadly, this year we heard the news that the first president of the Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark, Professor Aubrey Manning, died. He took on the role in 2004 and joined in many Geopark activities and promoted the Geopark with enthusiasm. In 2010 he handed over to the present president, Chris Darmon.

ICE AGE PONDS

Herefordshire Wildlife Trust, Herefordshire Amphibian and Reptile Team and Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) have obtained funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to develop a project to conserve the county's Ice Age Ponds.

Herefordshire's 'kettle hole' ponds are an important but poorly understood feature of the landscape. Towards the end of the Ice Age, a tongue of ice expanded into north-west Herefordshire from the uplands of Wales. As this glacier melted it deposited piles of sand and gravel, in which blocks of ice were buried and as this ice finally melted the sediment above collapsed leaving depressions up to 10 metres deep. Some of these hollows contain ponds which have survived for up to 15,000 years. They are both ecologically and geologically interesting. These kettle hole ponds are rare nationally. Herefordshire is lucky to have a nationally important resource in the Wye Valley upstream of Hereford and in the moraine banked against the hills from Kington, past Shobdon to Orleton (Fig. 2).

Sediment which has accumulated in the ponds contains pollen grains which show the change in the plants which grew in the area as the climate warmed after the ice age and diverse assemblages of plants and animals developed. The ponds continue to host distinctive ecosystems that depend on their peculiar topography and drainage conditions. They are rich in aquatic life including all five of the county's amphibian species (Fig. 3).

Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark

The Geopark is overseen by local organisations seeking to celebrate geology, landscape, wildlife, archaeology and history, and to bring this wonderful story to the public. Here is a geopark that can be enjoyed by everyone and which allows people from all walks of life the opportunity to experience and learn about its impressive natural and man-made landscapes.

Geofest - each year throughout June, July and August, events include walks, talks, workshops, exhibitions and children's activities along with 'ask the expert' sessions and demonstrations. For more information please explore our website.

- 1 Bridgnorth Tourist Information Centre
- 2 Severn Valley Country Park
- 3 Severn Valley Railway Visitor Centre - The Engine House
- 4 Bodenham Arboretum
- 5 Living Dinosaurs (West Midlands Safari Park)
- 6 Bewdley Museum & Tourist Information Centre
- 7 Wyre Forest Discovery Centre
- 8 Tenbury Wells Tourist Information Centre
- 9 Worcestershire County Museum
- 10 Martley Geovillage
- 11 Cob House Country Park
- 12 Explore the Past (Hive Worcester)
- 13 Worcester Museum
- 14 Worcester Cathedral
- 15 Worcester Tourist Information Centre
- 16 Bromyard Tourist Information Centre
- 17 Great Malvern Tourist Information Centre
- 18 Malvern Hills GeoCentre & Geopark Way Visitor Centre
- 19 Upton-upon-Severn Tourist Information Centre
- 20 Hereford Cathedral
- 21 Hereford Tourist Information Centre
- 22 Hereford Museum
- 23 Ledbury Tourist Information Centre
- 24 Tewkesbury Tourist Information Centre
- 25 Newent Tourist Information Centre
- 26 Ross-on-Wye Tourist Information Centre
- 27 Gloucester Cathedral
- 28 Gloucester Tourist Information Centre
- 29 Gloucester Museum



The Geopark Way is a 109 mile walking trail, running from Bridgnorth to Gloucester. Guide book & apps are available for the trail.

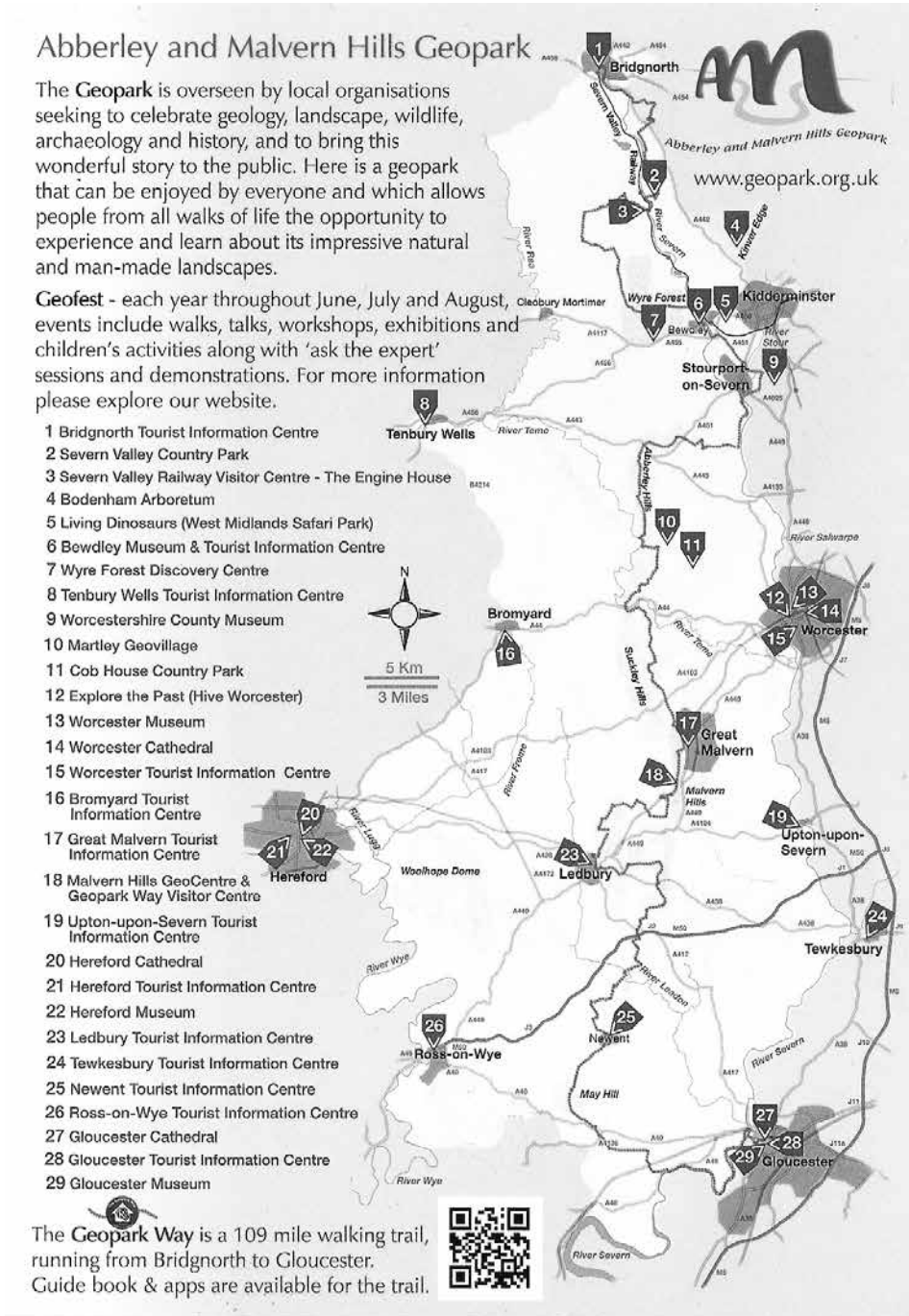


Figure 1. Map of Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark with extension.



Figure 2. Hummocky moraine with a kettle hole pond near Kenchester.



Figure 3. Newts living in kettle hole pond.

Unfortunately, the kettle hole ponds are very vulnerable and many have been damaged or destroyed. Their importance is poorly understood by the general public and they have been little studied. This project aims to increase public awareness and to research the geological history and the ecology of the ponds in order to protect them. Trails and interpretation will be developed. Funding has been obtained for a Development Phase and, if this is successful, a Delivery phase will follow with further funding from HLF. Volunteers are being recruited to help with the project and will be given training in geology and ecology.

LEDBURY NATURALISTS' SURVEY

This year Ledbury Naturalists carried out a survey of the Buddhist Centre Adhithana, formerly known as Coddington Court. This is situated perched on a ridge capped with glacial moraine composed of rock fragments which were carried in a glacier and as the ice melted were deposited in a matrix of red-brown clay. Work was being carried out at Adhithana to create a new section of garden and excavations there had uncovered some of the till or boulder clay. This contains a wide variety of angular pieces of rock some of which have travelled a long distance from the north, carried in the ice during the Anglian Glaciation about 450,000 years ago. The photograph at Plate 9.1 shows some of the rocks found.

SITE CLEARANCE WORK IN MALVERN HILLS AONB.

Further geological site clearance work was carried out for Malvern Hills AONB and Malvern Hills Trust by a band of volunteers organised by the EHT.

There are two designated Local Geological Sites at Cowleigh Bridge. The one nearest to the road is a very small quarry at the edge of the woodland showing coarse sandstones of the Cowleigh Park Formation, the lowest of the Silurian rocks in the area, which are exposed by the edge of the track. Here the rocks are coarse grained laid down in shallow water and have been upfolded in the Storridge anticline (Fig. 4).

The other site is an isolated outcrop of Precambrian Malverns Complex which rises steeply in the field. The sheared igneous rocks here are bounded by faults and separated from the main mass of the nearby Malvern Hills. The outcrop has been cut through by the Whippets Brook (Fig. 5).

A third site cleared was Knapp Quarry, Evendine Lane, which has been excavated in Aymestry Limestone, the youngest of the three limestone bands of Silurian age seen to the west of the Malvern Hills (Fig. 6). The Aymestry Limestone forms a narrow steep sided ridge with the rock strata dipping steeply to the west. The dip becomes less further to the west in Evendine Lane, becoming horizontal as the limestone is covered by the rocks of the Old Red Sandstone near the Cradley Brook. Site clearance exposed almost the full succession of the Aymestry Limestone and, at the north east end, its junction with the Lower Ludlow Siltstones. The exposure of steeply-dipping Lower Ludlow Siltstones after clearance work is shown in Plate 9.2.

Gullet Quarry contains two sites of importance to local and national geology. Both are described in the Geological Conservation Review. One is the main quarry rock face exposed on the old quarry road just above the present water level. This is probably the best site in the Hills for exhibiting the range of metamorphic and intrusive rocks that make up much of the Malvern Hills. This site was not part of the clearance work this year.



Figure 4. Exposure of steeply-dipping Silurian rocks of the Cowleigh Park Formation at Cowleigh Bridge.



Figure 5. Clearance work under way at Cowleigh Bridge Malverns Complex site.



Figure 6. Volunteers carrying out clearance work in Evendine Lane.



Figure 7. Gullet Top Quarry before clearance.

The top north-west corner of Gullet Quarry was cleared by volunteers (Fig. 7 and Plate 9.3). It shows the boundary between the igneous and metamorphic rocks of the ridge and the sedimentary Silurian rocks on their western side. This exposure is essential in proving the nature of the western boundary of the Malverns. This site, the source of considerable geological controversy and a number of publications in the past, is now recognised as showing an unconformity with some minor faulting. The site has been much used for educational purposes in the past few decades, with frequent visits by university groups as well as researchers and geological societies from across the country. Recently this use has been prevented by a new security fence, but access is now possible via a locked gate installed by the Malvern Hills Trust. After the clearance work, the site is now in very good condition for educational purposes. It is hoped that undergraduate students will do field work there as in the past. Permission to visit can be obtained from Malvern Hills Trust. It is not straight forward as it involves filling in an event form, risk assessment form and production of proof of public liability insurance.

The low ridge in the right foreground in Plate 9.3 is material excavated during the 2003 facelift work carried out for English Nature (now Natural England). Since then, all of the geological aspects have deteriorated. Plant growth has impeded observation of the features. There has been collapse of part of a thick bed of sandstone with a ripple-marked surface. Vegetation was rapidly taking over the site. Site maintenance work was conducted by ten EHT volunteers on 8th February 2018. The fairly fragile features, in particular the unconformity, did not need attention and were not touched. The area immediately overlying the unconformity was not touched. This has layers of shale which are sheared and faulted. These are now badly degraded and the rock structure is no longer visible.

INTERESTING DISCOVERY

Plate 9.4 shows an interesting discovery made in Silurian rock at a private site near Richard's Castle. This specimen was taken by Will Watson to Oxford University Museum of Natural History for identification. The three brachiopods are identified as *Microsphaeridiorhynchus nucula*, while the other fossil is probably *Oikobesalon* (previously known as *Trachyderma*). This is thought to be annelid in origin and has been variously regarded as either a body fossil or a trace fossil. The most recent publication interprets it as the thin organic lining of the burrow of a terebellid polychaete worm.

In the Herefordshire area, *Oikobesalon* is found in the Wenlock and Ludlow Series, while *Microsphaeridiorhynchus nucula* is normally associated with the Ludlow Series, particularly the Bringewood, Leintwardine and Whitcliffe Beds. The fact that the two fossils are found together means that the specimen is almost certainly from the Ludlow Series, so between 427 and 423 million years old. Oxford University Museum of Natural History has a few specimens of *Oikobesalon* but they were mostly collected in the 19th century with little information about provenance, so it is good to have a specimen for which the location is known.

BRAMPTON BRYAN

David Lovelace organised a trip for the Woolhope Club in May to the Brampton Bryan Estate. There is some interesting geology in this area where a variety of rocks has been caught up within the splays of the major Church Stretton fault system. Permission was given by the estate for a visit by Woolhope Club geologists to a quarry in the Precambrian Broomie (Broomy) Hill Stone,

a small sliver of Precambrian (Ediacaran) strata, comprising variably coloured sandstones and conglomerates. This has been used as building stone for local houses, with the characteristic irregular blocks used in the local boundary walls and estate workers' cottages in the village of Brampton Bryan.

WOOLHOPE DOME TRIP

The Woolhope Geology Section made a field trip to the Woolhope Dome led by Rowland Eustace on 5th August 2018. The perfect weather enabled us to enjoy views from Marcle Ridge looking towards the Malvern Hills. (Fig.8). We also had views looking into the dome at the concentric ridges of limestone separated by clay vales with the higher sandstones of Haugh Wood at the centre. On the walk along the ridge, in the Aymestry Limestone, we found fossils such as a trilobite, solitary corals, a gastropod and brachiopods, some of which are shown in Fig. 9 and Plate 9.5.



Figure 8. View from Woolhope Dome towards the Malvern Hills (photo Andrew Gaster).

We walked across the Wonder Landslide, where slippage took place over three days in February 1575, carrying whole trees and buildings down the slope. The hummocky deposits are still visible (Fig. 10).



Figure 9. Rugose coral (photo Lucy Cornelius).



Figure 10. Hummocky ground at the furthest reach of the Wonder Landslip.

VOYAGES IN DEEP TIME

(Julie Harrald, Herefordshire & Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust).

Voyages in Deep Time is a significant and exciting project, carried out by Herefordshire and Worcestershire EHT, supported by the HLF and the Bransford Trust, which has developed free smartphone apps to encourage people to visit and enjoy learning about local geological sites that tell us what our part of the world was like millions of years ago— in deep time.

There is an app called *Deep Time Voyager* which is a game taking the user on a voyage of discovery and survival in ancient environments. This is aimed at children (aged 11-15) or tourists, although it should be interesting and fun for everyone to use. There are tabs to click which give a vast range of information about landscapes, life on earth, climate, etc. when the rocks in the area were formed. There are questions to answer and points to be gained. Children consulted in the development of the app reported that they wanted a game to play where they could test themselves.

A second app, called *GeoExplore*, aimed at ‘A’ level students or adults with some geological knowledge, asks the user to carry out a geological exercise at a local site. It can now be used to gather field data anywhere in the world. It provides the digital tools needed to do so, such a compass, clinometer, rock-naming charts, a simple logging tool and GPS-located note, image and sound recording. The various exercises include geological mapping, examining the structure of rocks, looking for palaeoenvironmental evidence and interpreting the Ice Age features of the landscape.



Figure 11. View from the narrow steep sided ridge, the Cat's Back, looking south with the Olchon Valley and Black Darren to the right.

Voyager and *GeoExplore* apps have been written for each of four locations; the Lickey Hills (south-west of Birmingham), Martley (in the Abberley Hills, Worcestershire), Little Doward (above the Wye Gorge, Herefordshire) and the Olchon Valley (south-west Herefordshire, bordering the Black Mountains) (Figs 11-14).



Figure 12. The Olchon Valley app. showing glacial moraine at head of the valley.



Figure 13. Photo from the Olchon Valley app. showing creatures living in the area 400 million years ago.

Although both apps are intended to be used in the field at these locations, the well-illustrated *Voyager* app can also be used anywhere indoors, providing an engaging and informative classroom exercise, or at a fixed location outdoors for people with mobility problems.

Voyager routes will be added soon for Bredon Hill (Worcestershire), the Malvern Hills, and Wren's Nest in Dudley. There are also plans to make available a template for the apps *via* the project website, so that teachers and others can write content for their own local area. Details about the apps can be found on the website at <https://deeptime.voyage/>. By the time that this report goes to press, the app for the Malvern Hills will be available.

Figure 14 shows a GCSE class studying the Upper Devonian Quartz Conglomerate (Huntsam Hill Conglomerate) on Little Doward some years ago (Fig. 14). Now they can use the app to give them extra enjoyment and information.



Figure 14. A GCSE class studying the Upper Devonian Quartz Conglomerate on Little Doward.

The three-year project has been led by Herefordshire & Worcestershire EHT. It has drawn on the expertise of several school teachers and education professionals. It has also been supported by a number of geologists, and digital design work has been carried out by students at the University of Gloucestershire. Additional funding for publicity came from the Tomlinson Brown Trust. The technical expertise for the development of the apps has been provided by Mike Brooks of BrooksDesigns and a member of the EHT.

People can write new guided field trips to be hosted on the app - contact EHT for details. New Voyages can be added, although these are more time consuming to produce. Anyone interested should contact EHT by email eht@worc.ac.uk or phone 01905 855184.

WEST SIDE OF AYLESTONE HILL, HEREFORD

(Sue Hay and Duncan Hawley)

In April 2018, excavation for building work in Courtney Rise, just below the summit of Aylestone Hill, allowed a temporary exposure of the Old Red Sandstone to be examined. This is the Upper Silurian Raglan Mudstone Formation, (Moor Cliffs Formation) (Plates 9.6-7). The rock seen in the exposure (Plate 9.7) is a brownish-red coloured mudstone with blocky structure containing small (1-2cm) irregularly-shaped clasts (seen within the exposure and loose at the bottom of the trench). The clasts are typically 1-2cm diameter (Plate 9.6) and comprise a mixture of fine-grained sand (quartz) and mica grains with small calcareous nodules bound in, all cemented with a calcareous matrix. Taken together, these features suggest the sediment was originally an aggregate of sand/gravel- sized muddy pellets. In places these can be seen as accumulated in a

succession of thin horizontal layers (laminations) representing the original sedimentation (A in Plate 9.7); each lamination representing a fresh influx of pellets and/or muddy sediment.

The upper section of the exposure displays faint shallow cross-cutting concave surfaces that can be picked out by a thin infill of white carbonate (B in Plate 9.7). These intersecting surfaces produce lens-shaped structures.

The lower section of the mudstone contains bluish-green, dominantly vertical to sub-vertical steaks, some of which bifurcate in both an upward and downward direction (C in Plate 9.7) or form a reticulate network. These are locally reduced zones, termed 'drab haloes', that are thought to represent changes in Eh (oxidation/reduction potential) due to plant or animal burrowing activity leaving traces of organic carbon which 'soaks up' oxygen from the red ferrous iron in the rock and reducing it to the green ferric state of iron. The presence of upward branching structures (Plate 9.7) suggests these are traces of burrows rather than plant roots (which only bifurcate downwards).

Such features are characteristically found in the profile of modern-day soils known as Vertisols that occur in semi-arid climates with distinct wet and dry seasons, or areas that suffer periods of prolonged waterlogging followed by prolonged drought. (Fig. 15) Under these conditions clay-rich soils develop deep v-shaped desiccation cracks during the dry season, allowing blown calcic dust to penetrate. During the wet or waterlogged seasons water percolates down the cracks and swells the clay muds, closing the cracks and causing dish-shaped slip surfaces (slickensides) as the swelled soil accommodates its increased volume. With burial by subsequent deposition of sediment the slip surfaces become inactive but can provide a conduit for the calcium-saturated water that precipitates to leave a thin trace of calcium carbonate. Concretions of calcium carbonate are also precipitated in the basal part of the Vertisol soil profile, and if conditions remain stable for a significantly long period of time (hundreds of

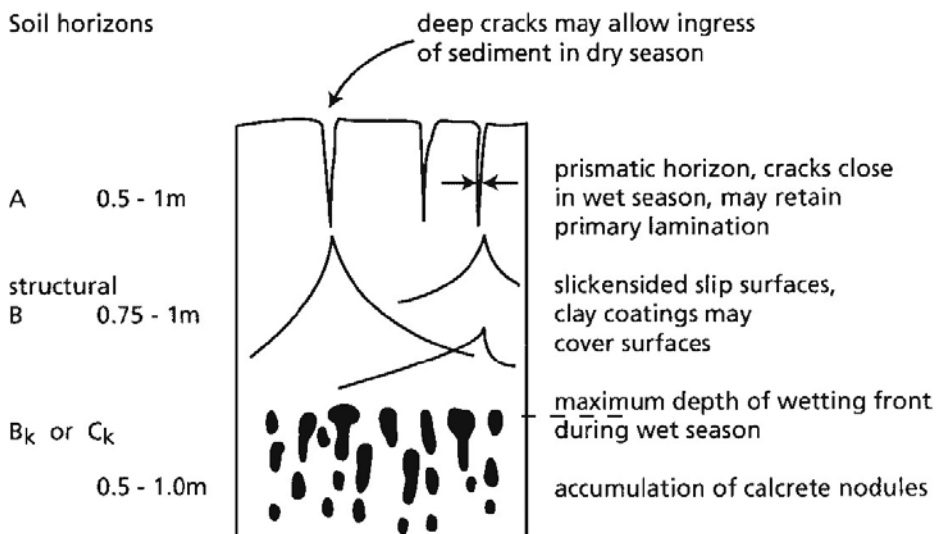


Figure 15. Typical Vertisol profile. The Aylestone Hill exposure shows elements of the B and C horizons, and the A horizon has been eroded.

thousands of years) these can grow into blocks several metres across or coalesce to form a bed of calcrete limestone. However small nodules (a few mm in diameter) indicate limited residence and development (in the order of hundreds of years) before the soil is disturbed by subsequent erosion and/or deposition.

In summary, the rocks display features that can be interpreted as representing a mud-pellet gravel derived from waves of flood water ripping up the semi-consolidated, fine-grained sediments and calcrete concretions from the floodplain of a seasonally-flooding braided river and re-depositing these elsewhere on the floodplain and probably at some distance on the interfluvium between channels. An interval of non-deposition allowed a fossil soil (Vertisol) to develop. However within a few hundred years the top of the soil profile was eroded followed by further deposition, so preserving the features seen in the exposure. A modern example suggested as illustrating a similar environment where these rocks were formed is the Chancel Country in central Australia.

These rocks were originally considered to be of Lower Devonian age and assigned to the Raglan Mudstone Formation. Recently the British Geological Survey have re-mapped this part of Hereford and have designated these rocks as part of the Moors Cliff Formation; now reassigned as Upper Silurian.

BENEATH BRITAIN

'Beneath Britain', a project which aims to encourage research using the data freely available on the United Kingdom Onshore Geophysical Library (UKOGL) website was launched on 12 March 2018. UKOGL is a charity which has gathered together seismic lines, borehole data, coal mining records and much more. This is a valuable resource to anyone investigating the rocks and structure beneath the present-day outcrops. See the link to the Beneath Britain website:-

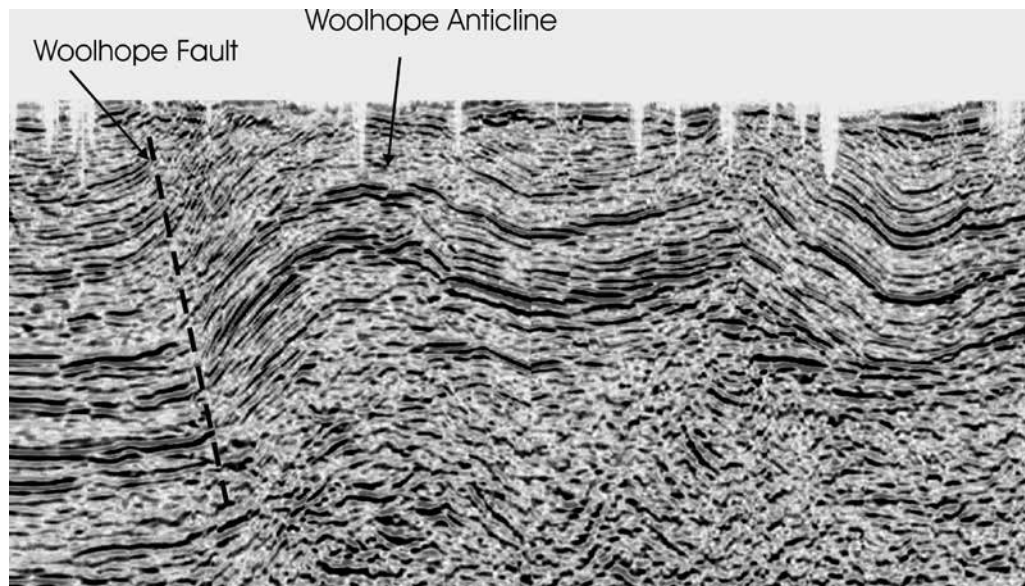


Figure 16. Seismic line across the southern part of the Woolhope Dome from west to east. The Woolhope Fault on the west side of the dome is seen on the left and the upfolded structure of the dome in the central part of the section.

<https://www.earth.ox.ac.uk/research-groups/beneath-britain/available-data/> or the UKOGL website - <https://www.ukogl.org.uk>

This includes an interactive map, on which you can zoom in to the area which interests you. Click to highlight a particular seismic line on the map and then on view 'images' to see a cross section showing the structure deep underground. An example is given above illustrating a section across the southern part of the Woolhope Dome, which is now part of the area of the extended Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark (Fig. 16).

Returning to the interactive map, if you click on the nearby Fownhope Borehole and then on 'images' and 'well tops', you will see the sequence of rocks found in the bore hole. There is a rock layer above the Ordovician Bronsil Shales and at the base of the May Hill Sandstone Group, which is not seen at the surface in the Woolhope Dome today. This is 370m of orange sandstones with minor red-brown siltstones, overlain by minor red-brown siltstones and sandstones. The British Geological Survey has named these rocks as the Fownhope Formation.

GOODRICH DRY ARCH LANDSLIP

In 1829 a new bridge was built over the Wye at Kerne Bridge with a new road from Goodrich to reach it. A pre-existing local road crosses this new road on a bridge, known as the Dry Arch, below which is a road cutting.

On the north side of the cutting the rock layers are dipping down the slope towards the road. Slippage took place in 2018 and there was a fall of rock onto the road. The road was closed for some time while the rock face was made safe.

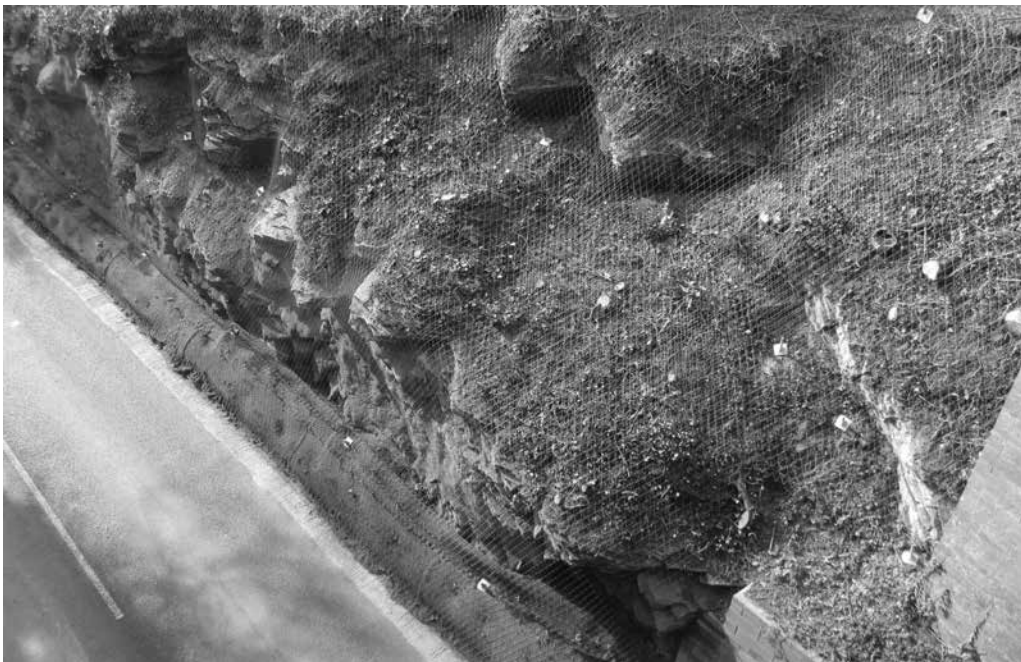


Figure 17. Stabilisation of the rock face at the Dry Arch, Goodrich

The rocks here are the Brownstones Formation, the highest part of the Lower Devonian. Massive red sandstone beds dip at a low angle to the south east. There are also muddier layers on which slippage takes place when they become lubricated after heavy rain. There was a similar slip on the minor road from Crocker's Ash to Little Doward some years ago.

Rosalind Lowe has written a detailed description which can be seen on the geology section of the Woolhope Club website. The photo above shows the stabilization works carried out to make the site safe and prevent further rocks falling onto the road. The rock surface has been covered with pinned wire netting and, in places, concrete (Fig.17).

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 the recording the geology before it is again covered over.

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Mycology, 2018

By JO WEIGHTMAN

2018 was great for sun-worshippers but not for fungi. The long hot summer and dry autumn did no favours to these organisms which, on the whole, prefer cool, moist conditions. Common species became uncommon and the often less common failed to appear. With fungi, however, the surprise element is always in play. I received more records for vernal species than usual and a number of notable species were seen as the seasons changed. Some of these are described below.

Spring

The first two fungi to be mentioned are both Ascomycetes and belong in a section where the fruiting surface is on the upper-side of a disc from which the spores are expelled upwards. The ‘discos’ in question are usually very small and inconspicuous but these two are large, easily spotted and have very distinctive features. The first, *Morchella semilibera* (Plate 10.1) was recorded at three locations this spring. It is one of the morels, a group in which the disc has folded back around the stipe and is much creased and pitted. It is an occasional species of wood edges and young secondary woodland especially under hawthorn. The photograph shows the rather regular alignment of the folds and the typically pitted surface. Plate 10.2 shows a similar species *Gyromitra esculenta* but here the fruiting surface is unevenly and loosely crumpled but not pitted. This second fungus is seldom found, indeed there is only one known site for it in Herefordshire. It can occur in the litter under both coniferous and broadleaf trees as well as with a range of large, clump-forming herbaceous plants. At this site in Stapleton it was growing on top of a clump of fern. The third spring fungus *Disciotis venosa* (Plate 10.3) occurs in gardens and woodland, usually on a bank. Here the disc is large and more or less flat to the ground but usually with veins or puckering on the upper surface. The flesh is brittle and smells strongly of bleach. It was reported from The Doward.

Summer and autumn species

All the rest of the fungi mentioned are Basidiomycetes, a very diverse group of species which drop rather than shoot their spores. *Amanita gemmata* (Plate 10. 4) is related to the very familiar Fly Agaric *A. muscaria* but the fruit-body is a warm yellow, not red. The spots are the remains of a protective membrane—a veil—which totally encloses the young fruit-body, breaking up as the fungus grows taller and the cap opens. A second veil covers the gills, falling back as a ring on the stalk at maturity. This ring is fragile in *A. gemmata*, often falling off. This species is rare in the county with only three previous records from just two sites. It has a mycorrhizal life-style which means that although it appears to be living in the soil, its mycelium is actually attached to the fine roots of trees, both fungus and tree benefitting from this arrangement. The spores are white, as are those of the following species.

Lentinellus cochleatus (Plate 10.5) has a different lifestyle, living saprophytically on the dead wood of stumps or at the rotting base of deciduous trees. The rather tough, funnel-like fruit-bodies grow in often overlapping clusters, have gills with a serrated edge (Plate 10.6) and smell of marzipan. The specimen found in Haugh Wood in 2018 was the less common odourless

form which was formerly recognised as a variety, var. *inolens*. Both varieties are no more than occasional in the county.

Rhodocybe gemina (Plate 10.7), recorded on the Croft Castle Estate in September is uncommon with only previous two records in Herefordshire. In the field, the pinkish, more or less decurrent gills and the thick-fleshed cap are indicative features; at home, a spore print confirms the spore colour—pink—and microscopy is necessary to check spore dimensions and ornament.

Porphyrellus porphyrosporus (Plate 10.8) is one of the boletes, a mycorrhizal group of toadstool-shaped fungi where the gills are replaced by tubes, giving the underside a spongy, poroid appearance. This species is instantly recognisable by the sombre colouring. It is also unique among the boletes, as the spores are violaceous. It was recorded by the Herefordshire Fungus Survey Group (HFSG) during a foray at Croft Castle Estate in late September. This was only the second county record, the first being from Downton Gorge in 2015.

The following species are from several different groups within the Basidiomycetes. The first two also have pores, like the bolete above, but have bracket-like shapes. *Fomes fomentarius* (Plate 10.9) is a perennial species, growing parasitically on living trees and, when the tree falls, saprophytically. It forms very distinctive large, wood-hard, hoof-shaped brackets. In Britain it is common in Scotland on birch. On the continent, it occurs on a range of broadleaf trees. Although long known in the Knole Park area of Kent where it spread from probably introduced beech, it has not had a stronghold elsewhere. Comparatively recently it has been found in counties neighbouring Herefordshire and this year there have been two sightings here, on birch at Berrington Hall and at Hampton Court, also on birch. *Gloeoporus dichrous* (Plate 10.10) is very different, having much smaller, very flexible brackets with salmon-coloured pores. It was found on dead fallen branches of, probably, sweet chestnut on the Croft Castle Estate and is the second county record for this species which is listed as Near Threatened on the Red Data List 2006.

Exidia recisa (Plate 10.11), found this year on Ewyas Harold Common and in Brilley Green Dingle, has not been recorded before in the county (and is a personal life first). It is a jelly fungus, swelling up with atmospheric moisture in which state it can disperse its spores. It occurs on usually attached, dead willow branches where it mimics a string of amber beads. When the air is dry, it shrinks back to a barely visible skin.

Battarrea phalloides (Plate 10.12), can be compared to the very common stinkhorn *Phallus impudicus*, although at maturity it is strikingly different. Both start as an ‘egg’ in the ground, deeply buried in this instance. When the spores are mature, both species send up a tall stalk bearing the gleba, or spore-bearing head. The gleba of *B. phalloides* is topped for a while with the remains of the soft skin of the ‘egg’ but this soon erodes leaving the spore mass exposed. The entire fruit-body is stiff and unless disturbed lasts for months. It occurs on dry sandy banks often with pine and elm. This very rare species, sighted at Ross-on-Wye in the spring, is listed as Near Threatened on the Red Data List 2006 and is protected under Schedule 8 of the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981.

And finally, not a rarity but a one-off, an oddity. Fungi, like most organisms, sometimes get it wrong. This monstrose form of a *Clitocybe* sp (Plate 10.13) was found at Queenswood during a study day in November.

Ornithology, 2018

By RACHEL JENKINS AND EDWARD WEBLEY

Last year's report gave a summary of the county bird sightings round the year, giving an insight into the range and size of bird populations in Herefordshire through the seasons and their movements. The county has a wide range of sites for good birdwatching, and this year's article will focus on two of the most productive of these sites which are also of great interest from a geological and archaeological perspective, namely the Brockhall and Wellington Gravel Pits (BGP and WGP), at HR4 7QD and HR4 8BY respectively.

Herefordshire once had many sand and gravel pits, some of ancient origin, most of which have long been abandoned. Glaciofluvial gravel deposits from the Wye glacier have been quarried in the past at various sites around Stretton Sugwas, most recently at Brockhall Gravel Pit which has now been transformed into a large lake on Duchy of Cornwall land, with recently established good public access. The Brockhall gravel pit at Stretton Sugwas is within an area of kettled moraine. The moraine was deposited by the Wye Glacier as it travelled from Wales as far east as Hereford. As the ice was melting, blocks of ice were buried in moraine and covered by the sediment which the glacier had transported. These ice blocks melted some time later and the sediment above them collapsed leaving hollows and the uneven hummocky terrain. There is no outlet for drainage from some of these kettle holes and kettle hole ponds develop. (Brandon, 1989; Richards, 2005)

The Stretton Sugwas gravel pit is no longer quarried, but sand and gravel from river terraces and glacial moraines in the river valley of the Lugg continue to be extracted at Wellington. Extensive archaeological investigations have been conducted at Wellington Quarry, covering around 8000 years of interrelated human activity and landscape change in the Lower Lugg valley. Evidence recovered includes a group of early Neolithic pits (4000-3500 BC); a wealthy Beaker burial (2750-2500 BC); a late Iron Age settlement; a Roman settlement, villa and associated activity (1st to 4th century AD); early medieval water mills; and an exceptionally well preserved medieval corn drying oven (1300 AD). Agriculture continued until the 12th to 14th centuries, when there was a shift towards enclosed pasture and meadow, a pattern maintained until the onset of mineral extraction in the 1980s. In Roman times it appears that the land around the villa at Wellington was drained to create more stable conditions for the settlement and for growing crops in the neighbouring fields while, by contrast, in the 17th and 18th centuries, people made active use of the annual flooding to create water meadows maximising summer grass growth for hay production and animal grazing. (Jackson and Miller 2011)

The data for these sightings comes from the Hereford Ornithological Club sightings website (<http://www.herefordshirebirds.org/HOC/Sightings.html>). An important caveat is that these data are not derived from systematic surveys, but rather from members of the public submitting their sightings on to the website and thus, while giving some indication of what can be found at different times of year, these sightings are not systematic prevalence surveys. Thus there is likely to be considerable under-reporting, and possible misidentification too. This year the sightings are summarised by species groups rather than by each month of the year, and so the weather report from Bringsty by Edward Webley is now placed in Appendix 1.

Swans and geese

The mute swan is Herefordshire's and indeed Britain's largest bird, and breeds extensively along the Wye, but WGP is also a key breeding site, and they are often also seen at BGP. Many also spend the winter here. The Whooper Swan breeds on tundra across the Northern Palearctic, but winters here and is sometimes seen at BGP and WGP between November and February, but none reported in 2018. The Pink-footed Goose is one of the smaller grey geese which winters in Britain and breeds in Iceland. One was seen in WGP in October. The Greylag Goose is the largest native goose and is found in flocks of up to 40 birds at WGP throughout the year. The Canada Goose was introduced in 1678 from North America to St James Park, London, and has gradually spread from ornamental wildfowl collections across the country. They were first described in Herefordshire on the Wye in the winter of 1885/86, and they are commonly seen at both BGP and WGP where they also breed. Barnacle Geese are smaller and much rarer than the Canada Goose, and are occasionally seen feeding with flocks of Canada Geese. They were seen at BGP during the winter months.

Duck

Shelduck generally breed in coastal waters but small numbers breed inland although this is not yet reported in Herefordshire. Shelduck can be found at BGP and WGP in the winter months. In 2018, one was reported at WGP in December. Mandarin Duck originally come from Eastern Asia, where populations have since fallen, and in Britain have escaped over the last 250 years from waterfowl collections. Mandarin Duck feature in art as a symbol of conjugal affection and fidelity. Small numbers were recorded between March and August at WGP. Wigeon are seen throughout the year at BGP and WGP, with large flocks in winter. Gadwall have been expanding in numbers in Herefordshire since 1980 and are now found throughout the year at BGP and WGP in groups up to 30. Teal are found in large wintering flocks at both WGP and BGP, with smaller numbers in summer at WGP. Mallard are widespread in Herefordshire and are found in both WGP and BGP throughout the year. Pintail is a winter visitor and was seen in small groups at WGP in January to March and December, while one was recorded at BGP in January. Two Garganey were seen at BGP on migration from Central Africa to northern European countries in March. Shoveler, although largely a winter visitor, was recorded all year round at both WGP and BGP. Pochard were also seen throughout year at both GPs. Tufted Duck were seen in large flocks all year. Goldeneye were seen between September and April at WGP, and one at Brockhall in October and November. Smew is a rare winter visitor, mainly breeding in Northern Russia and wintering in the Netherlands, but a few come to Britain. In 2018, one was recorded at BGP in December. Goosander occasionally breed in the county, but are generally seen as winter visitors, in flocks of up to 40 at both gravel pits.

Game birds

Red-legged Partridge were introduced from France in 1770 and have gradually spread so that Herefordshire had a self-sustaining population by the 1950s. Two were seen at WGP in March and July. Pheasant are found all year round at both GPs.

Cormorants and Herons

Cormorants were primarily coastal birds but over the last 40 years they have started wintering in inland rivers and lakes; and are now seen throughout the year at both GPs. Little Egret was first

seen in Herefordshire in 1988, and small numbers of one to four have been recorded at WGP throughout the year and at BGP, with seven recorded in August. Grey Heron are seen all year at both GPs.

Grebes, Rails and Coots

Little Grebe, also known as Dabchick, were seen in small numbers throughout the year at both GPs. Great Crested Grebe breeds at both GPs and was seen in variable numbers throughout the year, in groups up to 20. Water Rail were seen in small numbers during winter at WGP. It is an elusive skulking bird that inhabits boggy places, where its blood-curdling squeal, often at night, may be the only clue to its presence. Moorhen numbers declined due to mink predation in the 1970s and 1980s, but have since been recovering. They were recorded in July and August at BGP and throughout the year at WGP. Coot are found throughout the year, in large numbers at WGP and smaller numbers at BGP.

Birds of Prey

Red Kite has expanded into Herefordshire from Wales, with one recorded throughout the year at WGP and one seen in March at BGP in 2018. Goshawk have expanded in Britain since the 1960s, probably derived from falconers' birds, generally found in woodland, but one seen at WGP in April and one at BGP in November. Sparrowhawk were recorded all year at WGP in small numbers. Buzzard were seen throughout the year at both GPs. Kestrel were seen all year at WGP, and one during winter at BGP. Hobby winter in Africa and breed here in summer. One was seen throughout the summer months at WGP.

Waders

Oystercatcher is generally a shore bird in winter but is found inland as well during the summer. It was recorded in small numbers throughout year at BGP, and February to August at WGP. Little Ringed Plover first bred in the UK in 1938, and has since spread across inland freshwater sites. It was first seen in Herefordshire in 1959, and the first breeding record was in 1980. It was seen in small numbers (1-4) between April and July in WGP, and in March and April in BGP. Ringed Plover was also seen at WGP in small numbers in May and June and one was seen in April at BGP (Plate 11.1). Golden Plover spend the winter in Southern Europe and North Africa, with around half a million wintering in Britain and Ireland. They breed in open moorland in Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and the west of Ireland. One was seen in March at BGP. Lapwing numbers have been declining over the last 40 years across Europe including Britain and Herefordshire. Small numbers were seen in the breeding season at WGP and large flocks in the winter months. Dunlin has been a winter visitor in Herefordshire since 1954, mainly found at BGP and WGP, and has been recorded in most months of the year. In 2018 small numbers were seen between April and August at WGP, and 3 were seen at BGP in July. Jacksnipe (Plate 11.2) are rarely sighted in Herefordshire, but is probably under recorded because of its secretive nature and cryptic camouflage. At WGP, single birds were seen in March, April and December. Snipe are more commonly seen but rarely breed in the county. Small numbers were seen throughout the year at WGP, and between July and December in BGP. Curlew numbers have greatly fallen over the last decades due to land drainage and changes in farming practice. It was sighted in March and April at WGP. Common Sandpiper were seen in small numbers between January and October at WGP, and between April and August at BGP. A single Green Sandpiper was seen in

July, August and September at WGP, and in small numbers throughout the year at BGP. A Bar-tailed Godwit was seen on 22/23 April at BGP. A whimbrel was seen on 1 April at BGP. One Grey Phalarope was seen on 1 Sept at WGP.

Greenshank is an uncommon passage migrant in the county, and in 2018 1 was seen in November at WGP and 1 in April at BGP (Plate 11.3). Redshank may breed at BGP, and in 2018 1 or 2 were seen in June and July at WGP, and 1 in March at BGP (Plate 11.4).

Gulls

Black-headed Gull both winters and breeds in Herefordshire, and in 2018 was seen in large flocks in March and smaller numbers in April to August at BGP, and throughout the year at WGP. Common Gull (a misnomer as Black-headed Gull is the most common gull in Britain) winters here and was reported in January, November and December 2018 in WGP in small numbers and two were seen at BGP in December. The Lesser Black-backed Gull is found throughout the year at both gravel pits, large flocks in winter and smaller groups in the breeding season. Herring Gull were seen in small groups throughout the year at WGP, and one was reported at BGP in December. Great Black-backed Gull is large and predatory. A single adult was reported at WGP in December. Single adult Common Tern were reported at WGP in April and August. Up to 4 Yellow-legged Gull were seen at WGP between October and November. An Arctic tern was seen at WGP on 18 April.

Pigeons and Doves

Rock Dove were seen at WGP in December, and two Stock Dove at BGP in August and December. Wood pigeon were present at both GPs throughout the year. Collared Dove were present at WGP throughout the year, and reported in small numbers at BGP in February, March and June.

Owls

Barn Owl, Little Owl and Tawny Owl are present throughout the year at WGP.

Swifts, Swallows and Martins

Swifts were reported at WGP in large groups of up to 50 between April and July, and up to 20 were seen in August at BGP. Swallows were seen in small numbers at WGP between April and September. Housemartins were seen WGP April to August, in groups up to 20 or more. Sandmartins seen at WGP April to August with large flocks of 100 or more in late April.

Kingfisher, Woodpeckers and Corvids

One or two Kingfisher were seen all year at WGP, and 1 in December at BGP. Green woodpecker and Greater Spotted woodpecker were seen throughout the year at WGP and BGP. Magpies, Jackdaws, Rooks and Crows were present throughout the year at both GPs, Jay was reported at WGP in July and August, and at BGP in December.

Smaller birds

These are also plentiful at the gravel pits. Goldcrest, Blue Tit, Great Tit, Coal Tit, Long Tailed Tit, Blackcap, Wren, Blackbird, Song Thrush, Mistle Thrush, Robin, Dunnock, House Sparrow, Grey Wagtail, Pied Wagtail, Chaffinch, Greenfinch, Goldfinch and Linnet were seen throughout the year. One Willow Tit was seen in December at BGP, one Marsh Tit was reported at WGP in

April. Skylark were reported at WGP April to October, and at BGP in June and November. Wood Warbler was seen in WGP in September, Chiffchaff were reported in small numbers throughout the year at WGP and between March and June at BGP. Willow Warbler was seen at WGP in September, and at BGP between March and August. Garden Warbler was seen between April to July at WGP, Lesser Whitethroat seen from March to September and one in April at BGP. Whitethroat in small numbers were seen from April to September at WGP. A Cetti's Warbler was seen at WGP between April and July and October to December. Nuthatch were seen April to October in WGP and 2 in December at BGP. Treecreeper were seen in November at WGP, and 1 in February at BGP. Three Starling were seen in February at BGP and all year at WGP. A flock of 20 Fieldfare were seen in February at BGP and in groups ranging up to 120 at WGP between October and April. Eight Redwing were seen at BGP in February. Yellow Wagtail, which spend the winter in West Africa, was reported from June to September at WGP, and April to August at BGP. Its numbers are in decline and it is on the Red List of endangered species. Siskin was seen at WGP from December through to April in small groups of up to 14. One Lesser Redpoll was seen in March at WGP, and flocks of 20-30 seen at BGP between April and December. Bullfinch were reported at both GPs from January to July. Reed bunting seen throughout year at WGP and 1 seen in BGP in June.

RESEARCH STUDIES

2018 has been another interesting year for published research on birds. Two studies on one of our favourite birds—the Barn Swallow—have direct relevance for urban and farming communities. For those living in an urban environment, a research study on swallows has shown that pairs breeding in either old nests or artificial nests bred earlier, laid more eggs and produced more nestlings and fledglings than pairs breeding in new natural nests. Artificial nests were readily accepted by swallows, and they had a similar low predation rate and higher breeding success. Female Barn Swallows may save time and energy by choosing males that can offer an old natural nest or an artificial nest, allowing her to lay eggs earlier and invest more in egg production, reduce the inter-clutch interval and achieve a higher number of fledglings. Thus it is worth placing artificial nests in suitable habitats. (McHough *et. al.*, 2018).

Another study on swallows in farmland found that they are more likely to forage along arable field margins that were enhanced with wildflowers or legumes than control grass margins. Such enhanced field margins have already been shown to support more Linnet, Reed Bunting and Goldfinch (Redhead *et. al.*, 2018).

Since the Pied Flycatcher was Redlisted in Wales in 2010, and in the UK in 2016, an effort is being made to reassess the status of Pied Flycatchers in Wales, using data from Local Environmental Records Centres, Bird Track, ringing, Bird Atlas 2007-2011, county atlases, bird reports and feedback from County Recorders. Data sets of recent breeding at established sites will be crucial. Findings from Wales will be compared with England and Scotland. If you can contribute, please contact Bob Harris pieflsg@gmail.com.

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PIED FLYCATCHER NEST BOX SCHEME

Table 1. Nest box occupancy (by any species) for the last nine years)

	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
Sites recorded	25	26	27	27	23	26	26	26	29
Boxes available	825	813	871	866	731	741	805	820	818
Boxes used	478	378+	504	451	414	453	478	521	510
% used	57.9	46.5	57.8	52.1	56.6	61.1	59.3	63.5	62.3

Table 2. Species Results for 2018 compared with 2017

Species	Sites		Nests		Eggs		Fledged		Success	
	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017
Flycatcher	12	13	108	144	520	774	400	430	76.9%	55.5%
Blue Tit	25	22	211	159	1666	1352	1216	849	72.9%	62.8%
Great Tit	24	22	158	123	972	804+	684	612+	70.3%	76.1%
Coal Tit	1	3	1	3	9	20	9	20	100%	100%
Nuthatch	4	5	7	5	36	31	32	29	88.9%	93.5%
Wren	1	1	1	3	6	14	3	0	50.0%	Failed

Again no nesting Redstarts were found this year.

Table 3. Annual Pied Flycatcher 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
2018	12 sites	108 nests	520 eggs	400 fledged	76.9% success

There was bad weather across Europe as the pied flycatchers were migrating to the UK, and it is noticeable that fewer nests were occupied by pied flycatchers this year compared to 2017 and fewer eggs were laid. However the fledging results from those eggs were near normal. As in previous years, there was a spell of stormy, windy weather during the nesting period, but it was a little earlier this year, just as the young were hatching, and did not have too serious an effect on fledging success.

APPENDIX 1 WEATHER SUMMARY 2018 (Edward Webley)

January

January was a milder than average month with 6 frosts, but the coldest only -0.9C on the 30th. It was windy with moderate amounts of rain spread throughout the month. Snow showers gave 1cm cover by early on the 17th while heavy snow accumulated to 4cm on the 21st before turning to heavy rain causing a rapid thaw and widespread flooding. Milder spells were prevalent from the 23rd with 12.6C reached on the 28th. The mean temperature was 0.9C above average while rainfall of 76.9mm was normal for January.

February

February was cold and dry with half the nights frosty. The main weather event was the easterly blast bringing increasingly cold air from the 23rd. The 28th was the coldest with only -1.7C reached from a low of -6.1C together with frequent snow showers accumulating to 4cm by late evening.

March

March was very cold and wet with the beginning of the month dominated by the 'Beast from the East' blasting 23cm of snow into deep drifts and blocking many roads as a record-breaking low of -7.1C struggled to a record-breaking high of only -3.1C. Heavy rain on the 5th combined with snowmelt caused widespread floods while thunder was heard on the 16th. Another Easterly blast brought 13cm of snow on the 18th again with deep drifts, but it turned milder from the 22nd. Further heavy rain on the 30th kept the countryside waterlogged and muddy. Total rainfall of 141mm was 264% of normal for March.

April

The early days of April continued the wet theme with average temperatures. A welcome drier spell from the 18th till the 23rd brought much warmer weather for a time. 24.6C was the high on the 19th. It turned colder with spells of rain and strong winds to end the month. Overall, it was a little milder and wetter than usual.

May

May was much warmer than usual with a gloriously sunny May Day bank holiday. The max. temperature was 25.7C. It continued mostly dry with further warm spells until the 23rd. The last 7 days of the month were very wet with 66.6mm of rain between the 27th and 31st accompanied by thunder at times. The monthly total of 76.8mm was 131% of normal.

June

June announced itself with heavy showers, then turned dry for the rest of the month apart from a wet evening on the 7th and a few showers mid-month. The combination of the warmest June in my 37 years of records and abundant sunshine from the 21st, caused the ground to become very dry.

July

The very dry, warm and sunny weather of June continued through most of July. Nineteen days exceeded 25C with the hottest 30.1C on the 8th. 8.3mm of rain on the 28th ended a period of 50 days with a total of only 6mm of rain, providing a little relief from the prolonged drought. It was the warmest July since 2006.

August

The fine, warm weather continued for 7 more days with 27.2C the high on the 5th. The rest of the month was average for both temperature and rainfall bringing some relief from the drought. Rainfall of 16.3mm on the 11th and 12.6mm on the 22nd were the wettest days.

September

Although September was near normal for temperature, the 2.8C low on the 25th was the coldest since 2003 while the 11.1C high on the 22nd was the coldest since 2012. Rainfall was only near normal courtesy of 29.4mm of rain on the 20th, more than half the monthly total of 55.3mm. It was the wettest day since November 2016.

October

The near average temperature was balanced by some very warm days; 21.8C on the 10th the highest, while several days failed to reach 10C, the lowest being 5C on the 27th, a record since 2008. There were 5 frosts to end the month, while the 14th with 12.3mm of rain was the only wet day in a very dry month; only 56% of normal.

November

November was rather mild with less rain than usual. The period from the 6th till the 9th was wet with 30mm of rain followed by only very small amounts till 10.9mm fell after a rare frost; (-2.2C.). Gale force gusts of wind followed on the 28th and 29th.

December

December was very mild with strong winds and spells of rain until the 23rd. 16.6mm of rain on the 18th was the wettest. There were only 2 frosts occurring in a cold snap mid-month when a brief north-easterly blast pegged the temperature to only 2.4C on the 14th. No rain fell after Christmas although the total amount just exceeded the normal. It was the equal-second warmest December in my 37 years of records.

Weather Statistics, 2018

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	10.5	-2.8	102.6	27.4 (21st)	13
February	11.1	-6.7	12.7	7.1 (10th)	4
March	13.3	-4.4	144.5	32.0 (30th)	14
April	16.7	1.7	90.9	17.3 (1st)	10
May	25.0	4.4	79.8	25.9 (25th)	9
June	28.9	9.4	25.4	24.9 (13th)	2
July	29.4	11.7	37.8	16.5 (28th)	4
August	27.2	8.3	84.1	22.4 (12th)	8
September	25.5	4.4	61.7	32.8 (20th)	6
October	18.9	-0.6	54.4	15.2 (14th)	7
November	11.7	-2.8	74.4	15.5 (27th)	9
December	11.7	-2.8	101.9	19.6 (4th)	13
Total			870.2		99

Highest day temperature: 29.4°C 9th July
 Lowest night temperature: -6.7°C 28th February

Weather Summary 2009 to 2018

<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>
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	30.0	-6.1
2018	870.2	32.8	Sept. 20	99	29.4	-6.7

Recorded by I. K. Porter at Greening's Acre, Little Birch. Height 152 m. (500ft).

Book Reviews, 2018

By

JOAN GRUNDY, JOHN C. EISEL, JEAN O'DONNELL,
DAVID WHITEHEAD

Clash of Cultures? The Romano-British Period in the West Midlands, Roger White & Mike Hodder (eds.), (2018, Oxbow Books, 240pp., £30).

Oxbow is one of the few remaining academic publishers who produce reasonably priced books on scholarly subjects and, over the last few years, they have been quietly progressing with their period-based assessments of recent archaeological work in the West Midlands. Volumes on the early pre-historic (Garwood, 2007) and late pre-historic (Hunt, 2017) have been widely praised. Now we have a dense volume on the Roman period, which originated in 'a series of papers presented at a seminar in Shrewsbury in 2002'. Most of the contributors have apparently revisited their Historic Environment Records to catch-up on the development led projects, which have taken place in the intervening period. It is notable that some of the contributors were 'formerly' county archaeologist. Early retirement, it seems, has enabled them to re-visit the 'grey literature' they produced and synthesise their work for this volume.

The main body of the book progresses from county to county across the South Midlands—Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire—and then north into Shropshire and east to Staffordshire and the West Midlands County. Gloucestershire is missing; thus, leaving the highly Romanised parts of Warwickshire and Worcestershire disconnected and, similarly, Herefordshire is orphaned from the heartland of the Dobunnic territory in the Severn Valley (and its Dark Age successor Hwiccan). Each author is also guided (constrained?) by a series of topics e.g. Iron Age background, conquest and military occupation, towns, rural settlement etc. Nevertheless, each county has its Roman hot-spot e.g. Worcester and Alcester, both subject to extensive development since the 1960s, and thus, regular archaeological investigation. Wroxeter and Kenchester have not endured the same pressure but every opportunity has been taken to explore their hinterland. The Iron Age background is well covered for Herefordshire and Keith Ray is quoted as saying that 'Herefordshire was neither Roman nor Romano-British but 'Iron Age' in character throughout the Roman period' (p.11). North Herefordshire and South Shropshire are also areas of intensive Roman military activity, which is fully described by its respective county authors. Overall Roman activity diminishes as you penetrate the highland and forest areas of the West Midlands. North Shropshire and Staffordshire are virtually uncharted territories; and similarly the pastoral and wooded regions of the three southern-most counties.

The Herefordshire section is written by Keith Ray and, of course, should be read in conjunction with *The Archaeology of Herefordshire* (2015). Unrestrained by the need to be explicit for the general reader, Professor Ray, as the quote above suggests, is prepared to go that extra mile or two and synthesise his material, providing an epitome of Roman Herefordshire with an analytical eye upon its neighbours, its Iron Age past and its Dark Age future. Each county is provided with a new map, showing the distribution of sites, and Herefordshire is notable for its intensity of 'minor settlements and farmsteads' in all the river valleys, comparable, it seems, to the more familiar intense Roman settlement in the Avon Valley of Warwickshire and

Worcestershire. One of the high-points for Club readers will be the detailed and integrated approach to the Kenchester hinterland with its 'exotic rural residences', where its Roman inhabitants were apparently already appreciating the landscape qualities of the Wye, 1500 years before the Revd. William Gilpin made them explicit in 1782.

Several thematic chapters help the reader distinguish the wood from the trees. This includes the editors' introduction and sections on coins, ceramics, religion and the end of Roman Britain. The last by Roger White is rather specialist and Woolhope readers will find much more stimulation in his *Britannia Prima: Britain's last Roman Province* (2007). *Clash of Cultures* is well illustrated by modern photographs but it is a pity there are no up-to-date maps of the regions around Alcester, Worcester and Kenchester, which figure so prominently in their respective chapters. Moreover, the index eschews place-names, thus rendering much of the text inaccessible to the casual reader and the young person doing a project. Having said that, this is an essential book and it will be many years before it is superseded—if ever.

David Whitehead

Hereford Cathedral School. A History over 800 Years, Dr Howard Tomlinson, (2018, Logaston Press, xxvii + 642 pp., £25).

First, I must declare interest. As a local historian I supplied information for the book, and as an Old Boy of the school (OH) naturally take an almost proprietorial interest. But I will do my best to be objective!

A history of a school is a difficult thing to write. The primary audience is, of course, former pupils of the school, but in order to be relevant to a wider audience it must be set in context. As I write I have in front of me a history entitled *Felsted in Herefordshire*, a record of a school in exile in Herefordshire between May 1940 and March 1945 (there are plenty of worse places to be exiled to!) This has little of wider interest, being a record of the minutiae of the activities of the school in Goodrich Court and elsewhere during that period. A similar statement might be made of Carless's *A Short History of Hereford School*, published in 1914, which gives the outline of the history as known at that time but with little in the way of critical analysis of the evidence, but is a useful secondary source. However, Carless did call attention to the fact that there was no basis for the celebration of the school's quincentenary in 1881, this being a fund-raising wheeze by the then headmaster to build a new block of classrooms and library! Carless's history was updated by Eales-White's *Records of Hereford Cathedral School* (1931), the main body of which was a listing of known past pupils of the school.

It is clear that a new history of Hereford Cathedral School was long overdue, and this has been remedied by the work of Dr Howard Tomlinson, former headmaster (1987-2005) and, I am pleased to say, a member of the Woolhope Club. This clearly has been a labour of love in his retirement which has resulted in a monumental work, which, while readable, is also scholarly: it has proper references and foot notes, which show the range of sources consulted, both primary and secondary. This, of course, brings its own problems, as the material for the early years of the Cathedral School is very limited, with almost exponential growth in the amount of material for recent years. Inevitably, therefore, the early chapters of the book are short, with chapters of increasing length as more recent periods were described.

The first two chapters deal with the period up to the latter part of the seventeenth century, with a discussion of the likely origins of a grammar school connected with the cathedral in the

twelfth century, a forerunner of the present school, although continuity is not claimed, as there are known to be breaks in the succession. Then the history of the school is built around the work of the various headmasters, the chapters of increasing length as more material becomes available. Although the first surviving school register does not begin until 1808, earlier printed material can be found in reports and adverts in the *Hereford Journal*, which began publication in 1770. The earliest surviving printed rules, which make interesting reading, date from c.1818, when 'The Great Dr. Taylor' was headmaster: he died in 1826 as a result of a carriage accident on Wye Bridge. In 1821, in Dr Taylor's time, there was a prolonged dispute about the educational system in use at the school, played out in the pages of the *Hereford Journal*, which makes not very edifying reading!

All this is discussed within the framework of education at the time, and thus the book is not only a history of the school but also of educational history in general. This theme continues right up to the present, including commentary on how such schools as the Cathedral School were at one time grant-aided from the government.

The final chapter of the book deals with the last 30 years, inevitably in not so much detail because it is difficult to get an historical perspective for such recent times, particularly for one who had been so much involved. The book concludes with two appendices, one a list of known headmasters and another listing some notable past Old Herefordians. The final name on the list was Arthur Ulrich Zimmerman, a benefactor of the school, and former president of the Woolhope Club. The connection of the school and the club is perhaps not so close as it might be, most of the former pupils of the school leaving for pastures new, although some do stay in the area and others return. However, from a quick scan through the list of Presidents of the Club I can only identify a few Old Herefordians: these include Colonel Scobie (1926), the much-loved Archdeacon Winnington-Ingram (1947 & 1956), A. U. Zimmerman (1962), and C.E. Attfield (1985), as well as myself. Further study may find a few more.

So while I do have a personal interest in this book, nonetheless I can state that this is not just an exceptionally well-researched and written history of the Cathedral School, but it also puts the school into context within the educational ethos for the various periods, and a careful study gives a good idea of educational developments through the centuries, as well as the relation between the school and the city. In view of the length, a careful study will take some time, but that time will be well rewarded, and the Club has recognised its importance by grant-aiding its publication from the W.H. Smith Fund.

John C. Eisel

***A History of Lyonshall: from Prehistory to 1850*, Sarah and John Zaluckyj (2017, Logaston Press, 320pp., £15)**

Sarah and John Zaluckyjs' latest book on their own parish of Lyonshall is an in-depth historical study of the area. From the moated island with its castle ruin to the former railway station at Titley Junction, the village has a fascinating history.

There are some excellent photographs in the first part on Prehistoric and Roman Lyonshall accompanied by Geoff Gwatkin's maps. The flint tools and various excavations bring the text to life. A remembered visit by the Woolhope Club Archaeological Research Section to The Yeld moated site in 1970 is mentioned which is pleasing to those who were there.

The lordship of the castle was granted to Stephen Devereux and he began a major reconstruction of the castle and in 1228 was granted weekly market and fair rights by the King. This was an attempt to develop a borough, enlarge the village and install a garrison to protect it. There was some settlement round the castle site but a new lower area to the south of the road to Kington was created with perhaps 40 burgage plots. This Kington road to the north of the church was diverted to a route south of the castle and church as it is today. Thus the authors answer the question that has always been a puzzle—why are the castle and church cut off from the village? The borough failed by the early 15th century just as other Herefordshire villages declined from the high mortality rates of the Black Death and the threat from the Welsh Revolt of Owain Glyndwr. There are no early houses standing from the earlier centuries. This explanation of apparent migration to a new site for economic gain is evident today in the location of the centre of the present village.

The rise of the Devereux family is charted. Based at Weobley and holding Lyonshall they became very influential, for example playing an important part in the Wars of the Roses when Walter Devereux evicted the Mayor of Hereford from office and hanged 6 citizens in 1456. A later Walter Devereux was created Viscount Hereford by Henry VIII, his son became Earl of Essex and Elizabeth's favourite. Robert was the second Earl. The family played an important part in national events and reached giddy heights. However, according to Blount, little of the castle remained by 1670.

In the sections about Lyonshall people skilful use is made of primary source material. The authors mention Jim Tonkin's impressive and useful work on 3,000 wills. Wills and inventories provide considerable information about the lives and trades of the inhabitants. While the rural poor are under-represented, evidence of peoples' possessions do provide glimpses of how life was lived. Some information is given about the crops grown which were mostly cereals but also hemp and flax; hops were a valuable crop in 1699.

The use of the countryside for economic benefit is illustrated by numerous examples. Early enclosures contributed to the plight of the rural poor; there was not much Parliamentary enclosure but what little land they had in commons and waste was taken by the landowners. The system of enclosure and the open fields is fully explained. The landscape with its watercourses, roads and pathways often needed access by bridges; mills had changing uses and were used for fulling as well as milling grain.

Often local histories omit to give the reader a historical background which would illuminate the local scene. Here, the authors skilfully knit the local sources into the national fabric so that the history of the locality becomes part of the narrative. This gives a particular clarity to the book and makes it more accessible for the general reader. The numerous maps and photographs provide excellent information and add to the book's appeal. Overall, this is a very attractive and well-researched book which offers a model for other village histories.

Jean O'Donnell

The Houses of Hereford 1200-1700 by Nigel Baker, Pat Hughes and Richard K. Morriss (Oxbow Books, 2018), xvi + 192pp, 29 colour plates, 151 figs. ISBN 978-1-78570-816-9, £25.

This book has been long awaited and should have appeared in late 1990s. It owes its gestation to the work of Ron Shoesmith and the City of Hereford Archaeological Unit, which in the 1980s, with 'urban regeneration' in full spate, broadened the archaeologist's remit and began

to investigate the structure of the many historic buildings that were coming up before the city authorities for planning consent. The present writer, as Hon. Secretary of the local Civic Trust (Society), remembers with dismay some of the damaging alterations proposed such as the removal of the ceiling at 26 High Town (W.H. Smith's), which revealed a number of historic rooms, one with panelling painted in the 17th century with floral patterns. Similarly, at 50a St Owen Street, the Civic Trust was a lone defender of a high status building of c. 1600, recently used as a garage, which was threatened with comprehensive re-development. We won the inquiry but this book reveals how much the survival of the historic fabric of Hereford depended upon the rigorous recording carried out by the Hereford Archaeological Unit, which changed the minds of many 'progressive' councillors who were otherwise determined to drag Hereford into the 20th century. Both these buildings survived and their glories are recorded in this book. Today, as commercial life ebbs from the city centre, the next generation may be more sympathetic and better able to appreciate these fine domestic interiors.

It must be stated from the outset that this is not a reworking of the Hereford section of *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931) but a sample of 24 major buildings; perhaps, less than 20% of the listed buildings in the Central Conservation Area. Many of the buildings were selected because of the planning process described above but to provide a continuous story from the late 12th century to the late 17th the authors included the Bishop's Palace and end the book with the Mansion House in Widemarsh Street, one of the earliest brick buildings in the City. In many respects, the extended birth-pangs of the book have been beneficial. For example, many of the buildings discussed have dendrological dating, which in some cases, such as the Cathedral Barn, is crucial in confirming that this modest building dates from the late 13th century and is thus, probably the oldest standing building in the Close. Time has also allowed many expert hands to work upon the drawings, which greatly enrich the volume. They were finally polished by Bryan Byron. Equally impressive (and time consuming) is the research by the Worcester historian, Pat Hughes, who rarely fails to find that pertinent document in the most intractable collection. The book takes pride in being able to name the tenant or owner of each building at the time of its creation. Taken on their own, the historical sections add several new chapters to the story of Hereford. Richard K. Morriss is also no stranger to Hereford and provides a master-class in the description of each building. The specialist language of vernacular architecture is deployed with sensitivity and there is a long glossary if you need help with your 'struts' and 'stubs'. Finally, Nigel Baker, another familiar name in West Midland urban archaeology, brings it all together, providing the introductions and discussions, for each building. His work elsewhere—in Shrewsbury, Gloucester and Worcester—helps broaden the picture, which could so easily have become parochial. However, it is noticeable that few parallels are drawn with buildings in the Herefordshire countryside, notwithstanding the good coverage in the RCHME volumes and the more recent work by Duncan James and the late Jim Tonkin, much of which over the last half century has appeared in these *Transactions*.

After an interesting and pioneering chapter on the city's cellars, the main part of the book is organised chronologically with two long chapters on 'medieval houses c.1200-c.1500' and 'post-medieval houses c.1500-c.1700'. The former naturally concentrates on the buildings of the Cathedral Close, which, apart from the Bishop's Palace, also contains the old Vicars Choral building at 29 Castle Street, Harley Court and the remarkable 20 Church Street—probably the best preserved medieval domestic building in the city. Here excavations in the garden of

the house also add significantly to speculations on the original character of the building. The post-medieval chapter moves decisively into the commercial heartland of the city and includes significant, but hitherto unexplored buildings like the Black Lion in Bridge Street; the recently restored and almost perfect late 16th-century jettied house at 14 Church Street and more minor buildings like the Essex Arms in Widemarsh Street Without, now perched incongruously on Dinmore Hill. Fortunately, the fad for moving framed buildings into a 'safe' environment (viz. Avoncroft) was short lived and consequently, as Nigel Baker reminds us, Hereford retains one of the best preserved historic townscapes in the West Midlands. The book ends with all the authors contributing to a final synthesis, deploying the samples to consider house-plans, plot management, structural issues and original usage. Here we meet the Old Market Hall and Booth Hall and further topics such as floor and roof covering, internal decoration and the advent of bricks. The book is reasonably priced and yet beautifully produced by Oxbow. It is probably the most significant book produced on the history of Hereford in the last half century.

David Whitehead

Three centuries of East Herefordshire farms and families, Jean Ila Currie (2018, Owlstone Press, £24).

East Herefordshire lies within the fruitful Lower Frome and Teme valleys, noted for hop growing and for cider production and covering parishes from Felton southward to Woolhope.

The farming countryside and the families whose work created it form the focus of the book. More than an historical survey, it places landowners, farming families and farm workers, their lifestyles and activities, within their social and economic context. This book is well illustrated with maps and photographs; a list of illustrations would be useful.

Thoroughly researched and logically organised, Part I is an historical survey of changes affecting Herefordshire farming from 1700 to date, recounting the fluctuating fortunes of hops and cider. From the 1980s, increasing acreages have been devoted to soft fruit such as blackcurrants and strawberries; a more recent innovation is the production of vodka from potatoes, which has received international awards. The development of Hereford cattle from draught oxen to beef animals spread the breed far outside its origins. Recent changes in farming policies are covered and the changes threatened by Brexit are considered.

Many readers will find Part II of great interest for its focus on farming families with long-standing links to particular holdings, some for over 200 years. Part III explores the farms themselves with well researched, detailed notes for guidance. Notable examples are Pixley Court, famed for blackcurrants, and Freetown, internationally known for its herd of pedigree Hereford cattle.

Joan Grundy

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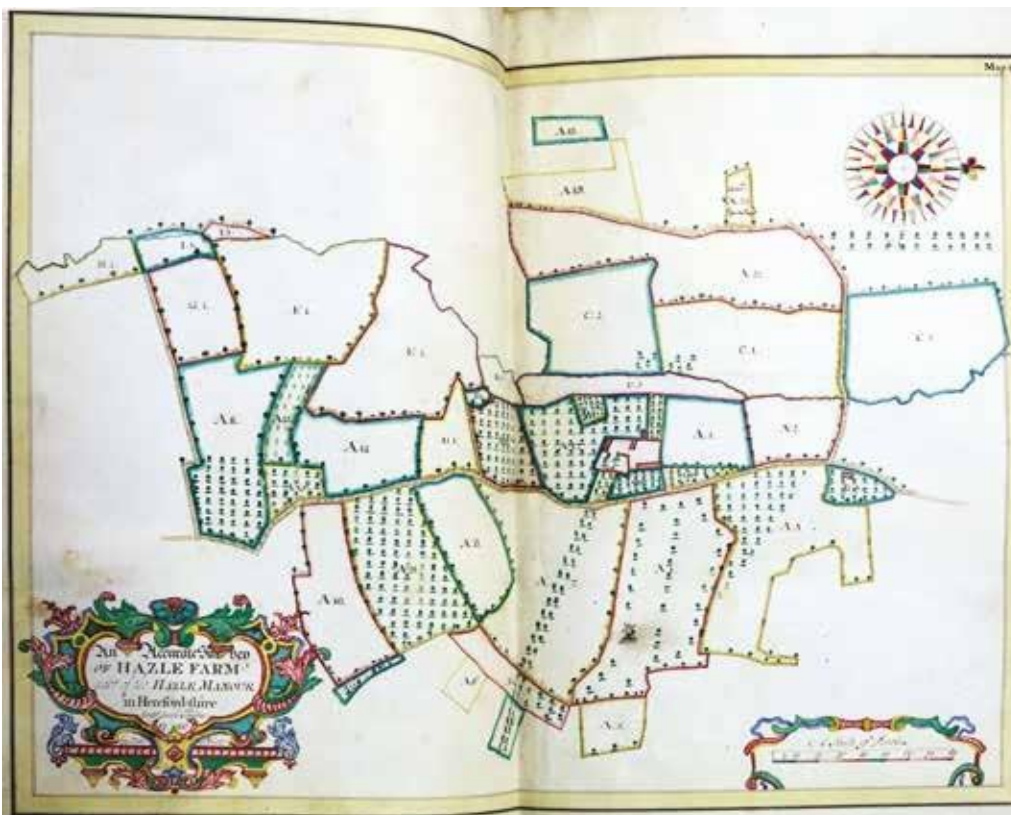


Plate 1.1. Hazle Farm, 1720. The farm covered about half the medieval manor (HAS J95/1).



Plate 2.1. Cross Slab at Aconbury Priory Church, RCHM (1) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.2. Cross Slab at Aconbury Priory Church, RCHM (1) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.3. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (2) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.4. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (2) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.5. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (2) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.6. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (3) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.7. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (4) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.8. Mid- to late-thirteenth-century cross slab, detail, RCHM (4) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.9 Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.10. Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, detail, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.11. Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, detail, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.12. Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, detail, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.13. Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, detail, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.14. Cross slab to Maud de Gournay, detail, RCHM (5) (photo Tim Sutton).



Plate 2.15. Late-fifteenth-century cross slab, RCHM (6) (photo Tim Sutton).

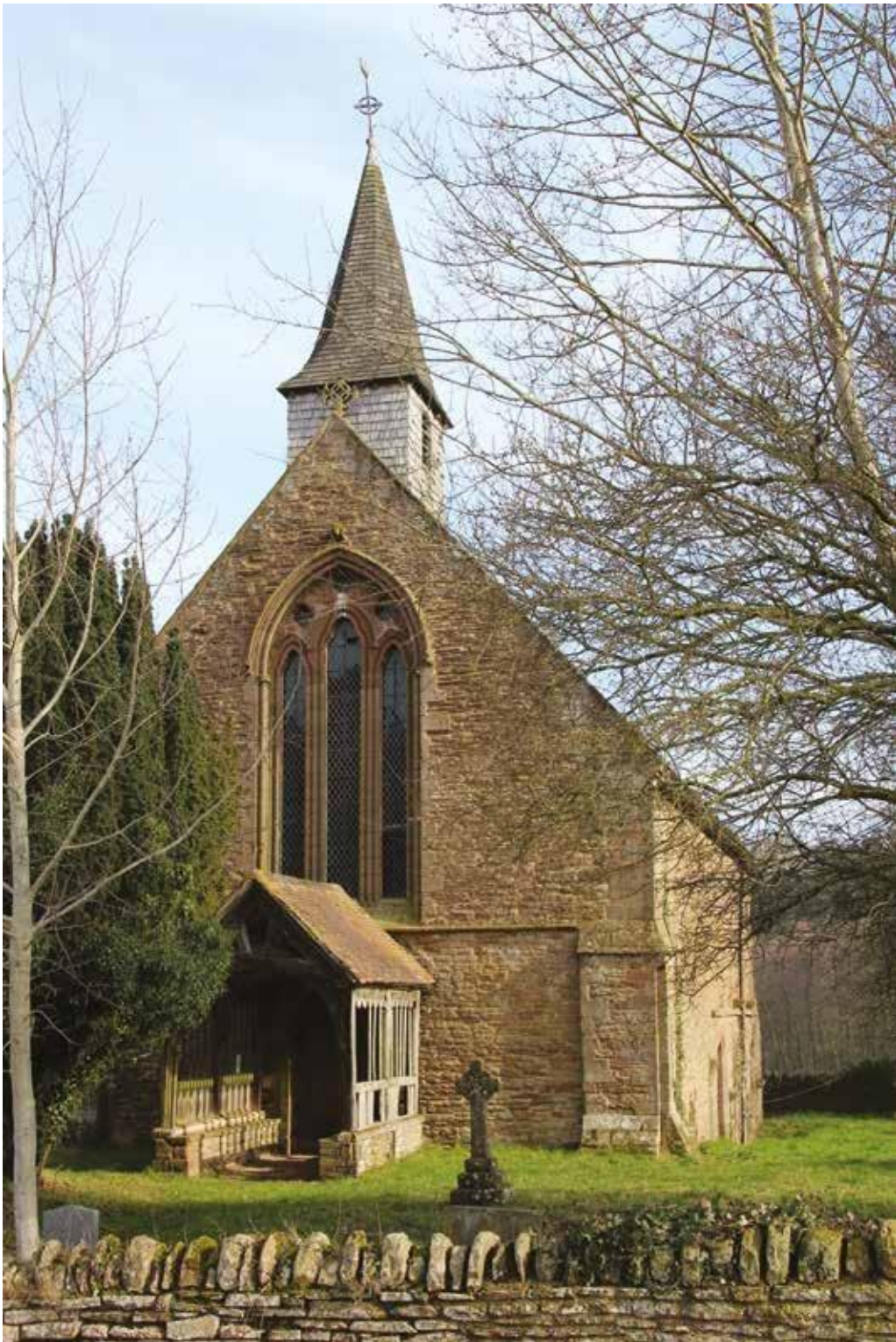


Plate 3.2. Aconbury church from the west showing thirteenth-century window, fifteenth-century porch and G.G. Scott's timber bell turret.



Plate 3.3. Aconbury church from the north-east showing early-fourteenth-century east window.



Plate 3.4. Aconbury, interior, showing two south windows, doorways and piscina. (Photo Peter Chambers).

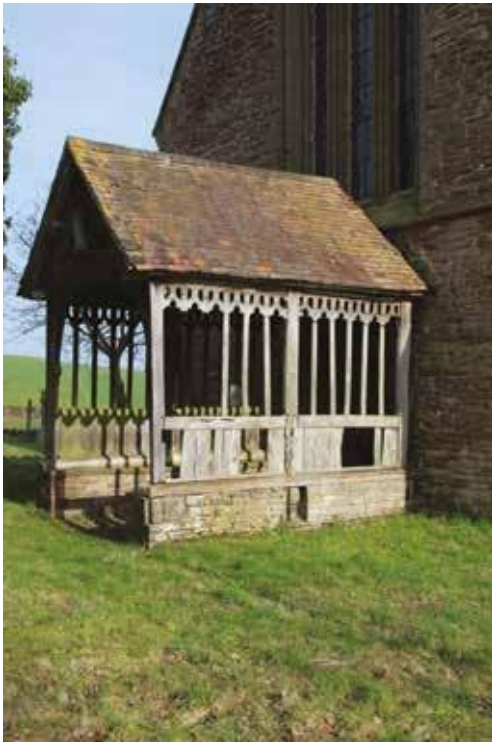


Plate 3.5. Aconbury, fifteenth-century porch showing timber fenestration with ogee-trefoiled heads.



Plate 3.6. Aconbury, one of two angel figures in the porch.



Plate 3.7. Aconbury, south wall, showing the two doorways, the nuns' on the west, the priest's on the east, cloister string course and door jamb.



Plate 4.1. Dr John Matthews aged 29 by John Opie. Courtesy of National Trust.



Plate 4.2. Redstreak apple by Elizabeth Matthews in *Pomona Herefordiensis*, Courtesy of Hereford Cider Museum.



Plate 5.1. The gun-loop at Bronsil, placed to provide cover in the east entrance-tower to the castle (Author, 1986).



Plate 6.1. The centre of High Town, from Curley's survey of 1855. This marks the City and County Bank, the Judge's Lodging, and the National Provincial Bank, all of which are used as landmarks in this analysis. The map hangs in the rear lobby of Hereford Town Hall, and was rescued after it had been found in a very distressed state. (David Lovelace).



Plate 6.2. Although this lithograph is said to have been from 1865, it reflects a slightly earlier situation, as the City and County Bank had closed two years previously. (Derek Foxton Collection).



Plate 7.1. Longtown Castle: burnt plank flooring or walk-way of probable early Roman (1st-century AD) date, placed over (and sunken into) an earlier ditch.



Plate 7.2. Brimfield: Iron Age cast copper alloy terret. PAS record: HESH-4586CB.



Plate 7.3. Orleton: two early Roman brooches. PAS Record: WMID-8A1BCB.



Figure 7.4. Orleton: two early Roman brooches. PAS Record: WMID-899210.



Plate 7.5. Colwall: Anglo-Scandinavian (c.AD900 to 950) sword guard. PAS Record: WAW-5B39CA.



Plate 7.6. Anglo-Saxon clay loom-weights found in the base of a small sub-circular feature with an exceptionally rich charred plant assemblage, from among which a sample of barley was dated to 722 - 945 cal AD. Copyright, Worcestershire Archaeology.

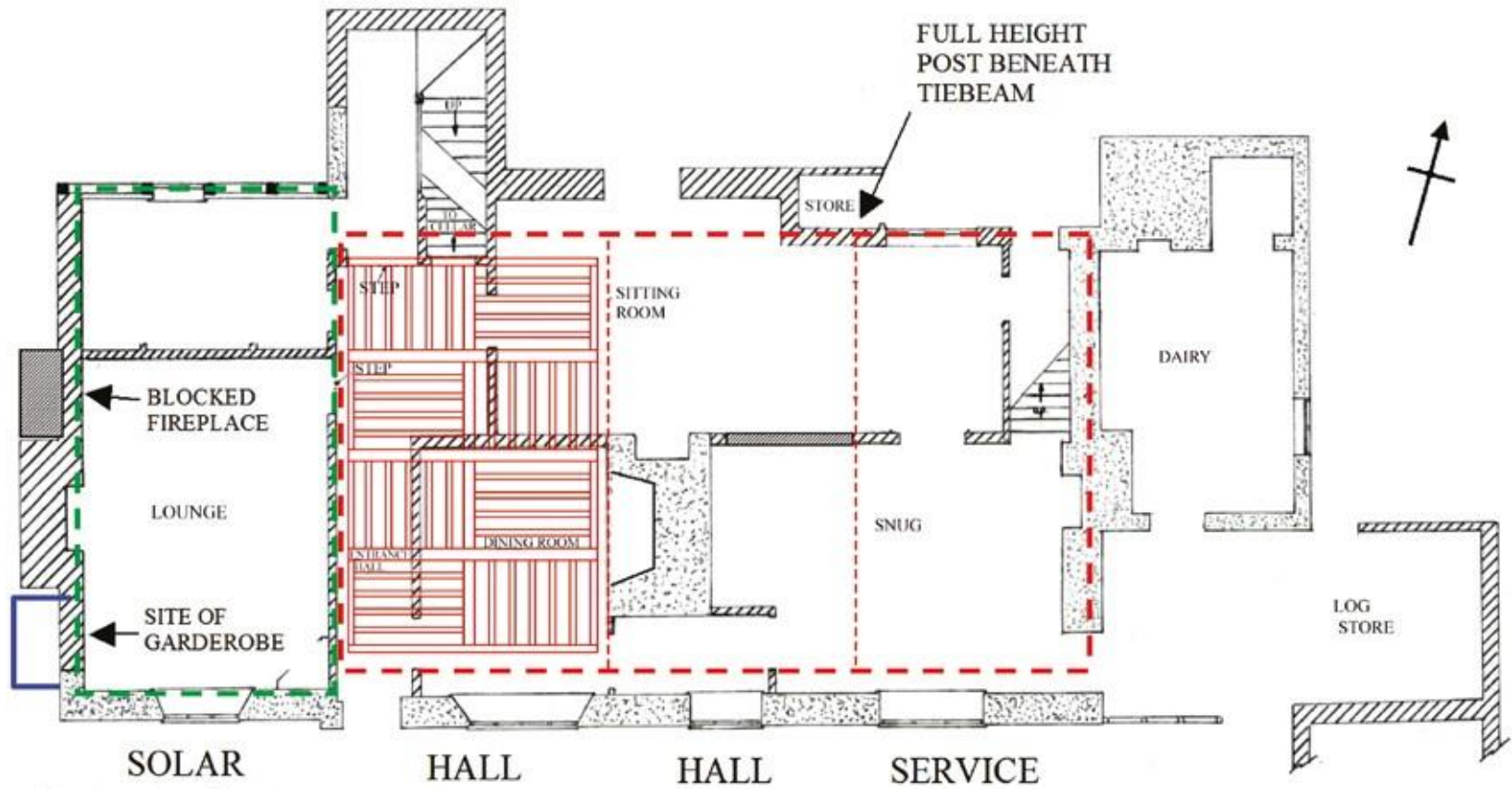


Plate 8.1. Church House Farm, Wellington. A sketch plan showing the likely layout of the hall range and the position of the inserted counterchange ceiling



Plate 8.3. Church House Farm, Wellington. A detail of one of the two winged lion figures that flank a vase-like cornucopia. Note the pot or vase above the head

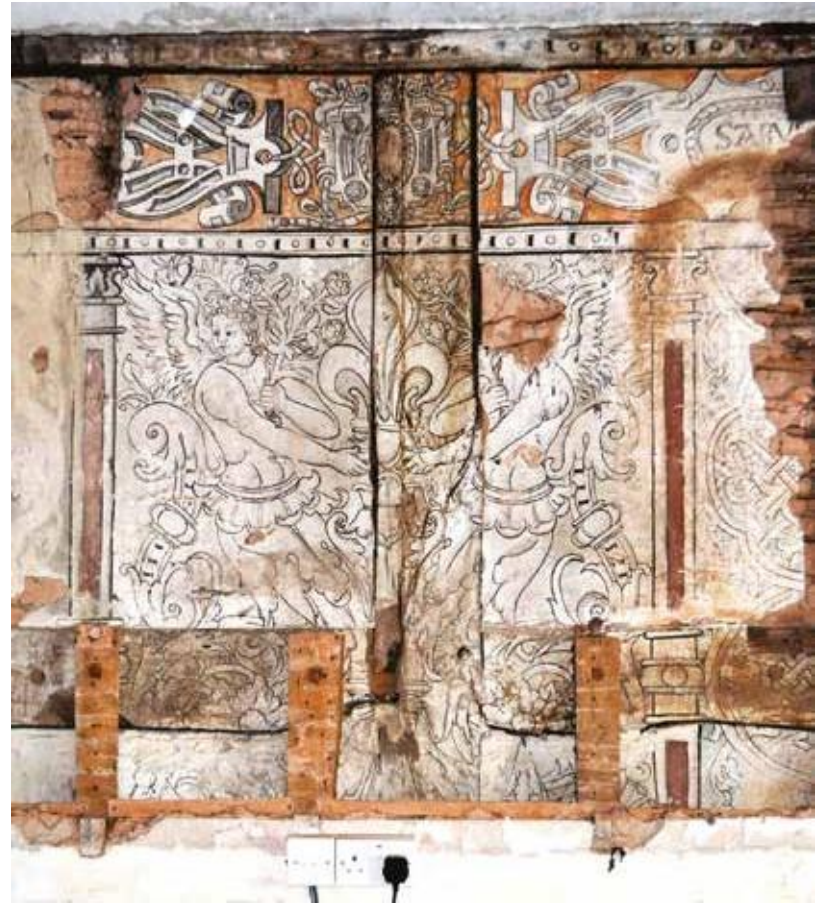


Plate 8.2 Church House Farm, Wellington. A detail of the central panel of the wall painting showing two winged male figures holding a large fleur-de-lis motif



Plate 9.1. Rocks from the Coddington Till

Key to rocks shown in Plate 9.1. The scale is marked in centimetres.

1. Igneous rock, granite, probably source Malvern Hills
2. Medium-grained sandstone,
3. Sandstone, possibly Silurian,
4. Possibly dolomite with calcite spar in a cavity (very hard),
5. Basic igneous rocks, either from Malvern Hills or Shropshire,
6. Siltstone with fossils,
7. Fine-grained sandstone,
8. Limestone with fossils,
9. Possibly a quartzite,
10. Sandstone pebble, rounded and split,
11. Silurian siltstone with bryozoa and brachiopod,
12. Chert possibly Carboniferous,
13. Fossil coral Favosites Silurian,
14. Vein quartz far travelled and rounded,
15. Siltstone,
16. Rounded liver coloured quartz pebble from the Triassic Bunter Pebble Beds which has travelled from the north,
17. This is finer glacial material calcreted, the fragments joined together by lime cement,
18. Fossil coral with patches of calcrete. There were also fragments of coal which are not shown in the photograph.



Plate 9.2. Exposure of steeply dipping Lower Ludlow Siltstones in Evendine Lane after clearance work.



Plate 9.3. Gullet Top Quarry after clearance work.



Plate 9.4. Silurian annelid burrow of a terebellid polychaete worm (*Oikobesalon*, previously *Trachyderma*) and brachiopod fossils (*Microsphaeridiorhynchus nucula*) (photo Will Watson).



Plate 9.5. The head of a trilobite clearly showing the eyes (photo Lucy Cornelius).

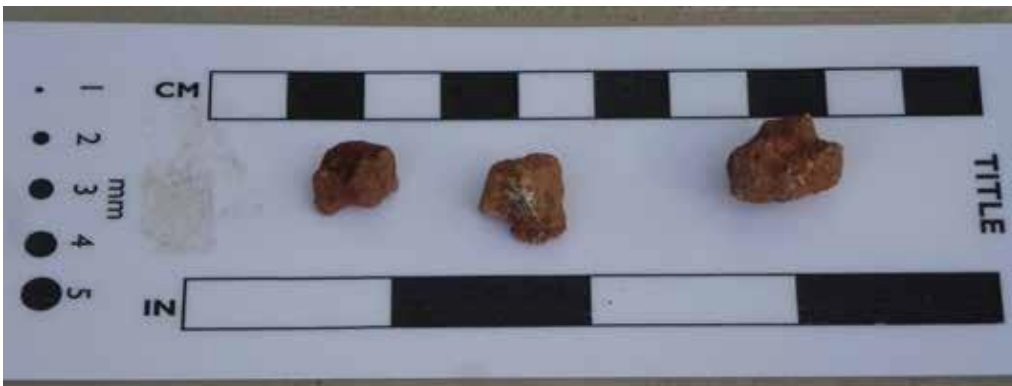


Plate 9.6. The irregular clasts in the temporary exposure on Aylestone Hill.



Plate 9.7. explained in text. Temporary exposure of Raglan Mudstone showing features of a fossil soil.
A - an area of thin horizontal layers of original sedimentation.
B - faint curved slip surfaces infilled with white carbonate.
C - bluish-green reduced zones of animal burrows.



Plate 10.1. *Morchella semilibera*, a spring species with deep pits and ridges (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.2. *Gyromitra esculenta*, a spring species with a very crumpled head (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.3. *Disciotis venosa*, a spring species showing the characteristic vein-like ridges in the centre of the disc. Mature specimens grow flat to the ground (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.4. *Amanita gemmata*, a mycorrhizal species with velar remains on the cap and thin sac-like remains at the base of the stalk (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.5. *Lentinellus cochleatus*, a species with laterally attached, clustered caps. (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.6. *Lentinellus cochleatus* gills, showing the serrated edge (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.7. *Rhodocybe gemmata*, showing the thick-fleshed cap. At maturity the spores colour the gills pink (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.8. *Porphyrellus porphyrosporus*, a uniquely dark bolete (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.9. *Fomes fomentarius*, the first known Herefordshire specimen since the nineteenth century (photo Rob Rowe).



Plate 10.10. *Gloeoporus dichrous* showing the brownish pore layer and white margin. The upper side is white (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.11. *Exidia recisa* on a willow branch. The fruit-bodies are fully charged and ready to drop their spores (photo Ian Fraser).



Plate 10.12. *Battarreia phalloides*, showing the typically shaggy stipe. A new record for Herefordshire (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 10.13. *Clitocybe* sp. An abnormally developed specimen (photo Jo Weightman).



Plate 11.1. Ringed Plover



11.2. Jacksnipe



Plate 11.3. Greenshank



Plate 11.4. Redshank