

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XLIV 1982
PART I

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REPORTS OF SECTIONAL RECORDERS

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LIST OF OFFICERS

1982-83

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C. H. I. HOMES, Mr. R. C. PERRY, Mrs. V. E.
PERRY (to retire 1984); Mr. B. BUTCHER,
Mr. J. G. HILLABY, Mr. R. E. KAY, Mrs. J. E.
O'DONNELL (to retire 1985).

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<i>Botany and Geology</i>	- - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
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<i>Entomology</i>	- - -	Mrs. W. M. PRYCE
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<i>Mammals</i>	- - -	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE
<i>Ornithology</i>	- - -	Mr. C. W. SHELDRAKE

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Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the Woolhope Club *Transactions* should be submitted to the editor whose address is given under LIST OF OFFICERS. *Notes for Contributors* to the *Transactions* will be sent on request.

Proceedings, 1982

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 9 January: Cancelled due to heavy snow.

SECOND MEETING: 6 February: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, senior vice-president, in the chair.

Slides taken by members during the visit to Winchester in August 1981 were shown.

THIRD MEETING: 6 February: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, senior vice-president, in the chair.

Mr. D. A. Whitehead, M.A., gave an illustrated talk on the 'Building of Stoke Edith House, 1670-1707' which has been printed in the *Transactions* for 1980, pp. 181-202.

FOURTH MEETING: 6 March: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, senior vice-president, in the chair.

This was the open meeting as the annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Dr. Gavin Stamp gave an illustrated lecture on 'The Architectural Work of Gilbert Scott and his Son'. He explained that George Gilbert Scott, 1811-78, was born at Gawcott in Buckinghamshire and had been articled to a London architect. He was so influenced by the writings of Pugin that he became well known for his work in the Gothic and High Victorian style. Among his best known works were the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford, the station and hotel at St. Pancras and the Albert Memorial of 1861. His son George, used a different style and restored Moccas Church in 1870. Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, the grandson, designed Liverpool Cathedral and Battersea Power Station.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 27 March: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, senior vice-president in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 798 members.

A report on the year's activities from the president, Mrs. M. M. Voss, who was still indisposed was read. Her presidential address will be given at the Winter Annual Meeting.

Dr. W. H. D. Wince gave an illustrated talk on 'A Naturalist on the Road'. Taking a cross-section of a motorway and a road he described the various habitats to be found at each one. He referred to the changes in habitat brought about by civil engineers, farmers and councils and the effects of tops of hedges being trimmed, fields sprayed and orchards and hedges taken out.

Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian was installed as president for 1982-3.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 24 April: THE PERPENDICULAR STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE

This meeting was led by Mr. H. J. Powell as a follow-up to his talk on 'The Perpendicular Style in Herefordshire'. Visits were made to the churches at Little Dewchurch, Much Marcle, Bosbury and Lugwardine where he pointed out the architectural features of the Perpendicular Style which are referred to in his paper on the subject in the 1981 *Transactions*.

SECOND MEETING: 20 May: COALBROOKDALE

Members travelled via Craven Arms, Much Wenlock and Buildwas to Ironbridge to see the world's first iron bridge built at Coalbrookdale in 1779. After seeing a short slide show on the story of ironmaking in the Severn Warehouse built in the 1840s members visited the Coalbrookdale Museum and furnace site where Abraham Derby in 1709 first smelted iron using coke instead of charcoal as a fuel, the Blists Hill open-air site on which many surviving industrial remains are being restored and the Coalport China Works Museum. The return journey was via Bridgnorth and Ludlow.

THIRD MEETING: 12 June: DYRHAM PARK AND BRADFORD-ON-AVON

Travelling via Monmouth and Tintern the party proceeded to Bradford-on-Avon where walking around members saw the restored weavers' cottages of Middle Rank, the chapel of St. Mary Tory, the Saxon church and the 14th-century tithe barn. After lunch Dryham Park was visited. It was rebuilt by Samuel Hauduroy in 1692-4 for William Blathwayt around an earlier Tudor hall. Dutch influence is seen in the bird paintings by Hondecoeter, the blue and white Delftware and the leather hangings on the walls. French influence is seen in the west front and the rooms behind designed by Hauduroy, a French Huguenot. The last visit of the day was to Lea Church to see the late 12th or 13th-century font.

FOURTH MEETING: 10 July: EVESHAM AND PERSHORE

This meeting was led by Mr. J. G. Hillaby who explained the history of the towns of Evesham and Pershore and their abbeys. At Evesham the remains of the abbey founded c. 700 by Bishop Egwin and the parish churches of All Saints and

St. Lawrence within the abbey precinct were visited. Members saw Abbot Lichfield's tower of c. 1513, his chantry chapel with fan-vaulting of about the same date in All Saints Church and the chantry of St. Clement built c. 1520 in St. Lawrence Church. Clement was Abbot Lichfield's christian name.

At Pershore Abbey founded c. 689 by King Oswald, Dr. Wilson joined the party and also explained the development and history of the town and abbey. None of the monastic buildings remain but of the abbey the nave, crossing and transepts are Norman, the chancel c. 1200-39, the chapels c. 1290 and the late 14th-century rib vaulting is an outstanding feature. Perrott House built c. 1760 with a Venetian doorway and windows, delicate plasterwork and a good staircase was visited.

FIFTH MEETING: 12 August: STOKE EDITH AREA

This meeting was led by Mr. D. A. Whitehead as a follow-up to his talk. The site of Stoke Edith house and park was visited by the permission of Mr. Foley where members saw the site of the house built about 1698 by Speaker Foley which was destroyed by fire in 1927. It was rebuilt but demolished in the 1950s. The remains of the gardens laid out by Nesfield and the park by London and Repton were also seen. The church designed by Henry Flitcroft and built 1740-2 was also visited.

SIXTH MEETING: 11 September: SHROPSHIRE MERES AREA

The party travelled via Oswestry to the canal wharf at Ellesmere where the majority alighted and walked 2½ miles along the tow path alongside the Ellesmere Canal to Colemere. This canal was commenced in 1793 by Jessop and Telford and runs from north of Nantwich, where it links with the Shropshire Union Canal, through Ellesmere to Llangollen. On the walk members saw four bridges and a winding hole, and passed through Ellesmere tunnel, 87 yards long. Returning to Ellesmere they visited the newly-opened Meres Centre depicting the geology, vegetation and birdlife of the eight meres in the area which were formed as a result of glacial action during the Ice Age. Canada geese, wild duck and the black-headed gull were seen on The Mere.

SPECIAL MEETING: 8 May: CRICKLADE

This meeting to North Meadow, Cricklade, was arranged specially to see the snake's head fritillary (*Fritillaria meleagris*) which were in full flower. It is estimated that 85% of the British population of this plant now grows there. The scientific interest of the meadow results from the consistent management for hay-making over the last 800 years and this in turn is due to the association of the meadow with the borough of Cricklade under an unusual form of land tenure. The garden at Barnsley House, the former vicarage, was also visited.

JUNIOR MEETING: 15 May: WOOLHOPE AREA

This meeting was arranged for members' children and members of Watch. Mr. Kendrick gave a short illustrated talk on the Woolhope area before the party left. At Woolhope, the children were divided into four groups, under the guidance of Dr. Brian, Mrs. O'Donnell, Mr. Tonkin and Mr. Wootten, when visits were made to Nupend Reserve, Haugh Wood, the church and the village. During the day all groups interchanged so that each group had some insight into each interest.

LOUGHBOROUGH VISIT: 2-9 September

Thirty-nine members spent a week at Loughborough University of Technology and on the way there visited Packwood House and Tamworth Castle.

Friday was spent in the Rutland area when visits were made to Oakham Castle, Rutland County Museum, Edith Weston Church and Stapleford Park, the home of Lord and Lady Gretton.

At Southwell, the provost of the minster, formerly Canon Irvine of Hereford, conducted members around the minster and its environs. Belvoir Castle, the home of the dukes of Rutland was visited in the afternoon and in the morning monuments to that family were seen in Bottesford Church.

On Sunday morning Mr. David Gibson escorted the party around the university campus and in the afternoon visits were made to Leicester Guildhall, Wygston's House and Newarke Houses Museum.

On Monday Mr. N. Smith showed members around the Foxton Locks; Mr. E. Turner and Mr. Koppe took members to the Moira Furnace which is being restored, and conducted a walk illustrating the landscape change due to the mining of coal. John Wycliff's church at Lutterworth was also visited.

Tuesday was spent visiting Burghley House, home of the elder branch of the Cecil family, Stamford and the village of Hallaton.

The bell foundry of John Taylor and Co. and Loughborough itself were visited on Wednesday morning and in the afternoon members walked in Charnwood Forest and saw Bradgate Park, the ruins of Lady Jane Grey's palace, some climbed up to 'Old John' and finally the party visited the ruins of Ulverscroft Priory.

On the return journey visits were made to Staunton Harold Church, the battlefield of Bosworth and Charlecote Park.

Evening lectures were given by Mr. D. Gibson on the buildings of Loughborough University, and Mr. J. Crocker on the flora and fauna of Charnwood Forest.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 2 October: Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian, president, in the chair

Miss D. S. Hubbard, M.A., assistant county archivist, spoke about the 'Work of a Record Office'. The Herefordshire Record Office opened in 1959 in Widemarsh Street and moved to Harold Street in 1968 where the records are housed in some 25,000 boxes which are kept under controlled conditions of temperature and humidity. She described the different types of records including those from large county estates but regretted the lack of farm records which seemed strange as Herefordshire is a farming county. She showed a selection of records and explained some of the processes used in the restoration of damaged documents.

SECOND MEETING: 23 October: Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian, president, in the chair.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A., gave an illustrated lecture on 'The Origins of the Borough of Leominster'. He explained that Leominster could be the oldest settlement in the county. The first definite reference to it was in 660 when Edfrith, a Celtic missionary from Northumbria, converted Merewald, King of the Magonsaete, who founded and endowed it with estates from the surrounding area, except Kingsland. The monastery was destroyed by the Danes in 980, rebuilt in 1042 and the nunnery was closed in 1049 when its lands were given to Queen Edith. In 1121 the priory was refounded by Henry I under the Cluniac abbey of Reading. In layout both Leominster and Reading showed triangular market-places beyond the Forbury. The Broad Street of Leominster became the second market-place. Leominster was also an important site on the north-south route from Chester to Bristol providing hospitality for travellers. By 1142 it had a charter for its merchants to trade toll free throughout England and Wales and by c. 1170 it had been granted its first fair. A town had thus grown up alongside the priory.

THIRD MEETING: Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian, president, in the chair.

This was the open meeting held in St. Peter's Hall as the annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Dr. Ernest Neal, M.B.E., gave an illustrated lecture on 'Badgers'. He said that the badger was a carnivore and the largest of its group which included the otter, pine marten, stoat, weasel and polecat. It prefers deciduous woodland or a hedgebank and the set is often near elder and between two layers of strata on a slope between the 200-700 ft. contours. The earthworm is its main food and grass, hay and bracken are used for bedding. The cubs are born between January and March and the family remains together for about a year. The average life of a badger is 10-12 years.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 4 December: Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1983 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1981 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 8. Field meeting dates and venues for 1983 were agreed.

Mrs. M. M. Voss, B.A., gave her presidential address which should have been given last March on 'An Architect and his Clients' which is printed on pp. 13-30.

An updated policy now insures the club's library for £13,000 and its property in the Woolhope Room for £1,500.

The following books have been donated to the club's library: -

The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824 given by Mr. R. A. Page.

John Hoskyns, Serjeant-at-Law given by the author Mr. Baird W. Whitlock of Midwestern State University, U.S.A.

Two volumes of Archbishop Baldwin's *Itinerary Through Wales, 1812* given by Mr. Rees Hopkins.

From 6-8 July 1982 an exhibit depicting the history and all aspects of the club's interests was mounted in Hereford Cathedral as part of the All Our Futures Exhibition. Members of the British Naturalists' Association were invited for sherry in the Woolhope Room on 7 July 1982 and during their week's stay club members took part in their programme.

THE GREAT DOWARD INQUIRY: 1 - 2 July 1982

The club was represented by Mr. J. G. Hillaby at the Department of the Environment Inquiry, held at Whitchurch Memorial Hall on 1 and 2 July 1982, into the appeal by Monmouth District Council, Pontypool, Gwent, against refusal of planning permission, by Hereford and Worcester County Council, for refuse disposal facilities on The Great Doward.

Mr. Hillaby indicated that the club has been interested in the flora and fauna of The Doward for many years. In 1881 the club had published B. M. Watkin's 33-page *Florula of the Doward Hills* which listed more than 600 different species and was the result of more than 35 years work on the botany of the district. In 1905 the club had published the Revd. Augustin Ley's *Notes on Plants additional to the Florula of the Doward Hills* which added some 110 further species. It was not, therefore, surprising that the Nature Conservancy had described The Great

Doward in its report *The Wye Valley: An Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty* (1977) as 'extremely diverse' representing 'a very important wild-life habitat, particularly the old quarries and pastures'.

The Introduction to the 1977 Nature Conservancy report states that: 'The responsibility for nature conservation in the A.O.N.B. is not the concern of the Nature Conservancy Council alone: the contribution of wildlife and physical features to the character of the A.O.N.B. is such that all authorities and users have a responsibility to maintain this interest'. And 'To avoid deterioration of the special features of the A.O.N.B., the Conservancy considers that nature conservation needs to be taken into account more fully in the future'.

It is indicative of the remoteness of much local government that the authorities in Pontypool not only appeared wholly ignorant of the report but even suggested in their proof of evidence that 'it is considered that there will be some planning again from this development in that an area of waste and derelict land (*sic*) will be reclaimed for a useful purpose'. This extraordinary statement was made in full knowledge of the total opposition to the proposal not only of the Club and the County Council but also Nature Conservancy, the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust, the Forestry Commission and the Ross-on-Wye Civic Society on the grounds of the ecological importance of the site which is contiguous with one of the Nature Trust's four Reserves on The Doward.

The appeal has been dismissed.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1981

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
1980				1980			
£	£	£	p	£	£	£	p
33	<i>Interest on Investments</i>			41		Insurance ...	41.55
	3½% War Loan ...	32.64		520		Printing and Stationery ...	165.89
	Hereford and Worcester			1,382		Printing and Binding ...	1,493.87
159	County Council Loan ...	128.71		22		Expenses of Meetings ...	30.00
1,634	Bank Deposit Interest ...	1,232.49		238		Postage and Telephones	281.92
			1,393.84	101		Subscriptions & Donations	74.07
1,826	<i>Subscriptions</i>			325		Honoraria ...	325.00
	General ...	2,105.81				Archaeological Research	
2,199	Archaeological Research			42		Group—Expenses ...	25.25
	Group ...	59.15				Natural History Section	
41	Natural History Section ...	46.50		42		Expenses ...	34.58
53			2,211.46		2,713		2,472.13
2,293	<i>Bank Balances 1st January</i>						
187	Current Accounts		202.80			<i>Bank Balances—31st December</i>	
95	Sale of Publications ...					Current Accounts	
	Grants ...					General ...	1,488.90
	Royalties ...		15.44	2,173		Subscription ...	789.66
268	Field Meetings (Net) ...	122.78		475		Natural History Section	16.49
316	Income Tax Refunds ...	252.14		5		Archaeological Research	
	<i>Bank Balances 1st January</i>					Group ...	140.99
	Current Accounts			107		Field Meetings ...	—
2,763	General ...	2,172.61		321		Deposit Accounts	
279	Subscription ...	474.85				Subscription ...	1,124.86
43	Natural History Section	4.57		10,816		Group Deposit ...	12,000.00
	Archaeological Research					G. Marshall Fund ...	577.90
108	Group ...	107.09		533		Natural History Section	171.13
—	Field Meetings ...	321.08		154	14,584		16,309.93
	Deposit Accounts						
8,569	Subscription ...	10,816.41					
464	G. Marshall Fund ...	532.71					
86	Natural History Section	154.28					
12,312			14,583.60				
£17,297			£18,782.06	£17,297			£18,782.06

I have audited the above Receipts and Payments Account and certify it to be in accordance with the Books, Bank Statements and Vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

(Signed) H. S. BERISFORD, F.C.A.,
Honorary Auditor.

19th March, 1982

Obituaries

V. H. COLEMAN

IT was with great regret that members heard of the death of Mr. Coleman in April 1978, after a long illness borne with fortitude. A native of the Abergavenny area and trained as an engineer he spent much of his working life with the Sudan railways. On his retirement he came to live in Eardisley and joined the Club in 1950 becoming a regular attender at the various meetings. In 1961 he was persuaded to take on the post of Assistant-Secretary and to organise the Club's field meetings. He had an excellent knowledge of the County and adjacent areas which enabled him to organise many interesting and varied field meetings. Good organisation by him ensured that these meetings were so successful that one was apt to overlook the hard work and detailed planning undertaken by him to make this possible. He became President of the Club for the year 1963-4 and for his Presidential Address chose the subject of 'The Kington Railway'. This paper entailed much research into the history of the Railway and his training and experience with railways helped with the technical details.

He took over the Secretaryship of the Club in 1966 and he held this until failing health forced him to relinquish the position in April 1973. At the Winter Annual Meeting in December 1973, a presentation was made to him to mark the Club's appreciation of his past services and he was also made an honorary member. In his will he left the sum of £100 to the Club to be used as it thought best.

F.M.K.

F. C. MORGAN, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A. 1878 - 1978

By the death of Frederick Charles Morgan in July 1978, the Woolhope Club lost a valued and faithful member. He was born in Stratford-on-Avon on 29 June 1878 where his father ran a business of printer and bookseller and also a circulating library. Educated at William Shakespeare's old school and with the family business background it is no wonder that he developed his great interest in books and historical matters that lasted all his life.

When the Libraries Acts enabled local authorities to establish lending libraries the library side of his father's business fell off and in 1903 he took up the post of Librarian with the Stratford Public Library. On 1 September 1910 he commenced duties as Librarian and Keeper of the newly-opened Public Library at Malvern, and was accepted as a Fellow of the Library Association.

His task of building up the newly-established library and museum from scratch was not easy as he was operating on a limited budget and had opposition from various persons who did not see the need for such an institution. His career was interrupted when he joined the Royal Garrison Artillery in October 1916, and served both at home and abroad with that Regiment until he was demobilised in March 1919. On his return he continued to enlarge the museum collection working closely with local botanists, geologists and business interests to build up the collection and encourage interest in the establishment by holding public lectures.

On 1 February 1925 he was appointed Librarian and Curator of the Art Gallery and Museum for the City of Hereford. He was elected an honorary member of the Woolhope Club at the first meeting after his official appointment and took on the post of its Librarian.

He was appointed to the Club's Editorial Committee, later becoming its Chairman and in 1946 took over the responsibility as Editor of the *Transactions* until he retired from that Committee in 1960. When George Marshall resigned the Secretaryship of the Club in 1945 Mr. Morgan took over that position and held it for the next 13 years resigning from it in 1958.

He was elected President of the Club on two occasions, firstly in 1937 and then in 1951, the Club's Centenary year. During his second term of office he was instrumental in getting the Club to produce *Herefordshire* as a record of the Club's activities. He gathered together a team of members who were active in various fields of interest and persuaded them to give lectures to the Club, which were edited by him and then printed. It says much for his foresight that this volume has since been reprinted and even today some 30 years later copies are still being sold.

'F.C.' as he was affectionately known had an unsurpassed knowledge of the County and adjacent areas and the treasures to be found therein, as many who had been on field meetings led by him can testify. Though professing his main interests were in the field of archaeology, architecture and local history he had the power of acute observation and had a surprisingly good knowledge of many aspects of natural history.

His published writings, amounting to some 165 items, are to be found in the *Transactions* of the Club, in the Cathedral and in several of the County Churches where he wrote the Guide books for them. The many photographs that accompany his writings are a testimony to his skill with the camera and a pictorial record of many items that have disappeared from the County.

His scholarship and devotion to the field of learning were recognised by many authorities; in 1939 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, in 1952 Birmingham University bestowed on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts and in 1978 he was elected Chief Steward of the City of Hereford and made a Freeman of that City.

He celebrated his 100th birthday on 29 June 1978 but regretfully died only three weeks later. In his will he bequeathed some of his books and the sum of £150 to the Club. His memory is perpetuated in the Club's Annual Morgan Lecture.

F.M.K.

FRANK NOBLE, M.B.E., B.A. 1926 - 1980

Frank Noble was a Yorkshireman from the mining area between Wakefield and Barnsley. He read Geography at Sheffield University and then came to the Welsh Border town of Knighton to teach at the Secondary School. Whilst he was on the staff, he encouraged the youngsters to bring their 'interesting finds' for a museum and in this manner the valuable Bronze Age gold torcs from Cwm Jenkin were discovered. They are now on display in the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff.

This interest in local studies and historical geography led him into applying his scholarship to the survey made by Sir Cyril Fox of Offa's Dyke. Frank spent many years walking and re-assessing Fox's analysis with the help of his adult WEA students who accompanied him on his educational surveys. He devoted his annual leave to this when Tutor Organiser. From this work he formed the idea of the National Long-distance Footpath which was finally opened at Knighton by Lord Hunt in July 1971. His book on the dyke, *Offa's Dyke Path* was the first of many that used his pioneering studies of the new footpath. It was published by Shell in 1969. He went on to explore the many puzzling features of the dyke in a degree thesis, *Offa's Dyke Reviewed* in 1978. The Offa's Dyke Association remains the moving force to promote the use of the footpath and the preservation of the dyke, and this again was due to Frank's vision and inspiration. For this work he was awarded the M.B.E. in 1979.

Hereford, as a historical town, always interested him. He had joined the Woolhope Club in 1954. In 1964 he was President, and during that year he put his great energies into working for the Club. He was concerned that not enough work in local studies was undertaken by the members and this led to the formation of the Archaeological Section with this end in mind. He wrote several papers for the *Transactions* and that on medieval boroughs of West

Herefordshire is much used by other scholars. He also wrote many papers and articles for the Radnorshire Society, the Cambrian Archaeological Association and contributed to guide books on Hereford and Ludlow. In a lighter mood he appeared in the *Anglo-Welsh Review* writing on Radnorshire, and in the *Shropshire Magazine* on Craven Arms. He was also an unforgettable speaker who held his audience's attention with his commanding voice and personality. He spent ten years lecturing on Welsh Border history as part of his work as WEA Tutor Organiser and he was always in demand.

By 1964, while he was President, plans were being discussed for a new ring road and redevelopment of the City. Frank ensured that the views of the Club were heard and a sub-committee was formed to keep a watchful eye on all developments. He energetically opposed any proposals that altered the town plan and pushed for an alignment of the ring road to follow the line of the medieval City walls. From 1965 excavations took place in advance of road building, extending the knowledge and understanding of the historical development and the construction of the walls. It was during a trial excavation on the site of Holloway and Webb's, (now West Street Car Park) that the tail of the gravel rampart was found and the first piece of a strange rouletted pot, identified as Chester Ware, was discovered. Frank was quick to realise the crucial importance of this site and engaged the attention of Professor Philip Rahtz who then conducted an extensive excavation during June 1968. At Frank's insistence the Saxon walling that was found at this time was preserved under a turf bank, and the footpath, now such an attractive feature, ran under the shelter of the walls. Frank's imagination saved Hereford from becoming another blighted city. He pursued his ideas with the City Surveyor with such vigour that he usually managed to win his own way. It is one of life's ironies that the disabling disease of Multiple Sclerosis began to attack him in 1974 when he was working as Senior Counsellor for the Open University and was completing his thesis on Offa's Dyke for his M.Phil. His strength of purpose and Yorkshire grit kept him to the task even when his eyesight was affected. His last visit to Hereford was to attend the 75th Anniversary celebrations of the WEA, held in the Town Hall in 1978. He died at his home in Knighton on 30 December 1980.

J.O'D.

Presidential Address

An Architect and his Clients

By MARJORIE M. VOSS

THE purpose of this paper is to illustrate, by way of extracts from his letters, the working relationship between the architect, Richard Norman Shaw,¹ and his clients, Mrs. Hannah Johnston Foster, and her daughters, of Moor Park, near Ludlow, in the building of All Saints Church at Richards Castle in the years 1889-93.

But first it is of some interest to consider the family concerned, the reason for the church being built and why Shaw was selected as architect.

The Johnston Fosters came originally from the Halifax area of Yorkshire, and it is believed that they were engaged in the manufacture of textiles.

The family had had some experience of church-building before they came to live in Moor Park, near Ludlow, Shropshire. Major Johnston Foster's sister, another Hannah, married Colonel Stansfield of Bingley, and it was at Bingley that Shaw designed Holy Trinity Church, which was built in 1866-8. Holy Trinity, which was demolished in 1974, is still thought today to have been one of Shaw's finest churches. Major Foster had a younger brother, Alfred, who lived near Halifax. He died in 1873 and his wife, Alice, two years later called upon Shaw to rebuild the church at Low Bentham in his memory. Shaw had in his office a young man, William Richard Lethaby,² who was his chief assistant from 1879-89. And when at a later date than the fabric restoration, the interior fittings of Low Bentham Church were added—seats, stalls, pulpit, stone reredos and organ case, Shaw and Lethaby worked closely together. In fact it was Lethaby who was entirely responsible for the font and organ case. It was around this time, too, that Major Johnston Foster and his wife, Hannah, who was a Stansfield by birth, built a church at Lightcliffe, also near Halifax, where in fact they are both buried. The architect for this church was not Shaw, but it was to Shaw that Hannah Johnston Foster turned again when she and her daughters decided to build a memorial church at Richards Castle. Major Johnston Foster died at Cannes of a heart attack in 1880 and three years later their eldest daughter, Katharine Laetitia, also died. This left Hannah and her two daughters Ethel Jane and Gertrude Stansfield alone at Moor Park, although they do not appear to have retired into seclusion. They spent some time in

London each year, for the season, and either owned or rented a house in Brook Street in the West End. They travelled abroad, and, of course, they were on terms with the local families such as the Salweys.

Shaw was by now getting on for sixty. He had had a distinguished career, with many notable buildings and projects to his credit and he was recognised as the foremost English architect of the time. He was responsible for the building of sixteen churches—twelve of which were still in use in 1976, when Andrew Saint wrote his definitive biography of Shaw.³ He was also responsible for a number of restorations. Nevertheless he said of his work on churches: 'I am not a church man. I am a house man and soil pipes are my speciality.'⁴

The fact remains that when Mrs. Foster asked him to design the Richards Castle Church—and one would assume that she chose him both because she wanted the best and because she had known him through his work in Yorkshire—he entered into the task with great enthusiasm, and worked out every detail himself, delegating little or nothing to assistants, as he might well have done with his extensive architectural practice. Apart from a few drafts of her replies, Mrs. Foster's letters to Shaw do not appear to have been preserved, so we do not know what her initial approach to him was. However, there are no less than 118 letters concerning every aspect of the church-building, of Shaw's either to Mrs. Foster or to her daughter.⁵ These letters show how all the way through he guided her away from any wilder ideas she might have had and insisted on what he considered to be the best for the new building. At the same time, during the whole of the four years' correspondence he preserves the formality of ending each letter, 'Believe me to remain yours very faithfully'. Occasionally he inserts 'with kind regards' into this salutation. But it is not until letter 113—practically at the end of their correspondence—that he permits himself to end: 'With very kind regards, I am yours very sincerely'.

The first letter we have from Shaw to Mrs. Foster, written on 8 June 1889, comes from his offices in 29 Bloomsbury Square, London. He says: 'I had a most delightful day yesterday at Richards Castle and Oh! what a lovely country it is. I really think I never saw a more lovely district. The Archdeacon [that was the vicar, Archdeacon Maddison] was most kind and Mr. Salwey devoted himself to the question in a most admirable way. He came to dinner at the Rectory on Thursday evening and spent the whole of the next day with us'.

Shaw then comes on to the vexed question of the existing church. Mrs. Foster had evidently had the intention of pulling down the old church and putting up a new one in its place, and Shaw had to restrain her.

He writes: 'I am afraid that I arrived at the conclusion at once—that to pull down any portion of the old church would be a fatal mistake. We should

raise all about us a storm of indignation, and I fear I must add, rightly so, for we should be destroying a most interesting monument, really for no just reason . . . I am very strongly of opinion that the right thing to do is to leave the church exactly as it is—clearing out the old seats and covering the bare earth that will be exposed with a layer of concrete to keep down the damp . . . and go on using the church for funerals and for funerals only . . . If we pulled down half the church we should have to clear the ground, build up a west wall somewhere with one of the windows re-set . . . and we should have to rebuild the porch, or make a door in, somewhere. All this would cost money—the pulling down and rebuilding and tidying up, to say £300—the old materials are valueless. I doubt if they would fetch £5. Now half this amount, say £150, would go a long way towards putting the roof in fair order and £10 a year, provided it were regularly spent *every* year, would keep the roof in good order for many years to come. When the seats are cleared out the aspect of the church will be very fine indeed—*much* finer than it is at present—as you would see the proportions so much better and nobody would be outraged in any way. I mean their sentiments would not be. Mr. Salwey's grandfather is buried in the nave and has a very beautiful gravestone. If the nave is pulled down he would find himself outside and his memorial stone anywhere'.

Although Mrs. Foster evidently acquiesced at the time, she was not entirely convinced, for three years later, when the new church was advancing rapidly, on 29 July 1892, we find Shaw writing: 'I confess that your proposed programme for the dismantling of the old church—as far as the taking of the roof off (of chancel) and walling the chancel arch up—fills me with dismay. It really is courting opposition and objections—and before you have it half done you will have the county up in arms, protests thick and fast—a deputation from the "Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments" will be down and you will be denounced as most likely the wickedest people to be found! In *all* respects much worse than Mr. Gladstone. All this you will avoid by simply doing *nothing* but allowing things to take their course. Take all the old oak panelling out, if you will, and take away all the deal pews as well—in fact, *clear out* the church. But pray do not take off any part of the roof—wall up any arch—or close or open any new doorways. In the first place to do all these things would cost money. It would cost £10 to take off the chancel roof and another £10 to build up the chancel arch. It would have to be done a little decently—and what is worst of all—it would attract attention just at the time when you did not want attention to be attracted; £10 a year or even less spent regularly on the roof of the old church will keep it in fair order for the next 100 years . . . You will have destroyed *nothing* of interest or value. But once begin to pull things down or alter seriously the fabric (and that deliberately and in cold blood!) and you will rouse the indignation of all antiquarians from the Lands End to

John o' Groats house—people are getting so very tenacious now a days—perhaps in 50 or 60 years it may drop imperceptibly into the ruin stage—bit by bit, and above all things do not make yourselves in any way responsible. I should like to hear Mr. Salwey's views—you may rely on it, they will be sound and judicious'.

Mrs. Foster evidently had still more to say, for ten days later Shaw is writing: 'The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments always acts on its own account. It has no doubt heard a rumour that it was proposed to destroy part of the old church—so it is ready to raise the county'.

Eventually Shaw incorporated into his design for the new church window tracery based on that in the old church. He also used ball-flower ornament, with not altogether happy results.

After various sites had been inspected the triangular plot between the main Leominster-Ludlow road and Rock Lane was selected, with its magnificent prospect to the south. One striking external feature was to be the tower—semi-detached at the south-west angle of the church. A yew tree walk was planned to lead up to its magnificent flight of steps and entrance arch. Unfortunately, this triumphal way into the church has today fallen into disuse.

In August 1889, Shaw writes to Mrs. Foster from Boulogne: 'I have had to come over here partly on business and as I don't want to lose any time I send you herewith an amended plan for the church. I am in hopes that you will like the arrangements generally and more particularly of the vestries. You will see that I have planned one really good room for a choir vestry which would do for choir practice, and would in many ways be useful for parish purposes. This would have, of course an external door and a large and easy stair leading up into the church. The clergy vestry I have put on the south side of the chancel, and with a door close to the stair from the lower vestry—so that when you had a bishop or half a dozen clergy, they would stay in their own vestry till the procession had come up into the church and could then fall into their proper place without trouble or inconvenience of any sort.

'I do not like to send you this plan without saying candidly that I do not like the plan with two aisles as much as that with one aisle. I do not think it would make anything like as picturesque a church—of course it would be very correct, but just a shade uninteresting . . . Then the windows are a difficulty—the aisle windows are necessarily small and low in a church of these dimensions . . . The nave, if it has a clerestory, at once becomes rather ambitious and I am sure you would not like this. If no clerestory then it must be lit entirely by the west window, and so becomes rather darkish about the chancel arch and pulpit, just where you would like it to be light. I name all these things as they are serious disadvantages and it would be a grievous disaster to start on a wrong plan . . . With the one aisle . . . you enter direct into the high part of the

church, with the nave arcade opposite and so at once get an interesting view of the church. You get good large windows on the north wall of nave, which are not merely interesting in themselves, but light the nave beautifully with a nice steady subdued north light'.

Three days later he writes: 'I sent you an amended plan, and a shockingly long letter on Tuesday . . . Since then I have yours of the 20th in which you say that the church is only required to hold 300 including the choir—this makes a considerable difference—so much so, that I think we ought to try to get the congregation into a single nave and not have any aisles at all, and certainly not two. A single nave has many advantages and may be made most impressive . . .'

However, the single aisle plan was eventually adopted.

In this letter Shaw goes on to discuss the arrangements for employing builders. 'Of course', he says, 'if we are to have a competition, we may as well have 5 or 6 builders. You will gain by this—but above all things please see that they are all really good ones—do not let us ask any second rate man—or he will be sure to get it and then not all the architects or clerks of works in Christendom will be able to keep him straight'. He adds as a postscript: 'If we ask a limited number of builders to compete, we are bound to accept the lowest (if we accept any) so—on no account must a man be asked whom you are not prepared to accept'.

Sometime during the next couple of months Shaw must have visited Mrs. Foster at Moor Park to get her assent to the final plans, for in a letter of 22 October he writes: 'Thank you for your kind enquiries—I was none the worse for the wet day and got back to Preen comfortably'. He had evidently been staying at Preen with the Sparrow family for whom he built the magnificent Preen Manor.

In January 1890, Shaw is writing: 'The plans of the church go on gently—and as a matter of fact are about three-quarters done. I have been doing them myself up to this point and unhappily I have so many interruptions that I do not get on as fast as I could desire. We have ample time to get it done and well done before All Saints Day 1891—unless something altogether unforeseen should arise—and I do not expect that for a moment, but one point in your letter causes me anxiety, viz that you have limited yourself to a sum to be expended—of course I never for a moment supposed that it was to be built regardless of cost, but I had rather gathered from the general tenor of your remarks that you wanted it very well done—and I have rather been working accordingly. For instance—I remember saying something about plaster walls for the interior, when you at once said that you would not like that and that the walls inside must be all of stone.

'It is quite true that when I had the pleasure of seeing you first, you asked how much per sitting a church to hold 300 could be built for, and I said £10— but I am afraid we have got quite away from that amount, and if you are still thinking of an outlay of from £3,000 to £4,000 I must at once set to work and simplify the whole design—pray don't misunderstand me. I am only anxious to carry out *your* views—as far as I am concerned I would just as soon build a plain church as an ornamental and costly one . . . I was more going in for having it all very good—nice thick walls everywhere and nothing of the modern skimpy, shabby look so many churches have. I don't care much for ornament but I do like the roughly solid and good work and it is that that costs the money. I fear I am very prosy and tiresome, but I feel strongly that you have left so much to me that I should be in despair were I to mislead you a hairsbreadth . . .'

In his next letter he says: 'I have had a very careful estimate made of the church and find it will cost as at present arranged £5,500 to £5,800, exclusive of the Tower which will cost from £1,500 to £1,800. This of course is for the church with good thick walls—with the stone lining inside, all very well finished including seats of deal and stalls of oak—but not including furniture such as reredos, pulpit or font. Of course heating would be included in this—but not lamps for lighting at night. If this is too much it is quite easily reduced *now*—we must be content with slightly thinner walls—say 2 ft. 3 in. instead of 3 ft.—plastered inside—and mouldings, etc., a little plainer—it would still be a good church and all thoroughly well done—but a cheaper style of work . . .'

A draft of a reply sent by Mrs. Foster to Shaw is extant, and this shows that the lady was not going to be entirely a pushover for everything Shaw suggested. The draft reads: 'The amount of this is certainly more than you had hoped was the case, as my daughters and I had intended to spend £6,000 on the fabric—exclusive of furnishing, painted windows, organ, bells, reredos, etc., and including seats. Of course best work and materials indispensable and the appearance strong, solid and perfect of its kind. We will place ourselves in your hands and will ask your advice and opinion as to where and how some reduction could be made. Your suggestion as to the walls being 2 ft. 3 in. instead of 3 ft. seems a desirable one—except, I suppose, for a few feet above the foundations. We do not wish to entertain plaster inside—but what do you think of this suggestion? The interior of walls of chancel to be chiselled and rubbed smooth—the remainder of the interior of church with exception of round windows, doors and string courses, to be in a less degree worked up. About what diminution of cost would these alterations make? Are there any other diminutions you can suggest which would reduce the building cost without sacrifice of importance?'

To this Shaw replied 'I really was under the impression that you wanted a very perfect church—to a very considerable extent regardless of cost. Of course, I did not suppose you wanted anything preposterous, but still decidedly costly. It is just as easy for me now to work on a more modest programme—and I shall have much pleasure in doing it as there are many ways in which I can economise as I go along'.

And Mrs. Foster's next letter says: 'I am glad that you feel you will be able to work out the plans so as to meet our requirements and yet give us a church such as we shall look upon with pride and pleasure, and our descendants, for many generations after us'.

The building work was put out to tender and the lowest tender accepted—that of Thompson of Peterborough (a builder of whom Shaw thoroughly approved. He said: 'He is first rate and we shall do well with him beyond a doubt'). The contract was for £8,590, but when the final bills came in Thompson charged a number of extras in connection mainly with the building stone, bringing his bill up to £9,606 15s. Additionally, there was the cost of the reredos, heating, fittings, organ case, bell and so on, bringing the total bill to £11,181 18s. 6d. On this—and one has to bear in mind that his work was spread over nearly four years—Shaw's own commission came to £601 14s. 7d. He sent in his bill on 17 April 1893, and he received the money on 19 April. The trouble over the building stone was that originally it was intended to take it all from a quarry on land at Moor Park belonging to Miss Foster, but unfortunately this ran out and two other quarries had to be used, one on the Salwey estate and another on property belonging to a Mr. Weyman. Additionally Grinshill stone from north Shropshire was used throughout the interior. The opening of two extra quarries necessitated delay—and thus the church, which should have been ready by All Saints Day 1891 was not ready for consecration until a year later.

Gradually the work began to take shape, and Mrs. Foster started to make suggestions which were usually tactfully headed off by Shaw. There was the matter of the bases of the shafts. Evidently Mrs. Foster wanted to introduce octagonal shafts—and Shaw did not approve. On 19 October 1890, Shaw writes: 'I am very sorry to find that any portion of the executed work is not to your mind. As far as these shafts and bases are concerned no change of any kind has been made—and I have adhered most closely to the original pattern. This was drawn out amongst the very first things—and I took it to you in Brook Street some three months or more ago. *You* said you liked the form and thought it would look very well. Miss Foster said she did not so much care about it, but her sister *liked* it and we settled to adhere to it. The capitals are drawn full size in the working drawings. They cannot be changed now—I mean the shafts

and bases (even were it desirable to do so) except at great trouble, expense and delay—which latter I am beginning to dread somewhat—as we move slowly and the winter is coming on us’. Mrs. Foster evidently insisted, for Shaw writes again on the 22nd: ‘I am very glad to find that you did not think I had wilfully changed anything that had been decided on—for I should not like to feel that you could think I would do that—my great desire being to get the church in all respects what you, who are the builders, would like, and what you will have a real pleasure in looking at in the future—but . . . I am sure you would not like me to introduce features incongruous to the style—and which people who really understand these matters would afterwards smile at—and point out as little ignorances—or to say the least incongruities. I am not at all a slave to any particular “style” I never have been—but still there must be a certain limit to deviations. Your church all the way through belongs to what is called the “decorated” style, 14th century period. In the old church the mitre window is “decorated”—these square headed windows are emphatically “decorated” and so on. Well, that form of shaft and circular base and capital are very characteristic of this style—and octagonal shafts—bases and caps—are not. They are peculiar to the 15th-century style—a hundred years later in style—you will find them—I think, in the nave arcade of the old church—but that is “perpendicular”, 15th century, the same period as the west window’.

Then he relents a little. ‘As you have strong likes and dislikes with which, as I said before, I should like to fall in—how would the enclosed do? I do not approve of them—but still if you like them better—I shall be quite ready to adopt them. I think the circular forms are in themselves so much more beautiful and they form such a pleasant variety when mixed with the straight hard lines which are more or less necessary. You see them in the finest Greek work, in fact in all the finest work—that is to say a mixture of curves with straight lines. I fear this is all very prosy—but I should like you fully to understand the principles that guide these things—for there *are* principles—that take one a weary long time and years of study to master . . . The East window I had drawn out was geometrical—not curvilinear—but I shall try and modify it a little so as to make it even more geometrical and shall then send you tracings and designs for the others’.

Mrs. Foster evidently approved of his modifications for he next writes: ‘The bases and shafts shall be as you wish—I fear I cannot change my views much! and if you have half an hour to spare when next in London we could go down to Westminster—in which you will find all the finest part (Henry the 3rd part) with circular bases—and the later work “perpendicular” with octagon bases. I don’t think that anyone would for a moment say that the later work is anything like as fine as the earlier’. He goes on to discuss the East window:

I fancy when you say you want the window to be ‘geometric’ you mean a window more of this sort [a little sketch is incorporated in the letter] which is very geometrical—common enough, but to my mind dreadfully dull—it is a repetition of the same forms—over and over again. There are hundreds of them in the world. A very favourite modern type—as it is easy to draw! but I am sure you do not really like it. You see I am drawing all the details for your work myself and so it takes me some time—but I would rather make time and do them myself. I brought the tracing here—hoping to find time to do more to it [He is in Ilkley at the time of writing] but what with idling and letter writing—I have not done much. Will you think over this window and send it me back shortly as I rather want it decided on with a view to the general design of the East end, reredos, etc.’.

He had a little trouble with Miss Foster over the West window, because on 10 November 1890, he writes: ‘I am very glad you approve generally of the East window. I shall try the effects of lowering the centre light a little, but I rather think the tall light gives a certain elegance to the design’. Then he goes on: ‘Touching the tracing of a design for a west window which you enclose—the first trouble that I have with it—is that it is all *out of scale*—to say nothing of its being so very flamboyant. I have been a little puzzled to know where it came from—I don’t think it is English work—but the total want of scale is to me fatal—in order to try and make myself clear I enclose a rough little tracing showing it drawn in proportion to the west front and you can see at a glance how wrong it looks. A perfect acreage of wall—and a miserable little window in the middle . . . I have really tried to draw it—but you will notice that the tracery does not look like tracery, but like fly wire, the perforations are simply nothing. One of the many disasters would be that the church would be so *dark*—remember we depend very much on the west window to light the whole nave . . .’

Next day he writes to Mrs. Foster: ‘I am making the three square headed windows of aisle exactly in accordance with the drawing you have approved—which is in effect the same as the old window in the church, but the mouldings are plainer. Then for the four square headed in chancel. I am using the same design—but with mouldings *exactly* the same as the old window. They are very pretty—but more elaborate than taken in contract—and of course Mr. Thompson at once calls out and says it will involve an extra—about £10 a window—or will you be content with the plainer edition—same as in aisle? I shall be perfectly happy either way—and it is purely for you to say’.

Meantime, a lot of talk has been going on about the foundation stone. Mrs. Foster had said in February 1890: 'We are anxious to have the stone laid at the end of March or beginning of April, as we propose going to town on 15th April for a couple of months'. To which Shaw replied: 'I think it ought to be laid in the centre of the east wall and just above the ground level where it would always show, to have a proper dedication and inscription on it. This I think ought to be easily done in three or four weeks, so as to have all ready for the Bishop for any day in the week beginning March 23 and ending March 29. This would keep quite clear of Holy week which would not be a convenient time'.

But, owing to the quarrying delays, things did not proceed so smoothly, and in July Shaw is writing: 'I enclose . . . a suggestion for the inscription to be put in the Foundation Stone. I propose to make this a long thin stone about 5 ft. long with the inscription to be cut in two lines—quite distinct so that it may be easily read by any one who wants to do so—but not to be obtrusive'. His suggestion for the inscription is: 'To the glory of God and in pious memory of [Katherine Laetitia] Foster this church dedicated to all Saints was built in the year 1891 by her mother and sisters'. A week later Shaw is writing: 'I can see no objection whatever to having the foundation stone inside—and forming part of the jamb at Chancel arch . . . if we can only settle the wording which I must confess is a great puzzle. I cannot say I much like your wording—it is so very long and so much repetition. On the other hand I cannot see my way to improve it. I have tried very hard to express it in all sorts of ways and enclose you the result of my endeavours—but I am not at all satisfied'. This time his effort reads: 'To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Johnston Foster and of Katherine Laetitia his daughter—this church dedicated to All Saints was built in the year 1891 by his wife and daughters and by her mother and sisters'.

In his next two letters Shaw refers to two stones and two inscriptions—for outside and inside the church, which Mrs. Foster has sent. Whether the outside inscribed stone was ever inserted is not revealed in the letters. Of the stone for the chancel arch Shaw says: 'The inside one might be, I think, in Latin—unless you saw some very good reason to the contrary—it would of course please the Bishop to take his advice! and even bishops are not beyond a little flattery! Personally I would prefer "loving" omitted—and perhaps "pious" used instead—it is a very old form of expression—of course this is not an epitaph—it is more of a dedication—but I feel that really the whole of this is a personal matter to yourselves and that you ought to have what *you* like, outsiders ought not to have any great opinion. I think the date ought to be 1890—as we are really building the church this year. I expect it will be no more finished in 1891 than in 1892. I mean you will go on doing things for years . . .'

However, nothing more is heard of the stone for the chancel arch until October 1893, when the time is fast approaching for the consecration service on All Saints Day. The speed with which things got done when it was necessary is evidenced by Shaw's letter to Miss Foster on October 24: 'I enclose you the inscription—I think Mrs. Foster had some idea it was to be in Latin—but I could not put it into Latin, I assure you, and really it is better in English. The question is, where is it to be put? We talked at one time of cutting it on the pier of the chancel arch near where the lectern is . . . I really don't think it matters where it is put—as long as it *is* put. Nor what proportion it is. It may be long and upright or it might with equal propriety be wide and low, entirely depending on where you wish it to be—I should like jamb of Chancel arch if possible but it may not be possible. I have written to Thompson—and have told him to send down a man at once, used to carving inscriptions. When you have selected the position he will draw it all out in pencil and he will soon cut it . . .'

In fact the stone is long and upright and the final wording (in English) is: 'This Church is erected in memory of Johnston J. Foster and his daughter Katherine Laetitia by Hannah Jane Foster and her two daughters Ethel Jane and Gertrude Stansfeld Foster. Consecrated All Saints Day, November 1892'.

Once the shell of the building was finished there were all the details of the inside furnishings and fittings to be considered. And Shaw concerned himself, in conjunction with the mother and daughters, with every smallest detail. Shaw himself designed the pulpit and organ case; he supervised the fine ironwork, as evidenced on the door hinges; he got Robert Christie, the London furnishing expert, to comb London for carpets and hangings; he tried, in vain, to persuade the Fosters to commission Burne-Jones to execute an East window. His outstanding success was in finding C. E. Buckeridge to paint the reredos, and it is perhaps of interest to look at those letters concerning Buckeridge and his work in some detail.

5 March 1891. 'I presume you have received some days ago the box Mr. Buckeridge said he would send—containing a painting and many photos and I hope you have found much that you like. The picture shows what he can do—it is like real old Flemish work and as unlike the modern rubbish you generally see in churches as it well can be—he had not a photo of a very beautiful reredos he did the other day for a church (St. Martins I think) at Scarborough—which he did for Mr. Bodley, whom many of us consider our greatest architect. It was beautiful—but I can see no reason why ours should not be better—I am quite sure that if he did his best—this ought to be one of the finest things that has been done in modern times . . .'

19 March. 'I enclose you Mr. Buckeridge's estimate—just as he has sent it to me. I asked him to let me have two prices. One for the very best work he could do and one—well—for his second best work! I don't like to use such an expression—but it is the truth. There seems to be such a tearing competition now a days—for everything—that it is not a question of how well work can be done—but how cheap. Of course I shall be very pleased to hear that you want your work done as well as we know how to do it and am quite sure that the result would be most splendid—I often wonder if you have realised how very splendid it will be! I daresay it sounds very impertinent of me to say so! but I am so anxious that this should really be a magnificent work and in no way on a par with the common place stuff you see in modern churches . . . this work cannot be hurried—it must all be done thoughtfully and carefully—and six months is not a bit too long to leave to do it in'.

13 May 1891. 'The drawing of the reredos was sent off to you last night. I think I feel rather sure that you will be much pleased with it—though it is quite impossible in the limits of a sketch to shew the elaboration and delicacy that the work itself will have. Thus all the dresses will be diapered with patterns—and with very elaborate borders, etc. It is this richness and delicacy that tells—I know many people think that splodges of paint answer all reasonable requirements, but they don't! they look coarse and scene painty—and that is the effect you do *not* want. Of course we have added a certain amount of work to it. There are the two angels in the centre panel—and two figures instead of one, in the first shutter and two large angels instead of one only in the outside shutters'.

An estimate was obtained from Farmer and Brindley for the reredos frame and on 13 August Shaw writes: 'I hope you will authorise them to have it put in hand at once—as Mr. Buckeridge is most anxious to begin his real painting—and of course he cannot do that till he gets the mahogany panels'.

And now another impending Foster rebellion had to be quelled. In September Shaw writes: 'Mr. Bodley was looking at the reredos—I mean at the sketch—and said "that is a very fine thing—is it going to be done"? Buckeridge said, yes, the centre part only—and that is modified—and changed into the Italian manner. Bodley said "I am sorry for that, as it will entirely destroy the character it promises to have—and will be inharmonious with the building". He put his finger on the angels on the shutters and said they were exceptionally good. He returned to the sketch again and again and expressed great regret that it was proposed to alter it—as he thought it would be an unusually fine thing. All this is the more remarkable coming from him—as he is a very reticent man—not prone to chat—but it interested him, I suppose . . . do please let us revert to the earlier and purer character of painting—not by any

means to the flat bulbous German people—but to the Van Eyck school—with its lovely drapery and delicacy. I know you will never regret it'. And evidently this advice was accepted, for next year, in March 1892 Shaw sent the drawing of the reredos to the Royal Academy exhibition. 'I thought it might do Buckeridge some good', he writes.

In August he is writing: 'Mr. Buckeridge . . . wants some more money very much, so I have given him a certificate for £75—which I have no doubt you will send him . . . Of course, poor little man, he is not rich—has quite enough to do to keep things together, but the great Bodley is good to him—and gives him work'.

Buckeridge went down to the Church in September to work on the triptych but something evidently did not appeal to Miss Foster, for on 21 September Shaw is writing: 'I am very sorry—but really it is quite impossible to do as you wish, as there is no time. I had arranged with Mr. Buckeridge to go on with the cartoons—exactly in accordance with the drawing—but I have now stopped him altogether . . . '.

And the next day: 'That reredos lies very heavy on my heart—don't you think you could make up your mind to let Mr. Buckeridge do it just in accordance with the drawing—and then you will have the great advantage of seeing—certainly, the general effect in colour and in the church—and any little modifications might be made afterwards. It will take him all his time right up till the end of October to do these coloured cartoons—when they are in their place—ninety-five people out of a hundred will think they are the real things'.

And apparently Miss Foster relented, for next day Shaw writes: 'On receipt of your telegram my spirits revived and I have written to Buckeridge this morning . . . and have suggested to him to do the whole thing on paper, background and all, and simply fit them in the frame'.

So, at the consecration of the Church the cartoons were in place, but it was not until the next spring that the work was finished. It was evidently intended that the triptych should remain the property of the Fosters, for on 28 September 1892, just before the consecration, Shaw wrote to Miss Foster: 'Have you decided on the wording of the inscription you are going to put on the reredos? "This triptych is the property of . . . and . . . and is lent by them to the church of All Saints Richards Castle." Would something of this kind do? It ought to be on a brass plate and screwed to the side of the reredos where it would be quite legible, but where it would not show'.

And just one more letter: 11 March 1893: Mr. Buckeridge 'has made a very good design for the outside of shutters—and has fixed the day when his

man is to go down and start this—of the shutters, three are very nearly done and the fourth well on—he brought it to me to see the other day—all the background is done and gilt—and I must say it is splendid—it is a very good and most interesting pattern and the execution is just as good as it can be—very like real old work; and quite as good as the best—candidly—I have never seen such a good piece of work of the kind. Now that he has the whole thing mapped out it would not be wise to upset all his arrangements. He has allowed himself proper time in which to do it well—poor little man—he is very happy over this work—and since you so kindly consented to allow him to do what he desired to do—he is happier still. I am sure it will be really a grand thing and one that will grow on you. Of course you must not expect everyone to like it—it is not everybody's style of art any more than Burne-Jones' is every one's style! and I shall not be astonished if those who scoff most now—may admire most in half a dozen years'.

A further word about Buckeridge. Shaw mentions him, in another letter, as lacking in "bounce", and according to Andrew Saint, Shaw's biographer, in an unpublished account he wrote of Richards Castle Church, Buckeridge was dogged by ill luck. He married young, got into debt, which increased despite his assiduous labour, and finally in 1894 his wife ran away, destroying a large painting in progress on her way. Mrs. Foster helped him, lending him money, after he had written to her in 1896. But her kindness was not followed by any success on Buckeridge's part, and he died soon after.

Shaw makes various references to the beams for the bell in the course of the building work. Then, in May 1892, he says: 'I hope you have been pleased with the bell at Ludlow. I confess I know nothing of bells—I only know I like the deep solemn single bells that we hear abroad—and that I do not like the English tin kettles'.

On 3 June: 'I enclose you letter from the bell founders [Taylors of Loughborough] with estimate. Of course they know all about the bell at Ludlow that we heard—and as you will see they think it light in tone, just as we did, though I—for one—did not know it arose from being a thin bell'.

9 June. 'I really think the best plan would be to have the bell founder down and consult him on the spot—he would be able to give you much better advice when he had seen the place and its surroundings. I do not gather that its size would make it give more sound or noise, only that it would be deeper and better'.

On 14 October—time is getting short—Shaw writes: 'I hear that the bell is down', and next day, 'I hope to hear wonders of the bell', and on the 18th, 'I am delighted to hear that the bell is a success. I was sure it would be'.

Finally comes the bill.

7 November 1892. 'I enclose you Taylor's for the bell. You will remember they first proposed a bell to weigh 50 cwt. but you said you thought a somewhat smaller one would do—so the one they have made is 41 cwt. The charge, £4 8s. per cwt., is in accordance with their original tender. I hear it is a fine bell, which is very satisfactory'.

The total bill for the bell and hanging was £311 11s. 4d.

Apart from the reredos, August, September and October of 1892, were given over to the finishing touches to be ready for the consecration service on November 1. There was the question of the organ.

11 August. 'Dear Mrs. Foster, I have been thinking that the place where the organ is to come will look unsightly at the consecration—and that though we cannot have the organ—that we might have the case—so that the chancel would look finished . . . I wrote to Abbott & Smith a day or two ago—and they write this morning that there would be no difficulty about this—there is a very good man at Leeds named Horsman—who has done work for me before—always excellent, who says he could undertake to have it made and fixed by October 15th'.

17 August. 'The organ case is in hand and is to be up complete by October 22nd. As to the pipes—it is purely a matter of taste. No one can say gilt pipes are wrong. Long ago all organ pipes (at least in England) were always gilt. Then a taste set in for shewing the metal the pipes are really made of, either ordinary metal—or spotted metal—or pure tin. The French are very fond of pure tin—and very splendid they are! However, let us stick to the plain gold. It is sure to look well—and as I said before, it is purely a matter of taste . . .' and a PS to this letter reads: 'I have told Abbott & Smith that the organ pipes are to be gilt and unless I hear from you to the contrary I shall confirm that order'. But on the 20th he writes: 'If you leave the organ pipe question to my small judgment and taste—I am afraid I must say that I much prefer the spotted metal. I say so—in some fear and trepidation—but I really do think so—they have a silvery look that is to me most charming—so unless I hear from you to the contrary I shall tell Abbott and Smith to make them of spotted metal'.

So as usual Shaw got his own way.

The bill for the organ case came to £187. The actual organ, which was the property of Miss Foster, and loaned to the church, was not put in until a year later, for in August 1893, there is mention in a letter from Shaw of a festival at the Church at which a string band would be playing as there was no organ.

A fortnight before the consecration, on 14 October, Shaw is writing: 'I hear the bell is down—and the iron screen and gates—and the organ case. So it will be exciting times at Richards Castle in the next ten days'.

Next day he writes: 'Many thanks for your kind invitation to the luncheon after the consecration—but I am going to ask you to be good enough to excuse me. I don't much like 'functions'—and I should be no sort of good in any way. In fact my room will be *much* more valuable than my company. You will not, I am sure, be able to entertain one quarter of the friends you would like to ask to stay with you and who all consider they have "claims" on you—so you can cheerfully dispense with the presence of a comparative stranger. I hope all will go well—that it may be a great triumph, without a single hitch or drawback'.

On the 24th he writes to Miss Foster: 'I am indeed pleased with your very kind letter—it is an ample reward for any amount of trouble—but of course this is only the beginning of a church!! Some day I hope we may see all the windows filled with stained glass, all the roofs and walls painted. Everything comes to those who can wait. In the meantime, it is a good beginning, all solid, genuine work right through. I really do not believe there is one single square inch of shabby work . . .'

And then, at last—apart from sending in the bills, the connection between the Fosters and Shaw begins to come to an end. But evidently they were very pleased with all he had done for them. Two of Shaw's letters acknowledge theirs to him.

On 6 November. 'Just a few lines to thank you for your very kind letter which I had late last night. It is most kind of you to write as you do—and I am quite sure that it is not merited—for it is a melancholy fact that all our work so far falls short of our ideal—that we generally come to hate it fairly cordially before it is done. I am sure your church is well built—I only wish it was designed half as well as it is built! I need hardly say I thought of you off and on all Tuesday. I had a particularly choky sensation about half past two and have no doubt it was when Sir Edward Ripley was proposing my health. Pray thank Captain Stansfield very much indeed for having so kindly returned thanks'.

And again, next year, when his own fees are paid:

19 April 1893: 'Dear Mrs. Foster, I have to thank you for your very kind letter enclosing cheque for which I send receipt here with. These endings of works always affect me deeply—for one seems to have got to know people well—and after much intercourse the buildings are done and we poor architects go away and are known no more! I know it must always be so, but there is something about it pathetic too. You have always made my visits so pleasant, that the friendly air seems to have obscured the professional. I shall hope to see the church some day and shall have much pleasure in going to see you in London if you will allow me to do so—how nice it would be if I could persuade you to drive up to Hampstead some hot stuffy afternoon and have a cup of tea . . .

Again I thank you sincerely for all your many kindnesses and with very kind regards to your daughters, believe me to remain yours sincerely, Richard Norman Shaw.

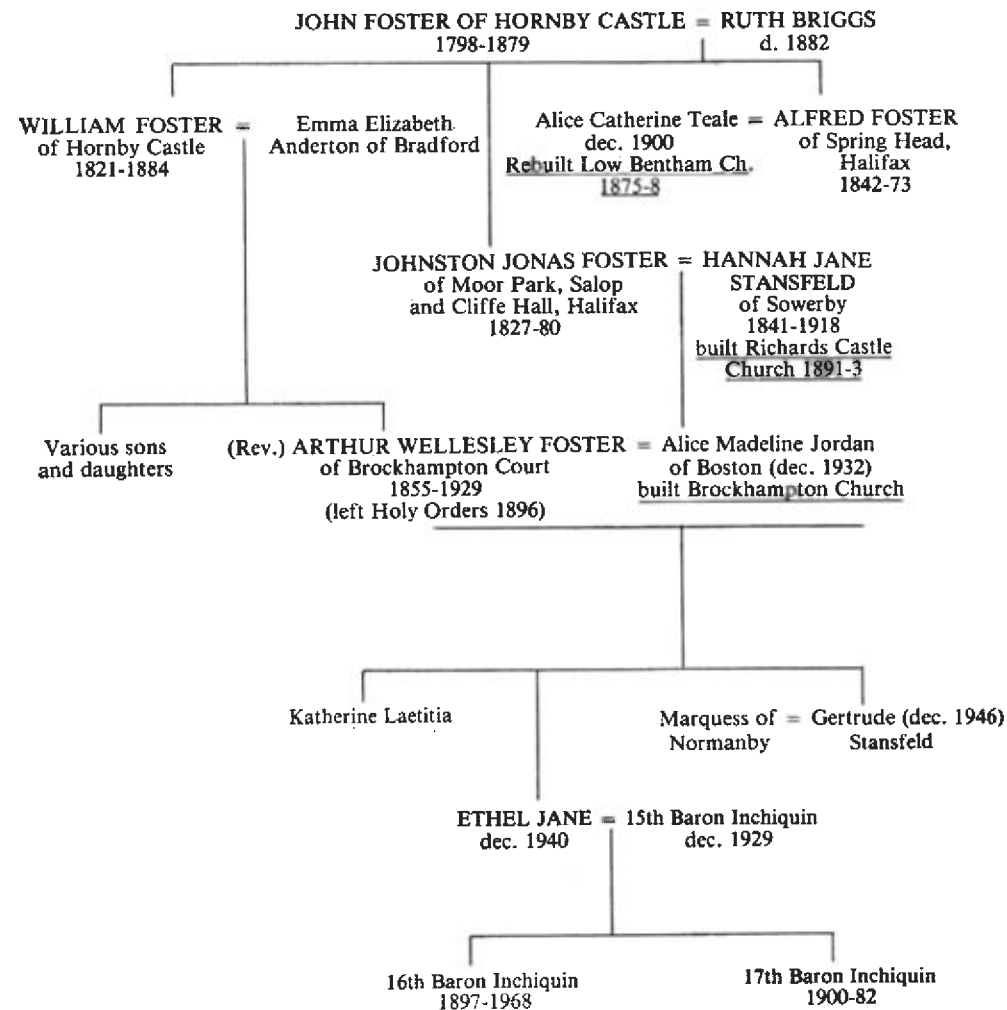
'PS. The cheque you were good enough to send closes all our accounts. No liabilities that I know of except the organ and Mr. Buckeridge'.

A further interesting connection can be found in another corner of the county. Alice Madeline Foster of Brockhampton Court had the church of all Saints at Brockhampton-by-Ross built in 1901-2 in memory of her American parents. Alice Madeline was the wife of the Reverend Arthur Wellesley Foster, a nephew of Johnston Foster in whose memory his widow had built the Richards Castle Church.⁷ And who was the choice of architect for the Brockhampton Church? None other than W. R. Lethaby, who had been Norman Shaw's chief draughtsman at the time when the building of the Richards Castle Church was begun.

In conclusion I have to thank the late Lord Inchiquin for permission to make use of Shaw's letters; Canon Baines of Richards Castle for acting as an intermediary; Mr. Andrew Saint of London for lending me his transcripts of the letters and for supplying additional information; Mrs. Harrel, churchwarden of Richards Castle Church, for kindly allowing photographs to be taken.

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- ¹ Richard Norman Shaw, architect. 1831-1912. Among his works are country houses, including Adcote, Shropshire; Pierrepont, Surrey; Craggside, Northumberland; Bryanston, Dorset; New Scotland Yard, London; houses in Hampstead and Kensington, including Lowther Lodge (now home of Royal Geographical Society); town planning such as Bedford Park Estate, London; sixteen churches.
- ² William Richard Lethaby, architect, author, teacher. 1857-1931. Shared in design of New Scotland Yard (1891). Linked with William Morris and Philip Webb in Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings. One of the organisers and a principal of London County Council's Central School of Arts and Crafts. First Professor of Design at Royal College of Art, South Kensington (1900). Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey (1906-1923). Many publications, including *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* (1906). 'Recognised supreme authority on the care of old buildings'—DNB.
- ³ *Richard Norman Shaw*, by Andrew Saint, (1976).
- ⁴ 'Shaw revolutionised sanitary plumbing. In 1871 the Prince of Wales nearly died of typhoid, which was traced to defective drainage. At that time soil pipes were taken up inside houses, where it was impossible to get at them without pulling the house to pieces, and where they often ventilated themselves inside the houses instead of outside. There was no provision for ventilation, manholes, or intercepting traps, and it says much for the vitality of the race that most people did not die of one fever or another. As a result of his meditations on this state of things, Shaw reached the solution, to keep all soil and waste pipes outside the house, with free inlet and outlet ventilation and intercepting traps to cut off the house drains from the sewer. He, in fact, invented the modern system of sanitation and first applied it in his house at Hampstead. His system was much criticised and even opposed by the authorities at the time, but it was the foundation of our modern sanitary system'. Sir Reginald Blomfield RA, in *Richard Norman Shaw, Architect* (1940), 41-2.
- ⁵ The extracts from the letters quoted in this article are taken from the transcripts in the possession of Mr. Andrew Saint—not from the originals. Shaw's punctuation was erratic (he preferred the dash to the full stop) and some changes have been made in the extracts to clarify the sense.
- ⁶ Shaw lived with his wife and family at 6 Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, London NW.
- ⁷ (Family tree—attached).



Herefordshire Castles

By J. W. TONKIN

THE list which follows was prepared some fifteen years ago for the use of those teaching history in the schools of Herefordshire. It will probably be of interest to club members and the total of 109 castles shows up very well the concentration of defensive sites on the Marches in the early medieval period. It should be noted that all these castles are private property, but a few are open to the public on certain days and often permission to visit can be obtained from the owners.

CASTLES OF STONE OR KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN OF STONE

Ashperton	SO 642415	Moated site near church pre-1292.
Brampton Bryan	SO 370726	Remains of hall c. 1300. Fine 14th-century gatehouse.
Bredwardine	SO 335444	Earthworks only to be seen. Mentioned 1189.
Bredwardine	SO 337440	Excavations in 1969 revealed stone walling possibly of castle.
Bronsil	SO 749372	c. 1460. Moated. Part of one tower standing. Appears to have had four.
Clifford.	SO 243457	Pre-1086 (1067-70?) earth mound. 13th century stone castle with gatehouse and five round towers.
Croft	SO 449655	c. 1478. Much altered, but walls and four corner towers still well preserved.
Downton	SO 427735	Earthworks only to be seen. Small.
Eccleswall	SO 652232	Small motte with remains of moat.
Ewyas Harold	SO 384287	Big motte and bailey. Pre-1086 (c. 1070). Earthworks only to be seen.
Goodrich	SO 577200	Square keep c. 1160-70. Walls, three towers, gatehouse and barbican c. 1300.
Hampton Court	SO 520524	Excellent preserved strong house. Licence 1434.
Hereford	SO 512396	Large motte and bailey probably pre-1066. Largely destroyed. Moated. Some 13th-century stonework remains.
Huntington	SO 249539	Stone keep on motte by 1228. Two baileys.
Kentchurch Court	SO 423259	Late 14th-century tower and gatehouse.

Kilpeck	SO 444305	Polygonal shell keep, motte and two baileys. Mentioned 1124.
Llancillo	SO 367256	Motte with traces of stonework on top.
Longtown	SO 321292	Motte and two baileys. Round tower keep c. 1187-8.
Lyonshall	SO 331563	Circular keep and stone inner bailey. Mentioned in 1209.
Moccas	SO 348426	Small circular keep. Bailey. Earthworks only today. Probably 1294.
Pembridge	SO 488193	Circular keep and adjoining hall early 13th century. Gatehouse and curtain later 13th century.
Penyard		14th century, partially incorporated in 17th-century house, now in ruins.
Richards Castle	SO 483703	1067 or earlier. 11th-century motte with stone keep and stone curtain to bailey.
Snodhill	SO 322404	Shell keep and gatehouse 1196. Stone curtain to bailey 13th century.
Stapleton	SO 323656	Much altered. Ruined 17th-century house on motte. Mentioned 1207.
Treago	SO 490239	c. 1500. Courtyard surrounded by rooms with four corner towers. Probably incorporates some 13th-century walling.
Tre-essey	SO 504220	Strong house. Earthworks only now visible.
Tregate, Llanrothal	SO 480171	Shell keep on motte of motte and bailey.
Tretire	SO 521239	Rectangular earthwork. Masonry gone.
Weobley	SO 403513	c. 1138. Good motte and bailey. Apparently had wall towers. No stonework now visible.
Wigmore	SO 408693	Late 12th-century shell keep on motte. 13th-century tower, 14th-century gatehouse and three wall towers.
Wilton	SO 590245	Mentioned 1188. Considerable remains of quadrilateral court c. 1300 with curtain walls, three wall towers, S.W. tower and 16th-century house.

CASTLES WITH PROBABLY NO STONEWORK

Almeley	SO 332514	Motte and bailey.
Ashton, Eye	SO 514650	Motte.
Aston	SO 462721	Motte and bailey.
Aston	SO 462719	Motte and bailey.

Bacton	SO 371335	Motte and bailey.
Bage, Dorstone	SO 298434	Motte and bailey.
Bowlstone Court Wood, Kentchurch	SO 421270	Motte.
Breinton	SO 472395	Motte.
Buckton	SO 383732	Motte.
Butthouse, King's Pyon	SO 442489	Motte.
Cabal Tump, Staunton-on-Arrow	SO 345485	Motte and bailey.
Camp, Eardisley	SO 287520	Motte.
Camp Wood, Aymestrey	SO 396654	Motte.
Capel Tump, Kings Caple	SO 559288	Motte.
Castle Farm, Madley	SO 406384	Motte.
Castle Frome	SO 670458	Motte and bailey. Mentioned 1205.
Castle Twts, Kington	SO 276556	Motte and bailey.
Chanstone Tumps, Vowchurch	SO 366359	Motte and bailey.
Chapel Tump, Hentland	SO 539243	Probably a motte.
Churchyard, Lingen	SO 372681	Motte and bailey.
Clifford	SO 244433	Motte.
Combe	SO 348635	Motte.
Cothill Tump, Turnastone	SO 339363	Motte.
Cusop	SO 239414	Motte and bailey.
Cwmma Tump, Brilley	SO 276514	Motte.
Didley Court, St. Devereux	SO 451320	Motte and bailey.
Dorstone	SO 312416	Motte and bailey.
Dilwyn	SO 416544	Motte.
Eardisland	SO 421586	Motte and bailey.
Eardisley	SO 311491	Motte and two baileys. Mentioned 1086.
Edwyn Ralph	SO 644575	Motte and bailey.
Hereford Cathedral Close	SO 510397	Site of siege castle, 1140.
Howton, Kenderchurch	SO 415294	Possibly a motte.
Huntington	SO 248516	Probable motte.
Kingsland	SO 445612	Motte and two baileys.
Kington	SO 291569	Motte. Mentioned 1187.
Laysters	SO 568632	Motte.
Lingen	SO 366673	Motte and bailey.
Little Hereford	SO 555679	Motte and bailey.
Lower Ashton Farm	SO 517642	Motte and bailey.

Lower Court, Munsley	SO 662408	Motte and bailey.
Madley	SO 418389	Motte and bailey.
Mansell Lacy	SO 426455	Motte.
Moat, Eardisley	SO 310517	Motte.
Moat Farm, Orcop	SO 473265	Motte and bailey.
Moccas	SO 348425	Motte and bailey.
Monk's Court, Eardisland	SO 419588	Motte.
Monnington Court	SO 382368	Motte.
Mortimer's Castle, Much Marcle	SO 657328	Motte and two baileys.
Mouse Castle, Cusop	SO 247424	Motte and bailey.
Much Dewchurch	SO 485312	Motte and bailey.
Myndd Brith, Dorstone	SO 280415	Motte and bailey.
Nant-y-Bar, Michaelchurch Eskley	SO 279410	Motte and bailey. Small.
Newton Tump, Clifford	SO 293441	Motte and bailey.
Old Castleton, Clifford	SO 283457	Motte and two baileys. Possibly 1067-70.
Old Castle Twt, Almeley	SO 328520	Motte and bailey.
Pedwardine, Lower, Brampton Bryan	SO 367705	Motte.
Pedwardine, Upper, Brampton Bryan	SO 365708	Motte.
Pipe and Lyde	SO 497439	Motte and bailey.
Pont Hendre, Clodock	SO 326281	Motte and bailey. 1187-88?
Rowlstone	SO 375272	Motte.
St. Margaret's	SO 358339	Motte.
St. Weonard's	SO 495242	Motte. Originally a barrow.
Shobdon Church	SO 399628	Motte.
Shobdon Court	SO 401627	Motte.
Staunton-on-Arrow	SO 369600	Motte and bailey.
Thrupton Court	SO 436346	Motte. Possibly a barrow cf. St. Weonard's.
Turret Castle, Hell Wood, Huntington	SO 259534	Motte.
Turret Tump, Huntington	SO 246521	Motte.
Twyn-y-Corras, Kentchurch	SO 418249	Probably a motte.
Urishay, Peterchurch	SO 323376	Motte and bailey.
Wacton	SO 615576	Motte.
Walford	SO 391724	Motte.

Walterstone	SO 339250	Motte and bailey.
Whitney	SO 272465	Site only on sandspit.
Wigmore	SO 410691	Motte and bailey. Probably 1067-70.
Woodville, Kington	SO 291569	Motte and bailey.

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Late Decorated Architecture in Northern Herefordshire

By R. K. MORRIS

TOWARDS the mid-14th century, marked stylistic changes are evident in the architecture of the county, especially in a northern group of churches. Tracery patterns of a fully curvilinear nature had appeared, a familiar feature of late Decorated style in most parts of the country, emanating particularly from Lincolnshire and the Humber area in the 1320s; though here unlikely to antedate the 1340s. Secondly, details of the stonework, such as mullions and bases, indicate a growing familiarity with buildings in the developing Perpendicular style, stemming particularly from Gloucester. This mixing of features related to two different styles is typical of the transitional state of architectural design in the middle decades of the century, and probably reflects a change in court taste at Westminster. The delicate geometrical style of the Kentish masons, which had dominated royal works since the late 13th century, was supplanted in the 1330s by the influence of the Ramsey family from the Fenlands, with the appointment in 1336 of William Ramsey as king's master mason south of the Trent. His known works are distinguished by a combination of Perpendicular (ultimately French) detail and of bolder tracery designs than had previously been fashionable at court, such as the petal (or lobed) pattern, and it is essentially this style and its spread in the west which forms the substance of this article.

RICHARDS CASTLE, LUDLOW, WIGMORE, AND PEMBRIDGE

The building that illustrates these changes most clearly is the delightful church of Richards Castle, three miles south of Ludlow. The south aisle, decorated with ballflower, had already been added to the nave, probably in the 1320s,¹ to be followed by further alterations in the late Decorated period (PL. III). These consisted of a remodelling of the chancel, with its important east window, the finest surviving curvilinear design in this group of churches (PL. IV): a new west window to the nave;² and the addition of a chapel opening off the north of the nave through a double arcade.

Two other churches have work so closely related to Richards Castle that in each case there can be little doubt that the same masons were involved. The most significant is the parish church at Ludlow, which was being extensively remodelled during the 14th century, and where the north transept specifically shares mouldings and tracery patterns with Richards Castle. Even the same mason's mark, an arrowhead, occurs on the distinctively designed bases of the window frames in

the two churches (PL. V). The scale of the remodelling at Ludlow, and the importance of Ludlow as a town, make it the most likely base of operations for the master mason whose designs characterize this local group of churches. The other work, at Wigmore, seven miles south-west of Ludlow, consists of a north chapel, the remains of which indicate that it was very similar to the corresponding chapel at Richards Castle. The Wigmore chapel is now partly demolished, and has lost its tracery.

A fourth work in the style is the small but well executed north porch at Pembridge Church, seven miles south of Wigmore. In the previous article in this series, it was shown that the bulk of the parish church there was rebuilt c. 1325-35, but the porch clearly postdates this work because its plinth mouldings are different, with those of the earlier nave north aisle continuing along the aisle wall inside the porch (see FIG. 3, E, and also vol. XLII, 1977, pl. I). All the detail of the porch points to the remodelling of the transepts at Ludlow—the mouldings to the south transept and the tracery to the north transept.

An analysis of the style that defines this group of churches must commence with its most distinctive feature—window tracery. The east window of Richards Castle (PL. IV) epitomizes its new curvilinear character, with a 'leaf-stem' motif in the centre of the head; and with two curving mouchettes and a cusped mandorla shape arranged in a 'three-petal' pattern over each pair of lights. The latter feature is the leitmotif of the group, employed over three lights in the east and west windows of the Ludlow north transept, and over pairs of lights in the Ludlow north window and in the smaller, lateral windows of Pembridge porch (vol. XLII, 1977, pl. I).³ A characteristic of all these windows is that the arches of the lights are rather rounded, and the shape of the central foil almost describes three-quarters of a circle: contrast the Richards Castle window (PL. IV) with, for example, the windows of the Leominster south aisle, c. 1320 (vol. XLI, 1973, pl. IV).

The characteristic mouldings of the group are listed below: note especially (a), (c), and (d), which prove that both the north chapel and the mouldings of the west window at Richards Castle belong with the chancel work there.

- (a) Mullions of various stepped chamfer designs are employed throughout the remodelling at Richards Castle, and in all the north transept windows at Ludlow (FIG. 1, A-D). The interior profiles of the main and lesser mullions of the east window at Richards Castle are so close to the equivalent mullions in the north window at Ludlow that (allowing for the restoration of the latter) they were probably cut from the same templates originally (FIG. 1, A & B).

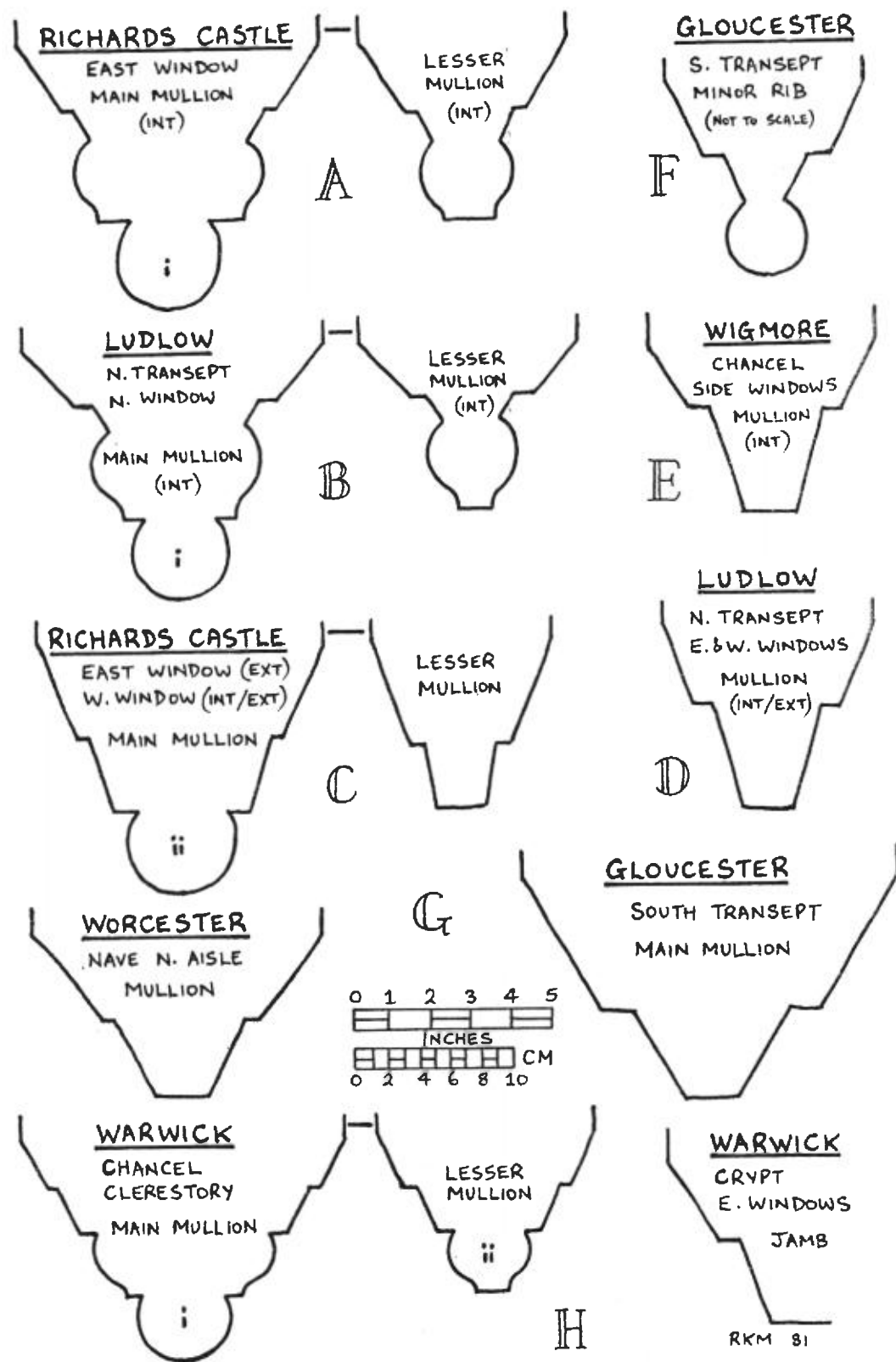


FIG. 1
Stepped Chamfer Mullions

- (b) The frame of the west window at Richards Castle is from the same template as those of the east and west windows of the Ludlow north transept (FIG. 2,A). The boldly shafted form of the exterior frame of the north window in the north chapel at Richards Castle is also related (FIG. 2,B).
- (c) The bases found on the shafts of the main windows at Richards Castle (east, north, and west) and in the north transept at Ludlow are early instances of the typical Perpendicular 'bell' form; in plan, their plinths are based on part of a hexagon, instead of the part-octagon prevalent at this time (FIG. 3,A). The way in which the plinths of the interior frame and of the mullion profile are set at different angles to each other, in the west window at Richards Castle and the north window at Ludlow, is particularly distinctive (PL. V).
- (d) Paired sunk chamfer mouldings are used at Richards Castle for the chancel arch, and for the responds and arches of the double arcade into the north chapel (PL. III); almost exactly the same size formation is repeated for the double arcade of the corresponding chapel at Wigmore (FIG. 5,A). The continuous jamb-to-arch mouldings that form the entrance to the porch at Pembridge are also a smaller version of this design (FIG. 5,B). At Ludlow, the 14th-century half-arches which abut the crossing on a north/south axis all consist of paired sunk chamfer mouldings of various sizes, and those of the half-arch linking the north-east crossing pier to the north transept are the same width as those of the north chapel at Wigmore (FIG. 5,A).
- (e) The capitals of the entrance arcades into the north chapels at Richards Castle and Wigmore are unusual in being entirely polygonal in plan, and crowned with miniature battlements, both features more typical of Perpendicular (FIG. 3,D). Their bases are characterized by their exceptional simplicity (FIG. 3,D).
- (f) The mullions and ribs of the Pembridge porch consist of plain chamfer mouldings, but employing triangular geometry of a kind other than the right-angled isosceles triangle most usually found in Decorated work in the county (e.g. the Madley Mason), with the result that the chamfer slopes away at a more acute angle from the viewer's plane of vision (FIG. 4,A & C, and contrast with vol. XLI, 1974, 182, fig. 1). The design of the mullions is based on a demi-equilateral triangle, of exactly the same size as that used in the mullions of the south transept at Ludlow (FIG. 4,A); and this triangle was also used for the mullions of the large reticulated window in the chapel off the south transept at Ludlow. The rib of the porch vault is set at a more acute angle still (FIG. 4,C), which can be paralleled in the design of some of the stepped chamfer mullions both at Richards Castle and in the north transept at Ludlow (e.g. FIG. 1,C & D).

The foregoing analysis demonstrates the significant role of Ludlow collegiate church in linking together works in parish churches of lesser standing in the north of Herefordshire. The evidence suggests that Ludlow was being remodelled at intervals for much of the 14th century, from the nave north aisle of c. 1320 through to the north transept, which is likely to be the latest 14th-century work surviving. The north transept is the most distinctive work in the style under consideration here, but works in the other three churches are also related in one way or another to the crossing, south transept, and south porch. For example, the taste for paired sunk chamfers and for acutely angled chamfer mouldings almost certainly emanates from this source (FIG. 5, B & C), and both can actually be traced back to the west window of the nave north aisle of around 1320 (vol. XLI, 1973, 58, fig. 5).⁴ Moreover, the ogee reticulated tracery prevalent in the south transept and the Jesse window of the south chapel continues to be used at Richards Castle, in the east and west windows of the north chapel and in the lateral windows of the chancel.⁵ The fact that this tracery is relegated to secondary windows at Richards Castle suggests that it is a later work than the Ludlow south transept and indicates the appearance of new curvilinear designs in the meantime.

For the dating of this series of works, there is singularly little direct evidence. Marshall was of the opinion that the north chapel at Richards Castle could be identified with the chantry of St. John the Baptist, to which a presentation is recorded in 1351, and he used this date as a guide for the remodelling of the chancel there as well.⁶ This attribution must provide our main point of reference, in the absence of any documentation for the other works. The only other specific clues are the stylistic dates for the earlier works at Ludlow (the north aisle) and Pembridge (general remodelling, described in the previous article in this series), which provide a *terminus post quam* of c. 1325-35. We must thus turn to a closer examination of the sources for the various architectural features of this group, and particularly to monuments that are more securely dated.

STYLISTIC SOURCES

Ranged around the Ludlow area in a wide arc are a series of major building centres—Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Coventry, Lichfield, and Chester. These provided almost continuous employment for masons during the 14th century, and we may reasonably suppose that among those attracted to work there were some from this area of the Welsh Marches. On returning home, they took with them drawings or memories of the new features they had encountered there, and grafted them on to the local Decorated style already in existence in the area of Ludlow and northern Herefordshire. Analysis will show that the features relevant to this group cannot all be found in any one of these major centres, but if there is one area with which its most distinctive features can be associated, it would appear to be the midlands around Coventry in the period between the 1340s and the 1380s.

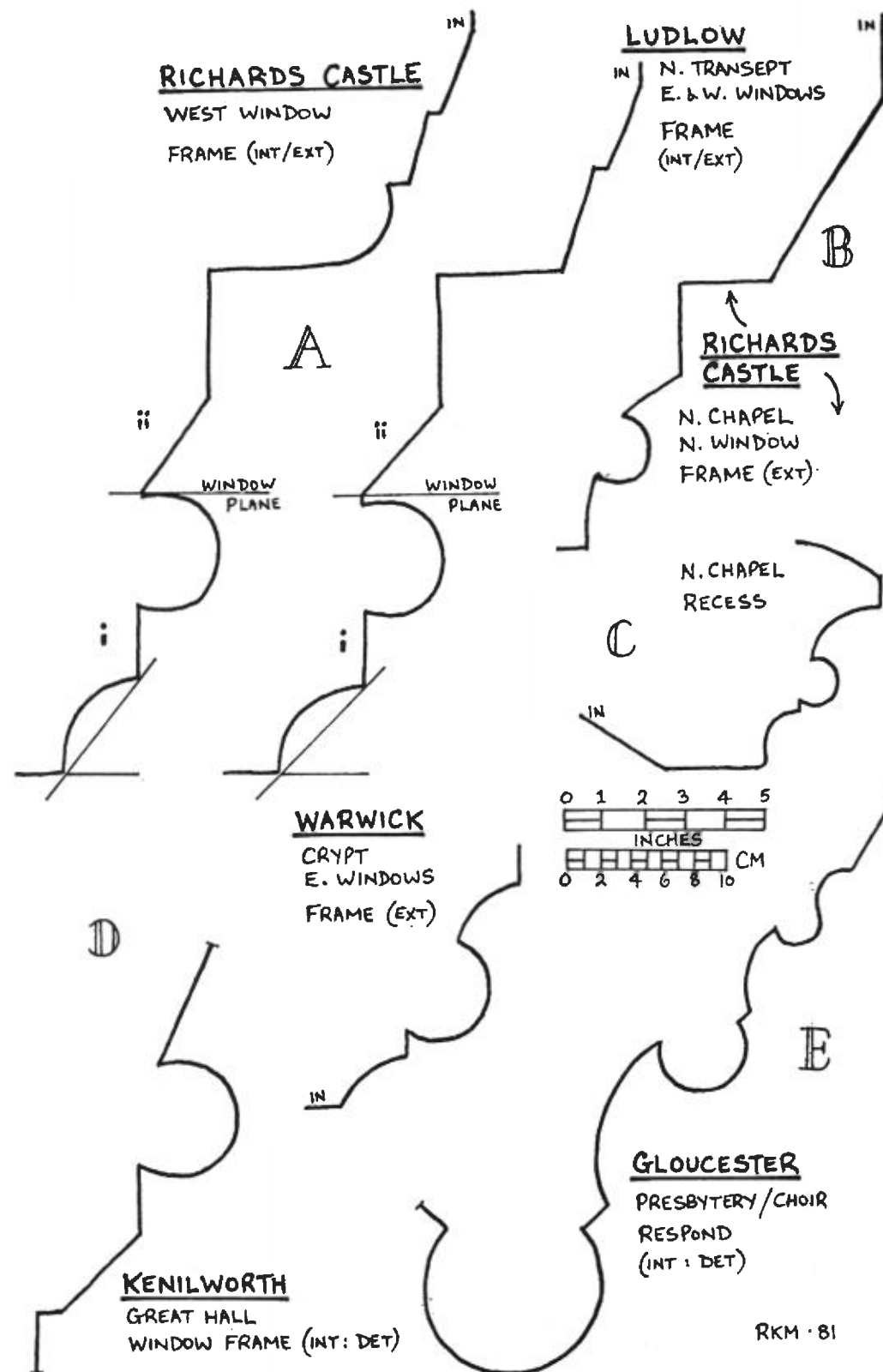


FIG. 2
Shafted Window Frames

The quest for tracery patterns in this style is best started at Lichfield Cathedral, in the clerestory of the east end. The window over the retrochoir on the south side is of four lights, grouped in pairs, and very similar in design to the east window at Richards Castle; above each pair is the three-petal pattern made up of two converging mouchettes and a cusped mandorla. Though this window was completely rebuilt in Scott's restoration, the authenticity of its design is proven by its presence in Britton's engravings of the early 19th century.⁷ Moreover, these show that a five-light window based on the same design survived in the fifth bay from the east until Scott's restoration, and may be taken to be typical of the designs that filled the clerestory windows before the destruction of most of them in the siege of 1643. Their petal pattern is entirely consistent with the works of the Ramsey family of masons in East Anglia, particularly at Norwich Cathedral, and it seems reasonable to associate its appearance at Lichfield with the appointment of William Ramsey, the royal master mason, as consultant architect there in 1337. In fact, this type of tracery was obviously fashionable in London by the mid-century (e.g. the Austin Friars' Church).⁸

The leaf-stem motif is not known to have been used at Lichfield,⁹ but well dated examples survive in the former chancel of the collegiate church at Astley, near Coventry, established in 1343. An important centre in the west midlands that employed it relatively early is Worcester, where it appears in the ruins of the prior's Guesten Hall (probably 1330s), and continued in use in the windows of the nave south aisle (probably 1340s *sqq.*). Petal patterns are also found at Worcester in the 1320s in the nave north aisle and around 1330 in the refectory,¹⁰ but they lack curvilinear detail and are thus not as close as those at Lichfield to the tracery of the Ludlow group. By about 1340, both patterns had also reached the north-west midlands, notably at Chester Cathedral, and they remained a feature of this area for much of the rest of the century.¹¹ At Coventry, the churches of Holy Trinity and St. John the Baptist were still employing petal patterns in the last quarter of the century, and in the chancel of St. Mary's, Warwick, the influence of the leaf-stem design can still be traced in the lateral windows and especially in the blind tracery flanking them.¹² In sum, both these patterns had come to dominate large areas of the midlands from c. 1340 until they were supplanted by purer Perpendicular designs towards the end of the century, so it is no surprise to find their extensive use in the churches around Ludlow.

The mouldings of the group are much more thoroughly Perpendicular. Ultimately, most of them derive from the major proto-Perpendicular works in the area, Gloucester and Worcester, but the closest parallel for the mouldings as a group is to be found in the heart of the midlands in the later decades of the century: in the chancel of St. Mary's, Warwick, and in the related works for John of Gaunt at Kenilworth Castle. In fact, the inescapable conclusion from the evid-

ence now to be presented is that the masons responsible for the Ludlow group of churches were also involved in a lesser capacity in the execution of these two midland works.

For example, the earliest use of the stepped chamfer mullion in the area is in the nave north aisle at Worcester (1317-27), and shortly afterwards it was taken up in the mullions and ribs of the south transept at Gloucester (c. 1329-37). However, FIG. 1,G shows that these mullions are heavier than those at Ludlow, Richards Castle, and Wigmore (cf. FIG. 1,A-E);¹³ only in the lesser rib of the Gloucester transept vault (FIG. 1,F) does the design come close to certain of the Ludlow group mullions, but this profile was never employed at Gloucester and Worcester in this period for mullions. In comparison, the examples of stepped chamfer mullions from St. Mary's, Warwick, in FIG. 1,H, are generally closer in form (compare especially FIG. 1,C ii, and H ii); and the major mullions have single or triple roll-based mouldings at their tips, like the major mullions at Ludlow and Richards Castle (compare FIG. 1,A i, B i, & H i).

Corroboration for the Warwick-Ludlow connexion comes particularly from the types of bell-bases and window frame mouldings employed. Bell-bases had been introduced into the area at Lichfield (probably by William Ramsey) and at Gloucester in the 1330s (FIG. 3,B), and at Worcester a decade later, but only at Gloucester are the plinths hexagonal in plan, as in the Ludlow group.¹⁴ The hexagonal version appears next at St. Mary's, Warwick, and it is there that an exact parallel for the Ludlow type occurs, without a moulding at the neck (in contrast to Gloucester, Lichfield, and Worcester) and with plinths of the same size and plan (compare FIG. 3,A & C). Similar bases are also employed in John of Gaunt's hall and state rooms at Kenilworth Castle, though with the bell mouldings duplicated one above the other, as in the more elaborate examples at Warwick.

The window frame mouldings in the chancel at Richards Castle and the Ludlow north transept are an early Perpendicular type reminiscent of court-oriented works of the second half of the 14th century,¹⁵ but made more distinctive by their asymmetry (FIG. 2,A, & PL. V). The design is centred on a shaft, more pronounced than the typical semi-circular form of the Decorated period, and thus approximating to the Perpendicular 'bowtell' moulding. It is flanked by chamfer-type mouldings set diagonally to the window plane, but on one side the chamfer-type is spaced from it by a broad fillet (FIG. 2,A i), whereas on the other the chamfer directly adjoins it (FIG. 2,A ii). The germ of this idea probably stems from Gloucester, where the profile of the main responds in the east end and transept arms includes this asymmetry, but overall the Gloucester profile is more idiosyncratic, with the fillets raked back diagonally to the window plane (FIG. 2,E). The proto-Perpendicular work at Worcester generally prefers semi-circular hollow mouldings to

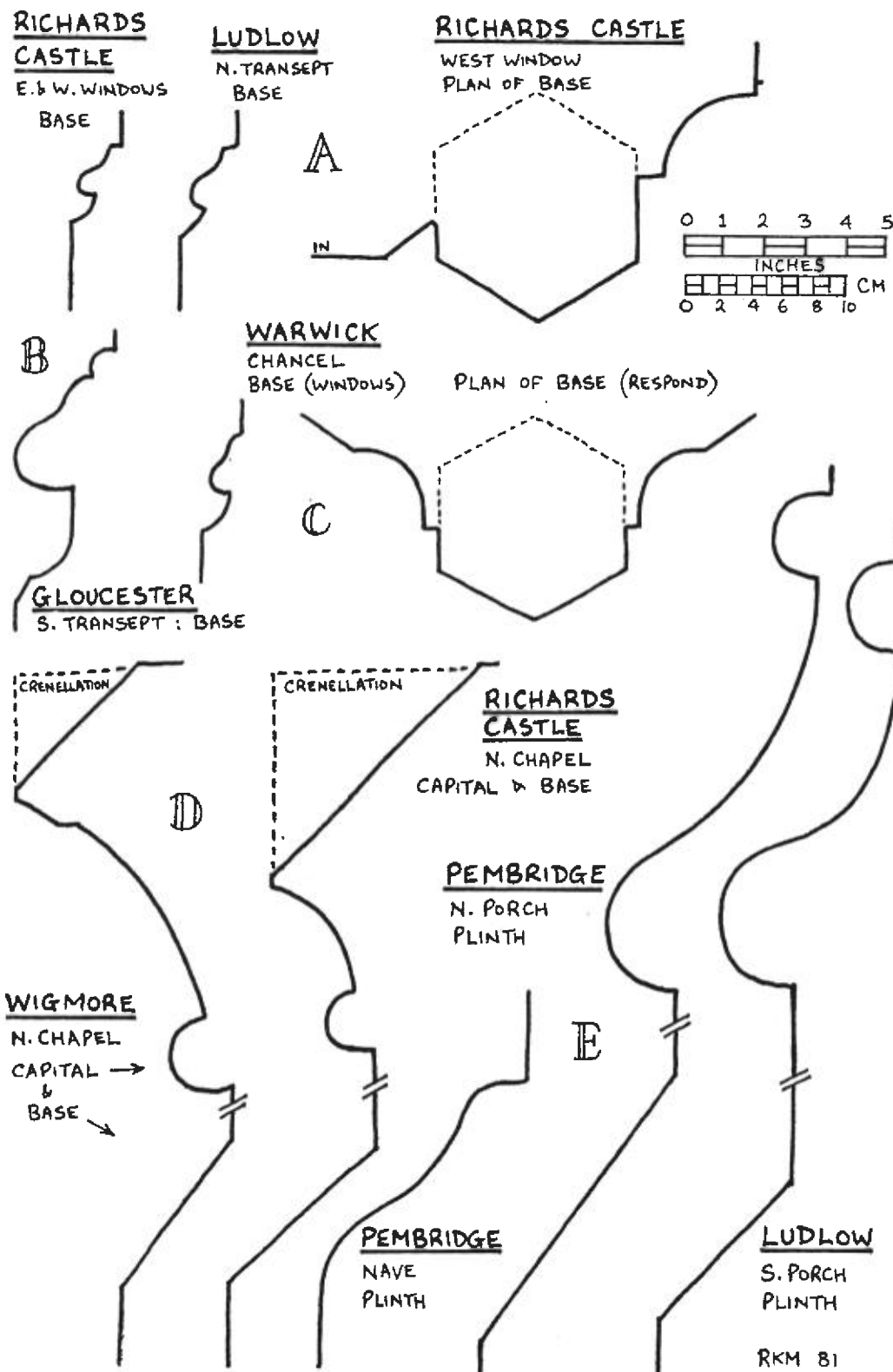


FIG. 3
Bases and Capitals

nollow chamfers, but in one location—the exterior frames of the nave south aisle windows—exactly the same design as at Ludlow and Richards Castle appears to be used. If this work at Worcester can be trusted, for the exterior of the aisle was totally refaced in the 1860s, it should date from the 1340s, and is the most likely source for the Ludlow group.¹⁶ However, the most consistent use of this design is to be found later, in the hall of Kenilworth Castle and at St. Mary's, Warwick, some examples of which are illustrated in FIG. 2,D. The Kenilworth example is very comparable in size, especially the broad fillet between the shaft and the chamfer-type moulding, but the Warwick example is perhaps closer in its overall form. The use of two hollows for the chamfer-type mouldings at Warwick is echoed in the jamb of the tomb recess in the north chapel at Richards Castle, which appears to belong with the work of the group (FIG. 2,C).

Other comparisons between the Ludlow group and these midland monuments are as follows:

- (a) A pair of sunk chamfer mouldings is used for the chancel arch at Warwick, each moulding being 6.0 ins. across, like those of the chancel and north chapel arches at Richards Castle. Slightly larger sunk chamfer mouldings also occur at Kenilworth, in the window and door frames of the state rooms and at the services end of the great hall; they are very close in size to the sunk chamfers at Wigmore and in the north transept at Ludlow (FIG. 5,D). The employment of this moulding after the mid-14th century is unusual, and reinforces the likelihood of a connexion.¹⁷
- (b) A plain chamfer moulding incorporating a demi-equilateral triangle forms the exterior profile of the undercroft windows of the great hall at Kenilworth. Though the usage of this geometry for chamfer mouldings goes back at least to the 1320s in the west midlands area (e.g. Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucester Cathedral, St. Katharine's Chapel at Ledbury), the repetition of the 7.1 ins. dimension of the Kenilworth jamb at Ludlow and at Pembridge lends more precision to this particular comparison (FIG. 4,B). It is also worth noting that the mullions of these window jambs at Ludlow and Pembridge are identical to the lesser mullions of the openwork tracery in the east end and transept at Gloucester, after 1329, suggesting that at some stage (probably in the 1330s or 40s) one of the Ludlow masons had been employed there (FIG. 4,A & D).¹⁸
- (c) The design for the frame of the north chapel east window at Richards Castle is a double ogee moulding, also employed for the frame of the priest's door in the chancel at Wigmore, and for the piscina in the north transept at Ludlow (FIG. 4,E). This moulding is extremely rare in the west midlands in the 14th century. Its first appearance is in the north triforium of Worcester

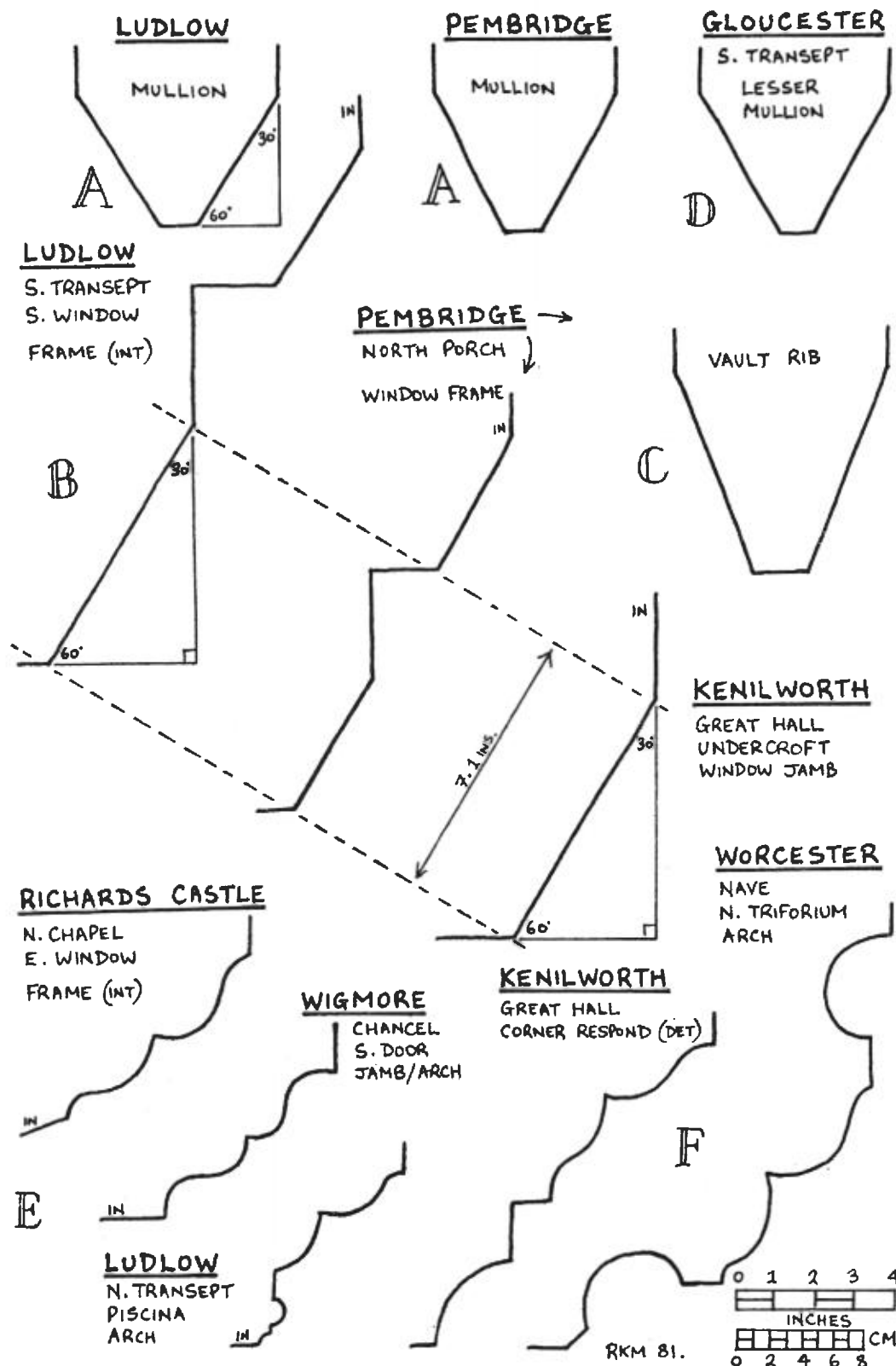


FIG. 4
Chamfer and Double Ogee Mouldings

Cathedral nave in the 1320s or early 1330s, which may well be the source for the Ludlow group (FIG. 4,F); and the only other recorded instance in an important building is, later, at Kenilworth, where it serves as a sort of respond in the corners of the great hall (FIG. 4,F).

- (d) The use of miniature battlements to decorate capitals at Richards Castle and Wigmore appears to be unique in the midlands, but its application to image brackets is found in the chancel at Warwick in the east wall by the high altar. A rare use at an earlier date is the unusual image bracket in the south transept at Gloucester, apparently commemorating a fatality during building operations there, finished by 1337. The battlemented springers for the transept vaults at Lichfield would also be very relevant here, if they could be regarded as a continuation of the 1330s' work in the choir, and thus dateable roughly to the middle decades of the 14th century (rather than the usual attribution to the 15th).
- (e) The vault in Pembroke porch is a common tierceron star pattern, but made more distinctive by its bosses decorated with recessed cusping (PL. VI). The complex choir vault at Gloucester (designed between 1337 and 1351) includes quatrefoils recessed in roundels at some of the lesser intersections, and the motif is extended to fill the central spandrels of the cloister fan vault (perhaps before 1377)—both instances supplying possible precedents for the treatment of the central intersection of the Pembroke vault. The closest overall parallel, however, is provided by the vault type used in the chancel and vestries at Warwick: star patterns, with a recessed cusped intersection at the centre of each bay, and with the cells built up of long 'lintels' of stone laid one above the other between the ribs.¹⁹ In the miniature vault of the Easter Sepulchre in Warwick chancel, the play made with cusped motifs such as mouchettes is as likely a parallel for the curious cusped springers of the Pembroke vault as are the panelled springers of the Gloucester cloister fan vault.

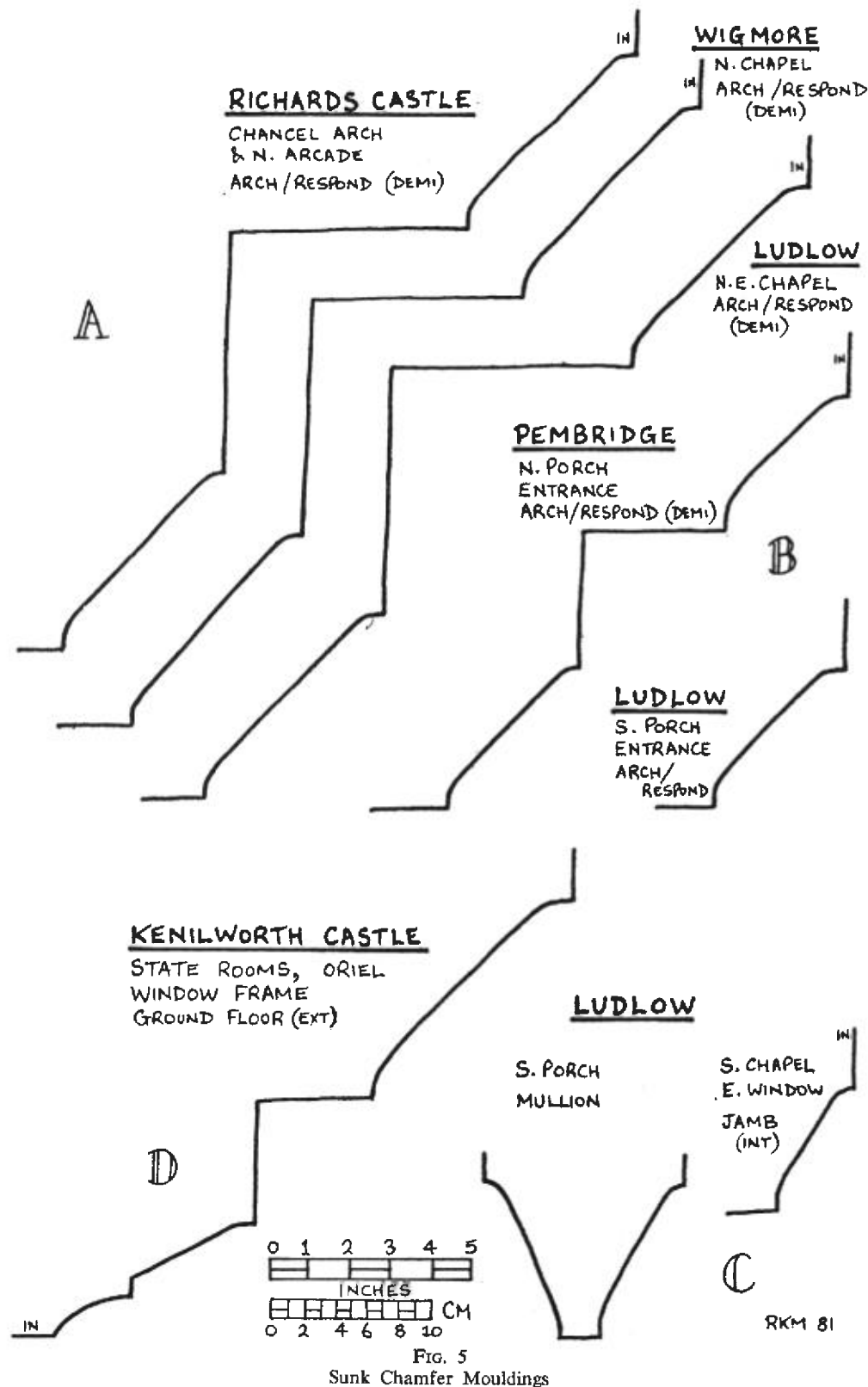
This analysis proves how unlikely it is that any of the works in this group were executed before the 1340s at the earliest. Stylistically, it is possible that the north chapels at Richards Castle and Wigmore belong to this decade, though their use of battlemented capitals is a little suspect at so early a date. The appearance of bell-bases in the major works of the group, the chancel at Richards Castle and the Ludlow north transept, implies a date after c. 1350 at parish church level, for this Perpendicular motif had been introduced to the great churches of the area only in the 1330s and 40s. Moreover, there are some features that must belong to a still later date, an obvious case being the vault at Pembroke. The window frame mouldings of Richards Castle chancel and Ludlow north transept (FIG. 2,A) might also be included here, for this design does not appear until the 1340s at the earliest, at Worcester, and the first precisely dated example in the midlands is in

the ground floor stage of the tower of St. Michael's, Coventry, begun 1373. The chronology of the relevant midland monuments must now be considered further, for the dating of the main works of the Ludlow group hinges ultimately on whether they should be regarded as prototypes or derivatives of the style employed in the midlands in the second half of the 14th century.

THE CHRONOLOGY RELATIVE TO THE MIDLAND BUILDINGS

Considering the importance of their patrons, the works at Warwick and Kenilworth are not as closely dated as one would wish. The firmest point of departure is Kenilworth, where John of Gaunt's great hall and state rooms fit well stylistically into a documented period of intensive building, c. 1390-3. However, we remain in the dark about some apparently extensive works being carried out there for the same patron in the 1370s, which possibly mark the start of this residential remodelling.²⁰ For Warwick, we learn from Dugdale that the rebuilding of the chancel was not commenced at the earliest until shortly before the death of Thomas Beauchamp I in 1369, and then nothing more until the fact that it was certainly complete by 1394.²¹ If there was time to achieve anything substantial by 1369, it could only have been the remodelling of the crypt, but even this is not certain. On points of style, the chancel and vestries must precede the works at Kenilworth Castle, corroborated by the fact that the chapter house, which is so similar in style to the castle great hall that it must be contemporary with it, is a later addition to the vestries. Between c. 1370 and 1394, it has not been established exactly when the bulk of work on the chancel and vestries was executed, but most authorities opt for the 1380s.²² However, for various reasons, the 1370s are as likely, not least the fact that one must allow time for the whole church to be rebuilt by 1394, as Dugdale implies; and also that the designer of the chancel was a master mason with a fresh and intimate knowledge of the east end of Gloucester, completed at the latest in the 1360s. So the proposed earlier chronology for the chancel will be followed here.

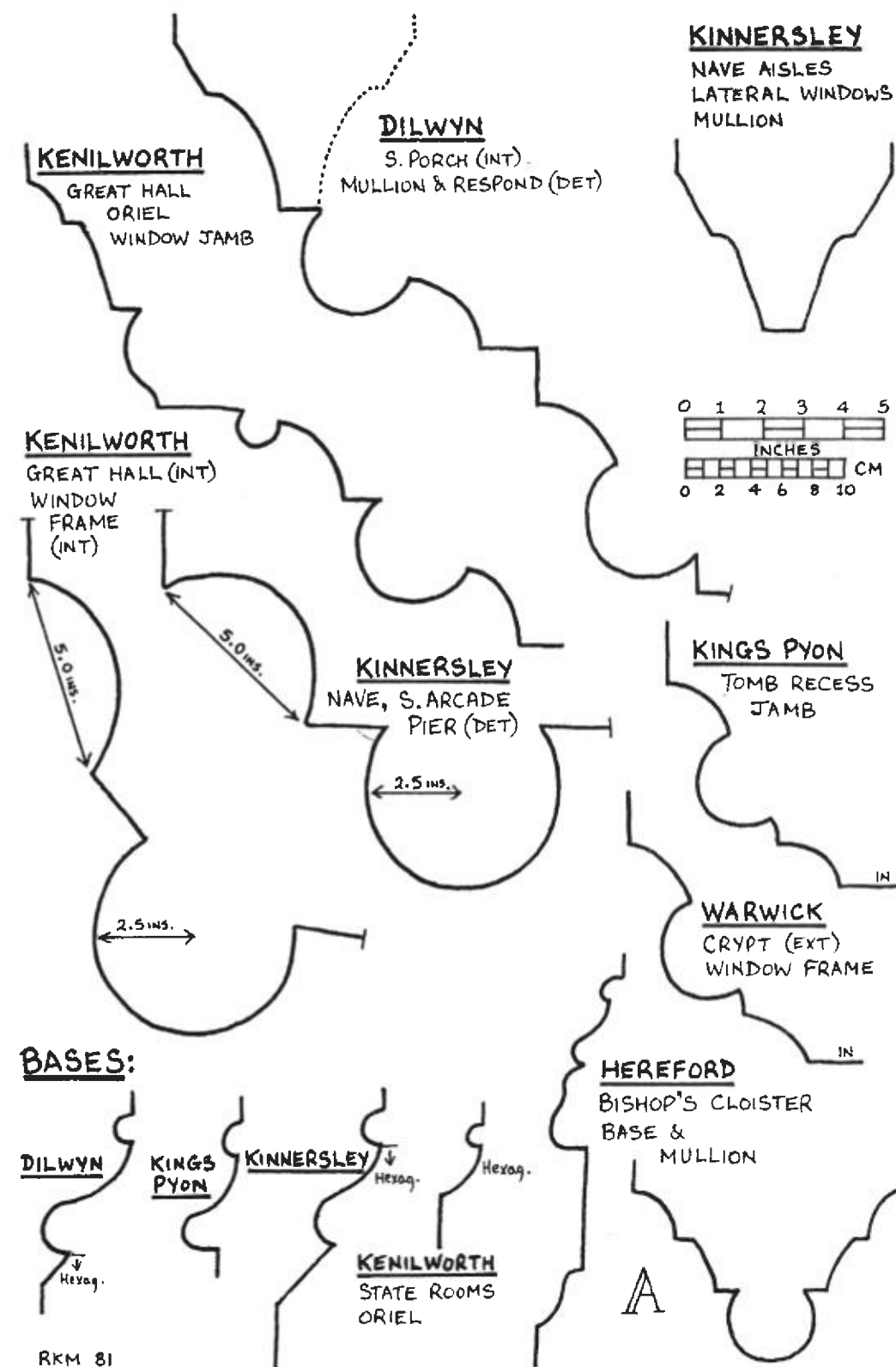
The present state of the evidence inclines one to think that most of the works of the Ludlow group should antedate the work in the midlands. Stylistically, the use of flowing tracery at Ludlow and Richards Castle tempts one to this conclusion, but one must remember that this is not an infallible criterion in this period of transition. More significant is the employment of the sunk chamfer at Warwick and Kenilworth, for these constitute the earliest recorded examples of the moulding in this area of the midlands, whereas it is a constantly recurring feature in Herefordshire churches since the 1320s. The inescapable conclusion is that masons from north Herefordshire introduced this feature to the midlands when they arrived to work there, and the corollary should be that several other details at Warwick and Kenilworth, such as the small hexagonal bell-base, are part of the pre-existing repertoire of these masons.



Further evidence that tends to confirm this sequence of events comes from another group of works in north-west Herefordshire—the porch at Dilwyn, the nave south arcade at Kinnersley, and a tomb recess in the south transept at King's Pyon. They have in common with the Ludlow group a preference for hexagonal bell-bases, for stepped chamfer forms of mullions, and for an early Perpendicular type of shafted frame moulding (the last similar to the main window frames at Ludlow and Richards Castle, FIG. 2,A). These details are illustrated in FIG. 6, together with comparative mouldings from Warwick and especially from Kenilworth. Two things in particular stand out about this group in relation to the Ludlow group. Firstly, it is more consistently Perpendicular in style: gone are such reminiscences of the Decorated period as the sunk chamfer.²³ Its ties are with the more Perpendicular detail at Warwick and Kenilworth, as for example in the spandrels of the King's Pyon tomb recess, the decoration of which recalls the interior window frames of the chapter house at Warwick and of the hall at Kenilworth. Secondly, its works seem to belong to the end of the 14th century. The style of armour of the military effigy in the recess at King's Pyon indicates this sort of date; and there is a certain resemblance between the profiles of the mullions and bases of the group and the same features in the east walk of the bishop's cloister at Hereford Cathedral, where work was in progress in 1412 (FIG. 6,A).²⁴ A reasonable interpretation of this group is that it is another reflection of the style of the midland monuments back in Herefordshire, but in this case it can be proven to be late, probably around 1390, and therefore almost certainly derivative. Set in this context, the style of the Ludlow group is earlier, and most of its works should antedate Warwick and Kenilworth.

In conclusion, the period from the 1340s to c. 1370 fits the output of the Ludlow workshop best. The first works, still predominantly Decorated in detail and preserving features from slightly earlier churches in the area, such as Pembridge, should be the south transept and adjoining south chapel at Ludlow, probably of the 1340s. Around the middle of the century, important new influences arrived, to be grafted on to the local style—curvilinear tracery brought in by masons familiar with the styles of Lichfield and Worcester, to be followed by Perpendicular detail known to a mason (or masons) who had worked at Gloucester and Worcester. The full combination of these features is to be seen in the north transept at Ludlow and the chancel at Richards Castle, both likely to belong to the 1350s or early 60s, with the probability that Ludlow, as the more important church and already under reconstruction, is the earlier of the two.

The question as to whether the north chapel at Richards Castle was built in or before 1351 must remain open, and with it the dating of the similar chapel at Wigmore (and also the related work in Wigmore chancel). Their distinctive battle-mented capitals almost certainly arrive through channels of new influence des-



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FIG. 6
Mouldings, c. 1390 - c. 1412

cribed above, but there is nothing in the surviving window tracery of the Richards Castle chapel, which is not curvilinear, to militate against a 1351 date.²⁵ The stylistic analysis of Pembridge porch similarly leads one in two directions. Its moulding detail relies heavily on the work on the south side of Ludlow Church, which seems to belong reasonably to the 1340s; on the other hand, the best parallels for the decoration of its vault have been found later in the century. If an early date is maintained for it, the choir vault at Gloucester (1337-51) is likely to have been the inspiration for its decoration, for the exact similarity between the mullions at Pembridge and Gloucester points to the porch mason—and probably others from north Herefordshire—having been employed in a lesser capacity in the remodelling of the east end of Gloucester. Overall, however, the sources for a later date for the porch vault appear more convincing, in which case it could have been executed at some time in the 1370s, perhaps during a lull in the building operations at Warwick.

Somewhere around 1369, masons responsible for the Ludlow north transept and the Richards Castle work were called in at Warwick to assist in the remodelling of the crypt and chancel of St. Mary's. Such links between Warwick and the Severn Valley area are not without documentary precedent, for in 1392-3 a payment by Worcester Cathedral Priory is recorded for a visit by the Earl of Warwick's mason.²⁶ Moreover, in their involvement in the rebuilding of the chancel at St. Mary's, the Ludlow masons appear to have been working under a master who must have been engaged previously at Gloucester in an important capacity. As the Ludlow masons of this or the preceding generation had previously worked at Gloucester at some stage, their involvement at Warwick is more easily explained. As their contribution at Warwick is one of detail, it is likely that they were contracted on a piece-work basis, working within the overall framework of design set out by the Gloucester master. The continued use of certain features from this style at Kenilworth Castle probably indicates no more than the inevitable influence of St. Mary's, transmitted by local masons. However, it is possible that one or two of the Ludlow masons may have been amongst those assembled as late as 1391 by Robert de Skillyngton to work for John of Gaunt at Kenilworth.²⁷ Whether this would have been the first time the Ludlow masons had been employed at the castle, or whether there had been work there in the 1370s which involved them, and which could be the link between similarities of detail at Warwick and Kenilworth, is unclear on the evidence available at present.

By the beginning of the 15th century, the advent of Perpendicular tracery in Herefordshire was irresistible. Already, at the cathedral it had arrived in very demonstrative fashion in the huge south transept window of Bishop Trefnant's episcopacy (1389-1404), and in a rather more idiosyncratic style in the bishop's cloisters (c. 1412). With its arrival, the late Decorated combination of ogee or

curvilinear tracery with proto-Perpendicular detail disappeared. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to chronicle the works that display this style with more precision, but any description of the main trends of Decorated architecture in Herefordshire would be incomplete without discussion of them.

APPENDIX: KINGSLAND CHURCH

The church of St. Michael and All Angels at Kingsland, north-west of Leominster, is one of the most interesting and complete Decorated churches in the north of the county (see vol. XLII, 1977, pl. IV). Though clearly not a work by the Ludlow group of masons under discussion, certain details of its rebuilding relate not only to their style, but also to better dated works further afield, and indicate that it must be placed considerably later than the years around 1300 to which it is generally assigned.²⁸

All authorities have recognized that the church is essentially of one build, and this is confirmed by the repetition of certain tracery patterns and idiosyncracies in the mouldings throughout much of the work (chancel, nave with north 'Volka' Chapel, and west tower). However, the lower parts of the tower must antedate the rest, for the plinth mouldings are typically 13th-century, and the nave aisles overlap, and are built up against, the north and south walls of the lowest stage. The uncusped 'Y'-tracery windows of this stage should belong around 1275, and probably do. A noticeable feature of the church as a whole which has led authorities to give a turn-of-the-century date, is the preference for early Decorated foiled and intersecting tracery patterns, to the complete exclusion of any ogee detail. In particular, the tracery of the non-projecting 'transepts' at the east end of the aisles is a three-light version of the design for the Hereford Cathedral aisle windows of c. 1290, with a large irregular cinquefoil in the head and pointed trefoils in the sidelights.²⁹ Nonetheless, these retardaire features are deceptive, for it is evident from other parts of the work that everything except the lower parts of the tower should be placed in the third or fourth decades of the 14th-century.³⁰

The recorded parallels for the more distinctive mullion profiles all point to a date after c. 1320. Wave mouldings employed for mullions, as found in the east window of the Volka Chapel (FIG. 7,A), had appeared at this time at Tewkesbury, and then in derivative works nearer Kingsland, such as the nave north aisle at Ludlow.³¹ The mullions of the former eastern Lady Chapel at Tewkesbury, of the same date, provide the most specific parallels for those in the eastern lateral windows of the chancel (FIG. 7,B). Moreover, a link is forged with the group of churches considered in the main body of this article by the use of stepped chamfer mullions in some of the nave aisle windows, and in the interior profiles of the

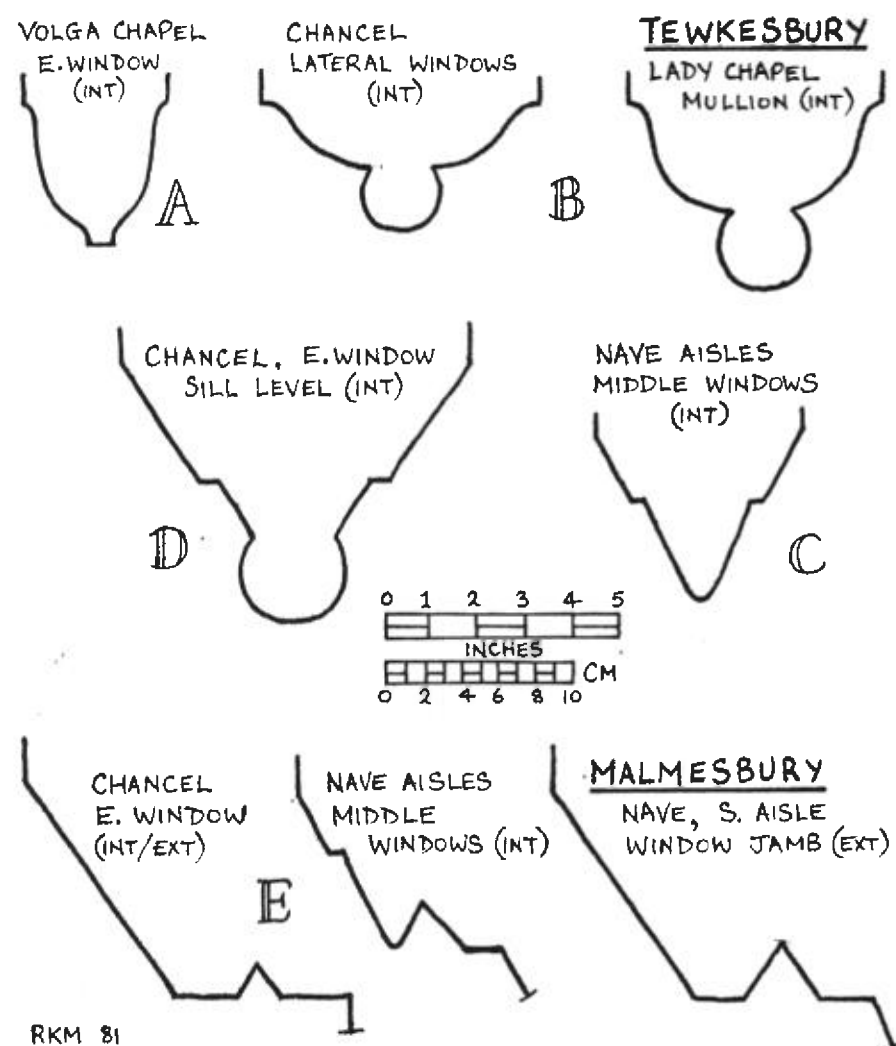


FIG. 7
Kingsland, Mullions and Window Jambs

Chancel east window at sill level (FIG. 7, C & D).³² The latter especially are the same pattern as the lesser mullions of the main windows at Richards Castle and Ludlow (FIG. 1, A & B), and the earliest recorded precedent for this design in the area is at Gloucester, after 1329 (FIG. 1, F).

In window tracery, the connexions are very much with the area of the midlands with which the Ludlow group of churches was associated, but in this case representing an earlier, pre-curvilinear phase. The heads of the more easterly lateral windows of the chancel consist of three unframed trefoils in a stepped arrangement, for which the source is most likely to be the windows of the Lady Chapel at Lichfield Cathedral, which was in building before 1321. Corroboration for this is found in the east window of the chancel, which has a 'fishscale' pattern in the head (i.e. small curve-sided triangles with their bases omitted), and for which the closest precedent in a major building in the area exists in the choir aisle tracery at Lichfield (probably after 1321 and certainly before William Ramsey's appearance in 1337). Both patterns occur in other churches between Lichfield and Kingsland, especially in Shropshire,³³ and as none of them can be proven to antedate Lichfield, the evidence again forces one to the conclusion that Kingsland must be later than c. 1320.

The most interesting aspect of the work—which did not escape Pevsner's notice³⁴ and which gives the church more than just local significance—is the presence of features derived from the innovative workshop centred on St. Augustine's, Bristol (now the Cathedral). The unmistakeable trademark is the use of polygonal arches for the doors on the church (PL. VII), a characteristic unique to the Bristol shop. At St. Augustine's, they are incorporated into tomb recesses in the aisle and Lady Chapel walls, but they are employed for door openings in the north porch of nearby St. Mary Redcliffe, and in the derivative works at Berkeley Castle (great hall) and at St. Davids (rood screen and bishop's palace). Though the rebuilding of St. Augustine's is said to have started as early as 1298, it is evident that even the east end was not complete before c. 1340, and all the indications are, especially from the style of the main features, that very little of what we see today could have been executed until about 1315-20 and later: this is the likely date of the tomb recesses. There is no documented date for the relevant parts of St. Mary Redcliffe or Berkeley Castle, but no-one has ever placed them earlier than St. Augustine's; and the polygonal doors at St. Davids are associated with the episcopacy of Bishop Gower (1328-47).

The familiarity with the Bristol shop extends to other features at Kingsland. At about the same time that stepped chamfer mullions were introduced in the Severn Valley area, they were beginning to appear in the Bristol area (e.g. north porch of St. Mary Redcliffe, and the nave of Malmesbury Abbey); and wave

mullions were also used at St. Augustine's. Though the precise form of the wave and stepped chamfer mullions with attached roll mouldings at Kingsland (FIG. 7,B & D) is closer to the precedents in the Severn Valley cited above, it nonetheless remains possible that the Kingsland designer first became acquainted with these new ideas at Bristol. Similarly, the fishscale tracery which was associated above with Lichfield was as popular in the south-west, with examples ranging from the bishop's throne at Exeter (1312 *sqq.*) to Wells Cathedral Lady Chapel (after 1306, and recently suggested to be after 1323)³⁵ and Malmesbury Abbey nave. In this instance Kingsland may be a clue to the link between the use of this distinctive tracery pattern in these two areas, which has often puzzled art historians. Another small but suggestive similarity with the Bristol area is the way in which most of the mullion profiles at Kingsland are separated from the splay of the window frame by an angular nick, paralleled almost exactly at Malmesbury (FIG. 7,E), and found in variant forms in other pertinent buildings (e.g. the Berkeley Chapel in St. Augustine's). Even the nave arcade at Kingsland, with its elegant piers more late Gothic in feel than the comparable elevation at Pembridge, may be indebted in a general way to the stylish piers of St. Augustine's for this sophisticated handling.³⁶

To conclude, a sufficient number of dateable precedents for features at Kingsland have been cited to argue that the general remodelling could not have been begun before the 1320s, and may even belong to the 30s. In which case, the most likely patron of the work would not be Maud de Mortimer (d. 1301), as held by some authorities,³⁷ but rather a Mortimer of a later generation, perhaps her daughter-in-law, Margaret, who is recorded as presenting to the living in 1328 and 1333; or possibly even Maud's grandson, Roger Mortimer, earl of March (executed 1330) or his long-lived wife, Joan (d. 1356). The most distinctive hand—presumably the master in charge—is that of a mason with such an intimate knowledge of stylistic characteristics in the Bristol area that he must have worked there at some stage beforehand. It is possible, too, that there is also a connexion with the Bristol-inspired works for Bishop Gower at St. Davids, for not only do they share the characteristic of polygonal arches with Bristol and Kingsland, but also the only other recorded examples of an unusual base type found in the rood screen at St. Davids are in Shropshire churches related stylistically to Kingsland—Claverley and Shifnal. How did a Bristol-trained mason (or at least a mason with considerable experience of Bristol) come to be working at Kingsland? It may be simply that he was a local Herefordshire man returning to his homeland. Or he may have come north in a rather indirect fashion by way of St. Davids, whence a fairly natural route through the valleys of south Wales would finally disgorge him at Leominster. Further investigation of the ramifications of this lead fall beyond the scope of this article, but had he been employed previously at St. Davids, however

briefly, the work at Kingsland could be no earlier than the 1330s. However, the real clue to the link with Bristol may lie with the patrons, the Mortimers, for Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, had married Thomas III de Berkeley in 1320, and was buried in St. Augustine's, Bristol, in 1337.³⁸ It may have been Margaret Berkeley's commendation that sent a Bristol mason north to take charge of the rebuilding of Kingsland.

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- ¹ Its ballflower and mouldings relate to such works as the south aisle at Leominster and the west window of Ludlow north aisle: see *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1973), 54-9.
- ² The mouldings of the west window definitely belong with those of the chancel windows (FIG. 1,C), and the mason's marks on its frame are also found on the arches to the chancel and north chapel; however, the tracery in the window head is almost certainly a later modification, perhaps mid-15th-century, and the original design was presumably close to the four-light patterns of the Richards Castle east window or the Ludlow north transept north window, with both of which it shares moulding parallels.
- ³ The tracery of the Ludlow windows is completely renewed, but that the patterns are pre-Victorian is confirmed by sketches dated 1822 in the British Museum, Additional MS. 36738 (*Buckler Drawings*, XXIII, f.48r., 48v., and 53r.); I am grateful to Dr. John Maddison for pointing out this source.
- ⁴ Note also that the plinth mouldings of the porches at Ludlow and Pembridge are the same design (FIG. 3,E).
- ⁵ The Richards Castle tracery is made more Perpendicular in spirit by giving the windows squared heads which, in the case of the chancel windows and transept west window, bisect the row of reticulation units.
- ⁶ G. Marshall, 'The Church of Richards Castle, Co. Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1927-9), 116, citing the register of Bishop Trillek of Hereford.
- ⁷ J. Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Lichfield* (1820), pls. VI and IX.
- ⁸ Under construction in 1354: see J. Bony, *The English Decorated Style* (1979), 82, note 6. The church was destroyed in the blitz of 1940, but its window tracery is recorded, for example, in J. H. Parker, *ABC of Gothic Architecture* (14th ed., 1910), 140.
- ⁹ The only other window in the clerestory at Lichfield with some tracery that might conceivably be 14th-century in inspiration is the easternmost on the north side. In its head it carries a 'star of David' pattern set in a large roundel, and though this is generally taken to be an entirely post-medieval fabrication, it is worth remarking that a six-pointed star of a slightly different pattern, also set in a roundel, forms the main window of the north chapel at Richards Castle.
- ¹⁰ For the Worcester tracery, see R. K. Morris, 'Worcester Nave: from Decorated to Perpendicular', *Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans.*, I (1978), 120 (north aisle), 124-5 (refectory), 133 (south aisle), 135-6 (Guesten Hall).
- ¹¹ e.g. Nantwich Church, where the chancel (?c. 1380) continues to employ bold curvilinear patterns in its lateral windows, though its east window has finally succumbed to Perpendicular fashion; Battlefield Church near Shrewsbury (1406-9); and the undated Trinity Chapel at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. The south windows of the latter (shown to be reliable by f.117r. of the *Buckler Drawings*, *op. cit.* in note 3) have designs with Perpendicular batement lights alternating with the type of three-petal pattern found at Richards Castle and Ludlow; the moulding detail of the chapel also includes features found in these churches, e.g. bell-bases with hexagonal plinths. For an extensive analysis of this area, see J. Maddison, *Major Building in the North-West Midlands and North Wales, c. 1270-1400* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 1978).
- ¹² See Morris, 'Worcester Nave', *op. cit.* in note 10, 138, n. 21.
- ¹³ Not until the 1340s were mullions of this design slimmer in profile at Worcester; *ibid.*, fig 3.
- ¹⁴ For more context, see R. K. Morris, 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England, c. 1250-1400, Part II', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979), section 9 on bases.

¹⁵ See J. H. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style* (1978), figs. 30 and 32, for examples of these mouldings: and see Morris, 'Mouldings, Part II', *op. cit.* in note 14, 5-7 for context.

¹⁶ For the dating of the medieval work at Worcester, see Morris, 'Worcester Nave', *op. cit.* in note 10, 127 *sqq.*: figs. 5 and 6 show the typical semi-circular hollow mouldings, whereas pl. XXIII A shows the south aisle window frames (I have no measured drawing of these). For the 1860s restoration there, see R. B. Lockett, 'The Victorian Restoration of Worcester Cathedral', *Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans.*, I (1978), 173.

¹⁷ For a fuller context, see R. K. Morris, 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England, c. 1250-1400, Part I', *Architectural History*, 21 (1978), section 2.

¹⁸ The mullions of the two-light windows in the galleries of the east end at Gloucester also employ the same geometrical configuration, and are very close in size; these windows make use of reticulation units, like certain windows at Richards Castle and Ludlow, and are less overtly Perpendicular than the main tracery of the east end.

¹⁹ The highly unusual flying ribs applied to the chancel vault are not relevant in this comparison.

²⁰ See J. H. Harvey, 'Sidelights on Kenilworth Castle', *Archaeol. J.*, CI (1944), 95-6: though the present tracery of the great hall is more likely to have been designed in the 1390s than the 1370s, some of the moulding detail in the state apartments could belong to the earlier date.

²¹ Sir William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1730 ed.), 401.

²² e.g. F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (1906), 655; and more cautiously, Harvey, *Perpendicular*, *op. cit.* in note 15, 112.

²³ Only in the tracery, as one might expect, has the Perpendicular style not yet taken over: the Dilwyn porch still has reticulation units, and the aisles at Kinnersley have ogee-headed lights set in rectangular frames.

²⁴ There seems no justification for dissociating the effigy from the recess at King's Pyon, as in N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (1963), 207. For the dating of the Hereford cloister, see G. Marshall, *Hereford Cathedral* (1951), 131.

²⁵ However, if the chapel were to be dated c. 1350, the (?tomb) recess in it is likely to be a decade or two later.

²⁶ J. H. Harvey, 'Notes on the Architects of Worcester Cathedral', *Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc. Trans.*, XXXIII, new series (1956), 23-7.

²⁷ Harvey, 'Kenilworth', *op. cit.* in note 20, 96.

²⁸ e.g. G. Marshall, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1930-2), 21-8; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire*, I (1934); Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, *op. cit.* in note 24, 204.

²⁹ This tracery pattern is shown in a pen and wash drawing of Kingsland Church from the south-east, dated 1849, in the Pilley Collection in Hereford County Library (*Pilley Case, Churches of Herefordshire*, H. fol., vol. 2, 101). For other Herefordshire churches with transepts of this type, see *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1974), 192.

³⁰ For a fuller account of the evidence that follows, see R. K. Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire* (unpublished doctoral thesis, London University, 1972—copy in Hereford Cathedral Library), 343-70; and for mouldings specifically, *id.*, 'Mouldings, Part I', *op. cit.* in note 17, 21 *sqq.* (wave mouldings), and 'Part II', *op. cit.* in note 14, 8 *sqq.* (stepped chamfer mullions).

³¹ See *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1973), 58-9.

³² Above this level, in the chancel east window, the mullion moulding is simplified to a large plain chamfer (FIG. 7,E).

³³ e.g. Claverley, Haughmond Abbey (infirmary), Much Wenlock (parish church), Munslow, and Shifnal. The chancel tracery patterns at Kingsland are likely to be reliable, for they are shown in early 19th-century pencil drawings in the Hereford County Library: a view of 1825 in the *Pilley Collection, Newspaper Cuttings Book*, 46, and another of 1837 in H. B. and G. L. Lewis, *Drawings of the County of Hereford* (1837-41), vol. I, 90.

³⁴ Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, *op. cit.* in note 24, 204-5.

³⁵ P. Draper, 'The Sequence and Dating of the Decorated Work at Wells', *British Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans.*, IV (1981), 20-2.

³⁶ See *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLII (1977), pls. II and IV, for illustrations of the interiors of the naves of Pembridge and Kingsland, and 140-3 for discussion of their elevations, including the use of roundels for clerestory windows.

³⁷ See Marshall, *op. cit.* in note 28 (note that in his article, Maud is called Matilda).

³⁸ See further *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLII (1977), 148.

The Administration of the Diocese of Hereford under Bishop Mascall (1404-16)

By ANN RHYDDERCH

THE routine of diocesan administration was such that it functioned in the absence of the bishop: 'we may question whether their presence (the bishops) or absence mattered so greatly to their dioceses'.¹ Undoubtedly episcopal absenteeism led to abuses, but the administrative system would not break down provided the bishop ensured that administrative and judicial offices in the diocese were held by men of ability and appropriate canonical training. There was a class of clerks in each diocese which formed what could be described as 'a permanent civil service'² and these men frequently continued in service under successive bishops. Much of the personnel of the bishops' own administration and that of their cathedral church tended to form a somewhat anonymous group of individuals. Of quite a few little or nothing can be said. In the case of Hereford one has to depend on the names that appear briefly in the cathedral records or in the bishops' registers to form an idea of the 'civil service' of the diocese. Of the bishop's personal inner circle or household it is impossible to get a satisfactory picture. It seems unlikely that Mascall had a large or established *familia* in his see. Being poor and close to a particularly wild and troubled area, the see of Hereford would not have supported a substantial household. Furthermore the canons at Hereford Cathedral were a particularly strong-willed body and it is possible that they would not have tolerated a large and influential group around the bishop. However it must be stressed that whatever is said about the episcopal household under Mascall is highly conjectural and based on scant evidence. The independence of the Hereford chapter is well attested. In the majority of secular cathedrals, when there were quarrels among the canons the bishop would usually intervene only after the efforts of the dean and chapter had failed. However, the Hereford chapter ordered all its canons on admission to swear that if discord arose within the chapter they would stand by the judgement of the dean and chapter and would not appeal to higher authority.³ Usually there were only six or seven resident canons at Hereford of whom the dean was one,⁴ and it seems unlikely that Mascall could have had a canon of the cathedral in constant attendance upon him. Bishop Spofford had at one time requested that a newly-appointed canon be allowed, after due observance of the customary payments and the required forty days continuous residence, to live in attendance on the bishop instead of the three years' stay at Hereford which would otherwise be mandatory.⁵ Yet others probably served in this way without leave, for in 1421 at a chapter over which John Hereford presided instead of the dean, a remonstrance was addressed to the absent residentiaries that they did not show any interest in cathedral services

and were only prepared to enjoy the profits of their office. A warning was given that they would have to refund such allowances as they had received in lieu of daily commons and were threatened that they might have to forfeit the beneficiaries themselves.⁶ During Mascall's episcopate there appears to have been some trouble with a non-residentiary canon, Richard Dyer. In 1409 he protested furiously that he was unfairly treated in the distribution of the common fund—he claimed part of the little commons, the quotidians and a share in the offerings at Whitsuntide. As Capes points out,⁷ these were certainly received by Cantilupe and others of his day and Dyer probably based his claim on a copy of old usages which he must have discovered. Yet the auditor who appeared before the chapter said that in Dyer's case the custom of the last hundred years had been observed and no explanation was offered as to why non-residents had been so deprived. It appears, therefore, that the Hereford chapter was particularly astute when it came to financial claims on non-residentiary canons.

The evidence concerning Mascall's household is fragmentary. William Aumenet is named as Mascall's registrar in March 1415.⁸ We cannot tell whether he had held this post for several years or had recently succeeded to it. Undoubtedly Mascall would have required a registrar before this date. The bishop's registrar would have been responsible for all the bishop's secretarial work. The person holding this post would normally be a notary because many episcopal acts had to be drawn up in the form of public instruments. He also kept papal bulls, writs, letters from other prelates, certificates, presentation deeds and memoranda which formed the bishop's archives. His payment would come from fees and at least one benefice.⁹ Unfortunately, we know nothing of William Aumenet, although he is described in Mascall's will as being a bachelor of law.¹⁰ Mascall described John Bridbroke in his will as *cancellarius meus*. As chancellor Bridbroke would have been one of the most important members of the household and would have advised Mascall on matters of canonical law and presumably would have deputised often for the bishop in such routine matters as the institution of clerks to benefices. Bridbroke was a native of Essex and in 1416 was a licentiate in canon law, becoming a doctor of canon law by 1421.¹¹ He was rector of Bildeston, Suffolk, in December 1400 and until April 1408,¹² he was also rector of Swaby in Lincolnshire and of Stoke Lacy, Hereford, from June to July 1416.¹³ He became a canon of Hereford and prebendary of Barton Colwall from 1416 until 1427, and in June 1416 he also became precentor of Hereford, an office which he held until August 1432.¹⁵

In 1427 Bridbroke was made rector of Orford, Suffolk.¹⁶ From 1431 until his death in 1444 he was canon of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and its treasurer in 1433. Bridbroke, therefore, had a fairly successful career which spanned several dioceses. How and when he came to Mascall's attention one cannot tell.

In his will Mascall left a hundred shillings to John Whytelsham, whom he describes as *Marescallus Meus*. The only remaining indication of Mascall's household is that a certain Thomas Berkeley was described in a pardon of murder on 27 October 1416 as being steward of Mascall's household.¹⁷ Of Berkeley, very little else is known of him except that he was a canon of Hereford Cathedral, and together with Aumenet, Bridbroke and another canon of Hereford, John Staleway, he was an executor of Mascall's will. The indications of Mascall's household such as they are, all date from the last years of his episcopate.

Certain persons can be isolated as being regularly connected with the diocesan administration. Ordinary jurisdiction belonged *pleno jure* to the bishop himself and was inseparable from his office. When the bishop was in the diocese and was unable to act in person he could issue commissions not only to the vicar-general but to anybody whom it might be convenient to appoint for a particular purpose. In the same way the vicar-general when in charge of the diocese could appoint commissaries *ad hoc* and at his own pleasure. During Mascall's episcopate, for example, John Hereford's name recurs frequently. He is a person of intriguing pedigree being the grandson of Nicholas Hereford.¹⁸ John Hereford was archdeacon of Shropshire in 1410-17 and of Hereford, by exchange, from 1417 to 1424, when he resigned the position and was awarded a pension of £20 *per annum*. In fact, the connection of his family with the cathedral ran through five generations and can be traced back to a Nicholas Hereford who was canon of Hereford and was instituted to the living of Chettinton (or Chelton) in Shropshire in 1284. John's father was the second son of the Lollard, Nicholas Hereford; he, also called John, was M.P. for Worcester in 1393. Evidently his grandson, John Hereford, would have considerable local knowledge and presumably powerful connections within the diocese. He was commissioned to hear cases in the diocese in 1407¹⁹ and appointed official in 1408.²⁰ As official he would have presided at the consistory court, where he was entrusted with the hearing of causes and the pronouncement of sentence. On Mascall's death it was John Hereford who was made keeper of the spirituality.²¹

When Mascall was made bishop of Hereford, he appointed John Cateby as his vicar-general. When a bishop was absent from his diocese, the vicar-general was in charge of the administration, the commission lapsed when the bishop re-entered his diocese. As vicar-general Cateby kept a register with entries dating from November 1404 until November 1405, which is incorporated in Mascall's register.²² These entries are small in number and routine in nature. Thus, Cateby himself commissioned John Harper and John Hereford to hear and determine cases of all kinds within the diocese of Hereford. In 1407 Cateby and John Hereford were commissioned by Mascall to hear cases.²³

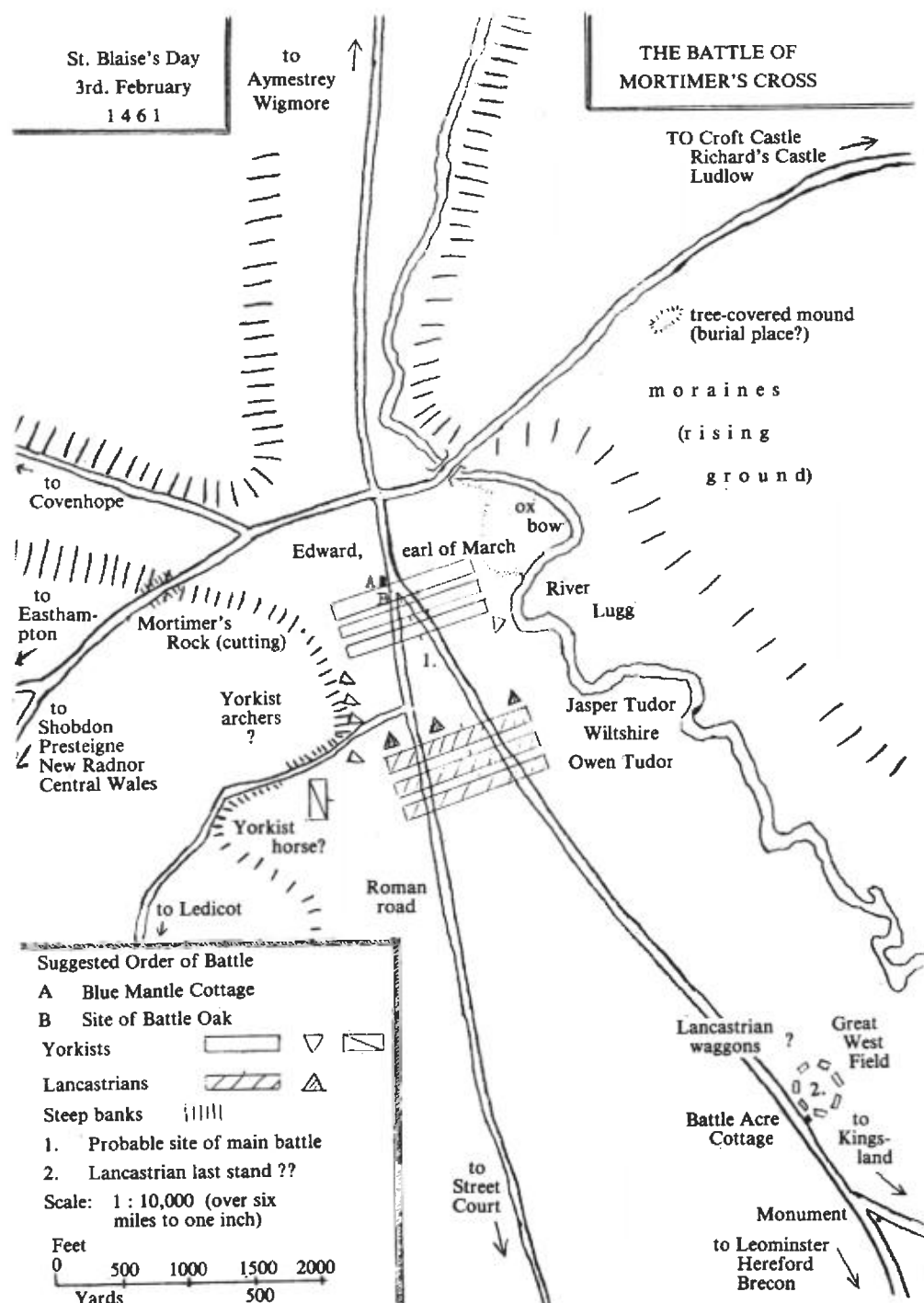
Hereford, like the diocese of Ely, had both officials and commissaries-general.²⁴ These were amongst the most important members of the diocese's administrative hierarchy. On his preferment to the see Mascall made William Levyot his commissary.²⁵ Levyot was a bachelor of law and rector of Kinnersley. In 1410 he was given a dispensation for absence for one year to visit *limina apostolorum*, and a John Bulch was to serve his church in the meantime.²⁶ In October 1405 John Desford was appointed to the office of the commissary-general.²⁷ He was a bachelor of canon law by 1401.²⁸ His preferments were in the dioceses of Exeter, and especially, of Salisbury until he became canon of Hereford and prebendary of Putson Minor in September 1406; these positions he held until his death in 1419.²⁹ John Pavy was made commissary-general in October 1408³⁰ and in November 1409 John Staneway replaced him.³¹ John Pavy was a bachelor of canon law by 1391.³² He held many benefices in the diocese of Worcester and Hereford. He became canon of Hereford and prebendary of Cublington in March 1409, serving until his death in 1414.³³ In 1406 he was appointed commissary-general to Bishop Peverall of Worcester³⁴ and in October 1408 he held the same position under Mascall. Clearly, therefore, Pavy was regarded by both bishops as a capable administrator. Staneway, who was also an executor of Mascall's will, was like Pavy, associated with Worcester and Hereford. He became canon of Hereford and prebendary of Cublington in May 1414 and remained so until his death.³⁵ Appointed commissary-general in November 1409, he still held this position under Bishop Spofford in 1428.³⁶ He was later elected dean of Hereford in 1430 and remained so until his death in August 1434.³⁷ Archdeacons were given to senior diocesan ministers. Under Mascall the archdeaconry of Shropshire was held, firstly, by John Hore until 1410; the date of his appointment is unknown and quite likely predated Mascall's episcopate.³⁸ In 1410 he exchanged the archdeaconry with John Wells for the church of Eastington, Gloucester.³⁹ John Wells was archdeacon for barely three months until his death in October 1410,⁴⁰ and then John Hereford was appointed to the office until 1417, when he exchanged it with John Loverey for the archdeaconry of Hereford.⁴¹ The archdeaconry of Hereford was held by Richard Kingston from about 1380 to 1405,⁴² when he was succeeded by John Loverey, who held it until 1417.

The strong and traditional association between the diocese of Hereford and heresy is well known. Mascall's register suggests that he did not attempt to root out heretics in the diocese. There is little doubt that cells of heretics existed in Hereford during Mascall's episcopate, though it is to registers other than his that one must turn for the evidence. In May 1416 Chichele issued letters testimonial that Thomas Crompt of Hereford, who had been condemned as a heretic before Archbishop Arundel and had been denounced for adhering to Oldcastle, had been absolved. In about Michelnas 1418 Nicholas Scrivener of Hereford was arrested on a charge of heresy but never tried.⁴³ It was to the Marches that Sir John

Oldcastle retired in 1417. He knew the Lollard background of the Herefordshire border and that Swinderby and his fellows had never been betrayed in the region.⁴⁴ The fact that there appears not to have been considerable heresy-hunting, culminating in trials, during Mascall's episcopate, may have been deliberate policy on the part of the bishop. Such activity in unsettled times might well have further incited the very sedition and disquiet it set out to contain.

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- ⁸ *Registrum Roberti Mascall*, ed. J. H. Parry (1917), 89.
- ⁹ R. L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century* (1959), 6.
- ¹⁰ *Reg. Mascall*, v. Aumenet is not mentioned in A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (1955-9).
- ¹¹ Emden, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 263.
- ¹² *Reg. Despenser*, quoted by Emden, *ibid.*
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- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 181, 182; *Register Thomas Spofford*, ed. A. T. Bannister (1917), 369.
- ¹⁵ *Reg. Mascall*, 182; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1416-22*, 318; *Reg. Poltone*, 16.
- ¹⁶ *Reg. Spofford*, 369; *Reg. Alnwick*, Norwich, to. 26V quoted by Emden, *op. cit.* in note 10, vol. 7, 263.
- ¹⁷ *C. P. R. 1416-22*, 46.
- ¹⁸ Martin Linton Smith, 'Nicholas Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, 26 (1927-9), 11-9.
- ¹⁹ *Reg. Mascall*, 46.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.
- ²¹ *The Register of Henry Chichele, 1414-1443*, ed. E. F. Jacob (1943-7), vol. 1, xcix: Mascall's executors refused to hand over the episcopal registers and the seals of the spirituality to anyone except the next bishop of Hereford.
- ²² *Reg. Mascall*, 39-45; Bishop Bothe in the sixteenth century has left a note that he found the records of the bishops from Le Breton to Mascall in loose sheets and that it was he who reduced them to order and had them bound.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 46.
- ²⁴ R. L. Storey, *op. cit.* in note 9, 16.
- ²⁵ *Reg. Mascall*, 1.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4, 5, 7.
- ²⁸ Emden, *op. cit.* in note 10, 1, 574.
- ²⁹ *Reg. Mascall*, 169; *Register of Edmund Lacy*, ed. J. H. Parry (1917), 115.
- ³⁰ *Reg. Mascall*, 69.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 71.
- ³² Emden, *op. cit.* in note 10, 2, 1438.
- ³³ *Reg. Mascall*, 174, 179.
- ³⁴ *Great Orphan Book or Book of Wills*, 75, 80.
- ³⁵ *Reg. Mascall*, 179; *Reg. Spofford*, 108.
- ³⁶ *Reg. Lacy*, 34, 41; *Reg. Spofford*, 108.
- ³⁷ *Reg. Spofford*, 173, 174; J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1854), vol. 1, 476.
- ³⁸ Le Neve, *Fasti*, vol. 1, 483.
- ³⁹ *Reg. Mascall*, 184.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 176.
- ⁴¹ *Reg. Lacy*, 119, 120.
- ⁴² Le Neve, *op. cit.* in note 37, 1, 480.
- ⁴³ *Reg. Chichele*, vol. IV, 151.
- ⁴⁴ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (1962), 234; W. T. Waugh, 'Sir John Oldcastle', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XX (1905), 436-7.



The Battle of Mortimer's Cross

A discussion of literature, evidence and sources

By GEOFFREY HODGES

THIS mysterious battle was a vital link in the chain of events which brought the earl of March to the throne as Edward IV. Popular knowledge of it is mainly based on accounts written during the last two hundred years, and based more on Tudor tradition than on contemporary sources.

Most familiar of all is the Monument at Kingsland. Built in 1799, its concise text contains some errors. The victor's family name was Plantagenet, not Mortimer; the inscription reflects the leading Tudor chronicler, Hall, who said that '... the people on the Marches of Wales ... above measure favoured the lineage of the Lord Mortimer ...' when overwhelming the earl of March with offers of help after his father's death at Wakefield (30 December 1460). Next, dating the battle to Candlemas, 2 February, is probably an error as will be suggested in due course. Again, Edward was proclaimed king on 4 March 1461, not 5 March.¹ No connection is shown between Owen Tudor and his son 'Jasper, Earl of Pembroke', without whose tireless endeavours in the next twenty-four years Henry Tudor would probably not have won the crown at Bosworth.

In a paper printed in 1851, Flavell Edmunds gives a circumstantial account of the battle, unsupported by real evidence. This offers by far the likeliest theory of how the battle was actually fought: Edward occupied the defile or bottleneck where the Roman road, joined by the road from Kingsland, leaves the plain and enters the hilly country. This position is about 400 yards wide, with admirable coverage for the flanks of the Yorkist army provided by the river Lugg on the left, and the steep rising bank on the right. An important point with which Edmunds did not concern himself happens to fit his interpretation, namely that, according to the evidence, the Lancastrians almost certainly advanced from the direction of Brecon.²

Edmunds relied on the Tudor chroniclers Hall, Stowe and Speed, whose well-known map of Herefordshire places the battle at Little Hereford, near Tenbury. These writers give Edmunds no authority for several of his details, which he does not substantiate; any reconstruction of this battle can only be based on theories which fit the available evidence, but cannot be verified. Thus there is no documentary evidence for a Lancastrian incursion into Leominster, or of a successful

charge by Jasper on Edward's right, in any contemporary writings; neither is very likely. In the first place, Jasper would have taken a grave risk in dividing his army so deep inside hostile territory. Secondly, an attack on the Yorkist right could easily have been stopped by archers shooting from the steep bank, which dominates that side of the battlefield; this appears to be the obvious defensive tactic.

But there are reasons for agreeing with Edmunds' theory of a Lancastrian last stand 'near this spot'—the words of the inscription on the Monument, a mile away from the main battle-field. The cottage named Battle Acre, about 200 yards towards Mortimer's Cross, may indicate the place, perhaps, where the Lancastrians had formed the customary 'laager' of waggons, and maybe offered some desperate final resistance. The idea is supported by a judicious and well-researched book on 15th-century battlefields, published in 1857.³ The author, Richard Brooke, was told by Mr. Evans, rector but also a native of Kingsland, of the metal objects found near the Monument: that old people used to talk of a 'close', long ploughed away, where the dead were said to be buried. (A similar explanation is given today for the tree-covered mound near the road to Croft and Ludlow). A farm worker also told Brooke of metal finds, apparently near Battle Acre. Unlike Edmunds, Brooke seems to have felt that the evidence was insufficient to justify any description or plan of the battle.

Next comes a florid, romantic and almost totally fictitious account which must be considered as it is quite well known, at least west of the Severn: *Malvern Chase*.⁴ The author, W. S. Symonds, was a founder member of the Woolhope Club, like Flavell Edmunds and Thomas Lewis, the distinguished geologist; Symonds had presumably visited Lewis at Aymestrey, where Lewis was curate for many years, so surely knew the site of the battle. But he shows a blithe disregard for the documentary evidence, already made available by the Camden Society and other learned bodies. He makes the Tudor army advance from North Wales to reach Mortimer's Cross from the west by Knighton and Presteigne, which is totally discounted by all the evidence. The same applies to his idea that Edward was joined by a body of retainers from the Malvern direction. Indeed, Edward and Jasper are the only men in his story who are in fact known to have fought at Mortimer's Cross. The novel has a Yorkist bias, and not surprisingly its villain is Andrew Trollope, who had deserted the duke of York at Ludford Bridge (12 October 1459), taking Warwick's Calais troops with him. Symonds makes him try to murder the hero after Mortimer's Cross, when in fact he was chief adviser to the duke of Somerset and with the Queen's army in its advance from Yorkshire on London after the battle of Wakefield. One of the Yorkists attainted after Ludford was Thomas Vaughan of Hergest, whom Symonds portrays as a Lancastrian.⁵ His entertaining book has, alas, to be dismissed as very bad history, but some of the traditions he mentions may have some factual basis. For instance, some of the



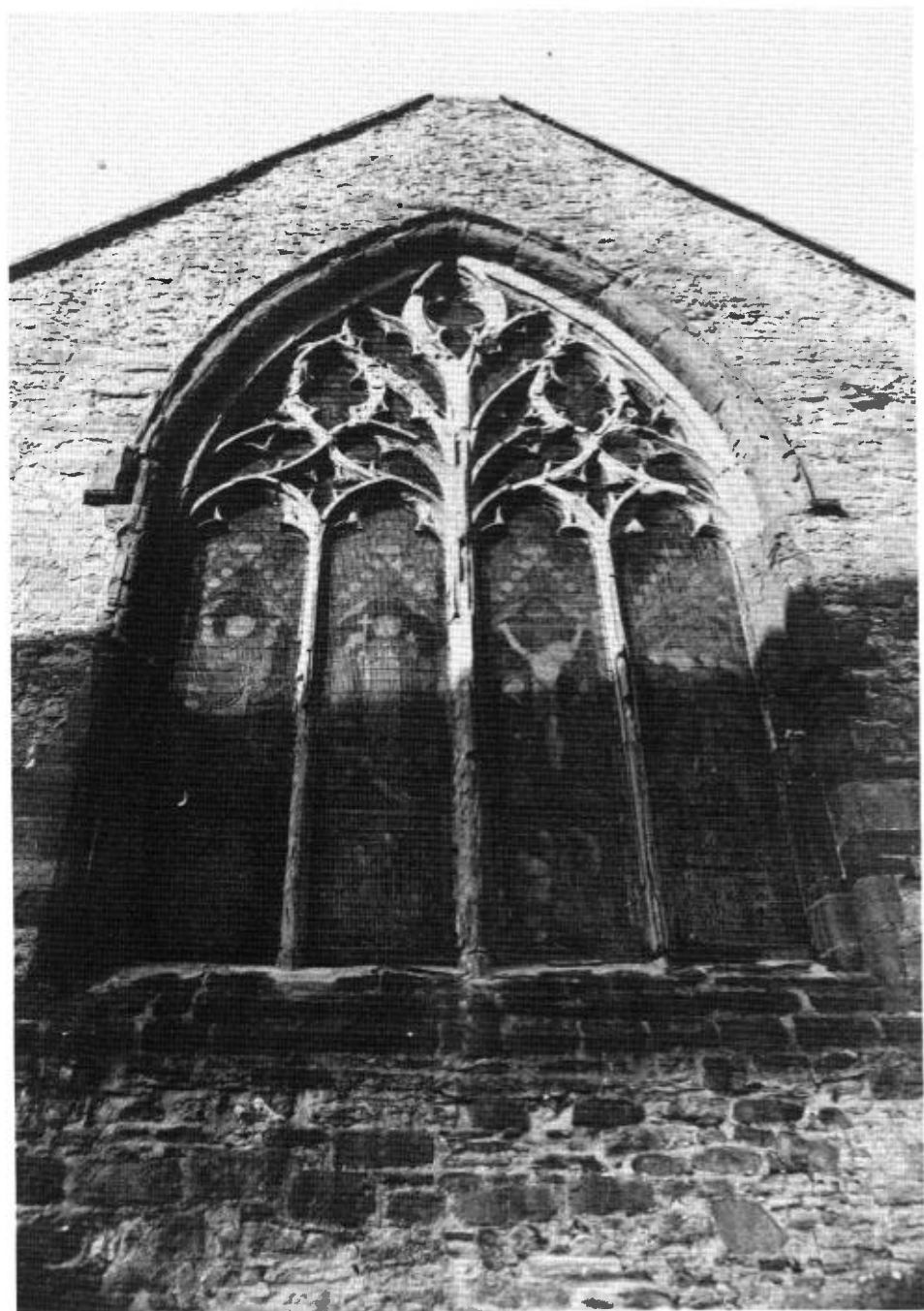
I - F.C. Morgan, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A. 1878-1978



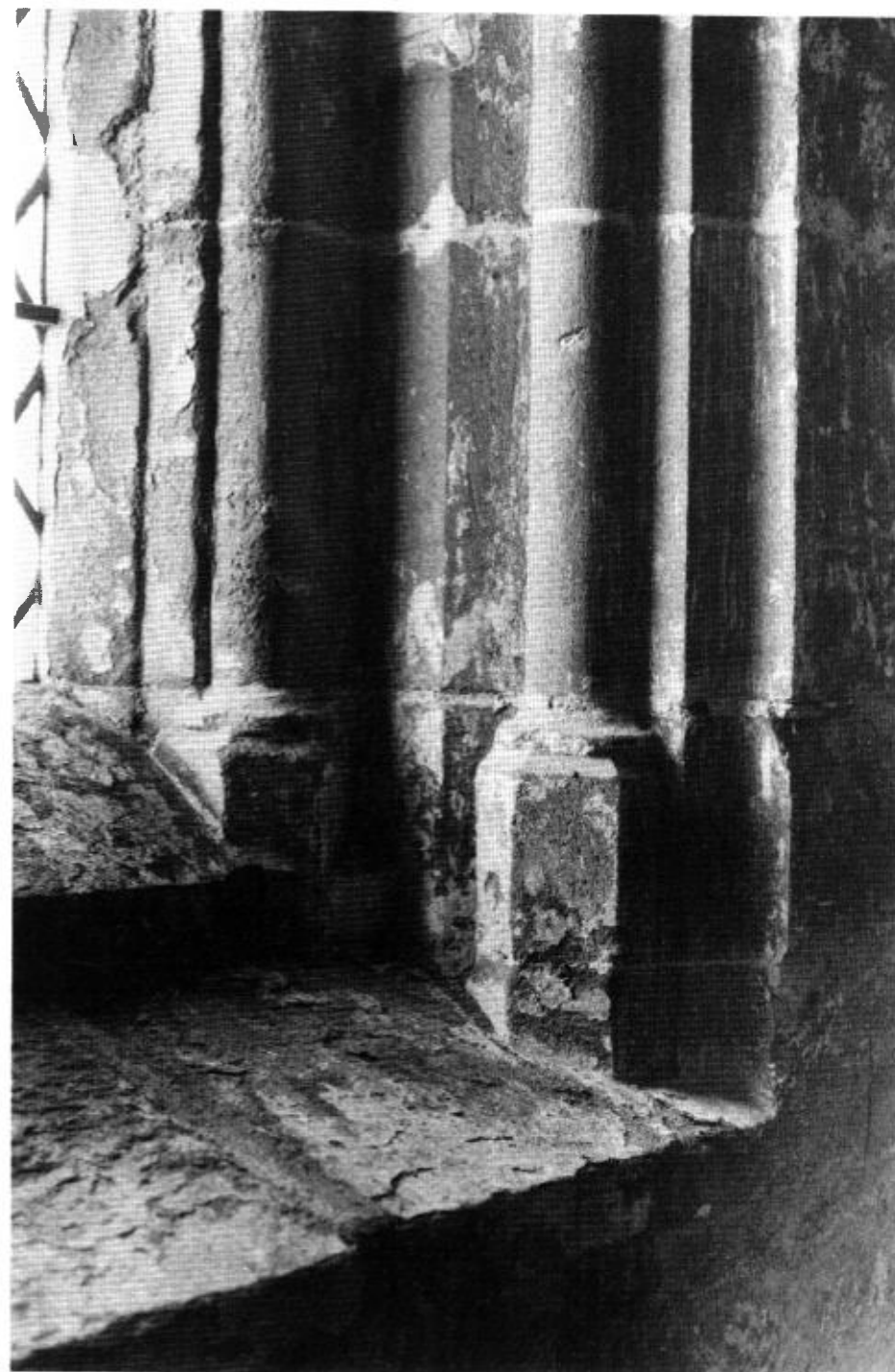
II - Frank Noble, M.B.E., B.A. 1926-1980



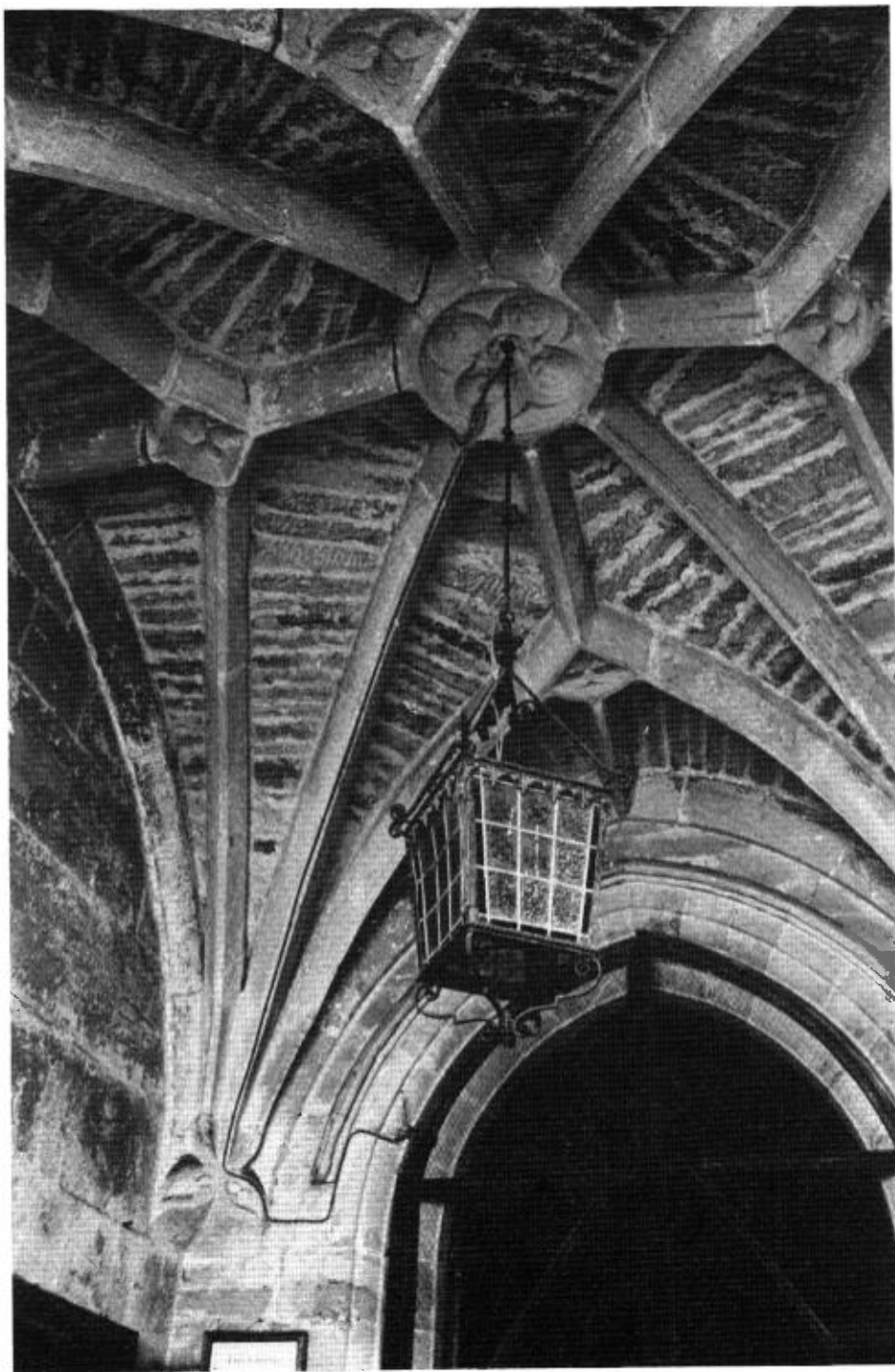
III - Richards Castle, interior from the west: the double arcade to the north chapel is on the left, and the earlier 14th-century aisle on the right



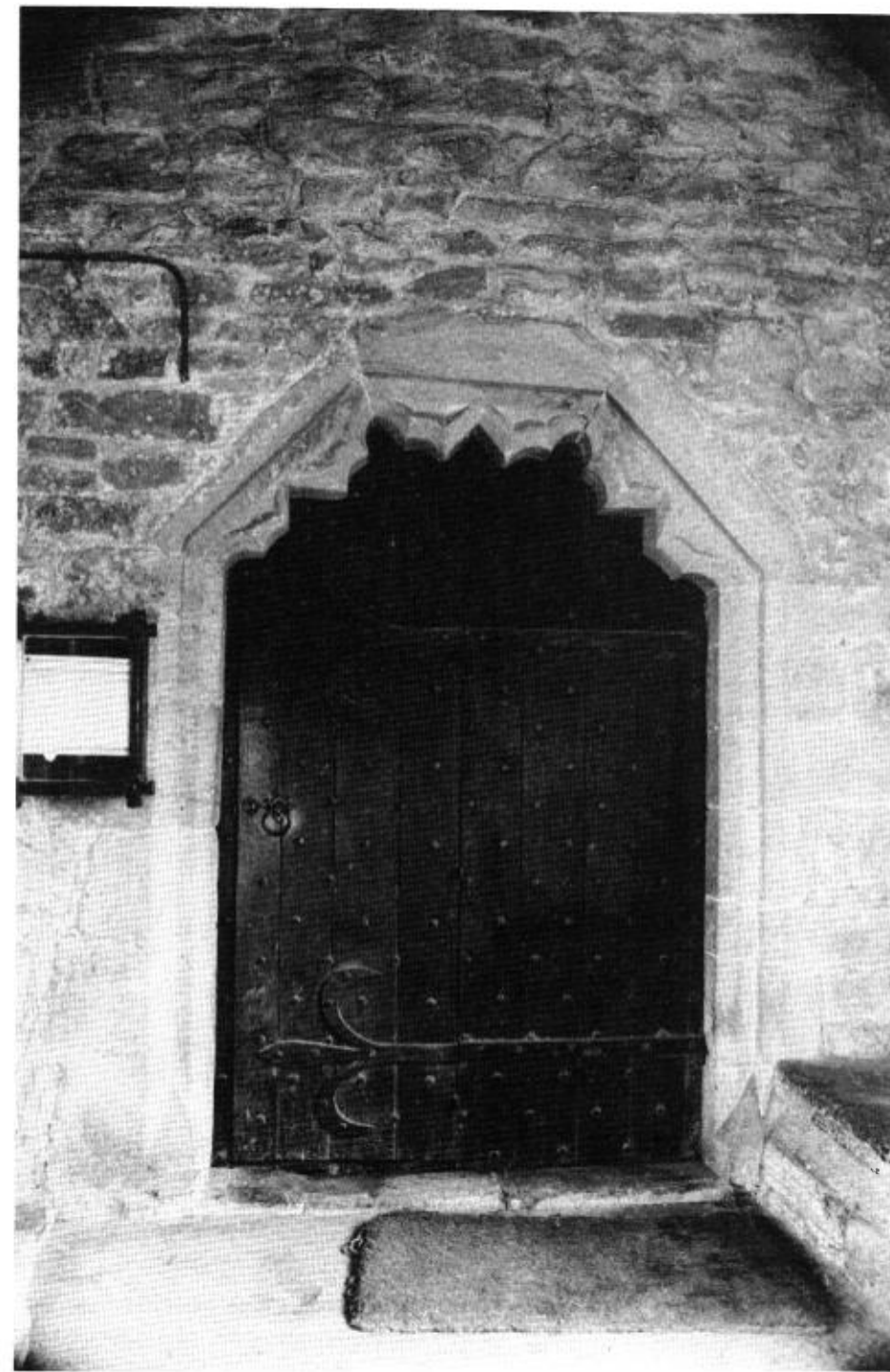
IV - Richards Castle, chancel east window (in 1969)



V - Richards Castle, nave west window, detail of interior frame:
The arrow-head mark is on the plinth of the right-hand base



VI - Pembridge, north porch, vault



VII - Kingsland, nave north door

fugitives from the main battle could have fled by way of Covenhope towards the upper Lugg, and been pursued and massacred near Kinsham. Again, Edward may have sent a herald to Jasper before the battle, as was done before the first battle of St. Albans (1455), and before the battle of Northampton; he might even have sent a challenge. No word of this has survived, but the cottage near the Battle Oak has long been called Blue Mantle, the title of a Yorkist pursuivant.⁶

The best starting point for a serious study of the battle must be Howell Evans' *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, soundly based on contemporary chronicles, state papers, and the poems of Welsh bards, especially Lewis Glyn Cothi.⁷ The expedition led by Jasper Tudor almost certainly started, as he shows, from Pembroke; Jasper had clearly understood the strategic advantages of Milford Haven. But Evans favours the mid-Wales route from the Towy Valley to Builth, involving an advance on Mortimer's Cross from the west; the plan of the battle must have been based on an inaccurate description by someone else. Otherwise, there is a full and authoritative discussion of the political and military activities of the men involved, showing that the battle was fought between two armies which were mainly Welsh, officered by retainers of York and Tudor. The main alien contingent was in Jasper's army: the French, Breton and Irish troops, who are most likely to have been recruited and brought to Pembroke by James Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, a court nobleman and Irish clan chief, who had been on the continent since his flight before the battle of Northampton (10 July 1460); this had given the Yorkists possession of King Henry VI and control of the government.⁸

Next, the geographical evidence must be considered. Milford Haven is the nearest Welsh harbour to France and Ireland, had been the starting point for an expedition from France in 1405 in support of Owain Glyn Dwr, and was to be used again in 1485 by Henry and Jasper Tudor. In 1460, most of Jasper's retainers were gentry of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Gower; he was at Tenby on 25 February, after Mortimer's Cross.⁹ Since Pembroke Castle would have been more suitable for the landing of the foreign troops, it is the likeliest starting point for the expedition.

The plans had probably been made by Jasper and Queen Margaret, who is believed to have joined him in Wales after the battle of Northampton.¹⁰ The main Lancastrian offensive, however, began in Yorkshire, where a very large army assembled in December 1460 under the duke of Somerset and the earl of Northumberland; on 30 December it overwhelmed the duke of York and earl of Salisbury at Wakefield. Jasper's duty was presumably to beat the earl of March, and join the main army as it marched south. He would choose the route offering the fastest going and the best prospects of supplies for troops, followers and horses. After the easy march up the valley of the Towy to Llandovery, the best way on would be the low level route to Brecon, not the mountainous way over the



VIII - *Epipogium aphyllum* Sw. Ghost Orchid
New Welsh Border site - oak woodland
(Photo: Simon Richards)

Sugar Loaf to Builth, and then on by Forest Inn to New Radnor. Both were Yorkist lordships, but Brecon was Lancastrian; its lord, the duke of Buckingham, had been slain at Northampton as constable of the royal army. It was winter, and the parhelion seen before the battle of Mortimer's Cross suggests very cold weather—another reason for a mediaeval army with a cumbersome baggage train to avoid a mountain route.¹¹ Finally, the battlefield itself only makes sense with an advance on Wigmore from the south; the position is very strong facing south, but quite useless facing west.

An enemy coming from Presteigne could have been met at Byton Hand, where the road to Shobdon and Mortimer's Cross rises along the steep north-facing slope of Wapley Hill, with Byton Bog at its foot—a superb position for a defending army. It passes belief that Edward, the boldest and most aggressive commander of his day, would have been so supine as to wait, with his back to the river Lugg at Mortimer's Cross, when he had twice seen armies defeated in such a position at Ludford and Northampton. But occupying the southward position at Mortimer's Cross, Edward and his men could afford to wait for the enemy to advance into what appears a veritable death trap.¹² The topography of the site suggests that when Jasper's army came level with the steep bank, archers stationed on this vantage point could have devastated half of it with a storm of arrows, and the Yorkist foot engaged them head on. As happened at Tewkesbury ten years later, a squadron of horse hidden in the little valley south of the bank could have crashed into their rear. But this is only reasoned speculation, without written evidence to support it. The author of two recent books on battlefields ignores this rule, and presents unsubstantiated assertion as fact. His two accounts do not even agree, and both plans and text contain glaring errors of detail. The comment on 'this quite unimportant little battle' suggests little knowledge of the political background or the momentous consequences. The author places the Yorkists with their backs to the Lugg, and differs with Edmunds in making Wiltshire, not Jasper, the leader of a charge against the Yorkist right.¹³

The contemporary evidence can be divided between private writings (mainly chronicles) and official papers. First, an antiquary named William Worcester gives in his *Itineraries*, written in the 1480s, lists of the principal officers in both armies.¹⁴ Most of Edward's staff were retainers of his father, the most prominent being the half-brothers William Herbert of Raglan and Roger Vaughan of Tre-tower, whose brother was Thomas Vaughan of Hergest. Also there was Walter Devereux of Weobley, Herbert's father-in-law, and Richard Croft of Croft Castle, amongst others who must be passed over for lack of space. Worcester also shows that Jasper's officers were mostly gentry from south-west Wales, but errs in naming some as having been executed at Hereford with Owen Tudor, when in fact they were active Lancastrians for some years to come.¹⁵ Jasper's main Herefordshire

adherents were the Scudamores of Kentchurch. Worcester's comments strengthen the general impression that Edward's companions could show much greater collective experience as 'men of war'. The *dramatis personae* of Mortimer's Cross is a fascinating subject best left for a later paper.

Worcester is very definite that the battle was fought on St. Blaise's Day, 3 February 1461, not on Candlemas itself. In this he is borne out by Prospero Camulio, an Italian diplomat and merchant writing only five weeks after the battle to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan.¹⁶ Two chroniclers agree: John Benet,¹⁷ and the author of *An English Chronicle*, who has a pronounced Yorkist bias but was also very well informed about Yorkist affairs, quoting their manifestoes and propaganda at length.¹⁸ His note on Mortimer's Cross is the most complete to be found in the contemporary chronicles:

'The 3rd day of February . . . Edward the noble earl of March fought with the Welshmen beside Wigmore in Wales, whose captains were the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Wiltshire, that would finally have destroyed the said earl of March.

'And the Monday before the day of battle, that is to say, in the feast of Purification of our blessed Lady about 10 at clock before noon, were seen 3 suns in the firmament shining full clear, whereof the people had great marvel, and thereof were aghast. The noble earl Edward them comforted and said, "Be of good comfort, and dread not; this is a good sign, for these 3 suns betoken the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and therefore let us have a good heart, and in the name of Almighty God go we against our enemies." And so by His grace, he had the victory of his enemies, and put the 2 earls to flight, and slew of the Welshmen to the number of 4,000'.

The author is so specific about the date, that this really seems, with the help of the other three witnesses, to be established beyond much doubt. The Yorkists seem to have been in position the day before the battle, and were waiting for the enemy when the parhelion appeared, though this is not absolutely certain. The chronicler may well have been a monk of Canterbury; the Archbishop, Thomas Bourchier, was a Yorkist and had accompanied Warwick and Edward on the Northampton campaign.¹⁹ The detailed Yorkist pronouncements quoted make one wonder whether the author was perhaps commissioned to write the book. The account of Mortimer's Cross comes on the last page, perhaps for dramatic effect, which certainly seems to emphasise the fact that its major consequence was Edward's accession to the throne; the book concludes with that event. Finally, it is suggestive that the battle is not actually named, unlike Blore Heath—scene of the earl of Salisbury's victory over the Cheshire men on 21 September 1459; perhaps local pride gave to this hitherto nameless crossroads a title to show

posterity that here the Lord Mortimer won the battle which made him king of England.²⁰ On the other hand, it could be that it was 'where the piety of the Mortimers had reared a cross that bore their name'.²¹

To conclude, something must be said of *Gregory's Chronicle*, completed several years later than the last work. The author was well informed, and had almost certainly fought with the foot in Warwick's army which was defeated by the queen at St. Albans on 17 February 1461.²² He was uncertain of the exact site of 'Mortimer his Cross', but he may be the first writer to use the name.²³ He thought it was near 'Hereford East', meaning the cathedral city as opposed to Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, a misconception which has persisted.²⁴ Misunderstanding has also been caused by 'Gregory' stating that Edward mustered his army *before* the battle outside the city walls 'in a marsh that is called Wyg marsh. And over him men saw 3 suns shining.' This can only mean Widemarsh, outside the north gate of Hereford; 'Gregory' may have confused it with Wigmore, twenty miles away.²⁵ It is agreed that the Yorkists marched to Hereford after the battle, and Widemarsh would have been a convenient campsite.²⁶ It seems unlikely, however, that they would have been there immediately before a battle fought seventeen miles away in defence of Wigmore and Ludlow, which seem to have been Jasper's objectives. The Yorkists could have learned this well in advance from the reports of their agents, and the observations of their scurriers or mounted scouts covering Jasper's advance. Early warning may well have been sent to Edward by the Dwnns of Kidwelly in Carmarthen, allies of his who may have heard of the arrival of the foreign mercenaries; this may explain why Jasper was especially incensed against John Dwnn, later an active Yorkist agent in the suppression of resistance in Wales.²⁷ It is therefore much more likely that the Yorkists concentrated at Ludlow or Wigmore; Croft Castle, only two miles from the battlefield and the home of one of Edward's most prominent supporters, would seem to offer an obvious forward base. This argument is borne out by the 'English Chronicler', which gives the impression, at least, that the Yorkists were awaiting the foe when they saw the parhelion, the day before the battle.

'Gregory' also tells the story of Owen Tudor's execution at Hereford, and of the 'mad woman' who washed the severed head and surrounded it with candles on the highest step of the market cross. This anecdote seems too extraordinary to have been an invention, and suggests, along with the detail about Widemarsh, that the author had talked to someone who had been at Hereford at the time; there were, after all, hundreds of Marchmen in London for Edward's accession who had been with him in the battle and at Hereford afterwards. Finally, 'Gregory' as a Londoner reflects the euphoria following the queen's retreat from the capital, when Edward and Warwick entered London, and popular acclaim wafted 'this fair white rose and herb, the earl of March', onto the throne.²⁸

Edward would probably not have become king without his victory at Mortimer's Cross, but he would hardly have retained the throne without his colossal triumph over the queen's army at Towton on 29 March.²⁹ The Monument is thus wrong in saying that Mortimer's Cross 'fixed Edward the Fourth on the Throne of England'. It did, however, unquestionably give him immense prestige, whereas Warwick suffered a humiliating eclipse with his defeat at St. Albans on 17 February, and loss of the puppet king, Henry VI. He hardly appears as a kingmaker in these events. In adopting the Sun in Splendour as his favourite device, Edward made it plain to all how he himself rated the importance of Mortimer's Cross, where the Holy Trinity had apparently given him such a dramatic sign of favour.³⁰

REFERENCES

- 1 Edward Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (1809), 251-4; like most chroniclers, he dates the battle on Candlemas Day. See 6-7 below.
- 2 Flavell Edmunds, 'The Battle of Mortimer's Cross, February 2, 1461, and its consequences' (Hereford, 1851); it includes the picture and note on the battle from John Speed's map of Herefordshire, 1610. An interesting display in Hereford Museum by Mr. M. L. Rhodes (Assistant Curator) is based on this paper, with models and authentic weapons. Mary Clive, *This Sun of York* (1973), 48, suggests the Brecon route.
- 3 R. Brooke, *Visits to Fields of Battle in England in the Fifteenth Century* (1857), ch. V, esp. 70: the year on the Monument was then 1460, because the legal year used to begin on Lady Day, 25 March; evidence cited on 71-2 from Parlt. Roll 1461 that Edward came from Shrewsbury to meet Jasper (see 8 below); details of finds on 75-6.
- 4 W. S. Symonds, *Malvern Chase* (1881), chs. IX-X, 147-81.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 181 (Trollope), 158-65 (Vaughan); for Vaughan's attainer, see *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies, (Camden Soc., old ser., LXIV, 1856), 84—note 18 below. See also correction at end.
- 6 Woolhope Club, First Field Meeting, 19 May 1896—account of outing to Croft, Aymestrey and Mortimer's Cross in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1896).
- 7 H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (1915), ch. V 'the campaign of Ludford' and ch. VI 'Mortimer's Cross'.
- 8 *English Chron.*, 90; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., 3rd ser., XXVIII, 1880), seems to be the only source for the foreign troops; perhaps their numbers were insignificant.
- 9 W. W. E. Wynne, 'Historical Papers (Puleston)', *Archaeol. Camb.*, 1st ser., I (1846), 146, Jasper (at Tenby) to Roger Puleston, 25 February 1461.
- 10 *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Gregory's Chronicle), ed. J. Gairdner, (Camden Soc., new ser., XVII, 1876), 208-10.
- 11 The author's mother-in-law, Mrs. K. V. Gardner, saw a parhelion near Huntingdon in the cold winter of 1940; Mr. E. Heath Agnew saw one in Leominster, about 2 p.m., probably in February 1947, another very cold winter. Edmunds refers (7) to Ross and other polar explorers on the subject.
- 12 I am grateful to Dr. John Stephens (Department of History, University of Edinburgh), who visited the site in July 1979, for his valuable suggestion that the Yorkists might have made an enveloping movement here, like the one by which the English destroyed the French army at Agincourt, 1415.
- 13 Howard Green, (a) *Guide to the Battlefields of Britain and Ireland* (1973), 99-101; (b) *The Central Midlands (The Regional Military Histories)* (1974), 60-4.
- 14 William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. J. H. Harvey with translation from the Latin (1969), 203-5.
- 15 R. S. Thomas, 'The political career, estates, and "connection" of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford (d. 1495)', (Wales [Swansea] Ph.D. thesis, 1971), esp. 188-99; 188, n. 3. Dr. Thomas dismisses the idea that Jasper went to France to recruit—hinted at by Lewis Glyn Cothi; Wiltshire, with experience in France and estates in Ireland, was more likely to have done this—see 4 above.

- ¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers (Milan)*, ed. A. B. Hinds (1912), 74.
¹⁷ 'John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400 to 1462', ed. G. L. and M. A. Harriss in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XXIV, (Camden Soc., 4th ser., IX, 1972), 229.
¹⁸ *English Chron.*, *op. cit.* in note 5, 110.
¹⁹ *Ibid.*, preface vi, 95.
²⁰ *Ibid.*, 80; Monument, and Hall, *op. cit.* in note 1, 251.
²¹ C. J. Robinson, *A History of the Castles of Herefordshire and their Lords* (1869), 141; the author does not say whom he is quoting.
²² *Gregory's Chronicle*, *op. cit.* in note 10, 211-14; the anonymous 'continuator' had a wry cockney wit, and was uncomplimentary both about Warwick's generalship and about the cavalry!
²³ *Ibid.*, 211; *Benet's Chron.*, *op. cit.* in note 17, 229, did not name the battle.
²⁴ Hall, *Chronicle*, *op. cit.* in note 1, 251, and as recently as in Winston Churchill, *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, vol. I, (1956), 352.
²⁵ On 22 August 1679, the Blessed John Kemble, a Roman Catholic priest, was martyred at 'Wigmarsh [sic] by Hereford'—note at Harvington Hall, near Kidderminster.
²⁶ *Gregory's Chron.*, 211; *Annales* (wrongly attributed to William Worcester), 776—ed. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth etc.* (Rolls Series, 1861-4).
²⁷ Jasper to Puleston (n. 9), refers to the 'traitors March, Herbert and Dwns, with their affinities, as well in letting us of our journey to the King, as in putting my father your kinsman to the death . . .'. See Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (1975), 58.
²⁸ *Gregory's Chron.*, *op. cit.* in note 10, 211, 215.
²⁹ R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (1981), 871: after quoting Jasper's letter to Puleston, Prof. Griffiths concludes that 'Had Edward of March been worsted at Mortimer's Cross, it is likely that the Yorkist dynasty would never have occupied the English throne'. I am very grateful to Professor Griffiths for some invaluable help.
³⁰ The Tudor chroniclers Hall and Holinshed are both very definite on this point; see also Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, Part III, Act II, Scene 1.
 Correction: After further reading, I have realised that the Thomas Vaughan attainted after Ludford was not Thomas of Hergest. He was first a Lancastrian, then a Yorkist servant; finally chamberlain to Edward prince of Wales (later Edward V), he was beheaded in 1483 along with Rivers and Grey—J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: biographies of the members of the Commons House 1439-1509* (1936), 902-3; William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, Act 3, Scene 3.

The History of Upper Orchard, Hoarwithy

By HEATHER HURLEY

INTRODUCTION

UPPER ORCHARD is a spacious four-storied dwelling built of local sandstone and now partly rendered. It is situated in an elevated position alongside the road overlooking the banks of the river Wye in the riverside village of Hoarwithy, lying at the northern end of Hentland parish in the county of Herefordshire. The house stands in $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre together with a recently restored detached cottage, stable, workshop, verandah and old privies, currently used as a garden shed and chicken house. The house appears to be built in three different stages, the earlier part probably dating from 1690/1700 with the adjoining building added around 1820. The later extension was erected early this century on former stone foundations.

In 1982 Upper Orchard is used as a guest house offering visitors wine appreciation courses and walking holidays in accommodation consisting of nine bedrooms, three toilets and bathrooms, lounge, sitting room, dining room, kitchen and a large cellar used for the storage of wine and fuel. The building has changed over the years from being a coaching inn, then a temperance hotel to becoming a private guest house, and many of the rooms also changed their use over the years.

1695-1835

A couple of years ago my young son, found a William III half-penny of 1695 buried beneath the yew tree in our garden, which gives us some indication of the existence of a dwelling on this site in the 1690s. The first documentary evidence of Upper Orchard appears in the Land Tax Returns of 1776 under the entry of R. Smith being the owner/occupier of the Anchor paying an annual tax of 5s. 4d. Then in the Hentland parish registers we learn that William was baptised the son of Richard and Rebecca Smith, but there is no record at Hentland of the marriage of Richard and Rebecca Smith, which suggests they were married outside the parish. During the years between 1791 and 1807 there is an entry, in the Kings Caple Overseers' Accounts, of Richard Smith of the Anchor being paid a yearly amount for the lodging of the poor in the adjoining parish of Hentland, and the Land Tax Returns of 1802 shows the change of name of the property from the Anchor to The Harp Inn with the same amount of tax being paid by R. Smith. The death of Richard Smith is recorded in the parish registers, and from the Probate Index his will of 1809 was traced leaving his estate to his wife Rebecca and after her death to his son, William.

By 1813 Mrs. Smith obviously found the running of The Harp Inn too much for a widow, so she advertised the property to be let or sold in the *Hereford Journal*, where a change of name again occurs to The Bolt. After finding a tenant for the inn under the name of R. Smart, Mrs. Smith continued to live in the village at Waterloo Cottage until her death in 1826 leaving the property to her sister Mary Payne of Much Dewchurch. There is no mention or record of her son William, and the name of the inn was still not settled by 1835, as on Bryant's map of that year it appears as Bolt or Old Harp.

1839-1909

From the Hentland Tithe Map of 1839, with its apportionment of 1842, we learn that the innkeeper was John Williams who rented the Old Harp from John Roberts, whose family owned 'the capital messuage' in Hentland from 1671-1799. From some old deeds relating to the Harp Inn it can be seen that the property passed into the hands of Elizabeth Burgess in 1842, and by the Census of 1851 Thomas Williams was the victualler. In 1855 an Act was passed to enable a bridge to be erected across the Wye at Hoarwithy to replace the horse ferry, and the meetings of the Hoarwithy Bridge Company were held at the Harp Inn during the years 1855-75.

By the 1861 Census John Harry appears as the innkeeper, and in this year the Harp came into the ownership of Chandos Wren Hoskyns of Harewood House until the whole of the Harewood estate was split up by auction in 1877. Now at this time James Preece was the Harp's landlord, also trading as a butcher and timber merchant, and he was obviously upset when the inn came into the hands of the Revds. Pigott and Bosanquet in 1884, because they de-licensed the inn and turned it into the Harp Temperance Hotel under the management of Mrs. Mary Shaw. However, the ex-landlord promptly moved over the road and opened the New Harp Public House at the dwelling previously known as Fishbrook Cottage. The Harp Temperance Hotel remained in business over the turn of the century with Miss Fanny Pope in charge, and from our own deeds we know that the Hotel together with four acres of land were sold to Mrs. Addis and the Misses Parry in 1909 for £650.

1929-1978

In 1929 these ladies then sold the property for £950 to their tenant Andrew Mailes who had been running the business since 1913. Mr. Mailes and his family continued trading under various names including Mailes Guest House, Upper Poplars and The Retreat. Also in 1929 the Old Harp Fisheries were sold, but the Right of Common or Pisary for one rod to fish still exists today along three stretches of riverbank. In 1953 the Mailes family sold the guest house to the

Barker-Benfields for £4,300 which included the stone built garage situated next to Hoarwithy Chapel. The Barker-Benfields altered and modernised the house but sold it in 1959 for only £3,000. The sale description in the *Hereford Times* was as follows: —

'Hotel and Tea Room in beauty spot. A freehold fully furnished guest house, AA and RAC. 9 bedrooms, 3 bathrooms, 2 WC's, Sun Logia, detached bungalow, garage for 6 cars, lawns, garden and orchard'.

During the early 1960s the accommodation business must have been poor because there were three different ownerships in the names of Mrs. McKellen, James Mallows & Edith Fairclough and Mr. Barrell, but in 1964 the property under the name of Wye Haven Guest House was bought by Audrey Harrison for £4,800 and she managed to run a successful business at Hoarwithy for fourteen years. Ill health forced this owner to move so the house was again up for sale, and bought by the Hurleys in 1978 for £27,000. They immediately changed the name to Upper Orchard, which is the name of the adjoining field as shown on the Tithe Map, and the detached cottage was sold to Mr. and Mrs. Chilcott.

UNDOCUMENTED KNOWLEDGE

Information about Upper Orchard has been learned from neighbours and previous owners, and it has been said that the house was a coaching inn as far back as the 15th century. Before the front garden was made it was a cobbled yard with a pump and well, where cows were driven across to be tied under the verandah at milking times. Apparently a friendly female ghost wearing a mob-cap roams the front bedrooms, but of her we have neither seen nor heard. When the house was used as an inn the bar was located on the ground-floor where the massive chimney stack can be seen, and the adjoining lofty room was used for hanging meats. The whole of the lower ground-floor was originally cellars, but two of them were converted into a kitchen and dining room during the 1950s. During redecoration in November 1982 some well-preserved wall paintings were discovered in the lounge, two of which have been left on display while the art experts confirm they are of early-19th-century origin.

SOURCES

- Bosanquet Deeds relating to the Harp Inn 1842-1884, H.R.O. A82/115.
- Census Returns for Hentland 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871.
- J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the History of the County of Herefordshire*, vol. 6 (1813).
- A. Fleming, *Notes on Hentland Parish*, H.R.O. L32.

Harewood Estate Sale Particulars 1877, H.R.O. A82/126.
 Hereford Probate Records Index, H.R.O. AA20.
 Hereford Probate Records, Wills 1810 and 1826, H.R.O. AA20.
 Hentland Parish Records and Registers.
 Hentland Parish Land Tax Returns 1776-1831.
 Hoarwithy Bridge Company Minute Book 1855-1875, H.R.O. Q/RWb/1.
 Tithe Map of Hentland Parish 1839.
 A. Bryant, Map of the County of Herefordshire 1835.
 E. Cassey, *Directory of Herefordshire* 1858.
 Deeds of the Harp Temperance Hotel and Wychaven 1909-64 in author's possession.
Hereford Journal, 22 Dec. 1813 and 18 March 1815.
Hereford Journal Index 1770-1831.
Hereford Times, 10 and 24 April, 22 May and 12 June 1959.
 Jakeman and Carver, *Directory of Herefordshire* 1890 and 1914.
Kelly's Directory of Herefordshire 1856, 1863, 1870, 1879, 1885, 1891, 1895, 1905, 1913, and 1939.
 Kings Cople Parish Overseers' Accounts 1791-1807.
Littlebury's Directory of Herefordshire 1863 and 1876.
 Mailes family photographs and tariff card in author's possession.

APPENDICES

1—Will of Richard Smith 1809

'In the name of God Amen—I Richard Smith of Hoarwithy of the Parish of Hentland and County of Hereford Victuler doth hereby Publish this my last Will and Testament Revoking all former Wills by me made in manner as follows—that is to say give and bequeath to my Wife Rebecca Smith all my Reale and Personale Estate of what Nature and Kind soever that I am possessed with after paying my Just Debts and Funerale expences so long that she continues a Widow and to my Son William Smith after her Decease, and Should she think propper to Marry again then the whole to be given to my Son William Smith and his Heirs and in Case he Should have an Heir to Whom he thinks propper—this I declare to be my last Will and Testament in the presence of Whose hands are under written as Witness my hand this 28th day of November 1809.'

Witness

Margery Roberts
 Mary Wheeler
 Thomas James

Richard Smith

2—Sale advert from the Hereford Journal March 18th 1815

HOARWITHY, HEREFORDSHIRE

Desirable Freehold Premises To Be Let
 or Sold

With immediate possession

All that Old Established and Well accommodated Inn called The Harp at Hoarwithy on the turnpike road leading from Hereford to Ross-on-Wye, being 8 miles from the former, and 5 from the latter, pleasantly situated on the Banks of the much admired and Navigable River Wye. The House is spacious, with all suitable and necessary attached and detached offices, in the most perfect repair, large garden and orchard, well planted with choice fruit trees.

For particulars apply on the premises to Mrs. Smith the proprietor and if by letter Post-Paid.

3—Harewood Estate Sale particular 1877

LOT 6

(Coloured Yellow on Plan)

THE "HARP INN."

Situate at HOARWITHY,

In the Parish of HENTLAND, on the High Road from ROSS to HEREFORD.

With DWELLING HOUSE,

Containing Two Attics, Three Bed Rooms, Parlour, Tap Room, Bar, Store Room, and Cellar in the Basement, and the following OUTBUILDINGS, Brewhouse, Stable for Four Horses and Loft over, open Shed, Piggeries, Yard, GARDEN &c.; containing together

as follows—

2.40	The Old Harp Inn	0 2 4
2.41	Buildings and Garden	

Let to Mr. JAMES PREECE, with other Land, part on Agreement from Year to year, and part as Yearly Tenant, at a Total Rent of £41 per Annum for the entirety.

The apportioned Rent to be received by the Purchaser of this Lot will be £30 per Annum

Land Tax paid by Landlord, 3s. 4d. per Annum

Timber, &c., Nil.

4—Tariff card early 20th century

The Guest House
HOARWITHY
Nr. Hereford

Resident Proprietors:
Mr. & Mrs. A. E. Mailes

Established 1900

SITUATED in beautiful country in very pretty village in Wye Valley
half-way between Hereford and Ross on good bus route.
1 minute Shop, Post & Church.

BALLINGHAM STATION G.W.R. 2 MILES

Ideal for walking or touring Wye Valley
..... Large Gardens and Lawns for sitting out

LOCAL PRODUCE

Good hunting country with South Hereford
Hounds and Ross Harriers

MEALS

Breakfast 9 a.m.
Lunch 1 p.m.

Afternoon Tea 4 p.m.
Dinner 7 p.m.

Sundays

Dinner 1 p.m.

Supper 7 p.m.

BRIGHT, PLEASANT ROOMS...MODERN INDOOR SANITATION
ELECTRIC LIGHT...TWO BATHROOMS with H & C WATER

Early Morning Tea 3d per Cup. Meals in rooms 6d each.

LOCK-UP GARAGE 1/- per DAY. NO REDUCTIONS FOR ABSENCE
FROM MEALS

Opposition to Parliamentary Enclosure in Herefordshire, 1793-1815

By W. K. PARKER

THE object of this paper is to examine the nature and extent of opposition to enclosure in the county during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars with a view to showing that the process excited more controversy than an initial impression might suggest and, that faced with opposition, the promoters' first reaction was to seek the highest common factor of agreement amongst the interested parties.

The dominant features of the enclosures movement in Herefordshire are twofold: the small number of acts, 35 in all in the period under discussion if the confirmatory Marston act of 1811 is included; and the small acreages involved, for of the enclosures in the period for which acreages are known, only four, those at Leintwardine 1799, Yarkhill 1799, Bodenham 1802 and Marden 1808, involved more than 1,000 acres. Consequently the total acreage involved was small, about 4.1% of the county acreage being enclosed by parliamentary act 1790-1820. Gonner cites only six English counties with a smaller percentage enclosed during the period.¹

Thus the enclosure movement in the county was essentially a tidying-up process, but even so, in the areas affected, was bound to upset the delicate balance of interests built up over the centuries. This was particularly so in areas as Marden where the amending act of 1818 mentions shifting tenures whereby the lands of each proprietor were varied yearly, confusion over parish and township boundaries and therefore over tithe liability, and homesteads in one parish or township with common rights in another. No doubt many promoters of enclosure acts in the county sympathised with Lord Somers when he announced in the *Hereford Journal* of 2 February 1815 that he had given up the idea of enclosing Malvern Chase 'from the variety of claims, the perplexity of boundaries and probable litigation likely to ensue'.

The relatively limited nature of enclosure in the county helps to explain the failure of the issue to excite much local debate. In 1794 Clark was able to put forward the orthodox improver's arguments in favour of enclosure without provoking any public reaction, whilst the letters of 'Candidus' and 'A Coffee House Lounger', published in the *Hereford Journal* in January 1796, which rehearsed rather mechanically the conventional arguments pro and contra enclosure in general terms, also failed to stimulate a local debate on the issue. Again, none

of the few local instances of cattle-or horse-maiming, hedgebreaking or rick-burning reported in the *Journal* occurred in localities affected by enclosure at or near the time when that was taking place. It is also significant that Duncumb, writing in 1805, did not feel obliged to discuss the issue at all.²

The impression that enclosure was not an issue locally is reinforced by the summaries of the parliamentary proceedings concerning local enclosure bills found in the *House of Commons Journals*. Only in five cases, Wellington 1794, Kinnersley 1801, Leominster 1808, Marden 1808 and Wigmore 1810, were counter petitions presented to the Commons and counsel attended at the committee stage to argue the objectors' cases. In the case of the Wigmore bill the petition was presented on behalf of the impropiator of Aymestrey rectorial tithes, but in the other cases opposition seems to have been more broadly based and petitions were presented on behalf of freeholders whose interests were threatened by some clause or other in the bill, but unfortunately specific objections are not given in the *Journals* and it is thus not possible to judge from the acts themselves whether or not the objections of the counter petitioners were successful. Some of the objectors to the Kinnersley bill, those who objected to the inclusion of Hurstley Common in the bill, did meet with success however, for it was duly excluded, to be enclosed in 1860.³ In no fewer than 14 instances, at the report stage of bills to enclose land in the county it could be announced that 'All the parties concerned have given their consent' and that 'No persons appeared before the Committee to oppose the Bill'.

Table 1. *Enclosure bills to which no opposition was reported in the Commons.*

1799 Yarkhill	1810 Stapleton
1806 King's Pyon	1811 Marston
1807 Hope Mansell	1811 Kingstone
1808 Byford	1811 Eardisland
1809 Bredwardine and Dorstone	1812 Much and Little Birch
1809 Shobdon, Lingen, Kingsland and Aymestrey	1813 Whitney
1809 Bishopstone and Mansell Lacy	1813 Eastnor

Source: *Journals of the House of Commons*.

In those cases where some interested parties refused to support the petition to enclose, the aggregate value of their lands, usually given in terms of liability to land tax, was small in terms of the percentage of the total value of the land involved, on average about 5.9%, with the greatest opposition, in terms of value, at Castle Frome and Bishop's Frome 1801, 16.38%, Marden 1808, 14.8%, and Eggleton in Bishop's Frome and Stretton Grandisson 1813, 12.52%. At the other extreme, one cannot but wonder at the tenacity or obstinacy of the one proprietor at Much Cowarne whose holding was valued at 4s. 8d., who continued to oppose the enclosure to the bitter end!

Table 2 which shows the value of the lands to be enclosed and the extent of opposition as reported to the Commons reveals no significant relationship between the level of opposition and the acreage or type of land to be enclosed. Nor does the inclusion of tithe commutation seem to have influenced the level of opposition.⁴ There does seem to have been a reduction in the extent of opposition over time however. Thus, 8 of the 9 acts in the first wave of enclosure, 1794-1802, met with opposition, but only 13 out of 26 acts in the second wave, 1806-14. Moreover the average percentage of proprietors by value opposing enclosure fell from 6.8% in the first wave to 4.9% in the second. There was, however, an increase in the number of acts to which proprietors had declared their neutrality in the matter. Thus in the first wave, neutral proprietors were reported in four cases, while in the second wave, neutral proprietors were reported in 12 of the 13 bills which experienced some opposition. Again the percentage of proprietors by value declaring their neutrality increased from 7.29% in the first wave of enclosure to 8.46%, excluding the exceptionally high percentage of neutrals in the Norton Canon bill. Presumably the futility, and possibly the risks entailed by opposition had much to do with this change in attitude.

However there are grounds for doubting if the figures presented to the Commons at the report stage of the bills are a true reflection of the opposition which they encountered. Dr. Michael Turner suggests that promoters deliberately presented the extent of opposition in the terms best calculated to minimise it, hence the variation in the unit in which proprietors' estates were reckoned. Again, as Dr. Turner stresses, the extent of opposition was invariably given in terms of the value of the opposition rather than its numerical strength, hence the objections of scores of lesser proprietors were easily outweighed by the consent of a few substantial proprietors who stood to gain most from an enclosure.⁵

Though neither charge can be substantiated from even the best documented Herefordshire enclosures of the period, there is, nonetheless, evidence to suggest that greater opposition existed within the county to the process than is implied by the figures quoted at the report stage of the bills to the Commons. Thus the original petition for a bill to enclose lands at Bodenham in 1801 refers to a total of 4,000 acres, and though permission to bring in a bill was granted, this was not proceeded with, and when the petition was re-introduced in the following session, the ensuing act referred to only 2,000 acres. Presumably the objectors had been able to insist upon the exclusion of some areas originally included in the scheme.⁶ Again, in requesting the Commons to consider a petition to enclose lands at Kingstone in 1811 although it did not entirely conform with the Standing Orders of the House, the promoters explained that:

Table 2. *The extent of declared opposition or neutrality to Parliamentary enclosure.*

Date	Parishes and townships involved	Total value			%	Value of opposition			%	Value of neutrals			%
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
1794	Wellington	335	12	4½		6	8	1	1.9	31	18	10½	9.5
1795	Much Marcle, Kinaston, and Wolton	283	2	11½		35	7	3¼	12.5	9	9	1	3.34
1796	Tarrington	468 acres				21 acres			4.48	—			—
1798	Bleathwood in Little Hereford	106	16	10		13	9	8	7.9	—			—
1798	Mocktree in Leintwardine, Downton, Burrington, Aston, Elton & Marlow	5171	5	0		75	5	0	1.45	—			—
1801	Long Frome in Castle Frome, Bishop's Frome, Much Cowarne, Evesbatch	348 acres				57 acres			16.38	—			—
1801	Kinnersley	87	14	1		3	18	4	4.5	6	4	7	7.1
1802	Bodenham	149	2	7½		8	2	5	5.4	13	15	11½	9.25
1808	Leominster & Luston in Eye	1875	0	0		22	0	0	1.2	312	10	0	16.67
1808	Marden	940½ acres				94½ acres			10.0	54½ acres			5.8
		405	9	10½		78	13	0	19.39	50	16	0	12.5
1809	Mordiford, Lugwardine & Dormington	74	0	1½		3	17	4	5.24	1	15	10	2.4
1810	Wigmore	85	2	7		2	9	5	2.9	1	2	7	1.32
1811	Brilley, Eardisley & Huntington	135	10	11½		11	19	11	8.85	12	13	7	9.34
1811	Allensmore	48	17	1½		16	2		1.6	6	16	5	13.97
1813	Clehonger	53	10	10½		11	11		1.1	—			—
1813	Ledbury	543	4	0		18	2		0.16	52	3	10	9.6
1813	Much Cowarne	166	8	10		4	8		0.15	10	15	6	6.47
1813	Eggleton in Bishop's Frome & Stretton Grandisson	138	14	1		17	7	2	12.52	1	10	0	1.1
1814	Norton Canon	66	19	10		2	4	2	3.3	30	3	4	45.93
1814	Aymestrey	253	13	6½		8	16	1½	3.47	6	1	11	2.4
1814	Orcop	44	7	2		3	14	6	8.4	5	2	6	11.55

Source: *Journals of the House of Commons.*

Values given in terms of liability to land tax.

'Difficulties had arisen as to the terms of the inclosure, the assents of several material Parties could not be obtained until a few days before the last day for presenting Private Bills'.⁷

The inclusion of clauses in the Tarrington, Yarkhill and Castle Frome bills providing penalties for damaging fences suggest that the promoters anticipated problems. In the cases of the Shobdon and Bishopstone bills, the insertion of clauses requiring the appointment of an umpire by amendment in the Lords,⁸ and the inclusion of similar clauses in the Leominster, Bredwardine, Byford, Stapleton, Wigmore, Allensmore, Aymestrey and Orcop bills gives some insight into the tensions and mistrust generated by enclosure.

The *Journals of the House of Commons* reveals several instances of enclosure projects in the county experiencing delay, sometimes considerable, or else being abandoned, presumably as a result of the complex issues raised and the opposition which the scheme generated. Thus, though permission was granted to bring in a bill enclosing lands at Eardisley in 1798, this was not proceeded with, and the parish did not figure in parliamentary enclosure until the act of 1811. The Commons also gave permission to bring in bills providing for enclosure at Whitchurch in 1801 and at Letton in 1802, but both schemes were then abandoned. Again, the petition to enclose at Kingstone in 1801 failed to produce a bill and the petition had to be re-introduced the following session, whilst another petition to enclose at Kingstone and Abbey Dore in 1811 proved abortive. Finally, although the original petition to enclose at Norton Canon was presented to the Commons in 1812, the act was not secured until 1814.⁹

Similar evidence of opposed and abortive enclosure schemes can be gathered from the columns of the *Hereford Journal*. Thus in September 1812 notice was given of the intention to apply for an act to enclose land at Bromyard, Whitbourne, Avebury, Bosbury, Colwall and Coddington, but nothing came of the scheme. In the same year a proposal to enclose land at Clehonger provoked sufficient objection for 23 proprietors to publicise their opposition in the *Hereford Journal*. They considered the proposal to enclose:

'to be attended with a very great expence to the landed proprietors . . . and to be highly prejudicial, inconvenient and oppressive'.

However such opposition was shortlived and unsuccessful, for at the report stage of the bill the proprietors by value objecting was set at no more than 11s. 11d., or 1.1% of the total value involved. One suspects that the social status of many of these objectors was such that they could not afford to carry their opposition further, or that they were pressurised into acceptance. Certainly 12 of the objectors were unable to sign their names, which suggests that they were of relatively

humble status. On the other hand they might have been bought off by concessions. The act contained a clause empowering the commissioners to lay together allotments so that they might be enjoyed by the owners in common.¹⁰ A similar clause is to be found in both the Brilley act of 1811 and the Norton Canon act of 1814, two other enclosures which seem to have provoked more opposition than usual.

1813 saw another unsuccessful attempt to initiate enclosure at Colwall, but it was in the north-west of the county that opposition was most active. In September the *Hereford Journal* carried notices of 'intentions to seek no fewer than four acts in this area: for Aymestrey, Shirley, Upper and Lower Lye and Covenhope in Shirley; for these localities and also for Kingsland, Kinsham and Eyton; for Orleton; and for Bircher Common in the parishes of Bircher and Yarpole. These proposals provoked considerable opposition, so much so that the Bircher Common enclosure was abandoned, the Orleton enclosure did not begin until 1817, whilst the remaining two schemes were apparently merged, with Kinsham and Eyton omitted.

Initially the opposition seems to have been strongest at Eyton and Kingsland where meetings of freeholders hostile to the scheme were held and the resolutions passed at such meetings were published in the *Hereford Journal*. Neither notice reveals clearly the basis for the opposition, though it was clearly determined and organised. Both meetings resolved that:

1. Any attempts to obtain powers of inclosure without full consent are unjust.
2. Such measures are wholly objected to by us and will be legally opposed. . .

In both parishes committees were formed to co-ordinate opposition, M.P.s were instructed to oppose the introduction of the bill and lawyers were retained. The Eyton meeting went on to resolve that it would not join with any other parish or bear any part of the expense of obtaining an act.

It has been possible to obtain some insight into the social status of 28 of the 36 signatories to the Kingsland and Eyton notices: 21 of them were landowners, owning between them land worth £444 per annum, of which only land values at £33 was not owner-occupied. Three men, including J. Bright, who took the chair at the Kingsland meeting and who was later named in the act as one of the 'chief proprietors', each owned land worth £50 per year; five others each owned land worth £20; and another five had estates valued at £10 per year. The estates of each of the remaining eight were valued at less than £10. The 21 landowners also rented between them lands worth a further £330 per year.¹¹ The lands at Kingsland scheduled to be enclosed in the Aymestrey act of 1814 are identical to those listed in the original notice of September 1813 stating the intention to seek an act, so the

Kingsland proprietors finally dropped their opposition, but if the status of the objectors at Bircher, Yarpole and Kinsham was similar to that of the Kingsland and Eyton objectors, it is hardly surprising that they succeeded in carrying the day.

By 1814, with the war drawing to a close and wheat prices falling sharply, the impetus to enclose fell away. Even so, several schemes which were mooted were abandoned in the face of opposition. The scheme to enclose Orleton Common was revived, to no avail, and in 1815 schemes to enclose at Kington and Ross came to nothing.¹²

Table 3. *Abortive enclosure schemes.*

1798 Eardisley	1813 Colwall
1801 Whitchurch	1813 Kinsham and Eyton
1802 Letton	1813 Bircher and Yarpole
1798 Kingstone and Abbey Dore	1813 Orleton
1812 Norton Canon	1815 Kington
1812 Bromyard	1815 Ross
	1815 Malvern Chase

Sources: *The Journals of the House of Commons* and the *Hereford Journal*.

The bunching of abortive enclosure schemes in the closing years of the war is the opposite of what one might expect, given the data of Table 2, which suggests a diminution of opposition to parliamentary enclosure as the period progressed. It would suggest that opponents of enclosure had begun to realise that they stood a better chance of success if they mobilised their forces as soon as the project had got under way, that if they waited until the scheme had begun its parliamentary process, then it was too late.

So far we have considered the opposition to parliamentary enclosure in broad terms only, and to obtain a real insight into the stresses which enclosure generated in a community it is desirable that individual enclosures should be examined in depth. Unfortunately the relevant documentary evidence is available in only four cases; Much Marcle, Shobdon, Bredwardine and Aymestrey; thus any conclusions can only be highly tentative.

At Much Marcle the promoters faced a five-fold problem: the commutation of tithes in Yatton; the commutation of the great tithes in Much Marcle and Wolton; the location of the glebe allotment; the propriety of allowing the vicar of Much Marcle to borrow money; and the clause empowering the commissioners to order exchanges of old enclosures without the consent of the proprietors. The chief protagonists were Edward Wallwyn, one of the promoters of the enclosure,

the bishops of Hereford and Bangor, and the vicar, Rev. John Roberts, though the alignment was not necessarily that of the three clergymen against Wallwyn. He, thanks to a timely warning from his cousin, realised the necessity of conciliating the clergy and from the outset went out of his way to do so.¹³

The bishop of Bangor was mainly concerned with the location of the glebe-land and the question of allowing Roberts to borrow. His views counted for much since he was sitting on the Lords committee which was to examine the bill and he later reported the bill to the House. He forced the promoters, despite bitter opposition from Wallwyn, to insert an amendment before the bill received its third reading in the Commons providing for twenty acres of glebe to be allotted adjacent to the vicarage and banning the vicar from leasing out this land. The clause allowing the vicar to borrow was also deleted at the bishop's insistence.¹⁴

The difficulty over commutation was far more complex. It was not that the clergy opposed commutation in principle, rather was it that there was a difference of opinion over the best means of realising this. Wallwyn maintained that there was not sufficient land in the open fields to allot land in lieu of tithes. Initially the bishop of Hereford had favoured corn rents and his lessee, Fendall, did not object, but Roberts did, moreover he did not wish the act to include the Yatton tithes. Despite attempts by Wallwyn to put pressure on him through the duke of Norfolk and Money, the patron of the living, Roberts would not yield upon this last point, and in the end the Yatton tithes were excluded. That Roberts could withstand such pressure might seem surprising, but he was a forceful man, (in 1793 he had assaulted Wallwyn at a parish meeting), and, as the protégé of the duke of Norfolk, was not without some political influence, for in 1796 he was the instrument of a coup which unseated Sir George Cornwall, a member for the county, in the general election of that year.¹⁵

In the meantime difficulties had arisen with the bishop of Hereford over the commutation of the tithes on timber, and as no agreement could be reached on this point, negotiations were broken off and the bishop's name deleted from the bill. He seems to have had little influence, for even Griffiths, the cautious enclosure solicitor, thought his refusal to be of little consequence and believed that it should not deter Wallwyn from proceeding.¹⁶

Compared with the difficulties experienced with commutation, and possibly even as a consequence of them, the opposition provoked by the clause giving the commissioners the power to make compulsory exchanges was soon disposed of: the clause was promptly dropped as soon as objections were raised, despite the fact that the consent of at least 80% of the proprietors by value had already been obtained.¹⁷

At Shobdon and Bredwardine the problems were legal and procedural. At Shobdon the trouble stemmed from the demand of the vicar of Lingen that he should be treated on the same basis as the rector of Shobdon, that is, to have his allotment fenced at the expense of the other proprietors, and to be exempted from paying his share of the expenses.¹⁸ As the act was silent on these points, legal opinion seems to have held that he was not entitled to any particular exemption or privilege and the enclosure went ahead on the original terms.

At Bredwardine the problem was two-fold: whether the common, which lay partly in Bredwardine parish and partly in Dorstone, though entirely within the manor of Bredwardine, should be shared by the parishioners or solely by the manorial tenants; and whether the commissioners had the power to make a special award without particular and specific provision in the act. The second point was purely procedural and was quickly disposed of: since there was no special provision in the act, no special special award could be made. The first problem was considered to be highly unusual and the queries made to various legal authorities brought no conclusive answer, though the consensus of opinion favoured the parishioners rather than only the manorial tenants, and this was the course followed, so averting a great deal of resentment.¹⁹

In the case of the Aymestrey and Kingsland enclosure, even after the exclusion of Kinsham and Eyton and the apparent eventual acquiescence of the Kingsland freeholders, opposition persisted. Objections were threefold: that the expenses might be so great that all the common land would have to be sold to defray them; that Allerton, a London land surveyor who had been nominated as one of the commissioners, was the agent for Hanbury, one of the promoters of the enclosure; and that the commissioners were to have the power to exchange homesteads and old enclosures without the consent of the proprietors concerned. Two groups opposed the enclosure, one led by Johnson, lord of the manor of Shirley, and the other led by Gethin, a substantial farmer. The former group was opposed only to the choice of Allerton as commissioner, and when he proved to their satisfaction that he was not an agent of Hanbury, their opposition ceased. The second group of opponents was much more worrying to the promoters:

'... opposition assumed a formidable shape, Gethin, a tenant of Hanbury's and to whom the lower classes look up a great, is become a violent opponent of the measure'.

To call Gethin 'a tenant of Hanbury's' was rather less than the truth, for he farmed land worth £236 10s. per annum of which he owned land worth £140, rented lands worth £49 from Hanbury, and the remainder from the Newnham's.²⁰

The main objection was the expense. It was on this point that Gethin based his opposition to the choice of Allerton as a commissioner, arguing that as Allerton was based in London, his expenses would be very heavy. The opposition was very strong, according to Evans, a supporter of the enclosure; it comprised a third of the proprietors in value and numerically outweighed the supporters of the enclosure scheme by three or four to one. Evans was all for calling off the project, and in the end the promoters had to make concessions. Allerton promised that his expenses would amount to no more than those of a commissioner living near at hand and the clause empowering the commissioners to make compulsory exchanges was dropped. Allerton's anxiety to serve as a commissioner is certainly intriguing and must throw some doubt on his assertion that he was not an agent of Hanbury.²¹

In conclusion it seems clear that enclosure generated much more opposition than that indicated at the report stage of the bills in the Commons, and that the main factors behind such opposition were the expense and the fear of high-handed and arbitrary action on the part of the promoters and commissioners. Nor was opposition taken lightly, for as we have seen, determined opponents could certainly delay, if not force the abandonment of an enclosure project.

If we can generalise from the relatively scanty documentary evidence available, enclosure promoters were anxious to obtain the widest possible measure of support and faced with opposition, the stock response appears to have been conciliatory, and if no other compromise was possible, offending clauses were promptly deleted. Only in one case is there a hint of extra-legal practice, when at Much Marcle Wallwyn urged that certain opponents should be silenced as soon as the occasion offered itself.²² The relatively low levels of opposition and neutrality reported in the Commons therefore do not entirely represent attempts to mislead the House and public opinion at large, they also indicate the success of the promoters in reconciling conflicting interests and conciliating potential opponents, at least those in the property-owning classes.

To the smaller proprietors the expense of enclosure might well have proved an insurmountable burden and to forestall opposition from this source, several acts exempted smaller proprietors from bearing their share of the general expenses. The Leintwardine act provided for R. P. Knight, the major landowner, to bear the expense which should have fallen upon proprietors whose estates were valued at less than £5. At Eastnor, proprietors whose lands were valued at less than £5, or whose personal property amounted to less than £100 in value were exempted from the rate levied to finance the enclosures, while at Kingstone expenses were met wholly by Croome, the promoter and principal proprietor in the parish. The clause allowing small allotments to be laid together and enjoyed in common by the

proprietors included in the Clehonger, Norton Canon and Brilley acts probably stemmed from the same consideration. Of course such concessions did not necessarily stem from altruistic motives, for it was worthwhile making such small gestures in view of the huge gains which the landowners stood to make. At Much Marcle, for example, Wallwyn was able to boast to a friend that the enclosure had increased the value of his estate, Hellens, by no less than £8,000. In such circumstances magnanimity was worthwhile!²³

It would be naive to think that once the act had been obtained the enclosure would go ahead without further hitches. At Much Marcle there was confusion over the financing of the enclosure and disputes over accounts, rights of way, exchanges and responsibility for hedging continued until at least 1809. At Aymestrey the survey of holdings generated a certain amount of conflict and in the end 'a certain reluctance to give up holdings' was reported. At Marden relations between the commissioners and some of the proprietors became so strained by 1815 that the former refused to allow the latter to examine the accounts and there was a move to appoint new commissioners.²⁴ Such difficulties occurring in the implementation of enclosure acts in the county however, lie outside the scope of the present paper.

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- ⁴ The enclosures at Wellington 1794, Much Marcle 1797, Bodenham 1802, Shobdon 1809, Much and Little Birch 1812, Eastnor 1813, Eggleton in Bishop's Frome and Stretton Grandisson 1813, and Orcop 1814 all involved at least partial tithe commutation.
- ⁵ W. E. Tate, *op. cit.* in note 1, 27.
- ⁶ *H.C.J.*, vol. 56, 17.3.01. For the terms of the act, see *Hereford Enclosure Acts No. 4* at Hereford City Library, Reference Section.
- ⁷ *H.C.J.*, vol. 66, 25.3.11.
- ⁸ *H.C.J.*, vol. 64, 31.5.09.
- ⁹ *H.C.J.*, vol. 53, 23.2.98; vol. 56, 13.3.01; vol. 57, 18.2.02; vol. 65, 8.2.10; vol. 66, 31.1.11; vol. 68, 10.12.12.
- ¹⁰ *H.J.* 9.9.12, 16.9.12; *Herefordshire Enclosure Acts No. 8*.
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- ¹² *H.J.* 31.8.14, 30.8.15, 27.9.15.
- ¹³ *H.C.R.O.* 'Papers relating to the Much Marcle Enclosure'. RC/IV/E/15, RC/IV/E/21, RC/IV/E/35, HC/IV/E/50, HC/IV/E/55.

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¹⁵ *H.C.R.O.* *op. cit.* in note 13, RC/IV/E/57, RC/IV/E59-60, RC/IV/E/94.

¹⁶ *Idem.*, RC/IV/E/41-43.

¹⁷ *Idem.*, RC/IV/E/44, RC/IV/E/51.

¹⁸ 'Letters, accounts and other papers relating to the Kingsland and Aymestrey Inclosures, 1810-34'. Hanbury Collection No. 728, awaiting re-cataloguing at *H.C.R.O.*

¹⁹ *H.C.R.O.* J56/III/86, 'Correspondence concerning the enclosure of lands owned by Sir George Cornwall, 1805-10'; 18.4.10 Wainwright to Cornwall, 7.5.10 Cornwall to Tyndall, 9.5.10 Tyndall to Cornwall, 6.5.10 Cornwall to James, 6.4.10 Foster to Cornwall, June 1810 Claridge to Cornwall.

²⁰ *H.C.R.O.* Hanbury Collection No. 728, 18.3.14, 23.3.14, 7.5.14, Groome to Allerton.

²¹ *Idem.*

²² *H.C.R.O.* 'Papers relating to the Much Marcle Enclosure' RC/IV/E/51, E. Wallwyn to W. Griffiths, 13.3.95: '... person or persons at Marcle who have attempted to throw a damp on our proceedings ... such insidious endeavours ... can avail them nothing, still it would be right to suppress them when occasions offer'. The intimidation at Marcle was not one-sided, for, as Griffiths reported to Wallwyn a fortnight later, '... certain people will not sign their consent as they fear the abuse of their neighbours'. RC/IV/E/57.

²³ *Idem.*, RC/IV/E/99.

²⁴ *H.J.* 3.5.15.

Hereford in the Age of Reform, 1832-56

By D. J. MITCHELL

INTRODUCTION

FEW cities of comparable size have as illustrious a history as Hereford. From the middle ages to the late 17th century it commanded commercial and military significance based upon its strategic geographical position as the 'gateway to Wales'. After the upheavals of the Civil War, however, Hereford declined to the condition of an unimportant provincial town, characterised by a sobriety in politics, religion and commerce which at times bordered on the banal. At the heart of this decline lay the forces which spawned the 'industrial revolution', the local effect of which had been to draw away from Hereford some small industries like weaving and glove-making, rendering it a local agricultural centre reliant on the unpredictable waters of the Wye for its heavy transport.¹ A writer of 1764 said that apart from weaving and glove-making, the only industries of consequence were the transportation of corn and cider by barge to Bristol, though by this time a carpet manufactory had also been established. In 1769 Price named cider, hops and bark as the main articles of commerce.² The durability of Hereford's oak formed the basis of a small ship-building industry which occupied a significant part of the local economy in the early 19th century. Eight vessels were launched between 1822 and 1832. Captain Radford, the builder of one of the more impressive of these ships, established a foundry in 1834, but it suffered a similar demise to his ventures in ship-building, and before long the forges were converted into flour mills. Flax dressing and flannel making were important for a time, as was cabinet making, in connection with which some of the more fashionable timbers from America, Russia and Spain were transported up the Wye to Hereford.³ Yet all of these activities were superseded in their significance by the dependence of Hereford's prosperity on the county and area it served. This situation brought with it both advantages and disadvantages, for whilst it guaranteed a certain level of economic activity it also blinkered the vision of Hereford's leaders and citizens to the usefulness of economic diversification as a means of breaking down Hereford's rural isolation. Furthermore, there were political implications attendant on this factor. The dispersed nature of the agricultural community and the absence of industrial development resulted in a diminished awareness of the vitality of contemporary political controversies, except amongst the privileged few for whom participation in the political process was solely reserved. The Whig and Tory parties had strong vested interests in Herefordshire which they exercised through the landed gentry, a social elite who constituted a small percentage of the whole population yet whose political manoeuvrings

determined the direction of local politics. This aristocratic influence was conservative in character and served only to encourage economic and political retrenchment.

THE 1832 REFORM ACT

Thus the general background to the parliamentary reform movement in Hereford appears to have been one of quiescence. Several factors must be taken into consideration, however, before an adequate picture of the ante-Reform era can be visualised. Perhaps the most important of these is the nature of the available historical evidence. The most valuable source for the period is the *Hereford Journal*, (*H.J.*) which was established in 1770 and covered local news fairly thoroughly, although the Tory predilections of the editorship do raise doubts about the verity of the treatment it afforded to social and political radicalism. Nevertheless, prejudicial political analyses surface only occasionally, and on the whole the paper can be regarded as reasonably trustworthy. The information yielded by the *Journal* generally reinforces the notion of quiescence in Hereford. The population remained fairly docile at a time when some areas were exploding with mob riots. Petty theft and crimes of poverty were common place in the 1820s, for the economic depression which blanketed the country manifested itself as starkly in Hereford as elsewhere, but commotions of a political nature were conspicuous by their absence. Class antagonisms remained ill-defined and rarely expressed.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the whole question of parliamentary reform aroused no interest in Hereford. For example, one of the city's coaches was named 'Reform', and in October 1830 the *Journal* was compelled to comment on the 'wasting away of respect for Parliament.' The most convincing evidence of the underlying support the issue must have evoked came, needless to say, following the passage of the Reform Act itself, in June 1832. That the whole county erupted in celebration is demonstrative of the fact that considerable support for reform existed, but remained undetected by the local newspapers. Questions are thus prompted concerning the nature and source of the discontent which must have been present for the passage of the act to meet with such widespread approval, and in this respect the population statistics for Hereford are useful, in that the outline they provide of the local community can be used as a framework within which certain forces discernable at a national level may or may not be seen to have operated locally.

In the country as a whole, the growth of trade and industry had produced new forms of wealth and economic interest groups, particularly the new middle class and new working class, both of whom felt estranged from an increasingly irrelevant political system.⁴ Hereford was virtually untouched by this transformation, but there had been a slight change in the structure of the local com-

munity which to some extent at least mirrored the shift in the country. Between 1821 and 1831 the number of people within the city liberties chiefly employed in agriculture fell from 299 to 70. This made the numerical preponderance of people employed in trade, handicrafts and manufacturing very pronounced, but the fact that the latter group experienced only marginal growth over the decade suggests that their dominance was due to other considerations, namely to Hereford's role as the trading centre of the county and the focus for commercial activity, and also to the national agricultural depression, which encouraged the drift into other forms of employment. There was, in fact, a 54% increase in the number of people engaged in occupations outside the agricultural and retail-manufacturing sectors between 1821-31.⁵ The 24% increase in the city's population between 1811-21 was followed in the subsequent decade by an increase of only 4%, a figure which seems partly to reflect the continued ascendancy of agriculture over the local economy, and the resultant economic decline experienced because of the depression.⁶ Even so, the city was characterised by 'a diverse . . . social structure which produced a rather amorphous class of superior craftsmen and tradesmen, retailers and producers of a variety of services who blurred the class lines between the owners and the servants of capital'.⁷

So it would appear to be misleading to identify too closely the appeal for parliamentary reform in Hereford with the emergence of new economic interest groups. Although by 1831 these groups were the most significant social and political elements in the city, this was not so much indicative of any fundamental trend in the local economy, as the joint product of the service needs within the county and the agricultural depression. When their economic reliance upon an agricultural community is borne in mind, it is not surprising that these groups showed no overt inclination towards political activism. The strength of this conservative ethos may explain the Tory victories in the 1818 and 1826 general elections.

Another force operating in the country was the 'radicalisation' of the aforementioned groups, and from this influence the people of Hereford were by no means immune. The root of the appeal for parliamentary reform seems to be found in the latent potential within the middle and working class for radical politics. Beneath their apparent conservatism lay a genuine desire for reform which only surfaced after 1832, and revealed itself in three main ways. Firstly, the Whigs consistently won every general election from 1832 to 1865 (although occasionally one of the two city seats was shared with a Tory). Secondly, the radical *Hereford Times*, (*H.T.*), founded in 1832, quickly established itself as the most popular local newspaper by exploiting the obvious association between parliamentary and municipal reform. Thirdly, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 ushered in a period of complete Whig domination in the local council which lasted for at least the next thirty years.

Undoubtedly circumstances played their part in the demise of Tory fortunes in the city. Cathedral dignatories, church committees, and the leading citizens were compelled by the extremity of the winters from 1829-32, to start a soup kitchen, and money for the destitute was hurriedly raised by the city overseers through monthly and fortnightly demands on the property owners.⁸ Poverty created an undercurrent of dissatisfaction in the city, but more fundamental reasons for rejecting the existing political situation were appearing. Within the ranks of the professional class and the educated middle class, certain individuals inspired by contemporary radical philosophies were attaining prominence—men who were later to become the formative influences on local politics. Their highly-developed analysis of the political situation and the widespread acceptance of their views gained through the *H.T.*, suggests that much of what they had to say after the Reform Act reflected an underlying discontent that existed in the community before the act was passed.

It was not long after June 1832 that the pages of the *H.T.* began to swell with one central theme—municipal corruption. It is evident that as the clamour for reform had grown, this development had been paralleled by an extensive identification of the Tory clique in control of the corporation with an oligarchic, outdated national Tory party, which was more interested in its own survival than in the needs of a changing society. The unreformed council had betrayed their sense of foreboding in a petition to parliament dated 11 April 1831, which spoke out against the abrogation of those charters conferred to them by the kings of England 'from King Henry III to King William III, and sanctioned by the deliberate acts of legislature'.⁹ Over the next three years the *H.T.* became particularly vociferous and blatant in the comparisons it drew between Toryism on a national and local level. An editorial in 1835 claimed that 'Toryism and corporate abuses are linked together; remove the latter, and the former staggers, soon to fall'.¹⁰ It could be argued that even before municipal reform became the predominant war-cry, parliamentary reform carried with it the expectations of many local citizens that Toryism could be defeated along with the corruption prevalent throughout the electoral system.

When this is taken into account it is understandable that news of the passage of the Reform Act should be greeted in Hereford 'with general manifestations of joy—the bells rang merry peals and a band of music paraded the streets'. 'A large concourse of persons' marched through the town 'amidst continued huzzas, bell-ringing and other demonstrations of satisfaction'. In response to an application concerning the same, the mayor fixed an evening for a general illumination of the city. Similar rejoicings were reported to have taken place throughout the county.¹¹

In the next six months, however, as the practical task of implementing the act was undertaken, it became evident that it was not the dramatic break with the past that many radicals had envisaged. The disappointment this evoked was

recorded in the *H.T.* Initially the act had been described as a 'harbinger of increasing civilisation' and an important victory in the contest between 'people and oligarchy'.¹² An editorial of 11 August 1832 implicitly reinforced this opinion by praising the achievements of Lord Brougham. Significantly, no mention was made of the celebrations in Hereford (as there had been in the *H.J.*), and instead the corporation came in for sharp criticism for their failure to include in the festivities the provision of a dinner for the poor, as other villages in the county had done. This further illustrates the close proximity of parliamentary and municipal reform in the minds of local radicals.

Yet within the week from 11 to 18 August, a thorough reappraisal in the paper's assessment of the act had taken place, and the commendations of previous editions turned to a condemnation of the act as 'a complicated bungling piece of legislation'. The 'shilling and rate and tax paying clauses' were the focus for this assault, because, it was claimed, the irregularity of income amongst the higher and lower classes rendered some of them incapable of complying with the legal period of payment, and therefore deprived them of the right to vote. This displayed a 'deplorable ignorance of the habits of the people' on the part of the legislature.¹³ Such criticism could be expected from an agricultural county like Herefordshire, where the income of farmers was particularly subject to contingencies, and consequently very irregular. Although the situation in Hereford was different from that in the county, the effects of any government measure on the farming community always received serious consideration. The *H.T.* demanded, in conclusion, that 'the obnoxious clauses' of the Reform Act should be ended, but added that with all its faults it still remained 'a vast stride forward in the improvement of our elective laws'.¹⁴

In other respects, too, the act had a considerable impact on Hereford. Previously the franchise had been confined to freemen, who numbered 1110.¹⁵ A major source of grievance lay in the prerogative held by the corporation over the creation of freemen, this having been exercised notably in the case of Lord Nelson when he visited the city in 1802.¹⁶ Freedom could be obtained by birth, marriage, apprenticeship, gift and by purchase. As in other parts of England the Tories reigned supreme in the Hereford corporation and were naturally ill-disposed to grant freedom to citizens of a different political persuasion from themselves. This had not prevented the Whigs from controlling the constituency before 1818 but it undoubtedly strengthened the Tory position in local politics. The institution of the Reform Act changed the franchise to a standard £10 householder qualification in the boroughs, provided that (i) the premises had been occupied for twelve months; (ii) the rates had been paid (the clause discussed above); and (iii) the voter had resided within seven miles of the borough for the previous six months.¹⁷ The status of freedom was also affected, and residence became a necessary qualification. In Hereford 645 non-resident freemen were excluded

from the new electorate, and the restriction this placed upon the usefulness of freedom resulted in a reduction of its purchase value from £30 in 1819 to £15 in 1835.¹⁸ The 461 freemen entitled to vote¹⁹ were joined by 459 £10 householders, making the reformed electorate 920 in all. The number of people who qualified purely as freemen varied in England from town to town, but in Hereford 220 freemen fell into this category, whilst the remaining 241 complied with the property qualifications as well.²⁰

In general the actual provisions of the Reform Act made little difference to Hereford. Political expediency had motivated and influenced the formulation of the act in the Whig party and respect for property remained the foundation of the constitution. As Lord Durham put it, 'There is no principle affecting the representative system that has not property for its basis'.²¹ There were fewer voters to canvas in Hereford after the act, and the city poll books show that the class structure of the electorate changed little. Roughly 35% of males of full age were eligible to vote²² and these were drawn from the same sections of the community as the pre-reform electorate. No single group or interest made significant numerical gain by the act, despite the changes in the qualification procedure. The gentry and professional class still represented a disproportionate percentage of the electorate, but this situation declined slightly over the next decade as the percentage of self-employed artisans, small manufacturers and retailers increased.²³

The divisions differentiating the candidates after the act were more pronounced than they had been previously. In 1826 the Whig and Tory candidates all received a substantial number of plumpers. After 1832 the Whig vote was usually divided equally between the two main Whig contenders, whilst the Tory vote was almost entirely made up of plumpers. No major class division is discernable from the voting patterns. Both parties drew some support from every section of the community. The Whigs' commitment to reform swung the tide of opinion heavily in their favour, though in essence they remained an aristocratic party, and therefore continued to attract the allegiance of their traditional supporters.

Ironically, the turn-out in the general election of December 1832 was lower than any other recorded in the poll books. This was especially due to the confusion that inevitably arose over the implementation of such an important piece of legislation, in particular the difficulty of compiling the new registers of voters. The contest between the three men who stood for election (Edward Bolton Clive and Robert Biddulph, both Whigs, and Richard Blakemore, a Tory) was marked by bitterness and letter-writing to the press. When the election took place on 12 December Blakemore protested at the victory of the Whig

candidates, and insisted that the mayor erect booths in the Town Hall and outside St. Peter's Church. These made little difference to the result, and the mayor declared Clive and Biddulph duly elected.²⁴

Corruption was as much a part of the election scene after the Reform Act as it had been before it, although by 1852 Charles Dod could write that 'little influence of a personal kind prevailed'.²⁵ Interestingly enough, E. B. Clive, M.P. for Hereford from 1832 until his death in 1845, was a cousin of the Earl of Powis, whose family exercised supreme control over Ludlow through a rigorously enforced system of bribery and intimidation. It was alleged that the family was prepared to spend as much as £30 on a single vote during an election period, and the price rose dramatically on polling day.²⁶ There is no specific evidence to indicate that Clive was prone to a similar misuse of influence in Hereford, though it may not be mere coincidence that his eldest son was able to secure himself a seat at Ludlow.

Treating was the most common form of bribery, and of this crime both political parties were guilty. In Hereford there were forty publicans in a constituency of 920, a fact which heightened their extra-legal standing. The vast amount of revenue accumulated through treating encouraged landlords to offer their services in this manner, but consequently elections became expensive affairs for the candidates. As William Collins euphemistically puts it, 'The skins of our farmers were too absorbent even for the pockets of prospective members of Parliament'. Collins also cites an instance when an 'agreement was signed and sealed between the representatives of the two political parties that refreshments should be provided by each candidate for their respective supporters only, and not indiscriminately as heretofore'.²⁷ This was not an attempt to eliminate treating, but to reduce the candidates' expenditure.

In the municipal sphere, the misuse of charitable endowments by the corporation further added to the network of corruption.²⁸ Such practices were commonplace throughout the country, and there is no reason to suppose that Hereford was worse in this respect than any other constituency of comparable size. Nevertheless, the reformed council deemed it necessary in December 1837 to petition Parliament against 'the extensive practice of intimidation, bribery and drunkenness resorted to at the last General Election', and suggested that 'purity of election can only be obtained . . . by the adoption of some mode of secret voting'.²⁹ Paradoxically, Clive, who opposed the ballot, was asked to present the petition before Parliament.

In view of the failure of the Reform Act to stamp out corruption and institute more thorough revisions of the electoral system, a reassessment of its effect on Hereford is required. The importance of the act to Hereford lay not

so much in the detail of its provisions (though these were important), but in the rallying point it provided for the increasing number of people who found themselves drawn to the general principle of reform it embodied. Before 1832 the conservative ethos of the county and the slow pace of rural life retarded this move towards active, intelligent participation in politics. Norman Gash has pointed out that in Herefordshire, 'it was not the custom to canvass tenants on behalf of a political party or candidate to which the landlord was known to be opposed'.³⁰ Such was the force of 'custom' that there were no physical demonstrations of political dissatisfaction before the act, apart from one or two petty instances of machine-breaking. Yet an underlying sense of discontent was developing, particularly in the city, which associated municipal corruption with a retrogressive, myopic national Tory party, and therefore looked increasingly to the Whigs as the most promising political organisation.

It is impossible to underestimate the importance of the *H.T.*, and its editor Charles Anthony, in the development of local politics in the crucial period between 1832 and 1835. Hitherto the only available medium for local opinion was the *H.J.*, which offered little inducement for the liberally minded to vent their views.³¹ The success of the *H.T.* following its establishment is indicative of the need felt for an alternative vehicle for expression, and of the undercurrent of discontent with existing politics.

Charles Anthony used parliamentary reform, and particularly municipal reform, to harness this liberalism, and free it from the constraints of established conservatism. Furthermore, the opinions of the *H.T.* very much reflected the views of a section of upper-middle class men (of whom Anthony was one), who articulated and applied their liberal (and often non-conformist) convictions to local politics, thereby presenting themselves as the natural successors to the Tory corporation whose credibility they had undermined. Thus the Reform Act represented a source of political controversy from which issued a polarisation of local opinion that gathered momentum as parliamentary reform was superseded in its relevance by municipal reform.

THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT, 1835

The Reform Act undoubtedly purged the House of Commons of some of its more disagreeable, anomalous elements, but in important respects it proved far less comprehensive than many radicals had hoped for, so it was natural that the next target for the reformists' axe should be the municipal corporations, as these, by the 19th century, had become strategic outposts through which the major parties could extend their influence. In the confusion wrought by this situation over the intended role of the corporations, several armed camps sprang

up to argue their case. The Whig party, for its part, was beginning to waken to the realisation that local politics might play a decisive role in educating the public for its responsibilities in the national sphere, and consequently certain Whigs aligned themselves with prominent radicals in proposing the democratisation of the local authorities for the public good. The Tory party, however, still feared putting power into the hands of people who might 'abuse' it.

There was no ambiguity as to which party in this debate the *H.T.* supported. No sooner had the Reform Act become law than a torrent of criticism aimed at the Hereford corporation flooded the *H.T.* editorials and letter-pages. The first major assault came in October 1832 when the mayor, Edward Poole, omitted from his guest list for the annual corporation dinner the names of the members of the county, because (claimed the *H.T.*), they represented an undesirable political party. This was not altogether fair, simply because the Reform Act had reduced the sum of money available for the feast, and the mayor had chosen to limit the size of the gathering and use the surplus to purchase food and drink for the destitute. Anthony (whose name was synonymous with the opinions of the *H.T.*), considered it better not to narrow the list, although he had no complaint with the food distribution. To compensate for this 'break with tradition',³² a special dinner was arranged a week before the corporation dinner by 'several admirers of the public conduct of those gentlemen [the county members] in supporting the Reform Bill'.³³ Amongst those who attended were many whose names were to become associated with future reformed councils, for example Francis Bodenham and Thomas Davis.

On 6 October, the *H.T.* carried a special editorial by Anthony which claimed that this failure on the part of the 'Mayor elect' had 'rubbed the eyes . . . of the inhabitants of the city', to see the true nature of the corporation—'a perpetual aristocracy . . . the worst of all possible governments'. 'Here we are', the article continued, 'Reform-crying Englishmen in 1832, tolerating, in the midst of our homes, petty, self-elected, irresponsible governments! But this abomination must be swept away'. Finally, Anthony expressed the conviction which was to characterise his later work in municipal government, 'Public utility must be the test of all our institutions'.³⁴

In 1833 the assault on the council eased, as the task of officially assessing the competence of Hereford's administration was undertaken by James Booth and Charles Austin, two members of a recently-established Royal Commission 'to inquire into the existing state of the Municipal Corporations and to collect information respecting the defects in their constitutions'.³⁵ The emphasis was definitely on the defects, and the commission was heavily biased with radicals to guarantee a hostile verdict.³⁶

During the course of 1834 and 1835 both the *H.T.* and *H.J.* followed with interest the progress of the Municipal Corporations Bill in Parliament. The bill was based almost entirely on evidence accumulated by the commission, which reaffirmed much of what had already been expressed locally. The Report on Hereford, which did not appear in print for some time, contained sufficient information to fuel the fire of the city reformers, but in some respects the picture it painted was of a council more given over to 'aimless legal squabbles' than to mass corruption.³⁷ Nevertheless, there were notable defects in the administration of the city.

With regard to the limits of the city, five wards were in existence none of which corresponded exactly with the parish boundaries. Consequently this delineation was useless and virtually disregarded in practice.

Thirty-one charters were listed, along with fourteen charters of incorporation granted to trading companies. The latter had 'long ceased to exist for the purposes of their original incorporation'.³⁸ The most recent charter, granted by William III in 1698 remained the city's 'Magna Carta'.

The governing body of the city was composed of thirty-one chief citizens of the Common Council. The posts of mayor, aldermen and councillors went entirely by seniority and rotation, without consideration of the 'fitness or unfitness of the individual for each particular office'. The only requirement for the retention of a post was good behaviour, and although the chief citizens were removable by the mayor, no instance of amotion had occurred for many years.³⁹

The misuse of freedom was the main area of complaint. Every office except that of gaoler had to be held by a freeman and since the council controlled the distribution of freedom the political composition of the corporation could always be regulated. In practice, freemen by birth, marriage and purchase were usually 'made in batches at the time of elections', the requisite fees and stamp duties being paid for by the respective candidates. In 1824 the number admitted from this class of freemen was seventeen; in 1825, eight, and in 1826, a general election year, 172. In the case of freemen by gift, the fees were paid out of the corporation fund.⁴⁰

The council, with one or two exceptions, were of the same political party, and acted together in any elections. The party bias was evident particularly in the distribution of charities. Of the twenty-six occupants entitled to vote in the four principal hospitals (all appointed on the basis of their freedom), twenty polled at the last election for the candidate supported by the council,

five abstained, and only one voted for the opposing candidates. A similar voting pattern was adduced from the 1826 poll book, and it was concluded that 'the votes of the hospital men were always given in accordance with the vote of the majority of the common-council'.⁴¹

The corporation exercised exclusive jurisdiction in the city, through the Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions and Mayor's Court. The principal objections to the existing system arose from the mode of appointment, and defective qualifications of the Judge—'The political character of the presiding officer gives rise to a want of confidence in his administration of justice amongst a large portion of suitors. In addition . . . his want of knowledge in the law . . . gives rise to much dissatisfaction'. With respect to the constitution of the court, 'the exclusion of all attorneys who are not freemen', and 'the selection of jurors', were obvious grounds for complaint.⁴²

The small police force was 'insufficient for all but the most ordinary of occasions', suffering as it did from a 'want of systematic management'. In May 1832 the city ratepayers had suggested that a regular force similar to the London organisation be established, but this evoked opposition from some parishioners, who objected on the grounds of expense. However, the inadequacy of both the actual force and the accommodation of the city gaol were generally conceded.⁴³

The main sources of income for the council were land, leases and market tolls. The city rates raised £1,125 1s. 9d. in 1832, and a further £115 had been obtained through the admission of freemen. Items of expenditure included council salaries, the Wye Bridge, the gaol, prosecutions and the subsistence of prisoners.

The overall impression given by the report was far from good, but it was not devoid of occasional commendation. The Improvement Commissioners had been reasonably competent in the performance of their duties, and the corporation accounts were kept with 'great clearness and regularity', although their accessibility was confined to council members. Other interesting parts of the report have been overlooked by historians. A general belief prevailed that defects and irregularities attending the claim for freedom by certain individuals were 'overlooked when the claimant belonged to one party and insisted upon when he belonged to the other party'. Evidence of a general nature was offered to the commissioners in justification of this belief, but no particular instances were adduced in proof. With regard to the city rate, 'no specific instance of negligence or of misapplication . . . was established, nor was the conduct of the city magistrates, in the general management of it, impugned'.⁴⁴ It is perhaps significant that the *H.T.* made little use of the report in its attack on the council.

The verbal assault resumed, however, in 1835, when the passage of the Municipal Reform Bill seemed imminent. The most important development on the local front came on 13 August, when nearly one thousand Herefordians crammed into the Shire Hall to discuss the issues raised by the bill. Francis Bodenham and John Griffiths played key roles in the meeting, but the most popular speech came from E. B. Clive, who struck out at the last-stand tactics of the Tories in Parliament to prevent reform. In this politically charged atmosphere, 931 people signed a petition expressing the strong local conviction of the need for corporation reform. This was the first real demonstration of solidarity over a political issue which had occurred for many years, and it exhibited the extent to which the political awareness of the citizens had been stimulated since the Reform Act.

The growing sense of isolation felt by the council between 1831-5 prompted the formulation of three petitions to Parliament. The first came as a prelude to the Reform Act (see below). On 27 July 1835 a second petition was produced, protesting against the curtailment of the rights and charters originally conferred on the corporation. This met with a similar fate, despite the fact that it was presented to the commissioners by Richard Johnson, a man who not only survived the transition from the old to the new council, but who continued uninterrupted in office as one of the most respected members of the council until his death in 1868. With the failure of this second petition the council felt compelled to draw up yet another in August 1835, but the commissioners remained unimpressed.⁴⁶

In September 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act became law. The two Hereford newspapers pinned hopeful expectations on it. The *H.T.* described it as a 'great accession to the means of a peaceful national regeneration', and added 'glory, then, to the Melbourne Ministry . . . for having secured to the people a Municipal Magna Carta'.⁴⁷ This was a blatantly party-political remark for a paper which only two years previously had denounced the whole notion of party affiliations as a 'hideous demon'.⁴⁸ The pronouncements of the *H.J.* were, as usual, more sober (and superficial) than those of the *H.T.* An article in September 1835 simply said that the Municipal Reform Act would 'effect a most important, and it is to be hoped beneficial change in the municipal government of the country'.⁴⁹

As the subject of the council elections grew daily in public interest the *H.T.* called upon the local electorate to vote for men of 'ability, honesty and activity'. When the elections came on 26 December, there was a landslide victory for the reformers. Only four of the old members of the council were re-elected.⁵⁰ Six new councillors were elected from each of the three new wards. Charles Anthony polled the most votes in Leominster Ward.

The provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act were expected to have a more immediate effect on Hereford than those of the Reform Act. It was intended that every municipal voter would also be a parliamentary voter, with the exception of those excluded by the £10 limit in the Reform Act. The omission of this limit in the Municipal Corporations Act enfranchised an additional 14% in Hereford. This was lower than the national average which varied between 20 - 25%.⁵¹ The Act only gave the vote to occupiers of 'a house, warehouse, counting house or shop',⁵² while the Reform Act had included 'or other buildings'. Thus occupiers of offices, mills or workshops might qualify for a parliamentary vote, but not for a municipal vote. It was not until 1869 that the occupiers of other buildings could vote in council elections.

In some ways the act of 1835 failed to live up to its expectations. In Hereford the retention of the freemens' vote by people who would not otherwise have qualified for a parliamentary vote, and the restricted wording of the act, meant that the municipal electorate was considerably smaller than the parliamentary electorate (657 as opposed to 891).⁵³ It was also distinctly middle class in its structure. This dominance is reflected in the social composition of the first reformed council, two-thirds of whom came from the professional or upper-middle class. The remaining third was made up of members of the local gentry. The new council was naturally pleased with the act, and in as far as the new councillors had been chosen by the electorate, no general complaints were immediately forthcoming from the townspeople. The nature of the new council reinforces D. Fraser's generalisation that, 'Municipal reform in the 1830's enabled men who had made their mark on the local economy to enter the municipal arena, and achieve a position of political leadership appropriate to their economic station'.⁵⁴ This was particularly true of Charles Anthony, whose marriage into money had helped provide the revenue necessary for the establishment of the *H.T.* Virtually nothing is known of Anthony before his paper sprang onto the political stage shortly after his twenty-ninth birthday. By all accounts he was a man 'brimming over with public spirit',⁵⁵ whose main object was to 'promote the prosperity of the city',⁵⁶ but it is still difficult not to see elements of political opportunism in his rise to prominence. His popularity was not always assured, particularly in the 1850s when his financial open-handedness seemed to precede clear judgement, but he was without doubt the leading figure in local politics, occupying the post of mayor for four successive years (1852-6), and sitting as a councillor, Improvement Commissioner and (later) alderman between 1836-85. In many ways Anthony was typical of the sort of men of independent means that dominated the reformed councils. Another was Francis Bodenham, mayor from 1840-1 and 1857-8, whose career as a local solicitor acted as a useful spring-board into municipal politics. The two men worked so closely over the Hereford

improvement Act that, together with James Jay (another solicitor and alderman), they were accused of being a 'legal triumvirate'. Other prominent councillors could be placed in the same social bracket as Anthony and Bodenham, for example Jonathan Elliot Gough (solicitor), William George (wool dealer and flannel manufacturer), and Henry Carless (a leading ironmonger). One fact, however, seems clear from the activities of the reformed councils. Whatever the nature and extent of their political authority, their commitment to a new standard of municipal enterprise delivered them from the stringent frugality which characterised many upper-middle class dominated corporations, and they showed a willingness to open their financial dealings to public scrutiny. For instance, in 1838, the report on the Borough Fund stated the desire of the council that their proceedings 'should be open to the public eye, not supposing that any person except indeed the mere tool of party will either misrepresent their deeds or calumniate their motives'.⁵⁷ This invited criticism, especially over the borough rate which had increased to cover the cost of the new municipal services, but the attitude it expressed stood in marked contrast to the secrecy of the old council. Furthermore, the minutes of every council meeting became accessible to 'any burgess . . . on payment of one shilling', and from March 1836 onwards a reporter from each of the local papers was allowed to attend council meetings.⁵⁸ Other constitutional changes included the requirement that all acts of council should be approved by a majority of the members present, one third of the total number of councillors being necessary to constitute a meeting. The mayor, who was to be appointed by successive councils each November, became Judge of the Mayor's Court and Chief Magistrate. Following his year in office he was to be a justice of the peace for an additional year.⁵⁹ The Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions were retained conditionally on the organisation of an efficient police force and the creation of a suitable gaol. A City Treasurer was appointed to oversee all debts and payments to be made by the council.⁶⁰

The first full meeting of the reformed council was held on 1 January 1836. John Griffiths was elected mayor and a Watch Committee was set up to effect changes in the police force. The old Watch was replaced by a body made up of a superintendent, a serjeant, and fifteen constables, according to the recommendations in the Watch Committee's report of 1 February 1836. In 1840 the cost of the new force was £960.⁶¹ In May 1836 the *H.T.* attributed the absence of fighting at the May Fair to the efficiency of the new force.⁶² Sites for the new police station and gaol were obtained in 1838 and 1841 respectively.⁶³

The Watch Committee also took over the responsibility of fire-fighting, hitherto the task of parish churchwardens. The city's first fire engine was purchased in 1837, and the fire brigade officially started in 1849.⁶⁴ The fire brigade and police force were two of the areas in the panorama of municipal need tackled very successfully by the new council.

The reformed corporation brought to Hereford a system of local government characterised by a carefulness and thoroughness which had been noticeably lacking previously. The difference between the reformed and unreformed councils was one of emphasis and attitude. In as far as the old council emphasised anything, they concentrated on attempting to break down Hereford's rural isolation by establishing transport links and exploiting any potential that existed in the county for industrialisation. For example, money was set aside to go towards the navigation of the Wye; and much interest was initially shown in the proposed Hereford to Gloucester Canal. Unfortunately this venture took until 1845 to complete, based as it was upon the rather rash assumption that huge quantities of coal awaited exploitation in Newent.

Yet even the canal issue only aroused a characteristically lethargic response from the old corporation, an accusation which could not be levelled at the consideration given by the reformed council to the issues it tackled. It could be argued, moreover, that even if the canal had been successful, the council could not have coped administratively with the increased trade. This would justify the emphasis placed by the reformed council on animating the internal mechanics and operation of local government. Certainly the citizens of Hereford demonstrated their faith in this policy by consistently voting for men known to be in favour of reform. In the mid-19th century this meant that Whigs dominated the council from 1835-70.

In fact, the political awareness imbued into the electorate and the heightened responsiveness of the council to this change were the two most significant effects of the Municipal Corporations Act. Collins says it 'materially added to the interest citizens began to take in local government'.⁶⁵ Yet by the 1850s there were still many material aspects of city life which needed immediate renovation, and the necessity of the Hereford Improvement Act raises doubts about the extent of the progress achieved by the reformed councils in their first twenty years of office.

THE HEREFORD IMPROVEMENT ACT, 1854

From the time of their creation in 1774, the Hereford Improvement Commissioners, an 'ad hoc' body set up under a private act of Parliament, performed many aspects of the material improvement of the city—a responsibility which would otherwise have devolved upon the council.⁶⁶ Many of the officials of the city went into the make-up of the new authority, including the bishop, the canon in residence, custos of the cathedral, chancellor of the diocese, precentor, coroner, former mayors, two chamberlains, the registrar of the bishop and dean, and the bailiff of the bishop. Other local dignitaries sat on the board, as did two substantial householders or persons living in each parish. The latter were

elected at a regular vestry meeting in each parish in Easter week, once every three years, or sooner if vacancies arose. The Act fixed the total number of commissioners at fifty-seven, but only forty really acted, of which seven formed a quorum.⁶⁷

The relationship between the commissioners and the council was fairly amorphous between 1774-1835. It is true that the two bodies often operated in conjunction, but they do not appear to have been synonymous. The commissioners were more diligent in the performance of their duties than the Corporation (probably because their role was more clearly defined), and they managed to complete a host of tedious but necessary tasks before 1835. These included the demolition of the six city gates and part of the city wall between 1782-99; the dismantlement of the unsightly and cumbersome Butchers' Row, 1816-37; and, on a more mundane level, the widening and pitching of streets, and the refacing of old buildings. In 1826 two important improvements were effected. Gas street lights were installed in place of the oil lamps that the commissioners had introduced; and the Wye Bridge was widened.

These changes were undoubtedly valuable, in both aesthetic and practical terms, but the pace of improvement had generally been very slow. One of the reasons for this was the complexity of the legal problems some proposals raised,⁶⁸ but the most important factors were the narrow financial base upon which the commissioners operated and the social composition of the body itself.

The commissioners' income came from the enclosure of common lands at Widemarsh and Monkmoor, rates levied on property in the city, and rents from certain lands and houses. Their rating powers were limited to 1s. in the pound.⁶⁹ One other important source of income was the Scudamore Trust which was administered with great care.⁷⁰ Large sums of money were loaned from the Trust to assist private individuals in the establishment of factories and other potential sources of employment. The inadequacy of this financial base is evident from the application to Parliament in April 1815 for an extension of the 1774 Act.⁷¹ When the new act was ratified in 1816 the corporation were empowered to sell some of their property and apply the revenue to local improvements. The commissioners' borrowing powers were also increased to £8,000.⁷²

The tenure of land in Hereford was another factor which retarded the pace of improvement. The whole of the land contiguous on every side of the city belonged to the church, or one or other of the charities (normally St. Giles and Trinity Hospital Trusts). Since much of this land was leased, the rates levied were not popular with the church. The commissioners' minutes throw very

little light upon the resistance of the church to the improvements, but resistance certainly existed amongst some members of the clergy. This became most evident over the question of a general cemetery in the 1850s. In 1852 Richard Johnson remarked, 'the present condition of the tenure of land I consider very prejudicial, as preventing improvements within the city'.⁷³ Some churchmen, however, displayed a high sense of public spirit, particularly the Rev. John Venn, vicar of St. Peter's Church from 1832-70, who founded the Society for Aiding the Industrious.

A more fundamental obstacle to improvement than land tenure existed in the composition of the Improvement Commissioners as a local governing body. The rather piecemeal nature of improvement between 1774-1835 seems to be best accounted for in the opportunity the body provided for individuals not otherwise engaged in local politics to exercise some degree of influence upon the community. It would be wrong to conclude, however, that the Improvement Commission was a mirror-image of the self-elected corporation. There was no synonymity within the commission between intransigence and corrupt self-preservation. Rather, the fact that the commissioners were largely self-elected and that vacancies were normally filled by co-option, meant that the body was not accountable in any meaningful sense to the citizens, and therefore had little impetus to make more drastic inroads into the field of municipal improvements. The theoretical presence of so many clergy within the structure of the commission may have encouraged stringency, but in fairness it should also be said that on occasions the commissioners' borrowing powers were utilised to the extent that substantial debts were incurred.⁷⁴

After 1835, the structure of the commission generated a tension between its members and the reformed council which curtailed the progress of local developments that the Municipal Corporations Act had seemed to promise. The continued existence of a self-elected body was an affront to the principle of municipal reform. Hence the reformed council expressed its regret over the refusal of the commissioners to avail themselves of the opportunity presented by the Municipal Corporations Act to transfer the administration of the Paving and Lighting Act to the council.⁷⁵

There was also a sense in which the new leaders of the city desired total control over borough affairs, from a practical as well as a personal point of view. The inherent political conflict in this situation was defused by the mediative presence of Anthony and Bodenham on the board of commissioners from 1836 onwards, though this simultaneously provided a stepping stone for the extension of council control over the commission which the Improvement Act of 1854 brought to completion.

This rivalry was never explicitly voiced, though it is discernable particularly in the understandable reticence shown by the commissioners to hand over their responsibilities to the council in 1854. The situation constituted an important part of the political scene in the 1850s, despite the absence of clear personal animosity between individual councillors and commissioners.

1835-54 were transitional years for Hereford. Little in the way of tangible improvements was achieved. Attempts at erecting new gas works met with council opposition, and in the meantime the commissioners theorised about the mixed blessings of a railway service.⁷⁶ Political sectarianism was less intense than it had been in the heady days of 1835.

However, the Public Health Act of 1848 highlighted a number of serious problems which the council and Improvement Commissioners had over-looked, and presented the corporation with the difficulty of resolving these.

In the early 1830s the *H.J.* had traced the spread of cholera across the country until it reached the doors of Herefordshire. Fortunately the city was not affected, but the swift preparations of the old council to combat possible infection demonstrated the strength of Hereford's civic tradition.⁷⁷ Cholera became resurgent again in the late 1840s and early 1850s, so the Public Health Act empowered special commissioners to enforce action in any town where the death rate was over 23/1000.⁷⁸ Hereford distinguished itself with 27/1000, so T. W. Rammel was despatched to investigate in July 1853.⁷⁹ A report of his findings was published in November of that year, which recognised that 'a strong feeling was springing up amongst a large and influential class as to the necessity for improved sanitary provisions'.⁸⁰ T. Parry, one of the Improvement Commissioners, had voiced the fears of another section of the community when he questioned the expense to which the citizens would be put, were Hereford to come under the control of the Board of Health.⁸¹ Rammel had tried to reassure him on this point. The report highlighted serious deficiencies in the sewerage, drainage and waterage of the city, and therefore suggested that the Public Health Act be applied. This made the council the local Board of Health, and if it failed in its duties as such, the government would supersede it, and charge the citizens with the cost.⁸² Another interesting feature of the report is the tension it expressed between the council and the commissioners over who should pay for the cleansing of the Town Ditch.

The report confirmed the findings of Timothy Curley, an engineer who had been appointed by the council in November 1853 to draw up plans for alternative sewers. His report in February 1854 contained the disturbing comment, 'I witnessed such scenes of filth and uncleanness . . . as I did not believe could exist in a civilised community'.⁸³

The Improvement Commissioners were still very reticent about the 'great opposition . . . out of doors', which existed, but the opinion of the council was swayed by a letter addressed to the mayor (Anthony) signed by clergy, lawyers and medical men, 'the enlightened in the community', as Anthony called them, urging the commencement of sanitary improvements.⁸⁴ The council had already begun to appreciate the gravity of the problem. In 1847 141 leading citizens had attempted to provide a general cemetery for the city, for sanitary reasons as well as the reduction in the rates it would have effected; but the bishop of Hereford, theoretically an Improvement Commissioner, was openly hostile to the suggestion, because the existing burial grounds were used as parish freehold. Consequently, he managed to quash the scheme. The issue again came to a head in 1856, because of the growing non-conformist presence in the city, but the church was still too influential for any suitable arrangements to be agreed upon. It took until the 1890s for a municipal cemetery to come into existence.

Despite the opposition to some of the proposed improvements, the council forged ahead with its plans. Anthony, Bodenham and Jay were the driving forces behind the project. In June 1854 the Hereford Improvement finally received royal assent. It empowered the council to construct sewers, drainage and water works, to purchase the gas works and ground for a public cemetery, and create new cattle markets. The cost of the entire project was immense, and Anthony was bitterly criticised by some local citizens for his financial extravagance. In November, the *H.J.* followed this up with the 'Municipal Primer; or A.B.C. for sucking politicians', the first line of which read:

"A" was an alderman-journalist-mayor,
Whose motto financial was "devil-may-care".⁸⁶

The justification the council had originally given for the £28,000 required for the improvements was that many of the ventures would ultimately be self-financing, and moreover, it was 'absurd' to imagine that the council would 'commit acts of self-destruction'.⁸⁷

Anthony's mayoralty ended in November 1856, but he remained a councillor until his death in 1885. From 1868-9 he again occupied the post of mayor. The *H.J.* saw in his retirement in 1856 an indication of the unpopularity of his policies, but the fact that reformers of his ilk were still victorious in the municipal elections every November casts serious doubt on this verdict. There was, in fact, only one Tory in the council at this time, Alderman Evans, who was seen not as a check upon progress, but as a restraint upon undue haste.⁸⁸

The Improvement Act still stands as Anthony's most memorable contribution to city development. It signalled the transference of the responsibilities for improvements from the commissioners to the council, and ended the life of a body which had achieved important work in its day. A testimony to the commissioners' work can be found in two contrasting quotations. In 1784 the writer of the Torrington Diaries described the appearance of Hereford as 'melancholy and monastic';⁸⁹ in 1835 the verdict of the Municipal Corporations Commissioners was 'neat and cheerful'.⁹⁰ In a sense it was inevitable that as circumstances changed the function of the commissioners became more properly executed by the new council. One aspect of this had already taken place when the old Watch, part of which was the responsibility of the commissioners, was replaced by the new police force in 1836.⁹¹ However, it was still with reluctance that on 3 August 1854 the commissioners responded to an application by the Town Clerk 'to transfer all documents, deeds, muniments of titles, books, accounts etc. from the Commissioners to the corporation'.⁹²

One important fact about the act has been missed by Gray-Jones and Collins. They both imply that the initiative for the act stemmed from the far-sightedness of the reformed council, but this overlooks the overwhelming impetus for reform which came from the pressure of circumstances. The Public Health Act (and for that matter the Reform Act and Municipal Corporations Act) 'concealed in their crop of legal verbiage[the fact] that the central government had power to compel cities to conform to the new standards if necessary'.⁹³ Furthermore, the arrival of railways in Hereford in 1853 created a situation which necessitated city development if the full commercial benefits of improved communications were to be realised.

A number of points can be made in an assessment of the act. Firstly, it definitely helped to promote trade in the city. The new cattle markets in particular became the 'first plank of Hereford's commercial success'.⁹⁴ Yet circumstances were probably equally important in the trade revival experienced 1851-71. The establishment of a railway network was primarily responsible for overcoming the transport and communications barrier from which Hereford had always suffered (only three miles of turnpike roads existed in the city in 1853). Neither was the city untouched by the general prosperity which the country at large was experiencing. It is significant that between 1831-51 the population of the city grew by nearly 18% from 9,472-11,156, yet the period 1851-71 was marked by an enormous increase of 64%, and the population leaped to 18,355.⁹⁵ The Improvement Act contributed to the upsurge of trade and prosperity reflected in these figures, but it should not be taken out of its historical context within the 'mid-Victorian boom'.

Secondly, the act set a trend which future councils were called upon to follow, but the debts incurred from the act prevented this from happening in any substantial way. Anthony's insistence that 'Public utility should be the test of all our institutions', had encouraged the view that the corporation should constantly justify itself by acting as an agent of improvement. The councils of the 1860s had considerable difficulty finding the revenue for the improvements demanded by the electorate. Subsequently, no major changes were forthcoming until the very end of the 19th century.

Thirdly, the fact that there still existed a need for further improvements is revealed by the 1872 Government Health Report for Hereford.⁹⁶ Evidently the act failed to eliminate suffering from the traditionally poor areas in the city. Eign St., St. Owen's St., Bewell St., Fryer St. and Bernard Court still contained pitifully unhealthy slums, as they had done twenty years before; and other parts of the city exhibited the same sanitary deficiencies in 1872 that the Improvement Act had been designed to alleviate.

In retrospect it can be said that the extent of municipal progress (in terms of improvements) from 1835-71 was not as great as it appeared, for few major improvements were effected between 1835-51, and the Improvement Act of 1854 was as much a product of circumstance as it was indicative of the intrinsic sense of public responsibility felt by the reformed council.

To counter-balance this argument, however, it must be stated that the comparative intransigence of the un-reformed council and the Improvement Commissioners was not inherited by the new local authority, evidenced by the fact that within eight years of the Public Health Act changes had been effected in the city which were more drastic than anything achieved by the commissioners in the previous seventy years.

CONCLUSION

Was then the period 1832-56 an 'Age of Reform' for Hereford? If the criterion for the assessment of this is taken to be the revitalisation of politics and commerce, then the answer must be a qualified affirmation. Both the Reform Act and the Municipal Corporations Act educated the public to participate in the political process, the result of which was 'a more constant and rapid action of public opinion on the legislature'.⁹⁷ In the commercial sector, too, revitalisation occurred, although it was not as extensive as in politics. Trade was stimulated following a transformation in the operation of local government.

One fundamental problem still overshadowed Hereford, however. The development in trade was still restricted to the agricultural or agriculture-related areas of the economy. Little time was spent by the reformed council in ascertaining whether or not this difficulty could be relieved by economic diversification. Admittedly, many other areas of local government were in need of animation first, but the problem for the city was to persist well into the 20th century. Furthermore, the quality of municipal improvement in the period can be called into question by the continuance in the 1870s of social distress in the areas that had officially been tackled in the 1850s.

Therefore the most important aspect of reform came not so much in material terms, as in people's attitudes to the issue of political authority and leadership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to the following people for their assistance during the course of this work: the staff of the Hereford County Record Office and Hereford City Library; Dr. J. M. Bourne, D. A. Whitehead, Jean Millington (for her painstaking preparation of the original manuscript), and J. W. Tonkin for his suggestions prior to publication.

ABBREVIATIONS

H.J. = *Hereford Journal*.

H.T. = *Hereford Times*.

Municip. Corp. Rept. = *Report of the Municipal Corporations Commissioners*, 1833.

Corp. Mins. = *Corporation Minutes*.

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- 9 *Corp. Mins.*, 11.4.1831.
- 10 *H.T.*, 15.8.1835.
- 11 *H.J.*, 13.6.1832.
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- 13 *H.T.*, 18.8.32.
- 14 *H.T.*, 25.8.32 and 18.8.32.

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- 17 B. Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government Franchise* (1952), 46.
- 18 *Municip. Corp. Rept.*, 257.
- 19 Four other freemen were excluded from voting for some reason.
- 20 *Hereford City Register of Electors*, 1832.
- 21 Quoted in N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel* (1953), 18.
- 22 Based on the enumeration abstract figures. There were about 2,602 men over twenty in 1831.
- 23 Based upon poll books over the period 1826-41. Poll books are often inaccurate and sometimes duplicate data, but they are the only source available for this sort of generalisation, as the registers of electors do not always exist, and do not record the occupation of the voter. With this in mind, it can be said that the % of those who polled in the 1826, 1837 and 1841 elections who were members of the gentry/professional class was 20%, 17% and 16% respectively. The same information for those in retailing, services and manufacturing shows a slight increase from 34% (1826) to 42% (1837).
- 24 Currie, *op. cit.* in note 1, 394.
- 25 C. R. Dod, *Electoral Facts Impartially Stated* (1853).
- 26 Gash, *op. cit.* in note 21, 127.
- 27 William Collins, *Mayors of Hereford from the Improvement Act of 1854* (1910), 14.
- 28 *Municip. Corp. Rept.*, 264.
- 29 *Corp. Mins.*, 7.12.1837.
- 30 Gash, *op. cit.* in note 21, 179.
- 31 This is not to agree with M. Gray-Jones, who claims that the *H.J.* ignored progressive opinion. *cf.* the *H.J.*'s recognition of 'the gratifying intelligence of the Reform Bill' (June 1832), the 'important provisions' of the Municipal Corporations Bill (1835), and the 'unquestionable merits of the Ballot', (1854). M. Gray-Jones, 'Aspects of local government in Hereford in the 19th century', thesis, 1967. On a general note, the accounts of both Gray-Jones and Collins suffer from an unwarranted liberal belief in the inevitability of 'progress' through the reforms under discussion.
- 32 *H.T.*, 6.10.1832.
- 33 *H.J.*, 3.10.1832.
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- 35 B. Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government in the 19th Century* (1972), 10.
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- 45 *Corp. Mins.*, 27.7.1835.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 6.8.1835.
- 47 *H.T.*, 12.9.1835.
- 48 *Ibid.*, Oct. 1833.
- 49 *H.J.*, 16.9.1835.
- 50 *H.T.*, 26.12.1835.
- 51 B. Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government Franchise*, 63. This calculation is based on the figures for 1837, when the number of municipal voters not also parliamentary voters was 101. The figures for 1835 are very difficult to establish with any certainty, but it is likely they would be very similar.
- 52 *Municipal Corporations Act*, 1835.
- 53 The parliamentary figure is for 1835.
- 54 D. Fraser, *op. cit.* in note 7, 347.
- 55 *H.T.*, Feb. 1885.
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- 57 *Corp. Mins.*, 22.2.1836.
- 58 *Ibid.*, January, and 15.3.1836.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 2.2.1836.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 15.3.1836.

- 61 W. Collins, *Modern Hereford* (1911), 80.
 62 *H.T.*, 21.5.1836.
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 64 *Ibid.*, 9.2.1837, 6.3.1846, 9.3.1849.
 65 W. Collins, *op. cit.* in note 61, 28.
 66 cf. *Hereford Paving and Lighting Act*, 1774.
 67 'Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the city of Hereford', Nov. 1853 (*Rammel Report*), 24.
 68 A considerable amount of time was spent pressing minor legal charges.
 69 *Rammel Report*, 24.
 70 This had been entrusted to the commissioners by the act of 1774, and was subsequently taken away in 1840 by another act, which transferred the money to the bishop of Hereford in its entirety, and thus became a 'sectarian' fund used for education in Church of England schools.
 71 *Corps. Mins.*, April 1815.
 72 W. Collins, *op. cit.* in note 61, 19.
 73 *Rammel Report*, 14.
 74 *Ibid.*, 24.
 75 *Corp. Mins.*, 22.2.1838.
 76 *Improvement Commissioners' Minute Book*, 6.1.1846.
 77 M. Gray-Jones, *op. cit.* in note 31, 30.
 78 *Rammel Report*, 6.
 79 Currie, *op. cit.* in note 1, 397.
 80 *Rammel Report*, 5.
 81 *Ibid.*, 6.
 82 *Ibid.*, 52.
 83 *Curley Report*, 17.
 84 *H.J.*, 29.10.1856.
 85 *Ibid.*
 86 *Ibid.*, 5.11.1856.
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 92 *Improvement Commissioners' Mins.*, 3.8.1854.
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 94 Collins, *op. cit.* in note 88, 14.
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The Silurian of Ledbury's Upper Knapp Lane

By JEREMY WILSON

THIS account deals with the lithology, structure, and fauna of an hitherto neglected or possibly new exposure at the top of Knapp Lane in Ledbury, (SO 715387). The section reveals at its deepest point about 9 ft. 6 ins. (2.9 m.) of poorly-bedded calcareous olive-green and grey siltstones incorporating sphaeroid concretions and dipping at approximately ten degrees in a northerly direction, i.e. towards the observer. The presence of a thin band of light brown clay which also appears in one of the roadside sections a few yards to the south-east demonstrates that this section is contemporaneous in age with the latter. Immediately to the north however, the equivalent rock in an exposed ridge is more brecciated and phyllitic in texture, suggesting the occurrence of low-grade metamorphism such as could develop in a crush-zone of faulting. This is also supported by the occurrence of thin injections of impure pink calcite within the exposure. The soft clay band, together with the added factor of the inward dip of the strata in the main face, has provided the conditions for landslipping in the overlying mass of siltstone, and is thus possibly responsible for the deep pile of loose fragments along the base.

STRATIGRAPHY, FAUNA, AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

Occasional specimens of the graptolite *Monograptus colonus* found in the siltstones indicate that the succession occupies a position of Middle or Lower Ludlovian age. This generally agrees with the lithology and the nature of the rest of the fauna, which complies with a possibly Middle Elton Beds age, and the relatively common occurrence of pteromorphic bivalves and spired gastropods such as *Bembexia* and *Loxenema* is typically more Ludlovian than Wenlockian. Also, the presence of numerous fragments of the trilobite *Dalmanites* suggests a horizon earlier rather than later in the Ludlovian, before the marked decline in this genus became established.

Essentially, about half a dozen species are pre-eminent: the brachiopods *Strophonella euglypha*, *Cyrtia exporrecta*, and *Resserella canalis*; various scaphopods and *Dalmanites*. There are also abundant remains of various genera of orthoconic and cyrtconic nautiloids. Less commonly represented are eospiriferids, pentamerids, bivalves, gastropods, corals, crinoids and graptolites.

In conclusion the poor bedding and type of sediment, the relatively low diversity of the assemblage, the presence of the infaunal brachiopod *Lingula lewesi*, and the occasional survival of graptolite fragments and *Dalmanites* intact all suggest relatively deep water conditions in which the bottom waters must have been quiet yet well-aerated. Furthermore, the absence of the coarser-ribbed brachiopods generally adapted to living in current-swept waters provides additional evidence for this supposition, and thus it seems likely that the faunal community could have occupied a niche intermediate between the littoral and bathyal areas of the sea.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CLAY BAND

The clay band occurring within the succession is a light brown or beige horizon with an average thickness of 5 cm. It comprises a crumbly and saturated clay incorporating a fraction of clastic and organic carbonate fragments, the former consisting of poorly sorted quartz and feldspar grains suggestive of rapid burial without re-working. Together with the fragments of organic carbonate this suggests that the clay band could represent a high density/low velocity debris or lutite flow which deposited material from the nearshore region in a deeper part of the basin as a result of instability. The apparent absence of any fossils, grading, or any other type of sedimentary structure within the layer is also consistent with a spontaneous lateral emplacement of material at low velocity, but which was also very restricted in time.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1982

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

At the beginning of 1982 there was much uncertainty about office accommodation for the archaeology unit but, as a result of a kind offer by the City Council, new and hopefully more permanent premises were made available in the basement of the Town Hall. This will be much more convenient when the unit becomes the Investigating Authority for the Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance under the 1979 Act, probably during 1983.

Much of 1982 has been taken up with survey and excavation but the second volume of the report on Hereford city excavations has been published by the Council for British Archaeology. The main body of the report, *Excavations on and close to the defences*, is illustrated with many photographs of sites examined since 1966. An important feature is the microfiche section in a wallet at the back of each volume, which consists of 277 additional pages of text and drawings, including the full excavation report.

The third volume, which contains the finds and environmental evidence, will be completed in the next few months and will be published late in 1983. The unit will also complete a report on excavations in Chepstow early in 1983 and this will probably be published as a monograph by the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

During the winter of 1981-2, the unit carried out excavations in the north-west corner of the medieval city in advance of a major development by the Tesco Group of Companies. Three separate areas were examined; one on the north of the site where the line of a new access road crossed the medieval defences and two on the south along the Bewell Street frontage. The northern area had suffered much modern disturbance and only the tail of the late-12th-century gravel rampart survived. There was no evidence for any pre-defensive occupation such as had been previously observed in areas to both east and west.

The excavations along Bewell Street were of much greater interest and have produced a large amount of material which will need to be fully studied before final conclusions can be made and the two sites can be fully integrated to produce an indication of the development of Bewell Street.

The earliest trace of occupation, consisting of a well-laid cobbled surface, is problematical in terms of both function and date. This surface was sealed by two aceramic pre-mid-10th-century phases, one of which consisted of some 0.3 m. of soil build-up, and it must therefore be substantially earlier than the 10th century. Occupation periods, before pottery was in common use, have been established in the Victoria Street and Berrington Street areas, where 8th-century dates have been suggested. The Bewell Street features are, however, the first such features to be identified in this part of the city, and are at a substantial distance from the original nucleus around the cathedral.

The earliest known defences of the city were probably built in the middle of the 9th century and by the 10th century they comprised a massive stone wall fronting a turf and clay rampart, with its northern line along East Street and West Street. The present excavations and those of 1974 and 1968 have shown that the city had extended substantially beyond its Saxon defences by the 11th century with buildings fronting on to the lines of Bewell Street and Edgar Street. Bewell Street may then have been of more importance than its present appearance suggests. It is considered that the shops which now separate Bewell Street and Eign Gate represent market colonisation of the centre of what was originally a broad thoroughfare used for temporary stalls on market days. Thus buildings on the north side of Bewell Street would originally have fronted on to the market area.

Hereford was apparently only poorly defended in the 11th and 12th centuries with much of the population living outside the Saxon walls. This situation was changed at the end of the 12th century when a new defensive bank and ditch was constructed which enclosed the whole of the northern development area. By this time Bewell Street had a cobbled surface with some timber buildings to the north and a large metalled yard further west. By the middle of the 13th century, when the city walls were being constructed, half-timbered buildings on stone footings were present. These buildings had many alterations and additions and were rebuilt from time to time during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, although some areas apparently reverted to cultivation, possibly with buildings set well back from the street frontage.

Early in the 18th century several properties were amalgamated, the site was cleared and Bewell House was built as a substantial town residence. Small shops, workshops and inns filled the rest of Bewell Street and one of these gradually grew to become the Hereford Imperial Brewery, finally occupying a large part of the site and using Bewell House as a residence for its manager.

A second major excavation was organised in the north-eastern part of the walled city in advance of proposed development by the Norwich Union Insurance Society. The area available was used for car parking on the north-western side

of Commercial Street. As with the 'Tesco site', this area was only included within the city defences late in the 12th century but the excavation established that the area was in use at least from the late 11th century. The earliest constructional feature was a narrow trench, about 1m. deep, parallel and close to the line of Commercial Street. This may have held a palisade which, it has been suggested, could be part of an enclosure for the Jewish enclave which is thought to have been in this part of the city in the 12th and early 13th centuries. Traces of buildings on the site which date to this period have still to be fully analysed. The Jews were expelled from England in 1290 by which time the city wall around Hereford was complete and the excavated area would have been just within Bye Street Gate. A series of workshops and houses were built on the site and by the 16th century a substantial cauldron moulding business occupied the site. The remains of several kilns and ovens were found which related to this period together with the stone footings of a house which faced on to Commercial Street. At the beginning of the 17th century the property was left by Thomas Kerry Esq. 'to be and remain an Hospital for ever, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity'. The old hospital was replaced in 1824 by new buildings consisting of sixteen dwellings surrounding a courtyard, and these were demolished in the late 1960s.

The detailed analysis of both the Tesco and the Norwich Union excavation sites and the many finds should be completed during 1983-4.

During the year staff of the unit examined many trenches dug within the city as part of building construction works and provided advice to the planning department of the City Council and to private developers.

Several properties on the west side of Widemarsh Street are being restored and partly rebuilt and during excavation workmen on the site found the broken fragments of two 14th-century pitchers which have been reconstructed and deposited in the City Museum. At the rear of one of the properties, 49 Widemarsh Street, a deep, circular, stone-lined ice house was discovered and unit staff examined it before it had to be refilled. A second ice house, of similar construction to the one in Widemarsh Street, was found in the garden of Collingwood House in St. Ethelbert Street. This was complete with the domed brick cover and the owner hopes to preserve it as a feature in his garden.

Traces of the Saxon city ditch were observed during construction works for the shops in the small mews development on the northern side of West Street next to the 'Stagecoach' but little survived of the rampart and stone wall which originally ran between the ditch and the line of West Street.

The city wall has had mixed fortunes during the year. Heavy rain followed by frost caused a section to collapse at the corner of Mill Street and St. Owen Street but on the opposite side of the city, around the Tesco development, a replica wall is being built, on a line dictated by the course of the ring road, to create a sense of enclosure.

At the County Hospital excavations for the first phase of an underground service duct during 1978 exposed some twenty-five skeletons of adult males. The site was occupied from about 1143 until the Dissolution in 1536 by St. Guthlac's Monastery and the burials are assumed to be part of the monastic cemetery. The 1978 work established the eastern limit of the burial ground and provided statistical details of the monastic population in terms of age, size and anatomical and pathological abnormalities (Shoesmith, 1978).

The duct was extended to the west during April and May 1982 and once again it was possible to examine part of the burial ground. Some twelve burials were examined and traces of about a dozen others were recorded. There were no traces of foundations of any of the monastic buildings within the area examined.

The skeletons were again all male, varying between about seventeen years and old age, apart from two infants. The burials were roughly arranged in rows but the area of the burial ground had been re-used at least twice, leading to some confusion in the arrangement. Several areas were without burials, indicating that the burial ground was interspersed with paths, shrubs, trees or other landscaped areas. Two of the burials were in stone cists, similar to those seen in the 1978 area and nails indicated the presence of wooden coffins in others. The two infant burials may have been still-births or deaths within a few days of birth and suggest the use of this consecrated ground for unbaptized infants at some time after the Dissolution.

COUNTY AREA

In the county area the unit has again been mainly concerned with the problems of redundant and derelict churches. Brobury Church, which has been disused for many years, is to be converted into a private house and unit staff have examined all foundation and drainage trenches associated with the preparatory work. Traces of an earthen bank, which may be earlier than the church, have been observed. At Garway, advice has been sought from the Department of the Environment concerning the preservation of the exposed foundations of the round 'Templars' church and at Llanrothal unit staff hope to record the remaining features of the disused nave.

As mentioned in last year's report, excavation and survey work was carried out at Urishay Chapel as a continuation of the 1979 programme (Shoesmith, 1979, 69-70). It can now be suggested that the earliest church so far established on the site consisted of a simple rectangular building with an apsidal east end (FIG. 1). Late in the 12th century the apse was demolished and a new and larger chancel was added. The chancel arch is also of this period although the oak lintels and the side altars and seats may be later. The present east window was inserted in the 16th century and in the 17th century or later the western wall was rebuilt, slightly shortening the nave. Consolidation works are still continuing and the final report will not be written until the project is completed. It is hoped that some recording work can also be undertaken on the masonry remains of the adjoining Urishay Castle and on the relationship between the chapel and the motte and bailey earthworks which is considered to be fundamental to the understanding of the whole site.

During the summer months the unit carried out survey work for the Department of the Environment on the south-east tower at Goodrich Castle in advance of consolidation works. The aim is to ensure that all building works are fully documented and that nothing is replaced or restored without a full record being made. The work at Goodrich is likely to continue for several years.

A Bronze Age burial cist, which was unearthed during land drainage works on a crest in the Cefn Hill ridge, was examined by unit staff. The surviving remains consist of four large stone slabs on edge forming the sides of the cist and a few stones in the bottom. No large bones or pottery were found by the farmer who cleared the chamber. The cist is very similar to those found in the Olchon Valley in 1932 (Marshall, 1932).

A small hoard of Bronze Age axes, which were found during potato picking near Madley, are currently being recorded by unit staff who also hope to examine the area of the field where they were found in the spring.

Wall paintings, of probable 18th or early 19th-century date, at Upper Orchard in Hoarwithy were photographically recorded by unit staff during re-decoration work. The best preserved will be retained as part of the decoration scheme.

THE COUNTY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

During April and May 1982 a trial excavation, financed by the Department of the Environment and the Hereford and Worcester County Council, was organised to evaluate the quality of the deposits in the part of the inner bailey of Kilpeck Castle where it is proposed to extend the graveyard associated with

URISHAY CHAPEL, PETERCHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE

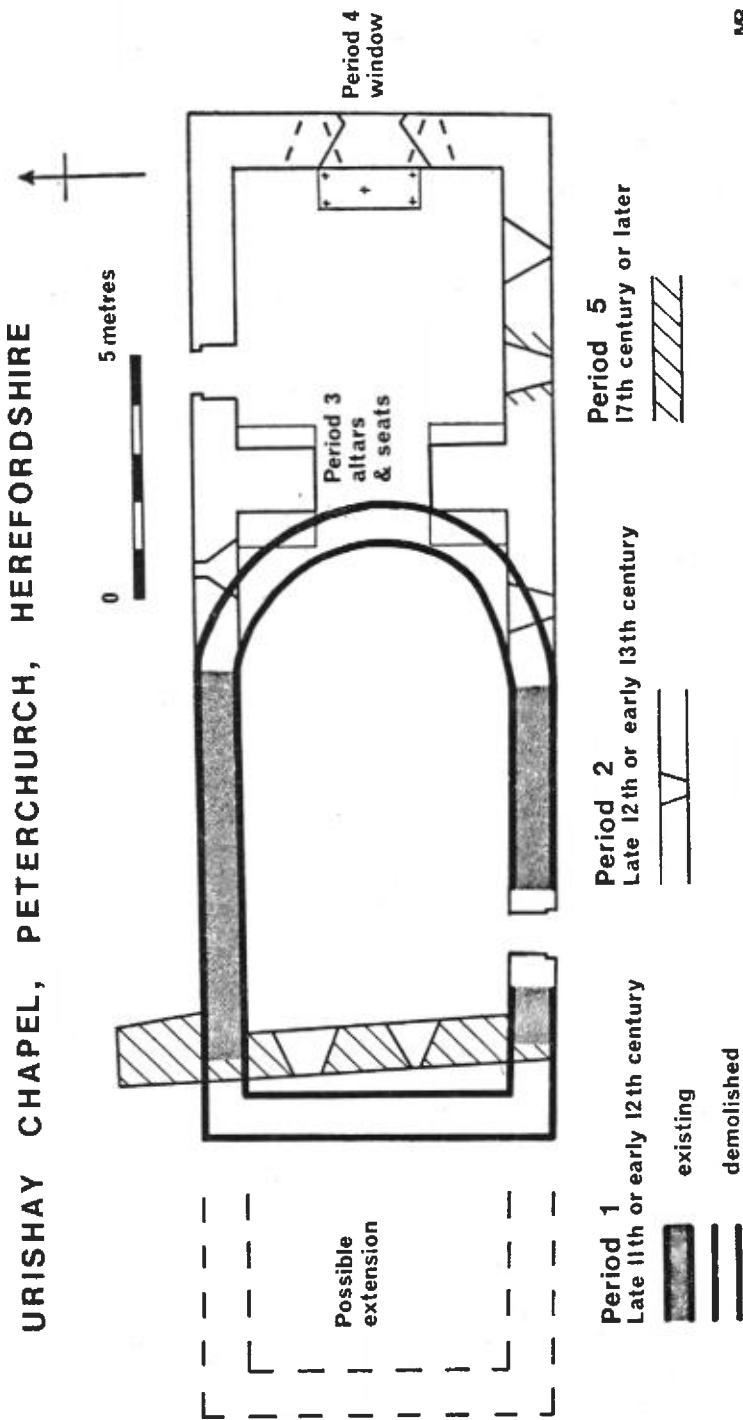


FIG. 1
Urishay Chapel, Peterchurch

M8

the Norman church. A 5 m. wide area was stripped to the first major archaeological level along the western boundary of this proposed extension and a 1 m. wide trench fully excavated along its western edge. Six occupation periods were isolated above the pre-castle ground surface. The early rampart defences showed no signs of associated timber or stonework but a 15 m. wide layer of stones, sealing the rampart tail and the buried soil surface, may represent a trackway or stone yard. Whilst the castle was in use, apart from several pits, there were traces which suggest both timber and stone buildings were present in this area of the bailey. Only a few finds were recovered giving a date range from the 12th to the 14th or 15th centuries. The remains are quite well preserved and, if the whole area is developed as a graveyard, its archaeology should be fully recorded. (Abstracted from interim report by J. Sawle).

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Botany, 1982

By F. M. KENDRICK

I have received three interesting reports from members during the year.

Erysimum cheiranthoides. Treacle Mustard

Reported by Mrs. N. Elliott from a roadside near the church at Michaelchurch Escley.

Hyoscyamus niger. Henbane

Reported by Mr. G. Sprackling from Ewyas Harold village. The plant was found growing where a wall had been pulled down on the site of the old chemist's shop.

Epipogium aphyllum Sw. Ghost Orchid

This extremely rare orchid was discovered in September, 1982, in Herefordshire by Dr. V. Coombs and her report on this find and subsequent action taken is as follows:

On 19 September 1982, at approximately 4.00 p.m., in the pouring rain, I chanced upon a solitary flowering spike of this remarkable orchid. *Epipogium aphyllum* Sw. (PL. VIII) is one of 62 plants specially protected by the Wildlife and Countryside Act, 1981; it had not been confirmed within the county boundaries for some 130 years.

The plant was intact when discovered, and exhibited two beautiful, fully, opened blooms. On closer examination there appeared to be a definite constriction towards the base of the flowering spike. This constriction was thought to have been caused by slug damage.

The finding was reported to Mr. F. M. Kendrick on Monday, 20 September 1982, and to Mrs. S. Thomson, recorder for Herefordshire Botanical Society, some minutes later. Mrs. Thomson and I visited the site the next day, and confirmed the identification. The discovery was then reported to Mr. N. King of the Nature Conservancy Council, who in turn reported it to Miss W. Farrell, a member of the Chief Scientists Team, N.C.C., both of whom visited the site some days later, confirming the previous identifications.

The plant flowered until Friday, 1 October 1982, when Mrs. Thomson and I found it lying on its side, with the stem completely rotted through.

As *Epipogium aphyllum* Sw. is perhaps one of Britain's rarest plants (Summerhayes, 198) with as few as ten separate sites previously reported since its first discovery in the British Isles in 1854 (Summerhayes, 198-202) the exact location in Herefordshire is not being disclosed. Naturally, the site is being watched hopefully for any further appearances. In the meantime, all necessary conservation measures have been taken.

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Buildings, 1982

By J. W. TONKIN

THIS year the Old Buildings Recording Group has been working in the Wormelow Hundred and a report of its findings will appear in due course. As in the past we are once again indebted to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work.

A week-end school with the writer as tutor was based on Ewyas Harold.

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

BODENHAM

HOUGHTON COURT. SO 558510

At first sight apparently an 18th-century house this turned out to date from the 16th century with wide chamfers on the beams and an ogee moulding on those in the parlour which had the cellar beneath it as is usual in earlier houses. The roll-moulded fireplaces with pyramid stops may date from the late 17th century as they are all across the corners of rooms. The house appears to have been L-shaped originally with additions, including the stairs built by James Turley of Bodenham in 1874. Evidence in the attics shows that an earlier roof was hipped and the gables came later, perhaps in 1874, but the long carpenters' assembly marks seem to indicate a 16th-century origin for that part of it over the earlier house.

The barn is a typical example of c. 1600 with heavy wattle, not plastered, and the usual heavy jowls on the posts to carry both wall-plate and tie-beam. The carpenters' marks are circles differenced with curved marks at the upper level.

WELL COTTAGE. SO 530512 (R.C.H.M. 11)

It is difficult to decide which is the earlier part of this L-shaped house for the western block is of red sandstone and the eastern part timber-framed. However, as the gable above the stone western end of the house is of the later, criss-cross timber-framing it would seem that the eastern wing is earlier. The ogee moulding of the beams in the projecting parlour would seem to substantiate this theory. Thus it appears that there is an L-shaped house of the late 16th or early 17th century here with a wing added later in the 17th century.

HOLMER

SHELWICK COURT. SO 527430 (R.C.H.M. 11)

This 17th-century house which has been allowed to fall into a state of disrepair has now been taken over by the Landmark Trust and work has started on its restoration.

KENDERCHURCH

HOWTON COURT. SO 415291

Externally this square house appears to date from the early 18th century, but the beams running the length of the house on the west side with an ovolo-mould below a cavetto seem to date from the period 1610-40. The panelling in the room to the south of the stairway has a plain chamfer on the muntins and rails and is mason's mitred where these meet, an early 17th-century feature. Thus this part of the house would seem to date from c. 1610-30. It appears to have been re-roofed in the early 18th century and this is no doubt when the additions were made. The windows have fine glazing bars typical of the high quality carpentry of the period 1790-1830 and it would seem that they date from that time probably replacing single mullion and transom windows of a hundred years earlier.

LLANVEYNOE

UPPER CWM FARM. SO 307313 (R.C.H.M. 2)

This house probably dates from c. 1600 and seems to have been a long-house with the cattle at the lower end. There is a good post and panel screen dividing the rooms on the ground floor.

MICHAELCHURCH ESCLEY

MICHAELCHURCH COURT. SO 308343 (R.C.H.M. 2)

It was interesting to find pyramid stops in some of the upper rooms of this house implying a late-medieval date for part of it. At the far end of the hall in the passage by the stairs was a blue-and-black pattern mural over plaster and timber on both floors very reminiscent of that at Upleadon in Bosbury parish. There was a blocked window of the original parlour against the 19th-century wing and a stone in the wing basement bore the name J. F. Bodley and the date 186-, presumably the date of the Victorian addition.

SHOBDON

UPHAMPTON. SO 399635

In July when digging to put a drain across the yard the owners found an ice house, typical of those associated with 18th-century buildings.

WEOBLEY

2 HIGH STREET. SO 403515 (R.C.H.M. 44)

An examination of this house which was once the cross-wing of a house which ran to the west showed that it had been jettied to the street in the normal, wealthier cross-wing fashion. The stone fireplaces have chamfered jambs and lintels and a bake-oven which once occupied the space to the west of the main fireplace. The southern room away from the street is reached up five steps on either side of the fireplace and there is a cellar beneath it. There is evidence of there having been wind-braces, but these are gone.

TENBURY WELLS

PUMP ROOM. SO 597683

This building and the adjoining 'Chinese Gothick' tower were erected by Cranston c. 1860. It is a single storey building with timber and render adornments in the style of a Swiss chalet. The roof is of galvanised iron and the entrance of stone and polychrome brick. In itself it is perhaps not important, but taken with the tower it is, and together the two buildings are perhaps the last in a tradition which has one of its first and best buildings still standing at Kew from about a century earlier.

During the year 27 planning applications were received. As usual most were for minor alterations and additions, but the Club has objected to the proposal to demolish the Pump Room at Tenbury Wells. At a public inquiry in 1981 the Club had opposed the proposal to demolish buildings in the Church Lane/Church Street area of Ledbury. The inspector's report was received in January and he has refused permission for this demolition.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people especially Dr. A. Brian, Mrs. N. Elliott and Miss J. Godfrey-Merrick.

Geology, 1982

By F. M. KENDRICK

DURING the year I made two visits to the Sutton Hill Gravel Quarry and found two interesting erratics. The first a piece of Wenlock Limestone with a good specimen of the chain coral *Halysites catenularius* and the second a trilobite probably *Dalmanites myops*.

Mammals, 1982

By W. H. D. WINCE

GREATER HORSESHOE BAT (*Rhinolophus ferrumequinum*). It has been shown that some of the bats living in the south of the county migrate to the Cotswold area during the summer months. This bat was previously reported as breeding in the south of the county in the 1978 *Transactions* and further information is sought on the accuracy of this statement.

SMALL MAMMAL TRAPPING. Fewer small mammals were trapped this year and it is possible that there has been a reduction in their numbers during the past very cold winter. During the period October to December 1982 only six yellow-necked mice (*Apodemus flavicollis*) entered the recorder's house, this compares with thirty to forty in previous years.

POLECAT (*Mustela putorius*). There have been several records from the north of the county. Several have been trapped on two large sporting estates and Martin Noble of the Forestry Commission saw three in the Mortimer Forest. As usual road casualties have occurred.

PINE MARTEN (*Martes martes*). Although not in Herefordshire a pine marten was observed by two members of the Shropshire Trust for Nature Conservation near Pontesbury, south-west of Shrewsbury.

BADGER (*Meles meles*). Some cases of badger digging have been reported, and two cases of badgers having been shot have been mentioned, the latter were the result of badgers going into cornfields and damaging small areas of the crop; this occurs when corn is grown very near a sett.

OTTER (*Lutra lutra*). One animal was killed on the road near Aymestrey.

DEER. Winter casualties were less than in the 1979 cold spell, this year as expected they were greatest among the fawns, particularly the orphaned fawns.

BUTTERFLIES

1982 was a good year for butterflies and the observer noted an abundance of many species, though this increase did not appear to affect all species. The colourful Vanessa butterflies were on the wing early and Painted Lady (*Vanessa cardui*) appeared in June; this was followed by the Red Admiral (*Vanessa atalanta*) later

in the month. Second broods were seen in late summer and as many as 20 Red Admirals were seen on rotting unpicked plums on a tree at the end of September. While Small Tortoiseshell (*Aglais urticae*) and Comma (*Polygonia c-album*) were abundant the numbers of Peacock butterflies (*Inachis io*) seemed to remain at an average level.

Of the Satyridae the Ringlet (*Aphantopus hyperanthus*) and the Gatekeeper (*Pyronia tithonus*) seemed abundant.

While the above were noted at the observer's home at Bush Bank at Haugh Wood there were many White Admirals (*Limenitis camilla*) to be seen and White-letter Hairstreaks (*Strymonidia w-album*) were seen near a wych elm, a survivor of the ravages of the elm bark beetle.

Ornithology, 1982

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

WITH the exceptionally cold winter of 1981/82 a heavy toll took place of our resident population of birds. During January the remains of two bitterns were found on the river Lugg at Bodenham.

The effect of the bad weather became further apparent when the results of the Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme became known, the details from 34 sites are as follows:-

	1982		1981	
	Nest	Fledged	Nest	Fledged
Pied Flycatcher ...	170	713	225	789
Blue Tit ...	95	737	172	984
Great Tit ...	82	559	170	732
Marsh Tit ...	5	42	6	50
Coal Tit ...	9	77	7	44
Redstart ...	9	34	6	32
Nuthatch ...	8	42	14	76
Wren ...			5	10
Tawny Owl ...	5	3	2	1
Tree Sparrow ...			2	3
Spotted Flycatcher			2	8
TOTAL BOXES ...	1032		973	
BOXES USED ...	383		611	
% USED ...	37.1		62.7	

This year birds did not have to contend with late snows as in 1981. The clutch sizes were larger and with less birds to contend for the same food supply a better fledgeling rate resulted.

Average clutch sizes for Herefordshire boxes:-

	1982	1981
Pied Flycatchers ...	7.05	6.5
Blue Tits ...	9.7	8.7
Great Tits ...	8.3	8.3

Less pied flycatchers used the boxes in 1982 in spite of very good results in previous years. This is probably due to bad conditions on both migration and the winter feeding areas.

The first eggs were laid as follows:-

	1982	1981
Pied Flycatcher ...	3 May	10 May
Blue Tits ...	20 April	16 April
Great Tits ...	23 April	19 April
Redstart ...	14 May	
Marsh Tit ...	13 May	
Coal Tit ...	23 May	
Nuthatch ...	26 April	

A pair of pied flycatchers nested in a nest box at the Cathedral Close, Hereford. No young were produced. This is unusual for a woodland bird which usually nests west of Hereford in oak woodland.

Rarities visiting Herefordshire:-

Hobby ...	East Herefordshire
Hoopoe ...	Goodrich
Bittern ...	Near Kington on New Year's Eve
Osprey ...	Foy

Archaeological Research Section, 1981-1982

By MARY THOMAS

The section now has 49 members.

A programme of monthly field meetings has provided stimulating investigations, interesting observation and very enjoyable excursions. Some of these have already been reported in numbers 39 and 40 of *Herefordshire Archaeological News*. Others will follow in later editions.

INVESTIGATIONS

Brampton Abbots. The possible site of an Iron Age hill fort, SO592272, marked as a camp on Taylor's County map of 1786, had been ploughed and a detailed search was made for dating material. Several concentrations of charcoal fragments, some flint flakes and shards of post-medieval pottery were found. If this is an Iron Age site the defences have been well ploughed out. Lack of Roman pottery provides negative evidence for a Roman dating.

Llanveynoe. An investigation was made of apparent stone foundations, in roughly circular formation, S.W. of the church. It had been suggested that this might be the site of an early circular cell. Probing to a depth of 18 ins. showed that the stones were on the surface only and could have been dragged to this area, around a tree, when ploughing and clearing the field.

Eaton Tregoz. Bryant's map, 1833, shows a camp here. Investigations at SO606282 revealed a possible small motte—much ploughed out—but there was no sign of outer defences.

Llandaff Charters. Three field meetings were devoted to tracing the boundaries of Cwm Barruc and Lann Junabius. These two parcels of land were granted to Dyfrig in the 6th century and their boundaries are described in some detail in the charters. Ambiguities in translation and the transitory nature of the landmarks made identification difficult. Cwm Barruc is in the valley of the Dore and one possible location, using Arthur's Stone as one feature, is the area between Merbach Hill and Dorstone village.

A possible 500 acres for the Lann Junabius grant can be traced from the ford near Hoarwithy over the river cliff of Altbough and into the valley of the Wriggle Brook. The name suggests Llandinabo parish but this area would seem to be too far from the river Wye which is clearly named as one boundary.

Dilwyn and Buckton. Water mills at these two villages are being restored. At Buckton members devoted two field meetings to helping with freeing the wheel and digging mud and silt from the channel. The owners, Mr. and Mrs. Bowater hope to get the wheel repaired and turning though not connected to the driving gears.

Penyard. A chain of four connected ponds in Penyard Park were traced. These are now dry. The water was presumably harnessed for industrial use but its purpose remains obscure.

Stretfordbury. Mr. F. Attwell who has been investigating a Roman bath-house site at Stretfordbury near Leominster has kindly supplied a copy of his findings to Mr. N. Reeves, the historian of Leominster, for reproducing in the *Herefordshire Archaeological News*. We are most grateful for this information and a visit to the Stretfordbury site is included in the programme of field visits.

VISITS

In addition to our research programme the following sites have been visited for interest and information.

The three neighbouring motte and bailey castles at Rowstone, Walterstone and Llancillo made an interesting comparison.

Shobdon Arches, the site of Shobdon House and its gas works made a pleasant afternoon visit.

Lydney Park was open to the public in May and a very full day was spent looking at the Roman temple site, Iron Age fort, medieval castle, the museum and the glorious display of rhododendrons and azaleas.

The owner of Olchon Court kindly conducted us around this delightful old farm house, once the home and hide-out of Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard leader.

The programme for 1983 will include further investigations on the Great Doward and more work on the Llandaff charter boundaries.

The section would welcome new members, particularly those who will actively participate in field work.

Natural History Section

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

This year one indoor meeting and six field meetings took place.

26 January. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Woolhope Room followed by a talk by Mr. J. Cooter, Hereford City Museum on the work of the museums and the setting up of the Biological Records centre.

3 April. A walk took place by the river Monnow, Kentchurch, led by Dr. S. Tyler. A new heronry was observed. Owing to the very hard winter, very few other birds were seen.

1 May. Members of the Ledbury Naturalists joined our party for a walk from Parkway to Clenchers Mill which was led by Mr. P. Garnett. Many species of flowering plants were seen, and the effect of clear felling of woodland was observed.

19 June. Three reserves belonging to the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust were visited on the Doward including the new reserve, White Rocks, which had been a quarry, later infilled with rubbish. Tree planting is to be carried out at a later date. At Leeping Stock Reserve a melanic form of Lobster Moth was seen. On reaching Woodside Reserve, the weather improved, and many Marbled White butterflies were noted. The meeting was led by Dr. A. Brian.

17 July. A coach outing took place to Wem Moss, Sweat Mere and Crose Mere in Shropshire. The leader was Mr. Walker of the Nature Conservancy Council.

18 September. A visit was made to Pedwardine Woods led by Mr. J. Cooter. The owners, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Harley, joined the meeting. During the walk many aspects of forestry were discussed.

30 October. Three reserves on the Doward were again visited led by Dr. R. Cameron. Slugs and snails were recorded.

Weather Statistics, 1982

Month	Sunshine hours	Days with sun	Max. Temp. Screen °F	Min. Temp. Screen °F	Nights Air Frost	Nights Ground Frost	Rain ins.	Max. in one day	Days with Rain over .005 ins.
January	40	13	58	0	6	9	2.67	0.38	15
February	37.3	15	57	38	4	9	1.08	0.37	8
March	128.6	29	63	28	2	9	2.76	0.53	19
April	168.85	30	70	33	—	2	0.965	0.43	6
May	210.1	31	77	32	—	—	0.615	0.21	11
June	153.9	29	81	46	—	—	6.80	1.39	19
July	126.8	26	81	49	—	—	1.04	0.28	10
August	145.5	30	80	37	—	—	3.47	1.29	16
September	124.7	29	77	37	—	—	3.34	0.64	12
October	76.6	24	61	32	—	—	2.11	0.66	16
November	64.3	23	60	25	4	Not recorded	3.90	0.74	22
December	41.1	16	57	26	5	"	3.90	0.60	15
TOTAL	1317.75								

