

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XLVII 1991
PART I

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Proceedings, 1991	1
Woolhope Room, by J. W. Tonkin	15
Woolhope Club Badge - Carpet Bed, by Muriel Tonkin	17
George Marshall, by F. W. Pexton	18
An Early Motte and Enclosure at Upton Bishop, by Elizabeth Taylor	24
The Mortimers of Wigmore, 1214-1282, by Charles Hopkinson	28
The Old House, Vowchurch, by R. E. Rewell and J. T. Smith	47
Herefordshire Street Ballads, by Roy Palmer	67

REPORTS OF SECTIONAL RECORDERS

Archaeology, 1991, by R. Shoesmith	83
Botany, 1991, by P. Thomson using Herefordshire Botanical Society Records	92
Buildings, 1991, By J. W. Tonkin	95
Geology, 1991, by P. Cross	104
Herefordshire Field-Names, 1991, by G. Sprackling	105
Industrial Archaeology, 1991, by J. van Laun	110
Mammals, 1991, by W. H. D. Wince	114
Ornithology, 1991, by Beryl Harding	116
City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee, 1991, by Joe Hillaby	119
Archaeological Research Section, 1991, by G. Sprackling	121
Natural History Section, 1991, by Beryl Harding	123
Weather Statistics, 1991, by E. H. Ward	127

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Page</i>
Woolhope Club Badge - Carpet Bed	
Pl. I Woolhope Club Badge, Churchill Gardens, 1991	
Early Motte and Enclosure at Upton Bishop	
Fig. 1 Pottery	26
The Mortimers of Wigmore, 1214-1282	
Map Wales: lordships of the Mortimers in 1282	41
The Old House, Vowchurch	
Pl. II N. elevation	
III Hall showing doorway to service room, housing for second door-head, and chamfered stud in partition	
IV Hall showing fireplace with reused timber lintel, post carrying inserted binding beam, and moulding on latter and bearer	
Fig. 1 a. First floor	49
b. Ground floor	49
2 Development diagram	51
3 a. White Haywood Farm, Craswall; ground floor	60
b. Wellbrook Manor, Peterchurch; ground floor	60
4 White Haywood Farm, Craswall; development diagram	62
5 a. Court Farm, Craswall; ground floor	63
b. The Old Manor House, Eardisland; ground floor	63

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Proceedings, 1991

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 12 January: ADJOURNED WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: Dr. F. W. Pexton, President, in the chair.

Officers for 1991 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1989 were presented and adopted. These were printed on p.337 in *Transactions*, XLVI (1990).

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Geology, Herefordshire Field-names, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports for 1990 which are printed on pp. 83-126.

SECOND MEETING: 9 February: Cancelled due to snow.

THIRD MEETING: 9 March: Dr. F. W. Pexton, president, in the Chair.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin, B.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'The Houses of the Herefordshire Uplands.' He said that the upland area of the county was to be found in the Broxash, Ewyas Lacy, Greytree, Huntington and Wigmore Hundreds. The Silurian rock of the Woolhope Dome was used for rubble walling whilst some of the Old Red Sandstone was a good building stone. Oak, elm and even black poplar were used externally and internally.

A variety of plan types was to be seen viz: first-floor halls with undercrofts, long-houses; houses with a hall, cross-passage and a service end. From 1540 onwards floors were inserted giving rooms above the hall and parlour etc.; and single-cell houses. The most common house to be seen was the two up and two down with rooms 12 ft. by 12 ft. and 12 ft. by 8 ft.

There was also a variety of methods of construction viz: base-crucks, crucks and rectangular plan with a triangular roof above. In medieval times the roofs were open to the ridge and highly decorated, some with four tiers of decorated wind-braces.

Brick began to come into use from the late 17th/early 18th century. At this time, bricks were made on the site e.g. 'Brickkiln Piece' as is seen on the tithe map surveys. The one up and one down cottages appeared in the 1760s and from mid-Victorian times brick was imported and became the predominant building material.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 30 March: Dr. F. W. Pexton, president in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 808 members.

Dr. Pexton referred to the club's varied activities during the year and gave his address 'George Marshall' which is printed on pp. 18-23.

Mrs. R. E. Richardson was installed as president for 1991/2.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 20 April: BRIDSTOW AND ST. WEONARDS AREA

The first visit was to Moraston House by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. J. Wetherall. This house was commissioned in 1811 and completed in 1815 at a cost of £2,048 11s. 11d. by the Governors of Guy's Hospital for their agent Whalley Armitage. (See *Transactions*, XLIII (1980), 91-115). Members viewed the ground-floor rooms and the fine staircase, and walked around the grounds including the walled garden.

At the Jubilee Maze, Whitchurch, Mr. Hayes explained the history and development of mazes. This maze was built in 1977 to celebrate the jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II and was opened to the public in 1981 on the wedding day of the Prince of Wales.

Whitchurch Church dedicated to St. Dubricius is built of local sandstone rubble and ashlar with a stone roof. The chancel and nave are mainly 14th century, the font late 12th century and the north aisle and south porch date from 1861.

At St. Weonards the Bronze Age round barrow was pointed out. The church is built of sandstone rubble and the tower of sandstone ashlar. The west tower, the north chapel and north aisle, the north arcade of the nave, the south porch and the screens date from the early 16th century. The barrel roof of the north aisle and chapel have moulded and cambered tie-beams and moulded wall-plates. The east window in the chancel is 14th century and glass in the north chapel dates from c.1526.

SECOND MEETING: 17 May: BECKFORD AND SEZINCOTE AREA

In the morning a visit was made to Beckford Church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Here were seen the good Norman work of the south doorway with its tympanum, the blocked north doorway with its tympanum and the west tower arch. The tower has a Norman base, the middle stage 1310-5 and the top stage 1622. The chancel also dates from 1310-5.

The area from Kinsham to the east and Overbury to the west is the most important strip of cropmarks in the county.

The afternoon was spent at Sezincote. The estate was purchased in 1795 by Col. John Cockerell from the third earl of Guildford. He died in 1798 and the estate was inherited by his brother Charles who employed his brother Samuel Pepys Cockerell to build a house in the Indian style. It remained in the Cockerell family until 1884 when it was bought by names Dugdale and since 1944 has been owned by the Kleinwort family. The

house was finished about 1805 and the design of it was influenced by Thomas Daniell who had spent ten years in India as an artist. The house consists of eleven bays with a green-house wing to the south and another wing to the north ending in a pavilion. The Indian details show Hindu and Muslim influence. The interior is purely Classical with Greek revival plasterwork and the staircase is lit by a lantern. The gardens contain an Indian temple, and a bridge with Brahmin bulls on it which were designed by Daniell and probably Humphrey Repton.

THIRD MEETING: 22 June: GLOUCESTER AND PAINSWICK AREA

In the morning members were taken on a guided tour of Gloucester Cathedral. It was founded as a Benedictine abbey in 1089 and became a cathedral in 1541. The nave is Norman dating from c.1126; the choir was remodelled 1337-77 and the east window contains glass from c.1350; the lady chapel was built 1457-99 on the site of a smaller building dating back to 1224; the tower with elaborate tracery standing on the surviving base of the Norman tower, is 225 ft. high and dates from 1450-7.

The first stop after lunch at Crickley Hill was to Great Witcombe Church dedicated to St. Mary. It dates from the 12th century with a late Norman nave and chancel and a north aisle added in the 15th century. The chancel arch has a double band of chevron moulding. The tower was rebuilt 1749-52. The roof beam is in situ and the wagon roof of the nave has a canopy over the rood loft and moulded ribs and carved bosses.

Despite the rain the party spent the rest of the afternoon at the Rococo Garden at Painswick which is being restored by Lord and Lady Dickinson. The garden was originally laid out in the hidden combe behind Painswick House by Benjamin Hyett who inherited the estate from his father Charles Hyett who completed the house in 1735 and died in 1738. In 1965 a wood was planted on the site and in 1983 it was decided to restore the garden to its original design.

FOURTH MEETING: 20 July: TRETOWER AND CRICKHOWELL AREA

First visited was Crickhowell Church dedicated to St. Edmund. It is largely 14th century with a central crossing tower and north and south aisles. Restorations took place in the mid-and-late 19th century. The land on which it was built was given by Lady Sybil Pauncefoot whose effigy, she died in 1326, is in a recess in the chancel.

At Tretower members were issued with a tape player and headset which enabled them to enjoy a well-prepared commentary as they walked around the castle and court. The castle is mainly 13th and 14th century with a tall, circular keep and stone-walled bailey constructed 1230-40 by Roger Picard. The Court probably succeeded the castle as the dwelling of John, Roger's son, who died in 1305. It passed through a number of families until it was wold by the Vaughan family in 1783. It was transferred to the D.o.E. in 1930 by the Brecknock Society. The north range dates from the 14th and 15th centuries, the timber gallery was added 1457-70, the west range followed and the gatehouse about 1480. In the 17th century more remodelling was undertaken by the Vaughan family.

Llangattock Church situated in an almost circular churchyard was visited. It is basically 14th century restored in the early Tudor period with ribbed ceilings and a Tudor arch over the nave and north aisle. These were put under a single pitch roof in 1785. Memorials with excellent 18th-century ornamentation were noted.

FIFTH MEETING: 15 August: CRICKLEY HILL AND CIRENCESTER AREA

This meeting was the president's choice. At Crickley Hill members were met by Dr. Philip Dixon who has been directing the excavations on the hillfort since 1969. He gave an account of the excavations, pointed out various features and took members around the site where some work was still in progress. Crickley Hill seems to have been occupied during the Neolithic period c.3,500-c.2,000 B.C., during the Iron Age c.700-600 B.C. and c.500 B.C. It was not lived in during the Roman period but was a post-Roman village in two parts c.420-500 A.D.

The afternoon was spent in Cirencester where members were taken on a tour of the archaeological sites of the town by members of the Cotswold Archaeological Trust. The town dates from the Roman period and included on the walk was the three-storey south porch of the parish church with fan vaulting and dating from 1490; the Roman basilica and forum; the rampart and ditch of the 2nd century showing the rampart faced with masonry in the 3rd century and the Park and site of the Augustinian abbey. After tea a visit was made to the Roman amphitheatre.

SIXTH MEETING: 14 September: LLANIDLOES AREA

The first visit was to Llanidloes Church dedicated to St. Idloes. The arcade of Grinshill stone dating from c.1190-c.1215 was brought from Abbey Cwmhir and re-erected in 1542 but not in the same order. The hammer-beam roof dated 1542 with winged angels on each hammer-beam was not brought from Abbey Cwmhir as legend has it. The 14th-century tower has a wooden belfry. The church was enlarged and restored in 1880-2 by G. E. Street and the reredos is by his son A. E. Street in 1900. The screen of the lady chapel is 1956 by Bernard Miller. In the churchyard were seen a number of headstones depicting the occupations of the townspeople.

A visit was also made to the only surviving timber-framed market hall in Wales dating from c.1600. It consists of five bays of close-set framing with an upper chamber which was used for the assizes. Today it houses a collection illustrating the life and work of Llanidloes and the surrounding area.

A picnic lunch was eaten overlooking the Lynn Clywedog Dam. This dam was constructed in 1964-7 not for a water supply, but to control the water level of the river Severn. It is 237 ft. high with eleven hollow buttresses with vaults higher than any cathedral.

The first heavy rain for weeks was experienced when the party walked down to the Bryn Tail lead mine. This was a very old lead mine but from 1869 onwards barytes was mined for use in the manufacture of paint. It closed in 1884. Remains of various buildings and settling tanks were seen.

The final stop before having tea at Montgomery was at Llanwnnog Church, a typical Welsh single chamber church situated in a raised circular churchyard. It was heavily restored in 1862-3. The stonework is from the earlier church and robbed from the Roman fort at Caersws. The outstanding feature is the rood-screen dating from c.1500.

YORK VISIT: 31 August-7 September

Forty-four members spent a week based at the College of Ripon and York St. John at York. En route a visit was made to Little Moreton Hall which since 1938 has been in the hands of the National Trust. It is a fine specimen of a timber-framed manor-house highly decorated in the Cheshire style. Dating from the late 15th century but altered by William Moreton in 1559 and later by his son, the house stands at the south-east corner within a square moat. The long gallery, 68 feet long, was added on the top floor during the reign of Elizabeth. Some good panelling, ceiling beams and plasterwork were seen, but it was unfortunate that major repairs were going on and parts of the building were hidden by scaffolding and plastic sheeting. After a picnic lunch the party proceeded to Pontefract where a visit was made to the castle which dates from the late 11th century. The de Lacy family held it for its first 200 years and then it was in the hands of the monarchy until its destruction in 1649. Archaeologists have been working there since 1981. Members had a guided tour of an underground vault. After the evening meal, Mr. David Brinklow, from the York Archaeological Trust, gave an illustrated introductory talk on York.

As is usual Sunday morning was free, but some members went to church services and others walked into the town and wandered around the Shambles and St. William's College. After lunch in college the first visit was to the Treasurer's House which takes its name from having been the residence of the treasurer of the Minster. This office was abolished at the Reformation and not revived until 1936. The house stands on Roman foundations and dates from the 16th and 17th centuries. During the 18th century it was occupied by various gentry families as a typical town house. The fine staircase, the Venetian windows and the plasterwork ceiling of the dining room date from this time. Having decayed it was bought in 1897 by Frank Green who carefully restored it and gave it in 1930 to the National Trust. His extensive collection of furniture and pictures was seen throughout the house.

Next visited was Clifford's Tower, a quatrefoil stone keep standing on a mound. It was constructed of magnesian limestone between 1244 and 1270 and is similar in design to Etampes south of Paris. During the Civil War it was garrisoned by the Royalists but surrendered in 1644 to the Parliamentarians and rebuilt after the Restoration in 1660. It is in the care of English Heritage. The final visit was to the Castle Museum which occupies the Female and Debtors' Prisons built by Carr in 1780 and Wakefield in 1705 respectively. The museum was opened in 1938 to house the fine collection of by-gones of Dr. John Kirk and extended in 1952. Members saw a great variety of exhibits including period rooms, shops, costume, a dales farm and a working water mill.

On Monday morning a stop was made at Foston Church where Norman work was seen in the north and south doorways, the chancel arch and the pillar piscina in the north aisle. It was heavily restored in 1911 when the north aisle, bellcote and porch were added.

Next visited was Castle Howard which has always been the home of the Howard family. It was built for Charles Howard, third earl of Carlisle and designed by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. It was commenced in 1700 and finished in 1712 and by 1737 had cost over £78,000, the house itself £35,000. About 1800 Tatham was employed to finish the interiors and in the late 19th century extensive alterations were carried out. In November 1940 a fire destroyed two-thirds of the south front and dome. In 1960 the dome was restored and in 1981 the Garden Hall, and 1983 the Library were constructed in the Vanbrugh style. The stables designed by Carr were completed in 1781 and the grounds developed as the house was being built e.g. the bridge of 1744, the Temple of the Four Winds, 1724-6, and the Mausoleum, 1731-42. After visiting the costume galleries lunch was taken in the Grecian room.

The afternoon was spent in York at the National Railway Museum, depicting the story of the railways from the 1820s to the present. On view were many locomotives and carriages covering the age of steam as well as the advanced passenger train of today. After the evening meal Mr. Alan Staniforth gave a talk on 'The North Yorks Moors National Park.'

The first visit on Tuesday was a guided tour of York Minster and its Chapter House. The minster, the largest cathedral north of the Alps, is the largest medieval building in England. It is constructed of oolitic limestone and was built from 1220 to 1472 showing three periods of architecture, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular. The earliest parts are the north and south transepts, 1220-70; followed by the nave, 1291-1350s, which is 99 feet high and the choir which is 102 feet high in the late 14th century. This is the fifth church on a site which is known to have been the Roman headquarters of the northern part of Britain. On the tour of the building many features were pointed out e.g. the Jesse window c.1310 in the nave; the Five Sisters' window c.1260 being the oldest complete window in the minster containing green and grey 'grisaille' glass in geometric patterns in the north transept; the 15th-century choir screen decorated with statues of fifteen kings of England from William I to Henry VI; the glass of the rose window in the south transept which was restored in 1987 after the damage by fire in 1984; and the great east window, 1405-8, containing the world's largest area of medieval stained glass in a single window. The octagonal chapter house was probably built in the 1270s and 1280s influenced by John le Romeyn and was restored 1844-5 by Sidney Smirke. Around the walls are forty-four stalls with 184 stone capitals and pendants carved in the form of foliage, heads, scenes and animals. The windows contain original late-13th, early-14th, 15th and early-16th century glass.

Coffee was taken at the King's Manor which once was the palace of the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary. It is built of brick and dates from the late 15th and early 16th century. After the Dissolution it became the home of the Lord President of the Council of the North. Next visited was the Yorkshire Museum housed in a building designed by William Wilkins and opened in 1830. It contains the collections of natural history, geology, archaeology, ceramics, glass and medieval pottery belonging to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society which was formed in 1822.

In the grounds were seen the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, a Benedictine monastery founded by William Rufus 1088-9 but burnt down in 1137 and rebuilt 1271-8 when Simon de Warwick was the abbot. Excavations in 1912 uncovered the foundations of four of the seven apses of the east end of the church and the platform wall of the south arcade of the choir.

Two visits were made in the afternoon, the first to Fairfax House which was completed in 1762 to the designs of John Carr for viscount Fairfax of Emley. It is of 2½ storeys in brick with five bays including a three-bay pediment and is the finest Georgian town house in York. The interior is richly decorated with fine plasterwork and carved woodwork. In 1982 the house was saved by the York Civic Trust; it has been restored to its former glory and displays the Terry Collection which is one of the finest private collections of 18th-century English furniture and clocks. Also on display in the dining room was porcelain from the 'Nanking Cargo' c.1751. At the Jorvik Viking Centre in Coppergate, the street of the cup-makers, one was taken back to the 10th century. Excavations were carried out 1976-81 when four rows of buildings were discovered and so well preserved that every aspect of life at the time could be reconstructed. It was then decided to build the Centre in the hole created by the dig; two rows were reconstructed and two were preserved as found. Members were taken in 'time cars' around these. In the exhibition were seen the many thousands of artefacts discovered during the excavations. After the evening meal Mr. Chris David gave an illustrated talk on 'The Monasteries of North Yorkshire.'

On Wednesday it was unfortunate that the weather was not so good and views across the moors en route to Whitby were restricted. Even so, the Fylingdale Early Warning Station with its three white globes each 140 feet in diameter was just visible in the mist. The first visit was to St. Mary's Church perched high above the town of Whitby. Here were seen a number of Norman features including the chancel c.1110, to which were added the tower 1170, the north transept 1225 and the south transept in 1380 when it became a cruciform church. Other items of interest were the galleries added in 1697 and 1764 and a north extension in 1819. The Chalmley pew was erected across the chancel where the rood-screen would have been, 1620-5, the box pews are 17th and 18th century, the three-decker pulpit 1778. Caroë restored the chancel in 1905 and there is glass by Kempe of 1907.

Whitby Abbey was founded by abbess Hilda in 657 to commemorate Oswy's victory over Penda of Mercia in 655. The Synod of Whitby was held there in 664 but it was destroyed by the Danes in 867 and refounded c.1078. It flourished as a Benedictine monastery in the 12th century. After the Dissolution it became the property of the Chalmley family who for generations lived in the Abbey House which was altered 1583-93 and 1633-6. Excavations were carried out in 1924-5 when inscribed stones dating between 657-867 were discovered and these are now in the British Museum. The layout of the abbey buildings dating from the early 12th century to the 14th were seen. The presbytery c.1220 and the north aisle are largely intact and the north transept still stands to its full height. The south transept collapsed in 1763 and the nave in 1762. Little of the domestic buildings have been excavated or survive.

The majority of the party walked down the 199 steps to the town and through the market place to the Captain Cook Memorial Museum in Grape Lane. Whitby has been noted for its fishing and whaling industries. The house which houses the Captain Cook memorabilia was built in 1688 by Moses Dring and in 1729 purchased from him by John Walker, a Quaker master mariner. James Cook was apprenticed to his son John in 1746 when aged seventeen. The exhibits in the various rooms tell the story of his life including his years in the navy as well as his voyages to New Zealand, Australia and the Arctic. Sir Joseph Banks with a party of naturalists was with him on his first voyage in the *Endeavour*. Next door was also visited where the growth, history and life of Whitby was well illustrated.

The party then walked up to Pannett Park, ate a picnic lunch and visited the Whitby Museum which has a good fossil collection. Members then travelled down the coast to Robin Hood's Bay and spent the afternoon in the picturesque fishing village with its narrow streets and alleyways. Visibility on the return journey to York was better than in the morning. After the evening meal Mr. Ian Patterson gave an illustrated talk on the 'Imagery and Memorials in York Minster.'

On Thursday the first stop was at Helmsley Church dedicated to All Saints where the Norman south doorway and chancel arch of four orders, the early 13th-century lower part of the tower and masonry of the north aisle were noted. The painted ceiling of the aisle roof is Temple Moore's design of 1909. The work of Thompson of Kilburn, with his carved mouse, was seen in the altar, reredos, altar rails, panelling and sedilia in the chancel. Of particular interest were the late Victorian murals depicting the coming of Christianity to the north of England and in Helmsley. A 10th-11th century hogback tombstone was seen in the porch. Helmsley Castle was built during its ownership by Robert de Roos, 1186-1227. It remained with this family until it passed by marriage to Sir George Manners in 1508 and again by marriage in 1632 to Villiers the first duke of Buckingham. It was sold in 1689 to Sir Charles Duncombe and now is owned by his descendants, the earls of Feversham. The castle stands on a ridge of rock with a double ditch. The keep is unusual in plan; instead of being rectangular it has an apse on the east side which is semi-circular without and three-sided within. The chapel consecrated in 1246 of which little remains lies immediately to the west. Enough of the foundations of the great hall remain to show that it was 74 feet long by 48 feet wide. The west tower adjoining has a vaulted basement, c.1200. Between 1563-87 Edward Manners altered the domestic buildings and the remains of plaster friezes, enriched ceilings and oak panelling remain. The castle was slighted after the siege of 1644.

Next visited were the Rievaulx Terraces and Temples. The terrace is a fine example of landscape gardening created in 1758 by Thomas Duncombe. Walking along the terrace one gets various glimpses of the abbey down below. The Ionic Temple is furnished as a dining room and has a ceiling by Giuseppe Borghini. The Tuscan or Doric Temple is kept closed to preserve its 13th-century floor but with the use of a mirror one sees the painted ceiling attributed to Andrea Casali. Then followed a visit to Rievaulx Abbey founded as a Cistercian monastery in 1131 completed by c.1150 and rebuilt c.1225-40. It was the first Cistercian monastery in the north of England and by 1147-67 had 140 monks and about

500 lay brothers. It began to decline in the 14th century and at the Dissolution there were only twenty-two monks and an income of £351 a year. Rievaulx was granted to Thomas Manners in whose family it remained until it passed to the Duncombe family. Since 1918 the abbey ruins have been in the care of the Office of Works, now English Heritage, and the Terraces of the National Trust. These ruins are a good example showing the layout of a Cistercian abbey.

In the afternoon the first visit was to Lastingham Church where St. Cedd had founded a monastery in 654 which was destroyed by the Danes and refounded in 1078 by Stephen of Whitby who in 1086 abandoned it in favour of St. Mary's in York. The crypt which dates from 1078-85 has huge capitals, the church above having an apse and side aisles when it became a parish church in 1228 the transepts were not built. Remains of two 8th-century crosses and a hogback gravestone were seen in the crypt and two windows by Kempe, 1899 and 1907 in the south aisle.

Pickering Castle was next visited and can be said to comprise two parts. The first part is an oval enclosure containing the domestic buildings protected on the north by the steepness of the hill and on the south by ditches linked with a moated mound or motte. The second part, the outer ward, was added on the south and east as an extra defence for the weaker side. Its construction appears to date from at least the early 12th century to the 14th. In 1267 the castle was part of the Duchy of Lancaster and has remained so; in 1926 the ruins were put in the care of the nation. Noted were the Coleman, Rosamund's, Diate Hill and Mill towers. Members then walked down through the town to the parish church. It is a cruciform Norman church with a four-bay north arcade of the mid-12th century and a four-bay south arcade of the late 12th century. The west tower and south transept are early 13th century and a 15th-century clerestory, south porch and south chapel. The round pulpit and chandeliers are 18th century. A rare survival is the set of mid-15th-century murals which had been whitewashed and were discovered in 1850 and again in 1880. They represent the lives of St. George and the Dragon, St. Edmund, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Christopher, Herod's Feast and the Coronation of the Virgin on the north side and St. Catherine, the Seven Acts of Mercy, the Passion, the Descent into Hell and the Resurrection, the Burial of the Virgin and the Apostles on the south.

On Friday morning the first visit was a guided tour of Fountains Abbey the ruins of which are the most complete remains of a Cistercian abbey in the country. It was founded in 1132 as a breakaway from the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary in York. Building work commenced in 1135 in the local stone, but was burnt down in 1147. Rebuilding started again and in the years 1150-1250 the major part of the architecture seen today was completed, and the abbey had reached its peak in prosperity and power. Abbot Huby, 1494-1526, was the last rebuilder and was responsible for the 170 feet high, four-storey tower at the north end of the transept. Perhaps an outstanding feature is the double-aisled undercroft of twenty-two bays and over 300 feet long with some of the walls dating from before the fire of 1147. Recent excavations have shown the existence of timber buildings, evidence of the fire, a stone church of c.1135 and burials in the south transept. After the Dissolution, Stephen Proctor having bought the site in 1597 from Sir Richard Gresham, built in 1611 Fountains Hall, the five-storey house which stands near the abbey gatehouse,

using materials from the dissolved abbey. The abbey estate passed through various families and in 1966 was acquired by the West Riding County Council and placed in the care of the Ministry of Works, now English Heritage.

Then followed a guided tour of Studley Royal. This estate belonged to the Aislabie family and was in 1768 joined with the Fountains Abbey and Hall estates and passing through the same families was in 1966 acquired by the West Riding County Council. Studley Royal in 1974 was transferred to North Yorkshire County Council and acquired by the National Trust in 1983. Between 1716 and 1781 John Aislabie and his son William created the most spectacular water garden in England. The narrow valley in 1716-30 was transformed into a canal with geometric ponds on either side ending in a lake at one end and a park at the other end. The buildings including the two temples, the banqueting house etc. were constructed in the next few years. Much tree planting was also carried out. The National Trust has carried out a detailed survey of the park and gardens and has now embarked on a systematic plan of restoration. The church was built 1871-8 and is a masterpiece by the architect William Burges in the Early-English style at a cost of £50,000.

The final visit was to Mount Grace Priory, the best preserved of the ten Carthusian charterhouses in England. It was founded in 1398 by Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey. The Carthusians having taken a vow of silence lived as hermits each occupying his own cell. Fifteen cells are situated along three sides of the great cloister which is very large, 231 feet by 272 feet. A reconstructed monk's cell shows that each monk had a living room with a fireplace, a study and a bedroom and oratory as well as a garden plot with a lavatory at the bottom of it. Food was handed in through a hatch. The extensive ruins show the layout of a Carthusian monastery. After the Dissolution the buildings were not demolished but fell into decay. In 1653 Thomas Lascelles bought the site and converted the guest-house range into a manor-house using stone from the monastery buildings. In 1898 Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell purchased the estate, and altered and extended the house as seen today. William Morris wallpapers and an exhibition depicting the history of the priory and house were of interest. Excavations have and are being carried out on the site. Since 1953 it has been the property of the National Trust but now managed by English Heritage.

On the return journey a stop was made at Wollaton Hall which in 1925 was purchased from Lord Middleton by the Nottingham Corporation and now houses the county's natural history museum. The house stands on rising ground amid 400 acres of parkland which functions as a sanctuary for local wildlife and grazing for red and fallow deer. There are avenues of oak and lime and an extensive lake. The house stands in the area of a coalfield the profits of which were used to build it. It was constructed of stone from Ancaster, 1580-88, by Sir Francis Willoughby to a design by Sir Robert Smythson. It is symmetrical with its rooms around a central hall with four corner towers. In design it can be compared with Mount Edgcumbe in Cornwall which was visited by the club in 1979, but was built forty years earlier. Another Francis Willoughby, 1635-72, along with John Ray became pioneers in natural history and the Linnaeus system of classification was based on Willoughby's system. Refurbishment of the hall was necessary after a fire in 1642 and Wyatville made alterations in the early 19th century. The stable block of 1774

now houses the important Industrial Museum and the Camelia House of 1823 has some of the finest camelias in the country.

Tea was taken at the Gifford Hotel, Worcester. Dr. Pexton, the acting president, thanked Keith for his safe driving and cooperation, Mr. Tonkin for his commenting on the historical background to places and buildings visited and Miss Jean McAra for her work in organising and administering the visit and arranging such an interesting programme.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 5 October: Mrs. R. E. Richardson, president, in the chair.

Mr. M. A. Cooper, B.A., M.Phil., M.I.F.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'Recent Work and Future Issues of Archaeology in Herefordshire and Worcestershire.' He explained that he is one of three members of the staff of the Archaeological Section employed by the County Council. The section was compiling a data base of archaeological sites and monuments in the county. At present some 11,000 have been recorded and it is estimated that a further 30,000 could be discovered. Only 330 of the 11,000 sites have been scheduled but every site is being checked and more will be recommended for scheduling. These records were available for public use and used for every planning application. 1990 was a good year for aerial photography but 1991 was a poor one. Sites which have shown up in Herefordshire are at Grafton, Rowstone, Goodrich Castle, Mansell Lacy and Sutton St. Nicholas. Rescue work due to development has produced a Roman site at Wellington; 13th-15th-century remains at the Buttercross, Leominster and 2nd-century A.D. erotic pottery at Leintwardine. Perhaps the most important discovery was a cist at Aymestrey containing a child burial of c.2,000 B.C. (See *Transactions*, XLVI (1989) 169-76). A two-year study funded by English Heritage of the upland areas of Herefordshire and Shropshire is due to commence shortly. It is hoped to undertake an urban survey or towns apart from Hereford and Worcester which have their own archaeologists.

SECOND MEETING: 26 October: Mrs. R. E. Richardson, president, in the chair.

Dr. J. C. Eisel gave an illustrated talk on 'The History of Change-Ringing in the Hereford Diocese.' He said that change-ringing was a technical subject and firstly explained how a bell works. Ringing in rounds is when bells are rung evenly and when the bells are rung in varying order this is change-ringing. Change-ringing started about 1600 using three-quarter wheels and full wheels by 1660-70. A half wheel was used in medieval times and two survive at Lingen. Single change peals were rung about 1610-20 but were getting more complicated and received a boost at the Restoration. Fabian Stedman who was born at Yarkhill in 1640 published *The Art of Ringing* with Richard Duckworth of Oxford in 1668. Interesting references included an inscription in Leominster belfry which probably refers to ringing in the late 17th century; in 1697 ringers from Clun went to

Leominster to ring and to meet the Ludlow ringers; in 1756 Ross ringers came to Leominster where the bells had just been rehung and recast. Six bells were recast at Bromyard in 1752. The tenor bell at All Saints', Hereford, cracked in 1845 and was not repaired until the 1920s. The cathedral bells were rehung in the 1850s. He also said that the bad behaviour of the ringers was a problem. There are reports of drinking in the belfry at Stoke Edith in 1792 and also at Woolhope. In April 1870 there were three cases in the Court of Arches of 'riotous and indecent behaviour' at Ledbury. There was a need for reform to try to stop ringing on Sundays as ringing was not part of the church service, so chiming was allowed on Sundays. Reformers promoting change-ringing led to the formation of the Devon Association in 1875. The Hereford Guild was formed in 1886 and appointed J. W. Washbrook as a professional instructor. He was followed by Henry James Turner and William H. Fussell. Competitions were revived early in the 20th century when trophies were won by Glasbury in 1912; Bridgnorth in 1912 and Leominster in 1914. The first world war had a bad effect on the guilds.

THIRD MEETING: 16 November: Dr. F. W. Pexton, senior vice-president, in the chair.

Mr. P. Thomson, B.Sc. gave an illustrated talk on 'The Old Red Sandstone of Herefordshire and elsewhere.' He explained the various geological columns starting with the Pre-Cambrian dating from more than 570 million years (the oldest known rock being 3,800 million years); the Cambrian 570-500 million years; the Ordovician 500-450 million years; the Silurian 450 million years. All of these were formed when the British Isles was covered by a sea. The Pre-Cambrian contains no fossils whereas the other three are abundant in them, having been formed from the shelly parts of early marine life. During the Caledonian earth movements the land uplifted and folded and destroyed the mountains which had been formed earlier. Plants and animals colonised the land during the folding and the Devonian period. The Old Red Sandstone was formed during semi-desert conditions. The red colour is due to the presence of iron and the greenish colour to a lower percentage of O_2 . This is the underlying rock for Herefordshire and the Ludlow Bone Bed at Ludford lies at the junction between the Silurian and the sandstone. There are three hill areas of the Old Red viz: the Black Mountains consisting of a series of marls and sandstones with a band of Old Red at the top where the bedding is horizontal; Pyon Hill, Westhope Common and Dinmore Hill have bands of cornstone running through them and the Forest of Dean area where there is pebbly material at the top with coarse and finer sands below. On the Berwickshire coast the Old Red lies on top of the Silurian; in the Strathmore area it is coarse, angular and 20,000 ft. thick. It is found on the Rhiny Chert of Aberdeenshire and in the Orkneys especially at Yesnaby Stack and the Old Man of Hoy. The delta of the Colorado River is very similar today to the conditions which produced the Old Red Sandstone.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 7 December: Mrs. R. E. Richardson, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1992 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1990 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 14.

Mr. John van Laun, M.Sc., F.S.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'Industrial Archaeology, Sublime and the Picturesque.' He said that the study of industrial archaeology began after the discussions over the destruction of the portico of the arch at the entrance to Euston Station pre-1965. To illustrate the title of his talk he took members in the steps of 18th-century inventors, and using artefacts and other sources he was able to reconstruct and appreciate the aesthetics of technology. To do this he drew upon quotations from various writers and paintings by artists such as Turner's *Wind, Speed and Steam* as well as drawings and sketches of the countryside. To many, some of these would be meaningless but to an enthusiastic industrial archaeologist the eye would spot something which would lead him to go to the spot and investigate. The writers of the early Industrial Revolution period were impressed by the noise of the new machinery and by the sight of fires and the glow of the tapping of furnaces. The Doric columns supporting the beam of a beam engine brought classical art into the centres of industry. The skills of long standing crafts were brought into use for the new industries as when clockmakers made the water frames for Arkwright's mills; Ruskin in particular saw the picturesque side of this just as did the artist painting a decayed turnpike cottage.

During the year three legacies had been received from members who had died in 1990 viz: £200 from Mrs. M. S. Richards; £500 from Mr. J. Worsey and £2,000 from Miss P. E. Morgan.

The committee has agreed to use Miss Morgan's legacy and possibly the other two to publish an accumulative index, 1955-87, as it was felt this would be a fitting memorial to both Mr. F. C. Morgan and Miss P. E. Morgan.

Mrs. C. Ball, the daughter of the late Mr. George Marshall, died in September 1990 and the 100 books which had been left to her for her lifetime, have now come to the club and been added to the Marshall Bequest.

Mr. J. Harnden presented the club with three volumes of *Malayan Plants*.

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1990

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
1989 £	1989 £	1989 £	1989 £
Interest on Investments	32.64	Insurance	140.00
3½% War Loan	126.05	Printing & Stationery	175.80
Hereford & Worcester C.C. Loan	2,226.52	Printing & Binding	7,661.99
Nat. Savings Investment	204.68	Expense of Meetings	55.00
Bank Deposit Interest	4,185.17	Postages & Telephones	795.53
General Subscriptions	2,589.89	Subscriptions & Donations	167.50
Sale of Publications	485.00	Honoraria	270.00
Grants & Donations	106.82	National History Section	287.90
Income Tax Refund	310.93	Archaeological Research	429.37
Natural History Section	1,624.08	Section	1,084.96
Archaeological Research	326.50	Field Names Survey	9.75
Section		Sundries	
Field Meetings (Net)	7,038.50		11,077.80
Bank Balances as at 1st Jan. 1990		Bank Balances as at 31st Dec. 1990	
Current Accounts		Current Accounts	
General Account	245.53	General Account	525.30
Subscription Account	322.19	Subscriptions Account	258.93
Natural History Section	70.00	Natural History Section	46.34
Archaeological Research	78.24	Archaeological Research	
Section		Section	97.59
Field Names Survey	539.08	Field Names Survey	576.40
Field Meetings	20.80	Field Meetings	1,544.43
Deposit Accounts		Deposit Accounts	
National Savings Investment	20,477.43	Nat. Savings Investment	25,541.36
Subscriptions Account	4,395.71	Subscriptions Account	1,720.55
George Marshall Fund	687.02	G. Marshall Fund	707.10
Natural History Section	307.19	Natural History Section	193.64
Archaeological Research	19.01	Archaeological Research	
Section		Section	20.87
Field Meetings	2,034.64	Field Meetings	1,156.25
Building Society Accounts		Building Society Accounts	
Field Names Survey	15.62	Field Names Survey	647.39
Archaeological Research	97.91	Archaeological Research	
Section		Section	238.79
Cash in Hand	29,310.37	Cash in Hand	14.27
	8.74		
	38,947.50		33,289.21
			44,367.01

Note - The Club owns £932.70 War Stock and has Deposit Loans with Hereford and Worcester County Council amounting to £1,040.

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 Club.

(Signed) D. HAIGH
Honorary Auditor

Woolhope Room

By J. W. TONKIN

On 7 December 1991, the Club held its Winter Annual Meeting in the Woolhope Room, just as it had held its meetings there since 12 April 1875. The next meeting on 11 January 1992, was held in Committee Room No. 1 of the Shirehall, Hereford, and I feel members should be given an explanation as to why this move had to be made.

The Woolhope Club was established in 1851 and for over twenty years met at various places in the City. In 1872-4 a Public Library and Museum was erected in Broad Street after no less than nine other sites had been inspected and rejected. This was paid for by Sir James Rankin, Bt., ex-President of the Club in order that 'collections of Roman antiquities, British coins and archaeological and geological objects and objects of natural history most of which had been given to the Corporation by the Woolhope Club and by the members thereof' could be exhibited.

It was 'the expressed intention of Sir James Rankin to provide special accommodation in the premises for the Woolhope Club' and they 'include a room known as the Woolhope Club Room which for many years has been used by the Woolhope Club as its library and for the purpose of meetings.'

All seems to have gone well until 1949 when some difficulties arose with the City Council. As a result at the Winter Annual Meeting on 15 December 1949, the President, Captain O. B. Wallis, reported on his negotiations with the Hereford City Council on the use of the Woolhope Club Room. In the *Transactions*, vol. XXXIII, p.xxi, it is stated 'The Library Committee had admitted the claim of the Club, but had been overruled by the Council.' In view of the Council's wish to have prior use of the room, it was proposed by Mr. P. J. T. Templer and seconded by Mr. C. E. Brumwell and carried that Counsel's opinion should be taken on the matter as suggested by the President.

In 1950 Counsel's opinion was sought on the ownership and use of the room and an agreement was made on 11 October 1950, between the City Corporation and the Club giving the Club 'the right to use the Room for the purposes of meetings of the Woolhope Club either alone or in conjunction with other Archaeological Historical Scientific or Literary Clubs or Societies and members of the Woolhope Club shall have the right during such time as the Library is open for public use, to use the Room for the purposes of study.' The passages quoted in paragraphs two and three above are from the same agreement.

Unfortunately as the Club is not a corporate body it cannot own real property, and is not mentioned in the deed of gift to the City. This was made clear by F. C. Morgan, 'An Outline of its History 1851-1951' in the Club's Centenary volume *Herefordshire* (1954).

Prior to local government reorganisation in 1974 the City was both a Library and Museum authority, but since that date the Library function has passed to the Hereford and Worcester County Council. The City Librarian had always been the Honorary

Librarian of the Club and when the Library functions passed to the County this office passed to the Librarian at the Hereford branch of the County Library, Mr. B. J. Whitehouse, A.L.A., F.R.S.A.

On 18 December 1991, the Curator of the City Museum, Miss A. E. Sandford, B.A., A.M.A., wrote informing the Club that as a result of an inspection by the Station Fire Officer the use of the Woolhope Room would be restricted to forty persons. In confirmation she sent the Club a copy of the letter dated 13 December 1991, from the Chief Fire Officer to the City Museum. This means that the Room is still available for Committee meetings and for members to use the Library, but not for normal meetings of the Club.

With the co-operation and help of Mr. Whitehouse we were able to arrange for the use of Committee Room No. 1 in the Shirehall.

Woolhope Club Badge - Carpet Bed

By MURIEL TONKIN

In the summer of 1990 the Club's president Dr. F. W. Pexton noticed in the *Hereford Times* that the Hereford City Council was asking for ideas for 1991 commemorative flower beds for its parks. As it was the Club's 140th anniversary it was decided to apply to the City Council to find out if the Club's Badge could be depicted in flowers. A colour photograph of the badge was submitted and accepted, and in the summer of 1991 a carpet bed was planted and on display at Churchill Gardens, Venns Lane, Hereford.

Perhaps this is the appropriate time to describe the Presidential badge which was anonymously given to the Club in 1951 to commemorate the centenary of its foundation and in memory of George Marshall, F.S.A., who was honorary secretary 1917 to 1946 and died in December 1950.

Enamelled in colours, it has in the centre a shield with a representation of the geology of the Woolhope Dome on it; above is a star for astronomy, and below water for the river Wye with a Salmon on it. Below these are a geologist's hammer and a botanist's vasculum. On either side of the shield is a frond on a white ground. In gold letters on a blue border is WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB 1851.

Miss Estelle Davies made a record of the plants used in the carpet design.

For the Club's name, edgings and the salmon, a golden yellow/green foliage - *Pyrethrum parthenium* Var: Snowdwarf.

For the star, the hammer and vasculum, bronze - *Alternanthera* sp. Var: Brown. Golden Moss.

For the background at the top of the shield, grey/silver rosettes in *Sedum spatulifolium* Var: Cappa Blanca. Stonecrop.

Light and dark blue chippings were used as fillers.

It is estimated that Mr. Mencaud of the Parks Department of the City Council used several thousand plants.

The Club thanked the City Council and congratulated the Parks Department on the carpet bed which during the summer was visited and photographed by many members. A colour photograph was taken and has been framed by Mr. G. Rees for the Club's archives and Mr. K. Hoverd took a black and white photograph which is produced in this *Transactions* (PL. I).

Presidential Address

George Marshall

By F. W. PEXTON

A newcomer to Herefordshire who takes an interest in the surroundings, whether past or present, soon becomes aware of the Woolhope Club and its *Transactions*, not least as a source of information. It seems unlikely that any other county society has devoted 140 years to 'the practical study in all branches (and in their broadest sense) of the natural history and archaeology' of its county and to the recording of that study. Therefore as a newcomer myself, and one of many such who have quickly come to identify themselves with this border landscape and its history, I wished to know something of those who had been the main driving force behind the Club and its *Transactions* in the past. Also, it seemed appropriate to look at something in our own history in this anniversary year of 1991.

F. C. Morgan has written a 'History of the Woolhope Club' in the centenary publication *Herefordshire*.¹ In this account the two most prominent names since 1900 are those of George Marshall and Alfred Watkins. Alfred Watkins and his association with the Club have been well described in a recently published book written by Ron Shoesmith, our Recorder for Archaeology.² The major contribution of F. C. Morgan himself is summarised in his obituary;³ he was well known as City Librarian and Curator of the Art Gallery and Museum; and we remember him annually at our F. C. Morgan Lecture.

George Marshall was Secretary and presiding Editor of the *Transactions* for thirty years from 1917 to 1946 and he was a member of the Club for fifty years. F. C. Morgan followed him as Secretary for twelve years from 1946 to 1958 and was Editor of the *Transactions* for rather longer than this. He was Club Librarian for over thirty years and was a member for fifty-three years, living to be 100. Both men held the office of President and they collaborated a great deal in the interests of the Club. It is a remarkable coincidence that this past year has seen the death of the only daughter of each of these men. Each daughter - Mrs. Constance Ball and Miss Penelope Morgan, both members of the Club - was diligent in maintaining the memory of her father.

In his 'History of the Woolhope Club' Morgan says of Marshall that 'his name will be remembered as long as the Woolhope Club exists both for the value of his contributions to it and for the bequest of his important archaeological library (The George Marshall Bequest).' The President's badge was given to the Club anonymously to commemorate the centenary of its foundation and 'In memory of George Marshall, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, 1917 to 1946. Died 11th December 1950.' Marshall is remembered also by a large collection of his papers, 'The Marshall Papers', donated to the Hereford Branch of the Hereford and Worcester County Record Office by his daughter Mrs. Constance Ball. These Papers, together with the *Transactions* and a certain amount of detective work, have formed the basis for this Address which concerns George Marshall and his background. It

has been my sole objective to remind the Club of its good fortune in having someone of his calibre to guide it over so many years.

George Marshall came from what is perhaps best described as a 'county' family. His paternal grandfather was another George Marshall who was a partner in the banking house of Atwood, Spooner and Marshall in Birmingham. He was a keen collector of coins and wrote books on the coinage. His only child, George William Marshall, the father of our George Marshall, came to Herefordshire in 1891 when he purchased the Sarnesfield Court Estate. When he died in 1905 at the age of 66 he was York Herald of the College of Arms and had devoted virtually the whole of his life to the study of genealogy and heraldry. Although he took legal degrees at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1865, he practised for only a short time. He was the author of a number of publications and is well known to this day as the author of *The Genealogist's Guide*, first published in 1879, which has been revised and re-issued several times under different editors. The latest 1977 edition is still used by serious genealogists 112 years after it was first published. He also founded in 1877 the periodical *The Genealogist* and was editor for seven years. Volume XXII of this periodical contains his very detailed obituary together with a photograph. With such a pedigree it is hardly surprising that George Marshall should develop an interest in antiquarian matters; and in 1945 towards the end of his life when presenting to the Club a paper on 'The Origin of some Early Herefordshire Coats of Arms' he remarked that heraldry 'was my earliest study for recreation and I have found it a most fascinating subject. It has been termed the short hand of history.' The arms of the Marshall family may be seen in Sarnesfield Church. I have found no evidence of their use by George Marshall himself, for example as a bookplate, and I am not aware of any church memorial to him.

George William Marshall married Alice Ruth Hall in 1867 and their eldest child, George Marshall, was born at Weacombe House in the parish of West Quantoxhead, Somerset on 4 September 1869. Their second child, Isaac, was born in the following year but Alice Marshall died in childbirth. George William soon left Weacombe House and subsequently married Caroline Emily, the elder sister of Alice Hall. They appear to have had seven children, five sons and two daughters. The eldest child of this second marriage, William who was born at Hanley Court, Hanley William, Worcestershire in 1875 was destined to become Rector of Sarnesfield. George William and his sons George, Isaac, William and Thomas were eventually to become members of the Woolhope Club.

George William Marshall had a London house but he also 'resided at various country houses in different counties.' It was from one of these houses, Carlton Hall, near Worksop, Nottinghamshire, that George Marshall went up in 1887 to Peterhouse, Cambridge, his father's old college, after earlier schooling at Uppingham. The college register records that he 'did not graduate having been compelled by illness to go out of residence in his first term.' His brothers Isaac and William did graduate from Peterhouse, Isaac taking a law degree and William entering the Church.

George William Marshall purchased the Sarnesfield Court Estate of about 1000 acres in 1890 but his second wife Caroline died in January 1891 at the London house leaving him with nine children; George then aged twenty-two, Isaac at university and seven

others of age sixteen years or less. It seems clear that George Marshall will then have become closely involved with the running of the estate and in about 1894 he took charge of a farm called The Batch and moved to the farmhouse.

Although George Marshall was not to join the Woolhope Club until 1901 he was active in his antiquarian interests soon after moving to Herefordshire. In 1893 he was in correspondence with Alfred Watkins who had given a lecture to the Club on 'Herefordshire Pigeon Houses' on 10 April 1890 and later to other bodies.⁴ Then in 1895 Marshall published a privately printed limited edition of *Nottinghamshire Subsidies 1689*, documents which had been purchased some years earlier by his father. This Subsidy, or aid to the Crown, was one of several precursors of the Land Tax legislation of 1692 and, where a document exists, it can be of value to local and family historians for its information on land ownership.⁵ I am aware only of the existence of the corresponding 1689 document for Burghill in Herefordshire but in his Preface Marshall reproduces the text of a similar 1693 document for Sarnesfield. Although Marshall refers to the historical value of these documents he does not return to the subject in any of his later publications.

George Marshall does not appear to have had any earlier particular interest in the growing of fruit; but his move to The Batch Farm in about 1894 was the beginning of an association with fruit-growing which was to remain with him for the rest of his life. Agriculture in general was depressed at this time but there was an increasing national consumption of fruit and the Hereford area supplied growing markets such as Birmingham and South Wales. Marshall's record book shows that he planted a considerable area of apples and soft fruit and the details of planting, costing and cropping are meticulously recorded.

The Bulmer brothers, Percy and Fred, had begun their cider-making activities in Hereford in 1887 and with their common interest in apple-growing it was natural that they should become friendly with George Marshall. The centenary history of Bulmers records that in 1899 Marshall and Percy Bulmer went to France 'prowling for apple trees' and in the previous year the Bulmers had bought a farm at Broxwood just north of Sarnesfield for planting their own experimental orchards.⁶ The Bulmer friendship may well have introduced George Marshall to his future wife, Constance Baldwin, who was a cousin of Stanley Baldwin, later the Prime Minister. The Bulmer brothers were friendly with the Baldwins and both brothers were present at the wedding which took place in 1898. A further link with Bulmers occurred later in Marshall's life when his daughter Constance married Edward Ball who became chief scientist at Bulmers; and both became members of the Woolhope Club.

The coronation of King Edward VII was the important national event of 1902 and George William Marshall played a role in the pageantry as Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms. Perhaps as a result of the publicity he was made High Sheriff of Herefordshire in the same year and in 1903 was elected a vice-president of the Woolhope Club. However, there is no evidence that he took part in any Club proceedings. 'Growing' evidence of an event which took place in that coronation year still survives in a field called Oldfield at Sarnesfield today; it is known as the 'Coronation Clump' (map reference SO 369508). George Marshall organised a tree-planing ceremony in which only the male members of

the family were represented by trees but in which the female members took part! A central oak represented George William and seven surrounding Scots firs represented the seven sons. All looked healthy in 1991. It is as well to remember that women did not receive the vote at all until 1919 and that women first joined the Woolhope Club in 1954.

In 1903 George Marshall discovered some pigeon holes in the 13th-century tower of the church at Sarnesfield and this was the subject of his first paper in the 1904 *Transactions*. Subsequently in 1939 he discovered pigeon holes in the tower of the old church at Llanwarne. Like Alfred Watkins, Marshall had a special interest in pigeon houses and his discoveries were an important contribution to the subject. In the same year he contributed an article on 'Weobley and the Timber Houses of the Shire' to a book called *Memorials of Old Herefordshire*. Also in that year he drew up a letter which was circulated to all Club members asking for donations for the 'Protection and Preservation of the Excavation and Finds at Craswall Priory.' It is regrettable that nearly ninety years have passed since his letter was circulated with its object still unachieved. It is to be hoped that the current efforts of the Craswall Grandmontine Society to arrest the deterioration of this site are successful.⁷

Besides his antiquarian interests Marshall was very much involved at this time with the growing of fruit. He was on the committee of the Herefordshire Association of Fruit Growers and Horticulturalists and in early 1905 he took a leading part in forming the Hereford Co-Operative Fruit Grading Society. This Society had as its main aim an improvement in the system of marketing the apples produced in Herefordshire. The proposal was to grade, pack and market fruit on co-operative principles as was being done in America to the detriment of home-grown fruit on the British market. Percy Bulmer was the secretary and later the chairman. The co-operative did not meet with much success but the problem remains to this day.

The year 1905 became a turning point in the life of George Marshall. He had been at The Batch Farm for ten years, taking a leading part in the fruit-growing activities of the county. He was a J.P., and as if to confirm the mutual interest of father and son in antiquarian matters his father had proposed him in 1905 for Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries. Meanwhile his younger step-brother William had just become the Rector of Sarnesfield but his younger brother Isaac, a qualified barrister, appears not to have lived at Sarnesfield. Then in September 1905 his father George William died at the London house and in his will, made only a month earlier, he left the entire estate to his second son Isaac, who became lord of the manor of Sarnesfield. Isaac was to die a bachelor in 1916 and the estate was to pass then to William Marshall, rector of Sarnesfield. (The Court served as a school during the 1939-45 war and later as an hotel. The Club took tea at the Sarnesfield Court Hotel on Ladies Day 1953. However, the main building was demolished in 1956 and only some former out buildings now remain.)

George Marshall did not even inherit the land which he farmed; but in any event it was clearly necessary for him to move elsewhere. He acquired Breinton Manor Farm in early 1906 and at once began to re-establish himself, his family and his fruit farm. He was to remain here for the rest of his life and it was from here that the Woolhope Club was later 'managed' for thirty years when he became Secretary.

An entry in the 1912 *Hereford Journal Directory* seems to summarise his position at that time:

George Marshall, J.P., Antique Furniture Dealer, 18 King St; dairyman and fruit grower; residence The Manor, Breinton.

Marshall had opened an antique furniture shop, The Hereford Antique Furniture Company, at 18 King Street in 1907, perhaps to supplement his fruit-farming income. However, the balance sheets indicate that the Company was running at a loss and in 1913 the stock was made over to an antique shop in Church Street.

Marshall appears not to have been active again in Woolhope Club affairs until 1912 when he was elected a vice-president. He was also President of the Hereford Fruit Growers Association in the same year. Marshall was also working at this time with a friend of his father, J. Paul Rylands, on the monumental inscriptions of the church at Abbey Dore; and the resulting paper appeared in *The Genealogist* in April 1914.

At the 1914 Spring Annual Meeting of the Club the *Transactions* (produced later by Marshall himself) record that Marshall had spoken about the very great delay in issuing the proceedings of the Club and said that it was seven years since a volume had been issued. He proposed that they be issued yearly rather than in a three-yearly volume. In 1916 the then Secretary, Thomas Hutchinson died and George Marshall, who was already beginning to plan the Field Meetings, was elected in his place. He seems to have met with approval because in proposing his re-election in 1919 Canon Bannister said 'The Club had almost ceased to exist. When they found Mr. Marshall they were going downhill very fast. Since he had become Secretary that process was reversed....'

In 1922 George Marshall was elected President and after his Address Canon Bannister again spoke of what Marshall had done for the Club. In 1944 he received a printed Address to recognise his 'unceasing labours as an active member of the Club and its Honorary Secretary for twenty-eight years.' Although the indices to the *Transactions* contain about 100 references under the name 'George Marshall' and there are over fifty full papers on a wide range of subjects, Marshall's primary contribution to the Club was that he kept the Club and its *Transactions* alive and active when so many similar organisations fell by the wayside. At the 1944 presentation he remarked that in twenty-eight years as Secretary he had missed two meetings, one a Field Meeting when he had influenza and a committee meeting which he had forgotten about. He might well have added that he organised virtually every Field Meeting over that period.

The last paper which Marshall read to the Club, in February 1946, was on 'Potteries and Pots in North Herefordshire.' Later that year he suffered a stroke and resigned as Honorary Secretary but as F. C. Morgan has described in his Obituary⁸ he continued writing with his 'wrong' hand until his death in December 1950. A letter (in the possession of the writer) dated May 1949 seeking information on the Burghill font is indeed written clearly and firmly.

In the last two years of his life he produced the two books for which posterity may well remember him most; that on Hereford Cathedral (1951) and the 3-part work on Herefordshire Fonts (1949-51). It seems possible that had he lived longer he would also have

written on Herefordshire Church brasses. Yet his papers in the *Transactions* are an invaluable guide to many historic features of Herefordshire whether of buildings secular and non-secular and their contents, or of pre-historic sites. Not one is concerned with fruit growing! His writing was always clearly expressed and deeply researched yet retained that essential humility and awareness that a later investigation could add more.

In concluding this Address on George Marshall it seems appropriate to quote the dedication which he gave to his last-written work - 'to all Woolhopians with many of whom I have spent happy hours of sunshine and in rain over a period of half a century.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Miss Sue Hubbard of the Hereford Branch of the Hereford and Worcester County Record Office for referring him to the 'Marshall Papers' and her staff for their help. He would also like to thank his wife Désirée for typing the manuscript.

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- ⁴ *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XIII (1890), 9.
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- ⁶ L. P. Wilkinson, *Bulmers of Hereford* (1987), 46.
- ⁷ Carole Hutchisson, *Current Archaeology* (1991), 274.
- ⁸ *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIII (1949), 200.

APPENDIX

Known publications of George Marshall additional to those listed in the indices of the *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club*.

Nottinghamshire Subsidies 1689 (1895).

'Weobley and the Timber Houses of the Shire', in *Memorials of Old Herefordshire* (1904).

Monumental and other Inscriptions in the Church of Abbey Dore, co. Hereford, *The Genealogist, New Series*, (1914) 1.

New Roads Through and in the City of Hereford (1944).

Fonts in Herefordshire Parts I, II & III (1949, 1950, 1951).

Hereford Cathedral, its evolution and Growth (1951).

Annual Report, Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1934, 1937, 1938.

An Early Motte and Enclosure at Upton Bishop

By ELIZABETH TAYLOR

The site at SO 652280 was located following investigation of the field-name 'Castle Tump Field' which appears in the 1840 Tithe Apportionment for Upton Bishop.

Although much ploughed down, the bank of a roughly circular enclosure can be seen at the highest part of the field. The enclosed area is slightly hollowed. A hedge running N.W. to S.E. cuts across the enclosure and the banks show up well at the base of the hedge. The adjacent field is called Blackwall and from this side of the hedge the earthwork has the appearance of a motte with a ditch at its base. The mound rises about 3.5 m. above the bottom of the ditch. The area enclosed by the bank with the mound on the N.E. of its perimeter measures 35 m. N.W. - S.E. and about 30 m. N.E. - S.W. of which about 27 m. are on the Castle Tump Field side and 7 m. on the N.E., Blackwall side of the hedge.

The site was first seen in September 1990 by members of the Archaeological Research Section of the Woolhope Club when the fields were under corn stubble. After they had been ploughed a considerable spread of iron bloomery slag could be seen from nearly halfway up Castle Tump Field almost to the enclosure bank. No slag was visible in Blackwall field. Inside the enclosure, sherds of early medieval pottery were found which included some which were later identified by Steve Clarke of the Monmouth Archaeological Society as of the early 12th or perhaps late 11th century. The small assemblage was so interesting that a further visit was made a few days later by Steve Clarke and a small combined force of M.A.S. and Woolhope Club A.R.S. members. This time a careful gridded search was made and the pottery recovered is the subject of the following report.

The report shows that this was an early defensive site occupied around 1100 or earlier. The enclosure is not sited in a position which has any obvious natural advantages to account for its choice for a defended site. It is not a commanding situation and has a very limited view of the surrounding area. The presence of a quantity of bloomery slag in a district scattered with early Romano-British iron-making sites raises the possibility that the site was chosen because an enclosure defended by a ditch and bank was already in existence before the Norman conquest.

There is a Castle Farm only half a mile to the north-west but no connection between the two places is known.

'Blakewalhyll', which probably then included Castle Tump Field, is named as pastureland in the Ministers Accounts for the bishop's lands made in 1537 and was therefore a part of the bishop's manor of Upton. Unfortunately, nothing seems to be known of the bishop's early tenants in this manor.

SMALL FINDS

Flints. One large flake from Blackwall field.

Two heavily patinated flakes, one of them retouched and one chert flake from Castle Tump Field outside the enclosure area.

Bronze. The centre part of a 17th or perhaps 16th-century bronze buckle.

Glass. A small piece of green glass 1.5 mm. thick with a slight radius.

A round, blue glass bead; made by piercing a globule of molten glass. Not yet identified but thought to be neither Iron Age nor Roman.

POTTERY REPORT by Steve Clarke (Monmouth Archaeological Society)

The pottery recovered during field walking at the Upton Bishop site contains some of the earliest medieval material found in the county outside Hereford. Limestone tempered cooking pots from the Vale of Gloucester are rare west of the Severn and have only been recognised at Hereford, Littledean Camp, Lydney Castle and the early Norman towns of Monmouth and Chepstow. At Monmouth this ware (Hereford and Monmouth D2) in contexts dated to around 1100 A.D. is always accompanied by a typologically distinctive sand tempered ware (Monmouth A2) which is also present in the Upton Bishop group. Both pottery forms become rare or absent in Monmouth's later 12th-century contexts.

Other cooking pottery that could date to the early 12th century are those from Malvern (Hereford B1) and the locally produced quartz and sandstone tempered Monmouth A3 (? Hereford A8) but these forms do continue into the 13th century.

There is a clear 13th-century group in the assemblage (i.e. Hereford A2 and the finer wares Monmouth A5 and Hereford F1). The Malvern B4 indicates activity in the 14th or 15th centuries.

CONCLUSION

There are obvious pitfalls in drawing conclusions from unstratified pottery picked up on a ploughed field but the Upton Bishop material is unusual and does justify speculation.

Current research in Monmouth indicates that the Upton Bishop site was occupied in the earlier 12th century or before. There is little clearly later 12th-century material although the 13th century is well represented and there is a later phase in the 14th or 15th century as well.

That the earthwork was defensive is supported by the early pottery which has only been found west of the Severn on fortified sites or early town settlements.

The pottery recovered was on or very close to the earthwork and seems certain to be associated with it. Other parts of the field, away from the earthwork, failed to produce any significant medieval material.

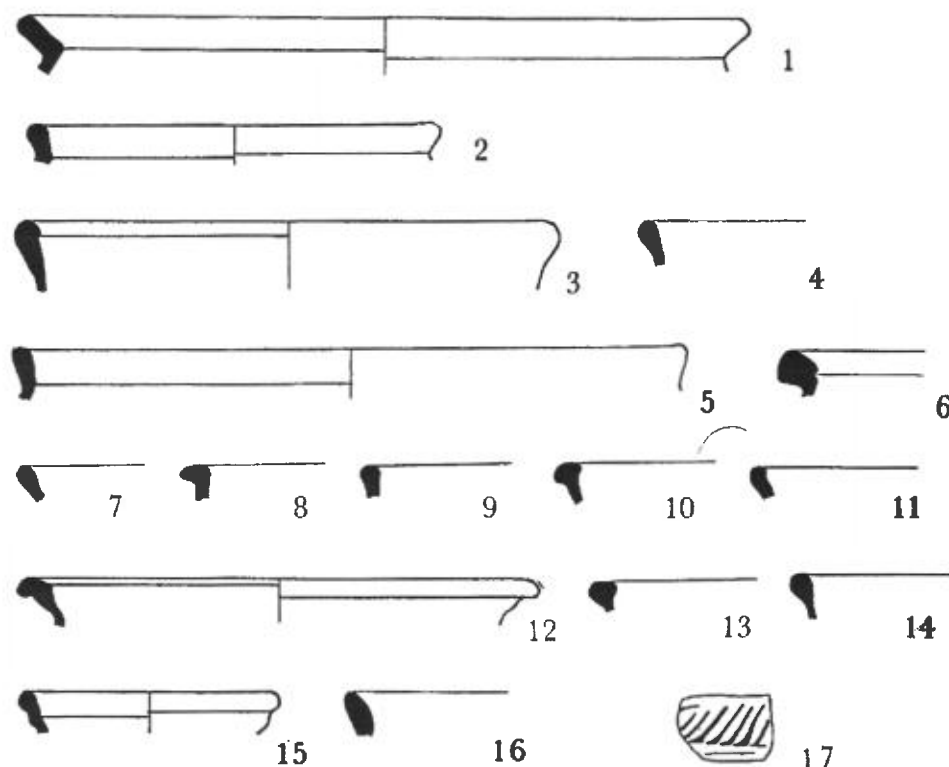


FIG. 1

1-2 Cotswold ware (D2) cooking pottery. 3-4 Sand tempered (A2) cooking pottery. 5-11 Sand tempered (A3) cooking pottery. 12-14 Malvernian (B1) cooking pottery. 15-16 Malvernian oxidised wares UC (B4). 17 Local jug with rouletted decoration. Reduced to 1/4 size.

(Drawn by Lynn Harper)

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY

LATE 11TH - 12TH CENTURY

Cotswold Ware from the Vale of Gloucester with oolitic limestone inclusions. Hereford D2 (Vince 1985).
11 sherds - 3 rim, 1 base. (3 1/4 ozs.) representing 3 vessels.
(FIG. 1 No. 1-2).

EARLIER 12TH CENTURY

Cooking pots with well sorted quartz sand tempering, rare (fossil?) shell and other inclusions. Distinctive rims and bases. Always associated with D2 wares, Monmouth A2 (Clarke forthcoming).
13 sherds - 3 rim, 1 base (3 1/2 ozs.) representing 2 vessels.
(FIG. 1 No. 3-4).

12TH - 13TH CENTURY

Cooking pots, quartz and sandstone tempered. Monmouth A3, Hereford A8. Probably several regionally local sources. (Clarke. Vince 1985).
60 sherds - 13 rim, 4 base (11 ozs.) representing 10 vessels.
(FIG. 1. No. 5-11).

Cooking pots, limestone, sandstone and quartz sand tempered. Monmouth A4, Glos. TF 110 (Clarke forthcoming. Vince 1983).
3 sherds (1/2 oz.) Not illustrated.

Malvern Ware. Hereford B1 cooking pots (Vince 1985).
19 sherds - 4 rim, representing 4 vessels. (FIG. 1 No. 12-14).

Bristol, Ham Green Ware. (Barton, K. J. 1963). Mid-12th to mid-13th century
One sherd (1/4 oz.) Not illustrated.

13TH CENTURY OR LATER

Jugs similar to Monmouth A5 and Hereford A7b. (Clarke. Vince 1985).
15 sherds (3 ozs.) one sherd fired almost to stoneware. (FIG. 1 No. 17).
Fine calcareous ware with ? organic fragments and few sand inclusions.
One sherd. Not illustrated.

South-western French. Saintonge ware.
3 sherds - one handle (1 1/4 ozs.) Not illustrated.
Ridge tile. Local sandy ware.
One sherd (2 ozs.) Not illustrated.

LATE 14TH - 15TH CENTURY

Malvern Ware. Hereford B4 (Vince 1985).
11 sherds - 2 rim (2 1/4 ozs.) (FIG. 1 No. 15-16).

POST MEDIEVAL

4 sherds (1 oz.) Hereford A7d. Not illustrated.

The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282

By CHARLES HOPKINSON

This article continues the account of the pursuit of power by the Mortimer lords of Wigmore begun in 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1086-1214,' *Transactions*, XLVI (1989). If the progress of the family's fortunes in the 11th and 12th centuries can be characterised as steady but unspectacular, it was to accelerate dramatically during the 13th century, when the shadowy Mortimers of the earlier period give way to the more substantial figures who increasingly often appear in the official records and chronicles of the times.

In 13th-century England a baron could obtain and maintain power in a number of ways. Land was the measure of wealth and had to be amassed as the cornerstone of power and political influence. Success as a soldier in one of the king's wars and ability as a wise counsellor and administrator were likely to bring favour, and he who had the ear of the king or his superior lord wielded influence and obtained rewards. Military resources enhanced prestige and political fortunes, for strong castles and armed retainers formed effective intimidatory weapons, particularly when the king's rule was weak and 'might' could become 'right.' Civil war and 'private' war - which was permitted by the custom of the Welsh march - as well as manipulation of an ineffectual monarch provided opportunities to build and consolidate political strength. Patronage was a useful tool in the hands of the powerful. Advantageous marriages and alliances with powerful families and factions strengthened a baron's position, and gifts to a church or monastery could earn the goodwill of influential ecclesiastics.

But luck, of course, played a role. In addition to accidents of birth and death, if, in feuds, conspiracies and civil wars, a baron backed the winner, his position was improved. If by ill-luck or misjudgement he backed the loser, the cost had to be met, at the very least in diminished prestige and influence. The greatest danger lay in a baron's relations with his patron - for men of consequence the king; arbitrary action or legal processes initiated by the monarch could bring down great men, sometimes at a stroke, as happened to William de Braose in 1208 and to the earls of Gloucester and Hereford in 1292.

This, then, was the political environment in which three Mortimers - Hugh (III), Ralph (II) and Roger (III) - won for themselves power and influence; and, although they had widespread interests in England, and from the mid-13th century in Ireland, it was in Wales that they concentrated their aggrandizements.

1 HUGH (III) DE MORTIMER (*d.* 1227)

Hugh de Mortimer was with King John's army in France when his father died in 1214.¹ The king was trying without success to restore his authority in Poitou and other lordships, but in the autumn returned to England where the baronage was seething with discontent. Soon after his arrival he ordered the release from prison of Hugh's wife,

Annor de Braose, who appears to have been detained since 1210 when she had been captured with her ill-fated mother and brother.² If the king calculated that Hugh's loyalty would not waver, he was correct. Years later when Hugh lay mortally ill, his loyalty was formally acknowledged: Henry III permitted Hugh to make his will, in spite of his huge debt to the Crown, in recognition of his faithful service.³

The reason for the Mortimers' long fidelity to King John prior to the crisis of 1215 has already been discussed, and in the face of rebellion, John continued to retain the loyalty of a large number of the baronage, including the marcher lords who naturally gravitated to the king's camp when faced with a Welsh threat in support of the rebel barons.⁴ So, no doubt, with varying degrees of enthusiasm Hugh de Mortimer and most of the marcher lords rallied around the king when the dissidents showed their hand in the spring of 1215.

Hugh played a part in the political manoeuvring and sword-rattling which preceded *Magna Carta*. At the end of April 1215 he was at Gloucester, with other loyal barons, when they were ordered by the king to bring as large an armed force as possible to him at Cirencester.⁵ Shortly afterwards Hugh and his fellow barons were each rewarded with a warhorse and Hugh was granted Tetbury and Hampnett in Gloucestershire.⁶ He does not, however, appear in Matthew Paris's list of John's entourage at the signing of *Magna Carta* in June.⁷

If Hugh had been at Runnymede it seems likely that he would have been mentioned. At the time he was probably on the king's business - and no doubt his own - in Wales and the marches where the political and military situation had deteriorated. Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, 'Llywelyn the Great,' had allied with the rebels in England; and the Welsh, with Giles and Reginald de Braose (sons of the disgraced William and thus Hugh de Mortimer's brothers-in-law) had captured some of the former Braose castles. It is not clear when the Mortimer lordships of Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion were attacked; the family of the Welsh rulers of Maelienydd, who had been ejected in 1196, had been active in the area, and the Mortimers once again lost control of the lordship and of Gwerthrynion.⁸

By August the agreement between King John and the rebels was foundering, and among the military preparations made by both sides Hugh was given custody of Church Stretton Castle.⁹ In the civil war of 1215-16 the king found most of his support in the west of England, while the rebel barons predominated in the east and south-east of the country. The greater part of the fighting took place in the east, but Wales and the marches constituted a secondary military theatre as well as a major source of John's manpower, and it was here that Hugh de Mortimer seems mainly to have been involved.

In May 1216 the king appointed him as one of his commissioners charged with making an agreement with Reginald de Braose who, with Welsh support, had recovered many of his family lands in Brecon, Radnor and elsewhere.¹⁰ Nothing came of the negotiations and at the end of July the king arrived with an army at Hereford. After his attempt at peace-talks was no more successful than that of his commissioners, John proceeded to harry the Braose estates before marching north to Shrewsbury. Evidence is lacking, but

Hugh was probably with the royal army where his local knowledge of the country would have been valuable.

Hugh continued to receive marks of royal favour and he was certainly with the king's army in September; John had raised the siege of Lincoln and it was there, on 28 September, that Hugh attested a charter - the last of the king's charters listed in the rolls.¹¹ Three weeks later John was dead and at his wish was buried in 'the church of St. Mary, Worcester.'¹² Hugh was among the seemingly few prominent barons who were present at the ceremony, but he was not numbered among the thirteen executors of John's will.¹³ The probable reason was that he still stood in the second rank of the baronage, his status inferior not only to that of the papal legate, bishops and earls, but also to men like the marcher lord, Walter de Lacy, who were executors.

Henry III was only nine years old when he was crowned in October 1216, and a council, with William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, as regent, undertook the government of the country. Hugh was a member of this council and associated with its policy of reconciliation and restoration of order.¹⁴ Decisions, in fact, appear to have been largely taken by an inner circle of King John's executors, but they would no doubt have asked for Hugh's advice on Welsh affairs which so often had to be considered when formulating English policy.¹⁵

When the council wanted in January 1217 to stiffen the resistance of the castle garrisons in the persistent war in which a French army was now taking part, Hugh and other loyal barons undertook to ransom all those captured in royal castles.¹⁶ In the same year he was granted the right to confiscate the lands of those of his vassals who opposed the king.¹⁷ Although the marcher lords provided strong support for King Henry, there is no record of Hugh's part in the fighting before peace was more or less restored by the Treaty of Kingston in September. In 1221 he took part in the siege of Bytham Castle (in southern Lincolnshire) which had been held by William de Forz for the rebel count of Aumale.¹⁸ By then the Welsh threat had faded and two years later he was present at Montgomery when King Henry met Llywelyn and negotiated an agreement; earlier in the year he had been granted twenty marks to fortify Wigmore Castle.¹⁹ Hugh de Mortimer was clearly involved in national affairs at a high level. His widespread interests in England proper, where he was assessed for scutage in twenty-one counties, and a setback to his fortunes in Wales made Hugh more a baron of England and less a lord of the Welsh march than his father or grandfather.²⁰

The reverses to the marcher lords' fortunes in Wales had been caused by a country-wide resurgence of Welsh nationalism led by Llywelyn the Great at a time when the English king and his barons were preoccupied by affairs closer to home. In 1220 the king had ordered Llywelyn to surrender Maelienydd to Henry Audley who was to hand it over to Hugh de Mortimer. Llywelyn demurred: he would not insist on his legal rights until the king came of age, but if Hugh attempted to regain his lordship by force he would be met by force, and there the matter seems to have rested. Hugh continued to claim Maelienydd while Llywelyn supported the Welsh lords. The stability of the march was fragile, Welsh power formidable, and it was English policy not to provoke unnecessary confrontations in disputes such as an argument between the Welsh and a marcher lord. It was not until after

Llywelyn's death in 1240 that the Mortimers were able to regain Maelienydd, and this was but one of a number of disputes between the Mortimers and the Welsh prince. The manors of Knighton and Norton, formerly in English hands but now under Welsh control, were also claimed by the Mortimers; here, however, there may have been some movement in favour of the Mortimers.²¹

Two years before he died in 1227 Hugh de Mortimer witnessed the reissue of *Magna Carta*.²² Having no surviving children he was succeeded by his brother Ralph. Secure in the king's favour, he was allowed to make a will, despite his owing the king £1,015. 2s. 3d., a warhorse and two hawks. His wife lived on for some years, apparently as a recluse.²³

2 RALPH (II) DE MORTIMER (d. 1246)

Ralph (II) de Mortimer had, like his brother, been loyal to King John. He had been in royal service in 1216 and a year later was one of the witnesses of the treaty between the kings of England and France which had brought to an end French intervention in support of the baronial party.²⁴ His release in 1229 from much of his debt to the Crown, which he had inherited from his brother, shows that he continued to enjoy the confidence of the king, but he does not appear to have played as prominent a role in national affairs as his brother or father.²⁵ Ralph was, however, active - and in the end successful - in the marches and Wales, which were, between 1228 and 1234, and from 1240 until his death in 1246, subject to a series of Anglo-Welsh confrontations and baronial rebellions.

It is generally accepted, though not unchallenged, that Gwladus Ddu whom Ralph married in 1230 was Llywelyn the Great's daughter and King John's granddaughter.²⁶ Whatever the truth of the matter, and it seems unlikely that the Mortimers could have sustained their claim of a connection with King John if it was not true, it was the perception not the truth of Gwladus's ancestry that mattered for the next 250 years. Marriages between the Anglo-Norman baronage and the Welsh were nothing new, but an alliance with a granddaughter of a king of England, who was also the daughter of the Welsh prince recognised as *primus inter pares* among the rulers of Wales, would have constituted a political coup for the Mortimers: a coup bigger than they could have recognized at the time. R. W. Eyton states that when Llywelyn's legitimate line of descent died out it was argued that the descendants of Ralph and Gwladus were the heirs to his principality.²⁷ In the late 14th century the descent from King John would have reinforced the Mortimer claim to the throne, and during the Wars of the Roses the cause of the Yorkists in Wales was promoted by Welsh bards recalling the Mortimer connection with Llywelyn the Great.²⁸

For his part, Llywelyn would have viewed this relationship with a Mortimer, and he married three other daughters to prominent marcher lords, as a means both of reducing tension and of loosening the bonds between Ralph and King Henry in the event of hostilities between the king and himself. If Ralph hoped that Llywelyn would return Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion to him, he was to be disappointed; but the Mortimers' apparent repossession of Knighton (inferred from Ralph's right by a charter of 1230 to hold a fair there), in territory controlled or formerly controlled by Llywelyn, may well have been connected

with his marriage in the same year.²⁹ It is, however, possible that the king used this charter to demonstrate his support for Ralph in his dispute with Llywelyn, although the Welsh prince actually continued to control the district. Both Llywelyn and Ralph were to find their interests irreconcilable and, in spite of the marriage, relations between them remained at a low ebb.

During the intermittent warfare of 1228, 1231 and 1233-4, in southern Wales and the marches, Ralph's interests in Herefordshire and Shropshire seem to have escaped relatively unscathed. He was appointed custodian of the honour and castle of Clun, a region which was devastated during the rebellion of 1233-4 by the rebel Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and his Welsh and baronial allies, as well as by the king's campaign.³⁰ In the summer of 1233, at the beginning of the rebellion, Ralph with other marcher lords had given hostages as security for their loyalty to the king during the emergency, and in November Ralph was with the king at Hereford.³¹

In 1234 the Treaty of Middle brought an uneasy peace lasting until Llywelyn's death six years later. During this time his power and conquests were not seriously challenged, by either the English or his Welsh rivals, but his son, David, succeeded to a deceptively propitious inheritance.

The English now judged that the time was right to recover the lands which they had lost during the previous twenty-five years. To this end, King Henry refused to recognize David as heir to Llywelyn's conquests which included the former Mortimer lordships of Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion. Prince Llywelyn had died in April 1240, and the following summer the king lost patience with David's stalling tactics over the disputed territories and resorted to force of arms. By the time of David's death in 1246 the English had gained the upper hand in Wales, and David's inheritors, his nephews, were forced to submit to the king. The Treaty of Woodstock of 1247 confirmed the renewed English domination of Wales and the destruction of Welsh unity which had been built up by Llywelyn the Great.

The circumstances in which the Mortimers recovered Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion can be pieced together from contemporary records which also throw light on the peculiarities of the institution of marcher lordship. The first move took place soon after Llywelyn's death when the king ordered the sheriff of Herefordshire to transfer possession of Maelienydd to Ralph de Mortimer. Sometime during the following summer of 1241, while Ralph's lands 'were being harassed by certain Welsh chiefs of Kerry and Maelienydd in alliance with David,' he recovered the lordship by force, arranged a truce with the local Welsh rulers and soon afterwards fortified his castle of Cefnlllys. Earlier in the year, however, the Welsh lords had met the king at Worcester, presumably to press their claim to Maelienydd. The special status of the marcher lordships now becomes apparent. The Welsh lords submitted to the king who confirmed that, after the truce between them and Ralph expired at Michaelmas 1241, renewed hostilities would not invalidate their oath of fidelity.³²

This assertion that the Welsh lords' fealty to the English king would remain unbroken even if they were to go to war with one of his subjects, affirmed the right of Welsh rulers of whatever importance to make 'private' war. And it was this crucial right to make war on their own account, enshrined in the custom of the march, which was trans-

ferred to the lords of England by virtue of their conquests in Wales - a right which in England was reserved to the king alone.³³

King Henry also tried to restore English power in France. In the summer of 1242 Ralph was summoned to join Henry there, but the king's fortunes did not prosper, no doubt largely because of a lack of enthusiasm for Henry's plans on the part of much of the baronage.³⁴ Ralph's loyalty to the Crown was long-established and the king and he had recently made common cause in Wales; it would not have been surprising had Ralph been one of those barons who willingly supported the king's adventure in France. Four years later, in 1246, Ralph died; Gwladus survived him by five years.³⁵

3 ROGER (III) DE MORTIMER (1231-1282)

1246-1265

Roger (III) de Mortimer was a minor when his father died in 1246.³⁶ The death of a tenant-in-chief involved an investigation before the heir could enter into his inheritance, particularly to discover whether he was a minor, and in Roger's case he was granted his patrimony in February 1247, six months after his father's death. He paid a fine of 2,000 marks and this no doubt represented not only the normal fine in such circumstances - an inheritance tax - but also a sum to recompense the king for his lost profits from Roger's wardship.³⁷

At this time Roger married Maud de Braose, an excellent choice in terms of power politics for his bride was a coheiress of William (II) de Braose (*d.* 1230) and his wife Eve (*d.* 1246) who, in her turn, was a coheiress of Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke. Maud therefore inherited a share of the great Marshal and Braose lordships in England and Wales, and part of the Marshal lands in Ireland.³⁸ The division of the Braose estates was, however, a protracted business and was not agreed until 1259.³⁹

By adding the Braose lordship of Radnor to their existing territories of Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion, the Mortimers constituted a formidable power block in the middle march during the second half of the 13th century. They also gained from Maud's Marshal inheritance the lordships of Narberth and part of St. Clears in south-west Wales as well as other estates, and also the newly established lordship of Dunamase in Ireland - Maud's share of the great lordship of Leinster.⁴⁰ Roger does not appear to have ever visited Ireland. His interests there were of secondary importance to those in England and Wales, and the crises which beset them for much of his life. Edward I, for much the same reason, also displayed little interest in the island, either as prince and lord of Ireland which was granted to him in 1254, or as king. In fact, after King John's expedition of 1210, nearly 200 years were to pass before another king, Richard II, set foot in Ireland.

Roger de Mortimer's marriage to Maud de Braose was clearly a milestone in the family's growing fortunes, and at the time, with effective Welsh opposition in eclipse, his interests must have seemed likely to prosper. They were, however, to be limited for many years by a revival of Welsh nationalism and military success.

By the time he was thirty Roger was a member of the small regency council during the king's absence abroad, and for the rest of his life he was never far from the centre of affairs. Called upon as soldier, counsellor, courtier and administrator, he also had his own

interests to manage: and time spent on national business could mean neglect of his often precarious fortunes in Wales.

Roger first makes his appearance on the national stage when he was with Henry III in France in 1253-4.⁴¹ He had been knighted a few months before the king had left England for Gascony where Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester and *custos* of the duchy, had alienated the barons. There were also fears of an invasion by Alfonso of Castile.⁴²

In 1258 the consequences of Henry's Sicilian venture forced him to turn to his barons for support. Roger was for a time closely associated with the baronial movement for reform, and was one of the twelve barons chosen by the reformers to work with twelve of the king's party. This committee effected radical changes in the king's administration which, it was intended, would in future be the responsibility of the baronage as well as the king, and which found expression in the Provisions of Oxford.⁴³ The reasons for Roger's lapse of loyalty to King Henry can only be guessed at, but he had come into close contact with the charismatic arch-reformer, Simon de Montfort, and his fellow marcher lords in general supported reform.

Roger accompanied the justiciar when he travelled round the shires in 1259 adjudicating complaints and disputes.⁴⁴ He was a member of the council, though he does not appear to have taken a great part in its proceedings, probably because of his activities in Wales.⁴⁵ He was appointed a commissioner 'to make and receive amends for interceptions and trespasses against the truce' with the Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, and he was present at the confirmation of the Treaty of Paris which was to bring peace between England and France for the next thirty-five years.⁴⁶ During the king's absence in France he was one of the regency council of seven which governed the kingdom.⁴⁷ But, although Roger was at the centre of power, there was one field where his affairs were not prospering - Wales.

Here, Welsh frustration and impotence after the humiliating Treaty of Woodstock of 1247 had been short-lived. Within a decade Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (The Great) and therefore a cousin of Roger (III) de Mortimer, had established himself in north Wales and begun to recover Welsh lands from the English.

In 1256 Llywelyn moved against the marcher lords, initiating a decade and more of intermittent war with the English. He 'took Gwerthrynion from Roger de Mortimer and held it in his own hand';⁴⁸ and in January the following year Roger was employed in the king's service in Wales.⁴⁹ In April 1258 the king promised him financial assistance in the war against the Welsh which was devastating the marches and which was brought to an end by a truce that summer.⁵⁰ Preoccupation with the political struggles in the kingdom had sapped the ability of the marcher lords to offer concerted opposition to Llywelyn, and the king himself had been almost powerless to assist them. Llywelyn had therefore been able to pick off the English lordships one by one, and now could fully justify his new status among the Welsh rulers as 'prince of Wales'.⁵¹

The truce was renewed in 1259, with Roger as one of the king's commissioners; a year later, however, Llywelyn broke it by seizing the lordship of Builth and laying siege to the castle.⁵² Prince Edward, Henry III's eldest son, held the honour but Roger de

Mortimer had been given its custody. Although Roger was formally acquitted of blame for the loss of Builth Castle in July 1260, Prince Edward does not seem to have been fully convinced for he 'exclaimed against the said release'.⁵³ At that time Roger was constable of Hereford Castle, the base from which any counter-attack up the valley of the Wye would be mounted, and his fellow marcher lords were ordered to assist him.⁵⁴

Preparations for the relief of Builth, and indeed any campaign against the Welsh, had been overtaken by the developing crisis between the king and the reformers. Henry had decided to try and regain his authority. In July 1260, the month that Builth Castle had fallen to Llywelyn, Roger attended a council in London.⁵⁵ The king wanted to have Simon de Montfort brought to trial, but proceedings were dropped as part of a compromise, and animosity between the factions was diverted into planning a great campaign in Wales. Llywelyn was willing to come to terms and once again Roger was one of the king's commissioners who negotiated a two-year truce.⁵⁶

In 1261-2 King Henry moved decisively against the reformers. While Simon de Montfort retired to France, Roger de Mortimer joined most of the barons in accepting the restoration of royal authority and an amnesty.⁵⁷ He was not to desert the king again in the crises that lay ahead.

Roger's deteriorating position in Wales may well have encouraged him to make his peace with King Henry. Opposition to the king had become the predominant concern of the reformers, and in the case of the marcher lords this led to neglect of their affairs in Wales. Tacit agreements, which later expanded into formal alliances, had developed between the marchers and the Welsh, each using the other for their own but similar ends - the submission of the king. But Roger's fortunes in Wales could only flourish and expand at the expense of the Welsh: military and political support was what he wanted and this could only come from a strong central authority. More immediately, Roger's growing identification of his interests in Wales with those of Prince Edward, who had broken with Simon de Montfort, as well as the quarrel between the influential marcher lord, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, and Simon, would have attracted Roger to the king's camp.

The truce between Henry and Llywelyn was renewed in May 1262, but hostilities soon broke out with Llywelyn complaining that Roger de Mortimer had broken it. The Welsh of Maelienydd rebelled, 'And they took the castle (Cefnlllys) and seized Hwyl ap Meurig, who was constable of the castle, and his wife and sons and his daughters, after killing the gate-keepers. And they made that known to the Lord Llywelyn's seneschal and constable. And those came in haste and burned it to the ground.' An army led by Roger and by Humphrey de Bohun, son of the earl of Hereford, which had been surrounded in the ruins, was forced to accept terms from Llywelyn who had come to the support of the rebels. Roger and Humphrey were allowed to make a mortifying retreat and the Welsh proceeded to take control of the lordship, whilst Llywelyn raided the western districts of Herefordshire and marched south to receive the homage of Brecon.⁵⁸

Radnor appears to have withstood the onslaught, but the loss to the Welsh of Maelienydd and Brecon, in addition to Elfael and Builth two years earlier and Gwerthrynion in 1256, had transformed the balance of power in the middle march.

As King Henry manoeuvred politically to meet the Welsh threat, an effective baronial movement was resurrected in which a clique of marcher lords, led by Roger de Clifford of Eardisley, took a prominent part. In April 1263 Simon de Montfort returned to England, and when the king refused to restore the Provisions of Oxford, desultory hostilities began with the reformers in open collusion with the Welsh.

Attempts at mediation during the winter of 1263-4 were inconclusive. In December, Roger was one of the loyal barons accompanying the king when he found the gates of Dover Castle shut against him, and a month later he attended King Henry at Amiens when the king and representatives of the barons' party put their case before Louis of France for arbitration.⁵⁹ The barons refused to accept Louis's decision in favour of Henry and the kingdom lapsed into disorder.

Roger de Mortimer seems to have been singled out by the rebel barons as being one of their most dangerous opponents as well as being a renegade to their cause. In February 1264 a baronial army combined with the Welsh to assail the royalist lords in the marches. The lordship of Radnor was harried and Wigmore Castle itself attacked when Roger's enemies 'levelled all his castles, pillaged his lands, and burnt his manors and villis'.⁶⁰

Prince Edward retaliated against the rebels. After attacking their castles he invaded Brecon, a lordship of the reformer Humphrey de Bohun, which he now granted to Roger; and when the barons' army withdrew across the Severn as part of a truce, Roger regained control of Radnor. His tenure of Brecon was, however, short. The next year, 1265, it was granted to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, on the marriage of his heir and presumably as a reward for transferring his allegiance to the king.⁶¹ But lordship in the marches by no means guaranteed actual jurisdiction and much of Brecon remained under Welsh control. In the previous eighteen months Prince Edward has been successful in persuading reformers, such as Roger de Clifford, to abandon the barons' party, and the Welsh march was to become the royalist reservoir of manpower - an area where men possessed greater experience of war than any other which supplied the warring parties with their forces.

By early April 1264 Roger had left the marches, and doubtless at the head of his knights and Welsh levies had joined the king's army which was gathering at Oxford. He played a prominent part in the royalist victory at Northampton, capturing a number of prisoners whom he appears to have been loath to surrender to the king.⁶²

On 14 May Simon de Montfort won a decisive victory at Lewes. King Henry and Prince Edward, with Roger de Mortimer and many barons, were captured. Roger and his fellow marchers were allowed to return to their lordships to defend them against the Welsh as part of a peace agreement - the Mise of Lewes - after Prince Edward and Henry of Almain, the king's nephew, had been surrendered as hostages, and the king himself had become little more than Simon de Montfort's puppet.⁶³ It was an overconfident and fateful decision by Simon, for the lords of the Welsh march constituted the one group of barons, associated by interest and geography, which could forge an effective opposition to the new regime: and that is what they, with Roger de Mortimer conspicuous amongst them, proceeded to do.

Through the summer of 1264 Roger and his allies played for time in which to rebuild their forces. They failed to implement the terms of the Mise of Lewes by refusing to attend a parliament in June and by not surrendering their prisoners captured at Northampton. A short campaign led by Simon de Montfort, during which Roger's estates were wasted and Wigmore Castle captured, forced Roger and other lords to agree terms. They again failed to keep them and by November Roger was ready to take the offensive.⁶⁴

Early that month Roger laid siege to Hereford which was held for Simon de Montfort.⁶⁵ Forewarned of the attack, the city withstood the assault and an exasperated Simon determined to have done with the marcher lords once and for all.⁶⁶ After they had refused a summons to Oxford, Simon led an army into the marches and, in alliance with the Welsh, forced the refractory lords to submit at Worcester in December.⁶⁷

One of the terms of the marchers' submission was that Roger de Mortimer and other leading barons were to be exiled to Ireland for a year and a day. The barons found excuses, banishment was postponed and they never left for Ireland.⁶⁸ Simon's problems were mounting and his preoccupation with other matters enabled Roger to continue his defiance by plotting with possible defectors from the baronial party and by holding 'certain towns and castles through the land,' by early 1265, however, he appears again to have made a temporary - and no doubt tactical - submission to Simon.⁶⁹

The military balance between the royalist and baronial factions was now changing. A number of defectors from Simon de Montfort's party had transferred their allegiance to the king, notably the earl of Gloucester who at about this time broke with Simon. Roger de Mortimer is credited with organising Prince Edward's escape from custody in Hereford at the end of May. The prince rode to Wigmore and then on to Ludlow where he was joined by the earl of Gloucester, Roger and other marcher lords who all united in an alliance to defeat Simon. This was accomplished on 4 August when, after a campaign in the marches, Simon's army was cornered at Evesham.⁷⁰

At the battle of Evesham, Roger de Mortimer commanded one of the three corps into which Prince Edward had split his army, and, with the prince and the earl of Gloucester, he shared in the triumph of the victory which was the turning point of the Barons' War. Simon de Montfort's head was sent to Maud de Mortimer - a grisly trophy for her husband who had done as much as any man to bring down Simon.⁷¹ As for Roger's relationship with Prince Edward, it had developed into a close association of comrades-in-arms, and the prince, the power behind the throne and a shrewd judge of men and how to make the best use of them, was now in a position to reward and employ one of the most faithful and effective supporters of the king's cause.

1265-1282

The collapse of the baronial party after the battle of Evesham offered many opportunities for the settling of old scores and the private seizure of the rebels' lands. Roger de Mortimer attended a meeting of the victorious magnates at Winchester in September 1265, when peace was proclaimed and it was ordered that the estates of Simon de Montfort's allies were to be confiscated. Those of their lands which had already been acquired

by members of the king's party, and Roger was not dilatory in this respect, had to be surrendered to the king.⁷²

Roger advocated a hard line with the rebels - a chronicler recorded that he inordinately coveted the lands of his opponents - and this brought him into conflict with the more conciliatory earl of Gloucester.⁷³ Moderate opinion prevailed and in October 1266 the Dictum of Kenilworth laid down the procedures and conditions by which the 'disinherited' could recover their estates. Roger received his share of the spoils of victory, among them as a 'Gift, for good service,' the grant of the county and honour of Oxford formerly held by the rebel Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford; as a result of the Dictum, however, de Vere was able to recover his honour after paying compensation to Roger and agreeing that his eldest son, Robert, should marry Roger's daughter, Margaret.⁷⁴

The most interesting example of royal favour towards Roger was a charter granted to him in 1266 concerning his estates of Cleobury and Chelmarsh in Shropshire. The two manors were to be united to form a single manor 'which, *with its members*, was henceforth to be independent of all *suits* to County or Hundred, was in fact to be a Hundred in itself. On the strength of this, Mortimer professed to consider not less than twenty Manors to be members of Cleobury and Chelmarsh, and consolidating them all into one Franchise, he set up his central Court at Cleobury.' In 1274 there were complaints of the conduct of Roger's court, which was accused of arrogating to itself royal rights, and three years later Cleobury, which in 1240 had been assessed at one knight's fee, was omitted from the list of Roger's honours in the marches for which he owed knight-service.⁷⁵

Roger had clearly turned his estates of Cleobury, Chelmarsh and other manors, formerly part of the county of Shropshire and administered as such by the king's officers, into little less than a marcher lordship. He had been able to twist the meaning of the charter to include a much wider scope, in terms of area and privilege, than had been intended. Again at Wigmore, where Roger's stewards began to exclude royal officers and claim exemptions from royal writs, taxes and justices, he appears to have been at least partly successful in turning what since Saxon times had been part of an English hundred into a private lordship.⁷⁶

Surprisingly, this sharp practice was not seriously questioned during Roger's lifetime by either Henry III or Edward I, a stickler for his rights and baronial discipline. The reasons, other than unlikely bureaucratic neglect, probably lay in the need to reward Roger handsomely for his services during the civil war and in Edward's personal friendship with him; viewed pragmatically, there was little point in alienating such a prominent and staunchly loyal baron about matters in a remote part of the kingdom which could conveniently be overlooked. It was left to Roger's heir, Edmund, to have to justify the privileges which his father had so dubiously obtained.⁷⁷

Roger held a number of prestigious and lucrative appointments during the decade between the battle of Evesham and Edward I's Welsh war of 1276-7. In 1266 he commanded a corps of the royal army during the six-month siege of Kenilworth Castle, one of the last centres of baronial resistance, and it was here that the Dictum of Kenilworth was formulated and he was granted the charter concerning Cleobury and Chel-

marsh.⁷⁸ He was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1266-7, and on completion of his term of office he and his household were allowed to continue living in Hereford Castle.⁷⁹ Early in 1270 he attended the council at Westminster which would have been largely concerned with taxation to finance Prince Edward's crusade.⁸⁰ Before Edward left England later that year, Roger was appointed one of the trustees of the prince's castles and estates, as well as being a 'reserve' guardian of Edward's children if nominees for that office were to die.⁸¹

Edward did not return to England for four years, and when he did it was as king, for his father had died in 1272. Roger's activities while Edward was abroad included attending parliament, holding an enquiry into complaints against a justice in Cheshire, sitting as a justice himself and dealing with a potential rebellion in the north of England.⁸² After King Henry's death, Roger and his four fellow trustees were regents of the kingdom in all but name, and their energetic and competent conduct of the kingdom's affairs ensured that King Edward I returned from crusade to a well-ordered and secure inheritance.

After peace had been restored to England in 1265-7, one of the questions facing the king and his council was what should be done about Wales. For years Prince Llywelyn had been able to make the running against a preoccupied and divided opposition, and his position in Wales was little affected by the loss of his ally Simon de Montfort. King Henry appears initially to have favoured force, and in the spring of 1266 Roger, who had been commissioned with others to attack the king's enemies, was defeated by the Welsh while he was trying to recover Brecon which was controlled by Llywelyn.⁸³ The lordship had been the subject of a quarrel, in addition to the one over the treatment of the rebel barons, between Gilbert de Clare and Roger since its grant to Gilbert three months after the battle of Evesham.⁸⁴ The king and Prince Llywelyn entered into negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Montgomery of September 1267. The Welsh won what was probably the best settlement they ever obtained from the English, with the Crown recognizing the prince of Wales and his conquests.

The terms of the treaty were not always clear and of particular importance to Roger de Mortimer was the recognition of Llywelyn's conquest of Brecon and the unresolved status of Maelienydd. Llywelyn could retain the latter lordship if he was able to justify his claim to it and, as a compromise, Roger de Mortimer was allowed to build a castle there pending resolution of the dispute.⁸⁵ The legal right to Maelienydd never seems to have been resolved, and it is doubtful whether Llywelyn ever envisaged ceding a lordship which extended deep into independent Wales. Just as the possession of Maelienydd between 1220 and 1240 had been the subject of legal dispute, with the Welsh remaining as *de facto* rulers, so between 1267 and 1276 the Welsh retained control in spite of Roger de Mortimer's claim.

After the Treaty of Montgomery the Welsh prince's relations with King Henry were reasonably amicable; but with Henry's death and the return to England of King Edward, an open breach soon developed between the English and the Welsh. Edward I insisted that Llywelyn do homage and this the prince refused to do until grievances had been satisfied. By the autumn of 1276 the king had determined to resolve his protracted dispute with Llywelyn, if necessary by force. Roger de Mortimer was one of the magnates who, meeting with the king at Westminster in November, rejected an offer by Llywelyn involving

Roger acting as one of the guarantors of his safety and decided that the Welsh prince be declared a rebel.⁸⁶

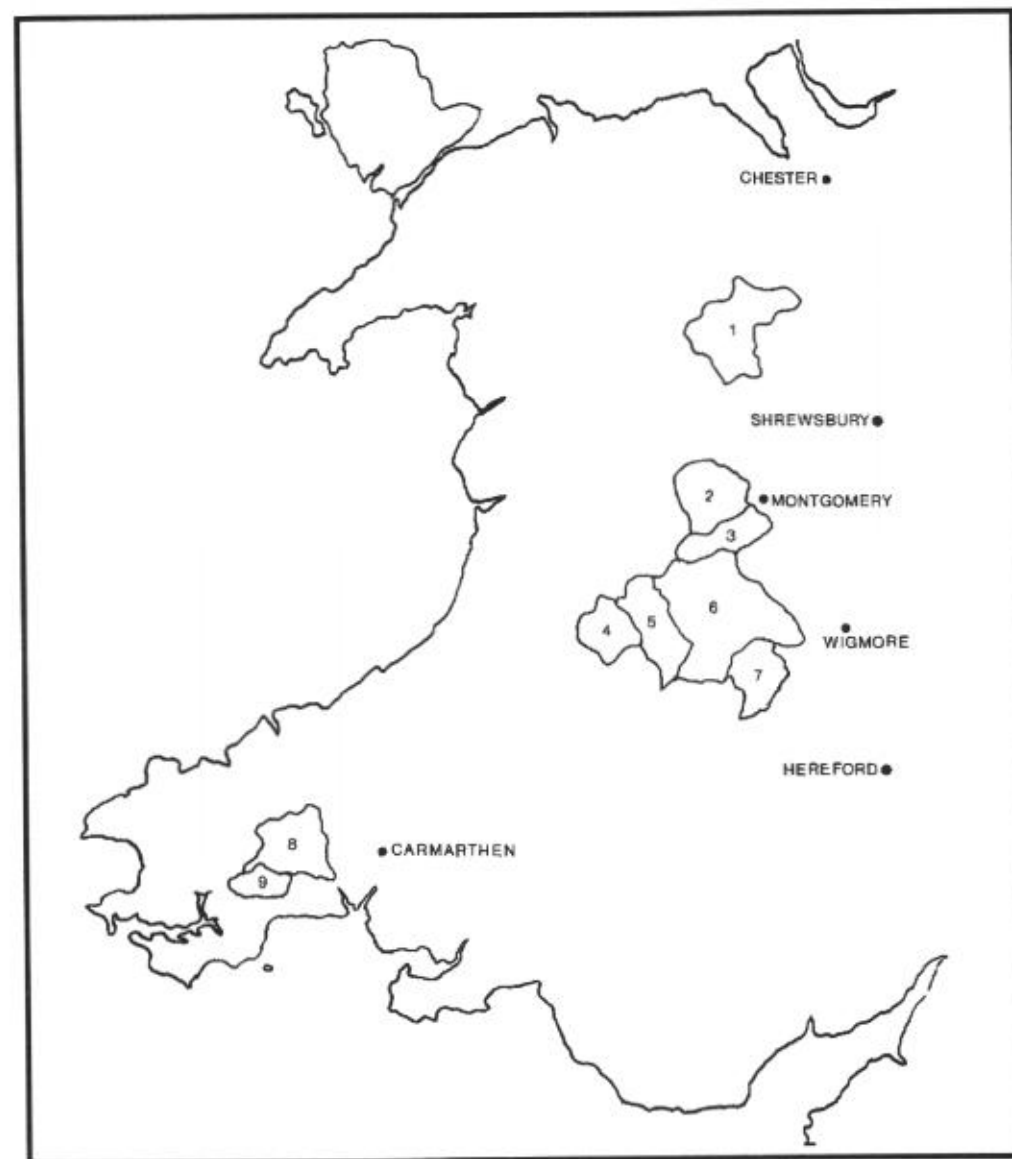
The marcher lords were to the fore in the ensuing war - eager at last to turn the tables on the Welsh. Roger was one of the commanders given responsibility for a sector of the Anglo-Welsh front, being appointed captain of the king's army in Shropshire, Staffordshire and Herefordshire with his base at the royal castle of Montgomery. Among his responsibilities were the roads which would be used by the advancing English armies, and the raising of troops and enlistment of Welsh soldiers by agreement with local Welsh lords.⁸⁷ Welsh 'friendlies,' under leaders like Hywel ap Meurig whose family had long been associated with the Mortimers and who had graduated into the king's service, constituted an important element of the English forces; Roger also sought reinforcements from a Florentine merchant who was granted royal protection during his journey to France to fetch twelve warhorses.⁸⁸ During the summer of 1277, men from Maelienydd, Gwerthrynion and elsewhere in the marches, were sent to reinforce the king's army, while Roger advanced into his sector of Wales, annexing Welsh lands and taking part in the blockade of Prince Llywelyn's mountain fortress of Gwynedd.⁸⁹

By July 1277, when the king himself took the field, Llywelyn's authority had been constricted to the north-west of Wales and in November he submitted conditionally to the king. The Treaty of Conway permitted Llywelyn to retain his title of prince of Wales, but it was now an empty honour as his territories were restricted to Gwynedd west of the Conway.

In 1279 Roger was rewarded for his services with a grant of the *cantrefi* of Ceri, which abutted on the northern border of Maelienydd, and of Cydewain with Llywelyn's castle of Dolforwyn.⁹⁰ After the war, the long-standing animosity between Llywelyn and Roger de Mortimer appears to have somewhat diminished. In 1281, the year before both men died, they made a treaty swearing to support each other in peace and war, saving their fealty to the king. There is no evidence of any combination against the king. Llywelyn showed every sign of wanting the post-war rearrangement of Wales to work and needed a friend at court, while Roger would have appreciated Llywelyn's support and influence in his dealings with the Welsh lords of his new lands.⁹¹

The years between the two Welsh wars, 1277-1282, were the high summer of Roger's career. For thirty-five years his fortunes had risen and fallen but all had now come right for him. He had regained his lands and acquired new ones, and as a result his power had increased immeasurably. He might not be among King Edward's chosen administrators and lawyers, but when a man of action was required, he was one of the king's first choices - as the renewal of his appointment as 'captain' at the beginning of the second Welsh war shows. His long experience of negotiating with and fighting against the Welsh must have meant that his advice on Anglo-Welsh matters, hawkish though it might be, carried great weight in council.

In 1279 Roger held a magnificent tournament at Kenilworth, a castle of Edmund, earl of Lancaster which Roger was holding for the earl during his absence in France. One hundred knights and their ladies took part in the festivities preceding Roger's ten-day 'Round Table.' In practice, tournaments on this scale needed royal approval, for kings



MAP

Wales: lordships of the Mortimers in 1282

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Chirk (held by Roger de Mortimer, Roger (III)'s second surviving son) | 3. Ceri |
| 2. Cydewain | 5. Gwerthrynion |
| 4. Cwmwd Deuddwr | 7. Radnor |
| 6. Maelienydd | 9. Narberth |
| 8. St. Clears (part of) | |

Based on W. Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (1951). A more accurate delineation of the boundaries of the lordships can be found in W. Rees, *South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century*, 4 maps, Ordnance Survey (1932).

viewed such gatherings with suspicion as potential opportunities for the baronage to meet together and discuss their grievances. They were status symbols for their patrons, and the tournament at Kenilworth was evidence that Roger was not only among the greatest in the land, but also enjoyed the confidence of the king. Mortimer's Tower, the gatehouse of Kenilworth Castle until it was superseded as such by a new building in the 16th century, still overlooks the old tiltyard.⁹²

The rebellion which broke out in Wales in March 1282 took the English by surprise but King Edward responded quickly and forcefully. He appointed three commanders to sectors of the front, as he had done in 1275; and 'trusting in Roger's tried fidelity, circumspection and industry,' he gave responsibility for the central sector to Roger de Mortimer who proceeded to garrison his own castles at his own expense, and with money from the exchequer to raise troops for the campaign and for the defence of Montgomery Castle.⁹³ He was successful enough to be able to send part of his infantry to join the king's army in the autumn; however, although Welsh opposition in his sector had been crushed it had not been destroyed, and after Roger's death in October it was reported that no revenue could be collected from his Welsh tenants because of the unsettled state of the country.⁹⁴

In September or October 1282 Roger fell ill. He worried about his debts to the Crown, which might have hindered the execution of his will, and on 27 October the king tried to set his mind at rest by expressly stating that such debts would not impede his executors. Roger had probably died on the previous day, but he would have appreciated this 'special favour which had never been granted to blood-relation or other before.'⁹⁵ He was succeeded by his son, Edmund, and his widow, Maud, lived on until 1301.⁹⁶

Roger (III) is the first of the Mortimer family of whom one can with any confidence venture a judgement of character and achievement, and the one element in Roger's career which cannot be denied was his success. In secular society of the times this called for an appetite for power, toughness, unscrupulousness - including the use of opportunist but controlled thuggery - and ability to recognize and use the opportunities offered by the political environment. Roger clearly possessed these faculties in abundance. A character defect in the eyes of at least one chronicler and probable contemporary was avarice - in particular a rapacity for land;⁹⁷ and it was this flaw which was to help bring about the downfall of his grandson in 1330 and the temporary eclipse of the Mortimer dynasty.

An archetypically successful magnate of late 13th-century England, Roger (III) was 'one of the great architects of the late medieval March.'⁹⁸ Loyalty: high military command: repeated appointments as a negotiator with the Welsh: employment as councillor, administrator and justice: one of Prince Edward's trustees: an executor of William de Beauchamp and of the widow of the earl of Cornwall: all are evidence of Roger's qualities which were widely recognized and which could be put to good use when his ambition and energy were wisely directed by his overlord.⁹⁹

No other explanation can justify Edward I's friendship and favour to him during his lifetime and the letter he wrote to Roger's son, Roger of Chirk, in which he enjoined Roger of Chirk, *inter alia*, to 'so conduct himself against the king's Welsh enemies where his father was captain of the king's garrisons that the king, so far as lies in Roger's power, may seem to recover to some extent in the son what he has lost in the father.' King

Edward then paid an eloquent tribute to his old comrade: 'As often as the king ponders over the death of Roger's father he is disturbed and mourns the more his valour and fidelity, and his long and praiseworthy services to the late king and to him recur frequently and spontaneously to his memory. As it is certain that no one can escape death, the king is consoled, and Roger ought to be consoled on his part, because there is good hope that his father after the trials of this life has now a better state than he had.'¹⁰⁰

ABBREVIATIONS

- AM *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 1864-9).
- BT *Brut y Tywysogyon (The Chronicle of the Princes)*, *Peniarth M.S. 20 Version* and *Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (1952 and 1955).
- CP G. E. Cokayne, ed. M. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vol. IX (1936).
- CR *Close Rolls and Calendar of the Close Rolls*.
- ChR *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*.
- Eyton R. W. Eyton, *The Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. IV (1857).
- Foed *Foedera, Conventiones, etc.*, ed. A. Clarke, J. Caley and F. Holbrooke (Record Commission 1816-69).
- PR *Patent Rolls and Calendar of the Patent Rolls*.
- RC Record Commission.
- RCh *Rotuli Chartarum*.
- RLC *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*.
- RLP *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*.
- RS Rolls Series.
- Smith J. Beverley Smith, 'The Middle March in the Thirteenth Century', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXIV (1970).
- WR *Welsh Rolls (in Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls)*.

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The author is indebted to Michael Faraday for his advice on a number of points in this article. Researchers into aspects of the Mortimers and their lordships not considered in this account are referred in the first instance to B. P. Evans, *The Family of Mortimer* (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis 1934). 'Fundationis et Fundatorum Historia' in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, VI (1830), 348-55, contains many inaccuracies and, as with 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1086-1214', has not been used in the preparation of this article.

- ¹ *RLC*, I, 170, 201.
- ² *RLP*, 122.
- ³ *PR*, 1225-32, 169.
- ⁴ Charles Hopkinson, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1086-1214', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLVI (1989), 191. See R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change, Wales 1063-1415* (1987), and more briefly in D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (1990), for Welsh history and Anglo-Welsh relations.
- ⁵ *RLP*, 134.
- ⁶ *RLP*, 137.
- ⁷ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, II (RS 1874), 589.
- ⁸ Smith, 81.
- ⁹ *RLP*, 153.
- ¹⁰ *RLP*, 184.
- ¹¹ *RCh*, 224.
- ¹² *ChR*, I, 155.
- ¹³ *ChR*, I, 155; *Foed*, I, 144.
- ¹⁴ *Foed*, I, 146.
- ¹⁵ As one of the longest-lived of the marcher lord dynasties, the Mortimers were to amass great experience in relation to Welsh affairs.
- ¹⁶ *Foed*, I, 146.
- ¹⁷ *PR*, 1216-25, 22, 28.
- ¹⁸ *RLC*, I, 475.
- ¹⁹ *RLC*, I, 548. The Mortimers' expenditure on their castles must have been a major drain on their financial resources. Joe Hillaby draws attention in 'Hereford Gold', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1984), 358-419, and XLV (1985), 193-270, to the facilities offered by the Jewish moneylenders of Hereford and taken up by a number of marcher lords. He has, however, found neither Hugh (III) nor Ralph (II) among the clientele of the Jews of Hereford.
- ²⁰ *RLC*, I, 571.
- ²¹ Smith, 81-2; J. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (3rd. ed., 1939), II, 657-8; *ChR*, I, 125; see note 29.
- ²² *AM*, I, 232.
- ²³ *PR*, 1225-32, 169; *CP*, 275; Eyton, 214-5.
- ²⁴ *RLP*, 166; *RLC*, I, 282; *Foed*, I, 148.
- ²⁵ *Excerpta à Rotulis Finium*, I (RC 1835), 185.
- ²⁶ *CP*, 276, states that Gwladus Ddu was the daughter of Joan, King John's illegitimate daughter declared legitimate by the pope. Michael Faraday has drawn my attention to the indication, which does not convince him, in P.C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD300-1400*, III (1974), 446, that Gwladus was the daughter of Tangwystl, Llywelyn's mistress. See A. J. Roderick, 'Marriage and Politics in Wales 1086-1282', *Welsh Hist. Rev.* IV, No. I (June 1968), 3-20, for intermarriage between the Welsh and the Anglo-Norman baronage.
- ²⁷ Eyton, 215.
- ²⁸ P. R. Roberts, 'The Welshness of the Tudors', *History Today*, XXXVI (January 1986), 8.
- ²⁹ *ChR*, I, 125. Fairs encouraged trade and the right to hold one was a valuable asset for the proprietor. Hugh (III) had been granted a fair at Cleobury (*RLC*, II, 103, 126, 198).
- ³⁰ *PR*, 1225-32, 434.
- ³¹ *CR*, 1231-34, 312; *ChR*, III, 281.
- ³² *Op. cit.* in note 7, IV, 319-20. For an account of this incident see Smith, 82-3. For the castle of Cefnlllys see *op. cit.* in note 4, 193 note 22.
- ³³ J. G. Edwards, 'The Normans and the Welsh March', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XLII (1956), 171-3.
- ³⁴ *CP*, 276.
- ³⁵ *BT*, 107, 109, and 241, 243, respectively.
- ³⁶ His father married in 1230 (*CP*, 276), and Michael Faraday has told me of the statement in British Library, Cotton MS Nero A IV (*Cronica Landuenses*), folio 43, that Roger (III) was born in 1231.
- ³⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 25, II, 7; Eyton, 217. As with any tenant-in-chief, when a marcher lord died, an inquisition *post mortem* was held to establish who was the heir and his age. If he was a minor, the estates were taken into the

king's hand and for the king's benefit until the heir came of age, appropriate arrangements being made for any dower-right.

- ³⁸ *PR*, 1247-58, 8, 156; *CR*, 1251-53, 221; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of their origin and descent, 1086-1327* (1963 ed.), 21.
- ³⁹ *PR*, 1258-66, 13. Maud's share was land to the value of 100 shillings a year out of the lands which lay nearest to her and Roger's existing estates.
- ⁴⁰ *PR*, 1247-58, 8; R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the Marches of Wales 1282-1400* (1978), 53; M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore 1965), 284. See William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (1951), pls. 40-1, for the distribution of the Mortimer lordships. At some time the Mortimers had annexed Cwmwd Deuddwr, a *commote* to the west of Gwerthrynion; the history of Cwmwd Deuddwr is obscure, but its fortunes, no doubt, followed those of Gwerthrynion. Also see J. Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf and FitzWarin Families, 1066-1272* (University of Nebraska Press 1980), for information about this period.
- ⁴¹ The origin of the Mortimer lordships in Ireland lay in the private enterprise military intervention in 1170 of Richard de Clare ('Strongbow'), earl of Pembroke, at the invitation of Dermot McMurrough, king of Leinster. Strongbow married the king's daughter, Eva, and inherited Leinster on Dermot's death in 1171. After surrendering Leinster to Henry II, Strongbow was confirmed in most of his lordship; on his death in 1176, Leinster passed to his son and then to his daughter who married William Marshal. Marshal was created earl of Pembroke in 1199 and left five sons *d.s.p.*, the last of whom died in 1245 when the Marshal inheritance was divided among his five daughters (*op. cit.* in note 38, Sanders, 111, and J. F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (1972)).
- ⁴² *PR*, 1247-58, 232.
- ⁴³ *AM*, I, 152.
- ⁴⁴ *AM*, I, 447, 450; *Foed*, I, 378.
- ⁴⁵ *AM*, I, 479.
- ⁴⁶ B. P. Evans, *The Family of Mortimer* (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis 1934), 45, considers the proceedings of the council and Roger's part in them.
- ⁴⁷ *PR*, 1258-66, 27, 34; *CP*, 277.
- ⁴⁸ M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (1962 ed.), 150 note 2.
- ⁴⁹ *BT*, 110 and 249 respectively.
- ⁵⁰ *PR*, 1247-58, 538.
- ⁵¹ *CR*, 1256-59, 363.
- ⁵² 'Independent Wales was once again united, and at a Council of Welsh rulers in 1258 Llywelyn seems for the first time to have been acclaimed "Prince of Wales";' (*op. cit.* in note 40, Rees, 36), a title recognized by Henry III in 1267.
- ⁵³ *BT*, 112 and 251 respectively.
- ⁵⁴ *PR*, 1258-66, 85; *Foed*, I, 398.
- ⁵⁵ *PR*, 1258-66, 71.
- ⁵⁶ *BT*, 112 and 251 respectively; *CP*, 277.
- ⁵⁷ *PR*, 1258-66, 70.
- ⁵⁸ *CP*, 277.
- ⁵⁹ *BT*, Peniarth, 112. *Foed*, I, 420, 423, recounts that, as well as Cefnlllys, Knucklas Castle, of which the substantial earthworks overlook the Teme at SO 250746, was also captured by the Welsh.
- ⁶⁰ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, II (RS 1880), 229; *Foed*, I, 434.
- ⁶¹ 'The Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London', *English Historical Documents*, ed. H. Rothwell, III (1975), 173.
- ⁶² *Op. cit.* in note 38, Sanders, and in note 40, Altschul, 101, 116.
- ⁶³ *PR*, 1258-66, 359, 366, 396, 425; *CR*, 1264-68, 43, 115; *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. F. Haydon, III (RS 1863), 123.
- ⁶⁴ *AM*, III, 232; *op. cit.* in note 59, Gervase, II, 237.
- ⁶⁵ *PR*, 1258-66, 344, 362; *AM*, III, 235; *op. cit.* in note 59, Gervase, II, 233; *CP*, 278.
- ⁶⁶ *Calendar or Miscellaneous Inquisitions*, I, No. 291.
- ⁶⁷ For an account of the siege see F. Noble, 'Herefordshire and Simon de Montfort: 1265', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII (1965), 111-8.
- ⁶⁸ *CP*, 278.
- ⁶⁹ *PR*, 1258-66, 410, 415, 418; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, I (RS 1882), 66.
- ⁷⁰ *PR*, 1258-66, 394, 434, 475; *CR*, 1264-68, 26.
- ⁷¹ *BT*, 114 and 255 respectively; *op. cit.* in note 66, 113-5.

⁷¹ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden Series LXXXIX (1957), 202.

⁷² Willelmi Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. Riley (RS 1865), 45-6, 49; *op. cit.* in note 66, 115-6.

⁷³ *Loc. cit.* Rishanger. For an account of this period and for baronial relationships see *op. cit.* in note 40, Altschul, 110-7.

⁷⁴ *ChR*, II, 57, 90. See *op. cit.* in note 45, 156-8, for details of Roger's acquisitions at this time; his grant of the honour of Oxford excluded the manor of Fleet and a royal interest in the surplus of the annual value of the lands exceeding £400. Roger's name does not appear on the Dictum, possibly because of his disapproval of its provisions.

⁷⁵ Eyton, 221-3.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.* in note 40, Davies, 25.

⁷⁷ In 1292 Edmund was the subject of an investigation, under writs of *quo warranto*, into the various privileges in Shropshire which his father had appropriated (Eyton, 224).

⁷⁸ *PR*, 1258-66, 610; *AM*, III, 242; notes 74 and 75.

⁷⁹ *PR*, 1266-72, 203.

⁸⁰ *Foed*, I, 483.

⁸¹ *Foed*, I, 484; *op. cit.* in note 47, 224-5.

⁸² *PR*, 1272-81, 6; *AM*, II, 117; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. Luard, III (RS 1890), 32.

⁸³ *PR*, 1258-66, 664; *AM*, II, 370.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* in note 40, Altschul, 116-7.

⁸⁵ Smith, 85; *op. cit.* in note 40, Altschul, 132. See *op. cit.* in note 40, Rees, pl. 41, for a map showing the territorial agreement between Edward I and Llywelyn as a result of the Treaty of Montgomery.

⁸⁶ *CP*, 280.

⁸⁷ *WR*, 164. See J. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (1901) for this period.

⁸⁸ *PR*, 1272-81, 171. For Hywel ap Meurig see Smith, 85-8. See P. Contamine, trans. M. Jones, *War in the Middle Ages* (1984), 96-7, for the scarcity and value of medieval warhorses.

⁸⁹ Smith, 87; *op. cit.* in note 87, Morris, 121.

⁹⁰ *BT*, 118 and 265 respectively; *ChR*, II, 211. Dolforwyn Castle (SO 152950) had been built c. 1273 by Llywelyn as a counterpoise to the royal castle of Montgomery. Roger Mortimer and Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, captured the castle in 1277 after a fortnight's siege; Roger repaired it and established a market town at Newtown, five miles to the south-west, to replace Llywelyn's town just outside the castle (L. Butler, 'Dolforwyn Castle, Powys, Wales: excavations 1981-84', *Château Gaillard*, XII (1985).

⁹¹ Smith, 88.

⁹² M. Keen, *Chivalry* (1984), 93; P. Baillie Reynolds, *Kenilworth Castle* (HMSO 1948), 9-10.

⁹³ *WR*, 212; *op. cit.* in note 87, Morris, 171-2.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.* in note 87, Morris, 172-3.

⁹⁵ *PR*, 1281-92, 38; *AM*, IV, 484.

⁹⁶ *CP*, 280-1. G. Marshall, 'Notes on Kingsland Church, Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXVII (1930-32), 25, observes that: 'The arms in the east window of the church are those of Dame Matilda [Maud] de Mortimer, and might have been placed there by herself or her son Edmund, who survived his mother but three years.'

⁹⁷ *Loc. cit.* in note 72, Rishanger.

⁹⁸ *Op. cit.* in note 40, Davies, 25.

⁹⁹ *CP*, 280.

¹⁰⁰ *WR*, 257. Roger (III)'s second surviving son, Roger (d. 1326), was granted the newly created lordship of Chirk in June 1282 - another sign of the king's favour towards the Mortimers and one which extended the family's influence into north-east Wales. Chirk Castle, begun by Roger c. 1295, is now in the hands of the National Trust.

The Old House, Vowchurch

By R. E. REWELL and J. T. SMITH

SYNOPSIS

Close analysis of The Old House, a 16th-century building, establishes that it comprises two building phases not markedly different in date and neither complete in itself. The plan incorporates an end cross-passage and a service-room at the upper end, features explicable on the hypothesis that a former long-house was replaced in three stages. This hypothesis may explain the development of many similar houses, three such being examined briefly.

INTRODUCTION

The Old House, under the name of The Old Vicarage, was included in the Inventory of Herefordshire published by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in three volumes between 1931 and 1934.¹ It was only the Commission's second foray beyond the Home Counties, Huntingdonshire being the first, and, although the work was done well by the standards of the day, unfamiliarity with the domestic architecture in the region limited the understanding of such buildings as The Old House. That limitation can now be remedied in the light of comparative material from the neighbouring counties of Monmouthshire and Breconshire (now part of Gwent and Powys respectively).² Furthermore, examination of the house revealed unfamiliar problems of structure and function deserving discussion.

The purpose of the present paper is primarily to ascertain the development of The Old House, which is of a kind rarely discussed in vernacular architecture publications, and, secondly, to offer it as a model for the interpretation of other houses having the same combination of an end cross-passage and a service room at the upper end. A key to the understanding of The Old House is a panelled partition dividing the hall from the cross-wing. The structural changes undergone by the building are informative about room function; and in order to explain the disappearance of some architectural evidence the social and structural history of the house are continued to the present. Central to the argument is the hypothesis, based purely on typology since only archaeological excavation could provide evidence, that The Old House and its analogues have evolved from long-houses, usually involving the removal of the byre. Although any conclusions will inevitably be modified to some extent, if not, indeed, overtaken by the work on Herefordshire vernacular architecture in progress under Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Tonkin we hope that this study may prompt some reconsideration of comparable houses.

LITERARY AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Unfortunately the house is on the Land Register and enquiries of the solicitors who managed the last two sales show that the old deeds were not preserved.

The City of Hereford Library and the Hereford Record Office have been the sources of most of our information. The file of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts

shows that material relating to Herefordshire exists in four other public collections. Enquiry of all of these met the reply that nothing was held relating to Vowchurch (under different spellings that have been recorded), nor for the adjacent parish of Turnastone which has been associated with it in many ways, e.g. several landed estates have encompassed both.

It has not been possible to find an indubitable description of the house until the early 19th century. The Hereford City Library has the books of notes made by Duncumb for a second edition of his book on Herefordshire³ which he did not live to publish. Pasted in under the heading 'Vowchurch' is what appears to be a cutting from a book which reads: 'the churchyard - Immediately adjoining it a very picturesque old house, almost entirely constructed of wood, in the occupation of a labouring man.'⁴ Unfortunately no date or source is given; surprisingly, these are omitted from all these notes. This one must be from the early 19th century. There is no trace or record of any other house to which it could refer and it must already have fallen down the social scale.

The first occupant who can be identified with certainty appears in the schedule to the tithe map of 1845⁵ in which it is shown as no. 362. It is shown with its present outline plan and with a small amount of land. It is described as 'house and garden' and the occupier as William Skyrme. He was baptised at Vowchurch on 18 August 1812, married there in 1836 and in 1851 was described as aged forty-one years and living on Vowchurch Common; he was a tailor. His father John Skyrme was baptised on 17 February 1778 at Vowchurch and in 1851 was also living on Vowchurch Common. He was buried at Vowchurch on 14 December 1857.⁶ He was also a tailor, so presumably for some time a family business was carried on in the house, which would be big enough to accommodate three generations.

About 1870 the house was divided into three and is illustrated in several sale catalogues, the freehold having passed through several hands. These all state that the three cottages were leased, the two smaller to farmers who housed their workers in them, as is remembered by the son of a farmer who did so. The largest cottage, at the east end, was always used by a carpenter or wheelwright and the wooden structure adjacent was their workshop; this was confirmed by a recent visitor, the son of the last of these.

Use of the house for about one hundred and fifty years as a craftsman's smallholding or as labourers' cottages is thus well attested. Alternative uses are indicated by two persistent local traditions. The first is that it was at some time a workhouse, to which some colour is given by a sale catalogue of 1912⁷ listing the house as part of the Poston Estate. There it appears under the name of 'Workhouse Cottages' and in the schedule attached is a small field called Workhouse Plot. A tradition of its use in this way persists locally and the field behind it is called Workhouse Plock. How the name arose is not clear. The churchwardens' accounts for Vowchurch in the 1790s record annual payments for the use of Piccadilly - a farmhouse on Vowchurch Common, where the old house survives - but mention no other building used in this way.⁸ There is then a gap in poor law records until the Dore Union was created under the Act of 1837. The entire minutes of the Union meetings⁹ record no house in Vowchurch taken over at the start, though several were in other villages, nor were any purchased during the whole lifetime of the Union; the Union

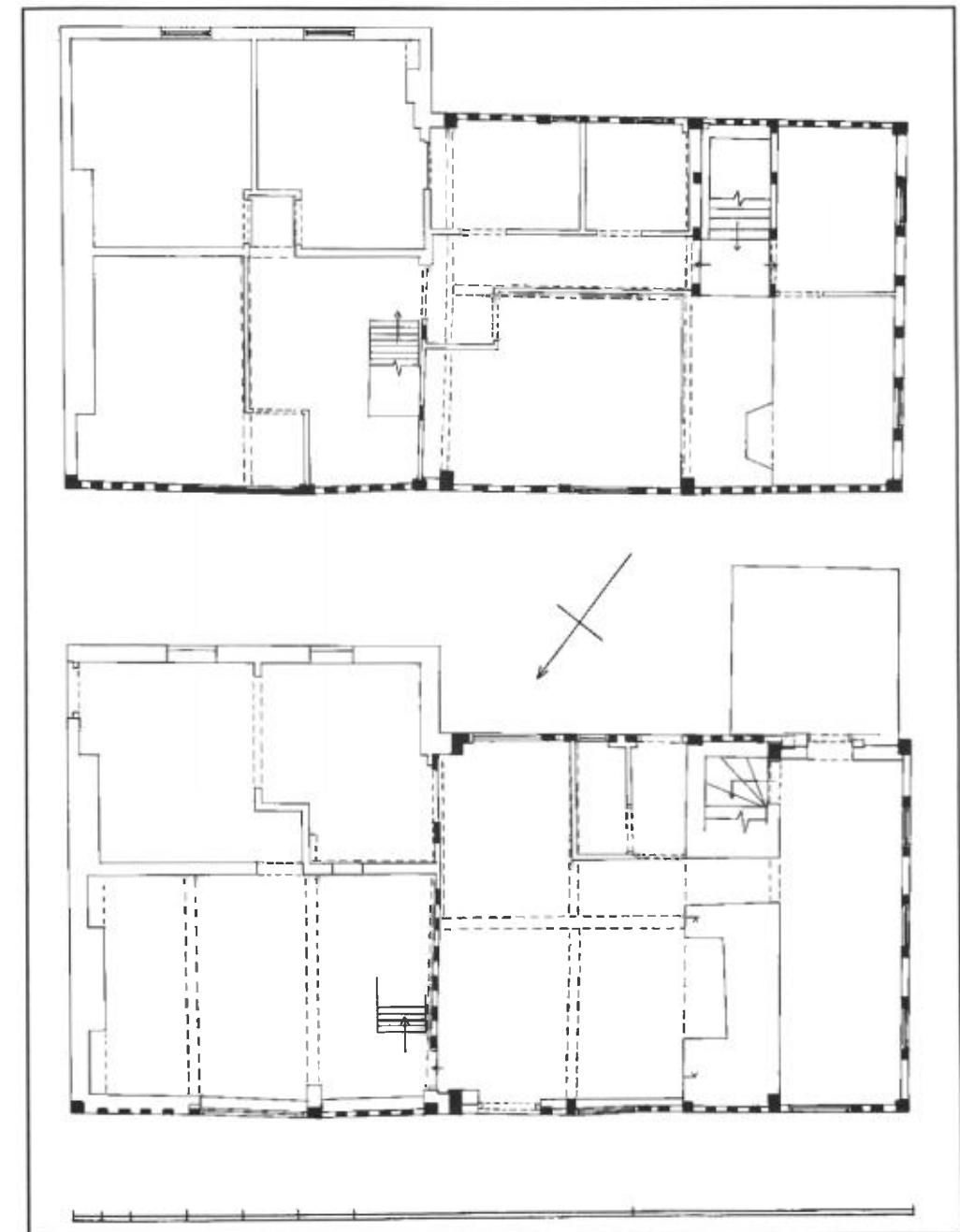


FIG 1
The Old House, Vowchurch;
a. first floor (top) b. ground floor (bottom).

Workhouse was opened in 1839, but not in Vowchurch. Just possibly, therefore, the tradition arose from the use of Workhouse Plock in connection with the late 18th-century parish workhouse, as part of the process of putting the poor to work.

A second and more persistent tradition, that the house was a vicarage, is rendered plausible by its proximity to the churchyard. Another sale catalogue in 1928¹⁰ lists it as 'Church Cottages' with no mention of a vicarage, but the tradition is very strong and appears as a certainty in guide books. Once more no documentary confirmation has so far been found and some records state that at some periods no vicarage existed. Thus the report on the episcopal visitation in 1716¹¹ states in regard to the minister's attendance, 'He resides uppon his cuer,' but with regard to a house, 'He has non.' The only proven vicarage was built farther from the church and is dated by a built-in plaque to 1879.

The position is complicated by the fact that the adjacent parish of Turnastone has always been very small - much smaller than at present - and with few inhabitants. The churches are within a few hundred yards of each other and both were very remote and poor. Vowchurch was a vicarage with five acres of glebe whereas Turnastone, a rectory, had only half an acre; but it has, next to the churchyard, a Rectory house of some size which was built in 1840.¹²

These considerations admit to two possibilities: either a curate could have officiated for an absent incumbent or both parishes could have been served by the same parson. The second of these possibilities is exemplified in the 19th century by the Rev. Beresford Lowther, who was both curate of Turnastone and vicar of Vowchurch and who resided in Turnastone Rectory. A predecessor, prior to the building of the Rectory, might have lived in The Old House.¹³

In summary, no positive proof has been found that the house was ever a vicarage. Its position suggests it could have been a parsonage; if the local tradition is well founded, the most likely time is after the Restoration (below, pp. 55-6) and before Turnastone Rectory was built.

On purely architectural grounds The Old House may, for its first three hundred years or so, have been of a social status superior to anything suggested by local tradition; it will be suggested below (pp. 57-8) that it was a manor-house or something very like it.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

The house will be described according to its principal phases.

Phase I is deduced from the exiguous evidence of footings formed of unhewn boulders which appear to antedate those of the hall range. A short stretch of such a footing is visible on the S. side and one or two boulders were briefly exposed on the N. side, just sufficient to establish the width of the building to which the footings relate. This kind of boulder footing has been observed in Breconshire where it is associated with cruck-built houses.¹⁴ From these slight remains can be deduced the existence of a cruck-trussed house with a hall open from ground to roof and heated by an open hearth. The length of the house is at present undetermined but may have been of four unequal bays, the two middle



FIG 2
The Old House, Vowchurch; development diagram.

ones forming the hall. A house of this size is likely to have had other accommodation and if, as will be argued below (pp. 57-61), a byre stood at the lower end, both the customary extra room - the parlour - and any service room are likely to have been at the upper or E. end.

However tenuous these conclusions, expressed in the first of five development diagrams (FIG. 2), may appear, they make the subsequent development of the house intelligible. The key to that development, the feature requiring explanation, is that hall and cross-wing are independent structures, neither of which ever stood alone.

In *Phase II*, which is probably in the second half of the 16th century, whatever stood to E.¹⁵ of the hall was pulled down to be replaced by a wide two-storeyed cross-wing (FIG. 2). The wing is of two storeys and timber-framed with, originally, wattle-and-daub infilling; the E. and S. walls were subsequently rebuilt in brick. In the N. wall (PL. II) the framing is close-studded and, rather surprisingly, the upper storey does not jetty out beyond the lower; instead, the full height of the wall is divided by rails into three heights.¹⁶ This and the other walls stand on a quite high plinth (1 ft. 3 in.; 0.38 m.) of coursed sandstone, most of which is in fairly narrow courses. Herring-bone framing fills the N. gable. Inside, the framing of the W. wall, which stands well clear of the end truss of the hall, resembles that of the N. wall except on the ground floor. There, instead of the timber framing that might be expected, is a stud and panel partition facing the hall. The studs are chamfered on both sides and stopped about 1 ft. 8 ins. (0.50 m.) above floor level, a little above a series of large peg-holes; most of these, though now filled, can be traced, and one at the S. end is clearly visible. The pegs were driven through the studs into the thickness of a bench and, at the south end, adjoining a doorway now blocked, are other peg-holes which may have held a carved bench-end. No such bench or bench-end is known to survive in Herefordshire but both were found in a farmhouse near Crickhowell (Breconshire).¹⁷

Since the panelling was always internal the wing must have been built against an existing structure; but since the framing of the E. wall of the present hall shows none of the characteristic signs of weathering, nor does the structure show signs of having been truncated to permit the building of the wing, the wing must have been built against its predecessor, the putative cruck-built hall.

The wing is about 20 ft. (6.01 m.) wide internally, and comprised a parlour to N. and two small rooms to S. (FIG. 1b). Entrance from the hall was by two identical adjoining doorways of which one, to the service rooms, retains its original segmental head and the other, to the parlour, is now blocked but is recognisable by the housings for the head in the studs forming the jambs (PL. III). In other ways too the parlour has been altered, having been slightly reduced in size by the destruction of the original partition between it and the service rooms and its replacement about 0.50 m. to the N.; that is clear from the projection of the bearers, chamfered and stopped, beyond the present S. wall of the parlour.

When the wing was built the parlour was heated by a fireplace discharging into a chimney-stack on the E. side. No trace now remains of the stack, which projected an unknown distance into the room but not as far as the first bearer, which is chamfered on both sides; had the fireplace abutted it part of the beam would have been left square, there being no point in a chamfer except display. In all probability the parlour was conceived of

as a square space, that being the most efficient shape for the distribution of heat, to which the chimney-breast was extra; hence the latter projected about 4 ft. 6 ins. (1.40 m.) from the west wall. Probably the room was lit by a window of the same size as the present one, filling the space between the bearers; that way more light was thrown on the area in front of the hearth than would have been the case had the window been centred on the square effective living space. Nothing is known about the window itself. It was probably of three lights and glazed; there is no trace of a groove for an internal sliding shutter.

Behind the parlour is a space forming until recently two nearly square rooms. All that remains of the partition between them are the two end posts and the head beam in the ceiling. They were reached in one of two possible ways. Either the doorway in the hall led to a short passage through which the inner room was reached and off which opened, on the S. side, a quite small room; or the W. room was entered directly from the hall and the E. room, which is unlikely to have been reached through the first, from the parlour.

The disposition of the upstairs rooms (FIGS. 1a, 2) will have been virtually identical with those below, the partitions standing in the usual way on the beams at the head of the downstairs partitions. It is unlikely, by analogy with Hertfordshire, that the chamber over the hall had a fireplace when it was built; upstairs fireplaces seem generally to come in after the Restoration.¹⁸ Where the staircase - long since demolished - stood is a problem related to access to the two minor rooms. There is no reason to assume that passage rooms were any more acceptable then than now, especially where access to three rather than two rooms is required; although that does not preclude the possibility that they were inevitable in particular circumstances. At The Old House a newel staircase opening off the parlour would inevitably require a lobby at the head to secure privacy for the principal chamber, and even so the lobby would encroach on the chamber. A more likely solution is a staircase opening off the parlour next to the E. wall and rising by three or four winders and a straight flight.

Whatever solution is envisaged demands a first-floor lobby. A clue to its position may be provided by the one created after the reduction in size of the parlour, which probably stands somewhere near its predecessor. Consequently the doorway on the S. side of the parlour may be supposed to have adjoined the E. wall and to have led to a lobby with doors opening into all three upstairs rooms.

All the upstairs rooms were open to the roof as built. The biggest, the chamber over the parlour as it will have been called, was the principal bedroom; the others were for children or perhaps a grandparent, and the use will certainly have changed as the composition of the family changed. The roof itself has principals¹⁹ carrying one purlin each side and a ridge-piece. When the roof was repaired in the late 1970s the thick slates were found to be pegged in place with small animal bones.

In *Phase III* (FIG. 2), which is perhaps no more than a year or two later than II, the putative cruck hall was rebuilt in a rather unusual form: still open to the roof but having a timber chimney-stack and a fireplace in the hall. The evidence of its original form is by no means free of difficulties and the conclusion emerges from a balance of probabilities. All that remains of this phase is the hall of which the N. wall (PL. II), a considerable part of the S. wall and much of the roof structure are largely intact.

The hall itself is of two bays formed by three pairs of principal posts, all jowled, and by the roof trusses they support. No doubt the roof cladding was of slate, like the parlour wing. At the E. end is a closed roof-truss (i.e. forming a partition) comprising the tie-beam (now raised) and the two blades, between which are a collar-beam, three studs and, above the collar, V-struts; some of the original wattle-and-daub infilling survives. A feature of the E. frame is the lack of either studs or peg-holes in the posts or on the underside of the tie-beam, so nothing at first-floor level corresponded to the partition so clearly established above. Neither studs nor the pegholes usually associated with them are visible and consequently no pattern of infilling can be discerned. This confirms the conclusion already drawn, that some structure always existed to E. of the present hall.

A further point of interest in the E. frame is that the principal posts and the tie-beam and all the other timbers are flush on the E. side, that is to say that a corner of the post intrudes into the hall, whereas in many medieval houses it would be usual for them to form a flush, i.e., well finished face towards the hall.²⁰

More problematic is the roof truss spanning the middle of the hall, the presumptive open truss, which is unusual insofar as it is a perfectly plain triangle formed by the truss-blades and tie-beam.²¹ It is totally lacking in any other structural or decorative timbers such as would normally be expected in this prominent position and may even have lacked the arch-braces which customarily rise from the posts to the tie-beam; although evidence on this last point may be concealed at the edges of the N. post and the E. side of the tie-beam where plaster is lapped over them, these being the only places not hidden by the building of the present chimney-stack. In short, this is not an orthodox open truss and proof that the hall was open to the roof is not here but in the clear evidence that the first floor is a later insertion (below, p.55).

At the W. end of the former open hall is another tie-beam truss very similar to the one at the E. end except that the blades become markedly thicker near the top. Below the tie-beam much rebuilding was necessary in 1976 and again in 1990, and all that remains of the original frame below the tie-beam are the corner posts. Repair seems to have been largely confined to replacement of old timbers, so that the present appearance may perpetuate at least that of the original beams if not the studs. A point of some interest is that the plinth, which is of coursed sandstone, was not altered during restoration and bears a strong resemblance to that on the N. side. This confirms the lack of mortises and peg-holes in the post at the N.W. corner (its counterpart is concealed) and shows that the hall range did not extend farther to W.

A hall open to the roof did not necessarily have an open hearth; instances are known of houses combining an open hall and a chimney.²² In The Old House all the roof timbers except for a few obvious replacement rafters are of a dark colour, as if, perhaps, they had been darkened by smoke, yet it is difficult to be certain that that is the cause because no definite trace of the characteristic fine granules of soot was noticed. On the other hand a fragment of wood removed during restoration - a chip that had been partly detached by an axe or other cutting tool²³ - is evenly darkened, though whether by smoke or wood preservative or a combination of dirt and damp over a long period is difficult to tell. Ultimately a combination of features establishes the probability that there was a timber

chimney: the uncertainty that the roof was discoloured by smoke; the absence of a normal open truss in a hall open to the roof; and the fact that the present stone fireplace, which is not earlier than the 17th century, reuses an earlier timber lintel, unnecessarily long for the present purpose (PL. IV); its ends are marked on FIG. 1b. This last point has been recorded several times in Hertfordshire where, in conjunction with other features, it provides clear evidence for a phase of timber stacks preceding stone ones.²⁴

The new stack cut off the entrance doorways from the body of the hall and created a passage between them.

What remains of the external timbering are the comparatively well preserved N. wall of the hall, which has close studding divided by two rails, and the more mutilated S. wall. In the latter, at the W. end, is one of the opposite doorways by which the house was entered; its counterpart on the N. side has been removed. Two windows, a larger one towards the upper end of the hall and a smaller one to light the lower end, seem to have been used in medieval halls. Here the larger window, probably unglazed and closed by internal shutters, may have been located where the present ground- and first-floor windows are, perhaps only in the middle and upper registers of the framing. No trace of hinges for the shutters was observed, nor was any definitely original smaller window discovered, although the existing small window may be such.

One somewhat problematic feature must belong to this phase. At the back of the stack can be seen, at either end, a post rising to the height of the first floor, below which it thickens to provide a housing for the beam buried in the back of the stack. This beam must have run behind the supposed wooden chimney-stack and, since no mortises are visible in it, it presumably provided a seating for floor joists over the passage.

Phase IV (FIG. 2) is marked by a major improvement, the insertion in the hall of an upper floor, carried on a transverse beam and bearers which have a bold roll moulding without stops (PL. IV). This moulding can be dated to the 17th century, perhaps to the middle or third quarter. No close parallel has been found to assist in dating this moulding, which is unlike those usual in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, while it bears little resemblance to the ovolo mouldings which succeeded them. Its closest parallels may be the equally bold and generally similar mouldings found in some late 17th-century houses in Lancashire. That the floor is inserted is apparent from the way the transverse beam is carried on an inserted post at each end; it could not rest on either of the rails in the long walls because they are at unsuitable heights and it was no doubt easier to put in new posts than to make a housing for the beam in the existing wall posts. Other beams were inserted adjacent to the E. wall to carry the ends of the joists; the one in the S. half of the room survives. How the joists were supported at other points is unclear because the ceiling is plastered; on the W. they may well rest on a rebate in the stack. At the same time an upper floor was put in over the cross-passage and a staircase was built to serve both the new upstairs rooms.

The rebuilding of the hall chimney-stack can be inferred from its form and one or two details (PL. IV). At the right-hand end of the lintel the fireplace jamb masks the moulding; and the lintel is lower than might be expected in a hall fireplace prior to the Civil War, which, in many houses below manorial status, would provide for cooking. The stack itself rises as an almost uniform block of masonry on both ground and first floors, unlike

Elizabethan and Jacobean stacks which, in vernacular buildings, serve only a large ground-floor fireplace and batter back strongly on the first floor. The reason for the change was the introduction of additional flues to serve upstairs fireplaces; and this explains the block of masonry on the N. side of the hall fireplace, which supports the fireplace in the room over the passage. It is rather surprising to find, in this small upstairs room, a fireplace fitted with an iron bar from lintel to back, from which a chain is suspended. Although the chamber over the hall retains no definite evidence of a 17th-century predecessor of the Victorian fireplace removed in 1976 it would be surprising if it lacked one, and the same may be said of the chamber over the parlour.

The first-floor partition closing off the staircase from the room over the passage is clearly of a different build from the frame below it (above, p.55) because the post forming its S. end is separate from the one immediately below on the ground floor; and since the doorway from stair to that room has a continuous chamfer in the jambs and square head and is exactly like the doorway immediately to E. leading into the chamber over the hall.

Concurrently with the building of fireplaces, ceilings were built above all the first-floor rooms except that over the passage, to reduce draughts. No doubt the wing was improved at this time in ways which can only be guessed at; for example, the parlour fireplace was probably altered to suit contemporary taste. Perhaps, too, the entrance to the house was moved from the passage to its present position approximately in the middle of the front elevation, corresponding to the change from a hall serving as the focus of daily life to one which was both an entrance hall and living room. One change that might have been expected to accompany this but appears not to have taken place is the provision of a more convenient and more central staircase; yet, since the Royal Commission investigator²⁵ entered the middle cottage and did not report one of any quality, it must be assumed that the staircases at the ends sufficed.

Where was the cooking done in The Old House? The question has not been satisfactorily addressed for any preceding phase but is particularly acute for IV, in which the hall fireplace is unsuited to the purpose; so that unless the parlour fireplace has been rebuilt to make that room a kitchen - and that is very unlikely at a time when the rest of the house was being improved - cooking must have been done either in some appendage now demolished or in a detached kitchen. In this connection the suspended chain in the chamber over the passage is curious. It is a feature usually associated with a cooking hearth, yet that function is improbable in a small first-floor room. Heating water in a pot is the only purpose that comes to mind, but why in an upper room? No answer can be offered.

Phase V saw a dramatic decline in the social status of the house when, in the mid-19th century, it was split up into three cottages. By then the house must have been in poor condition to necessitate the extensive alteration the wing underwent. Its E. and S. walls and part of the W. wall were rebuilt in brick and all the windows were renewed.

The E. cottage comprised the parlour and one of the adjoining two rooms, which was enlarged (by 0.60 m.) at the expense of the parlour to become a kitchen. It was entered by a new doorway broken through to E. of the present one into the hall; it led into a lobby at the foot of a new staircase, which was itself separated from the room by pine panelling. There were three bedrooms including the room at the stair-head.

The middle cottage comprised the former hall, in which was built a new straight staircase opposite the front door, and the wing room opening off it; and again, three bedrooms.

The third (W.) cottage was much smaller. Its principal room and the point of entrance was the former passage, to which at the S. end was added a small single-storey brick kitchen with Welsh slate roof (shown in outline only, FIG. 1b); there was one small bedroom, to reach which the staircase was turned round.

Phase VI, late 1970s, saw the house restored to single occupation again and thoroughly and carefully renovated.

INTERPRETATION

In order to make the house intelligible one major assumption is necessary. It first becomes crucial to the interpretation in Phase III, when the hall was rebuilt with a cross-passage at the end. This entrance position needs explanation because it forms an exception to the general disposition of the cross-passage between the hall and either service rooms or byre,²⁶ implying that an end cross-passage is a survival of some earlier arrangement and, where a service room is located at the upper end, it is assumed that a byre has been demolished. That is the likely and perhaps the only credible explanation. It could, of course, be argued that the service room has been transferred from the lower to the upper end, but unless some reason can be offered for so doing such a change is improbable, especially at the period when end cross-passages are commonest; for they seem to occur, with few exceptions, in the 17th century, at a time when the general tendency in house planning was to centralisation. These considerations apply equally to houses entered by a gable-end doorway, which invariably stands in the same position as a doorway from cross-passage to hall.

A second assumption is that any given function of the house tends to be perpetuated in more or less the same position. Thus, in the conversion of an open hall, the fireplace sometimes stands upon the site of the open hearth but, perhaps more often, quite near it; and the position of the entrance tends not to change as long as it is of the same type, so that a passage or lobby-entrance is likely to occupy the same position for a long period. The same is true of a chimney-stack or any particular room function, such as a service room. It is a general principle to be applied with caution in the light of the ways in which houses are known to have developed; it would be unwise, for instance, to suppose that the parlour wing of The Old House had a predecessor or that it necessarily replaced anything. It is by no means an absolute rule, only a useful guide in the absence of indications to the contrary.

In the light of these assumptions the house in Phase I comprised a two-bay hall with a byre at the lower end and a narrow bay at the upper end. The cross-passage provided access to both hall and byre. As argued above, a narrow service bay, which by analogy was two-storeyed, probably stood at the upper end.

The other point that may be significant is the width of the house, about 21 ft. 6 in. (6.5 m.). Comparison with late-medieval houses in eastern England shows that it is wider

than the average peasant house there and equal to a small manor-house or the house of the so-called putative manors created through the building up of small estates for which no true manorial structure or court existed.²⁷ How far that parallel applied to Herefordshire is unknown at present, but the width of a house seems everywhere to be a guide to the social importance of its owner. The very position of The Old House, to S. of the parish church, may further signify its importance.

The hall, then as later, was approximately square with the addition of about 5 ft. (1.5 m.) for the space between the opposite doorways that later became the passage. This square proportion for the living-space of the hall seems to be customary for medieval domestic halls in England generally.²⁸

In Phase II the addition of a wing approximately doubled the ground-floor living space of the house and multiplied the first-floor space nearly five times; an enormous increase in size and quality. How the rooms were used is not altogether obvious.

The room at the S.E. corner, approached from the hall, was no doubt a replacement of the supposed narrow room of Phase I, probably had much the same floor area, and implies that something like the old relationship between hall and service room persisted. To name the largest room as the parlour is no doubt correct historically, that being what a probate inventory would have called it, but does not really clarify how this particular room was used. That depends on the function of what is presumed to be its inner room, which had no fireplace and must, therefore, have served some kind of service purpose. It can be envisaged as a buttery, a place for the storage of drink; the equivalent of the underground cellar which came into use for that purpose in the late 16th century but was here precluded by the high water-table. But this is an inner room off the parlour and such a position may imply some redistribution of function as between hall and parlour, corresponding to the confusion of function between these two rooms apparent in probate inventories, where such expressions as 'the hall or parlour' occur.²⁹

About the first-floor rooms little can be said. It can be assumed that the biggest one, the chamber over the parlour as an inventory would have called it, was the principal bedroom. The others were for children or perhaps a grandparent, and the use will certainly have changed as the composition of the family changed. All three are likely to have been used to store goods of various kinds.

This sizeable cross-wing represents a substantial improvement to a house in which the hall may still have been open to the byre at the lower end; and, although it is impossible to prove the point, the contrast may have been heightened by the use (made possible by better floors) of moveable furniture in the wing while the fixed bench remained in use in the hall.

In Phase III the hall was rebuilt in order to provide a fireplace instead of an open hearth and to separate it from the byre, even if there was still a doorway between them. Despite this improvement in amenity the hall was downgraded in relation to the rest of the house because it lost its position as the predominant room, as is clear from the lack of embellishment in the open truss - something which can be taken for granted in nearly all open halls. By now the parlour was definitely the more important room. So how was the

hall used? One obvious possibility is that it was by this time the kitchen, and certainly to judge from analogies a timber fireplace would have been large enough for the purpose. But this runs contrary to the principle that a given function tends to remain in the same place, because in the succeeding phase the hall was provided with a fireplace quite unsuitable for cooking.

Phase IV saw The Old House converted into a fully two-storeyed residence of considerable quality, with two rooms on the ground floor and probably three on the first floor having fireplaces; and all but one of the upstairs rooms had ceilings. Whatever the status of the hall in the preceding phase, it now became a room of good quality with a fireplace not much bigger than that of a parlour and not intended for cooking. It was probably at this period that the byre was removed from the end of the house because this is the last phase of improvement.

It is rather surprising that a kitchen was not built on the site of the byre, that being a common form of replacement. Instead it must have been outside the present house and there are really only two possibilities: it was either in a wing at the S. end of the passage, where the former cottage kitchen now stands, or in a detached building. Had it been in a wing it would in all likelihood have survived and the existing small building would have been unnecessary. Probably, therefore, the kitchen was a detached building from Phase I until sometime in IV when the house declined prior to its conversion into cottages.

DISCUSSION

The mode of development observable in The Old House is common, with variations, in the Welsh Marches. Starting from the premise that such houses began as long-houses there are three principal variables: the byre, which might be enlarged, rebuilt to serve another purpose or removed entirely; the hall, which might remain the principal room or be reduced to a kitchen; and the upper end, where a parlour and service room might be added as a simple enlargement or to replace any existing service room. A further variation is the width of the hall, which expresses the social importance of the house as built; this appears not to change, any improvement in social standing being expressed in other ways such as the addition of a large parlour.

Parallels for The Old House

It was suggested (above, p.51) that The Old House began as a straight range comprising an inner room partitioned off from the hall, which was not divided off from the cross-passage and possibly not from the byre either, or not wholly. For this hypothetical first stage a Herefordshire parallel is difficult to find but Black Darren, Llanveynoe,³⁰ comes very near it, although there are some uncertainties in the evidence. It was built, probably, in the late 15th or early 16th century and may always have had stone walls, although that is not a very significant difference. Separating passage from byre was a cruck truss, that part above the tie-beam being a stud wall. Below it were several thin posts spaced about 2 ft. apart which can be interpreted either as the basis for a light partition³¹ or as tethering posts;³² both assume that the passage was also a feeding-walk. That

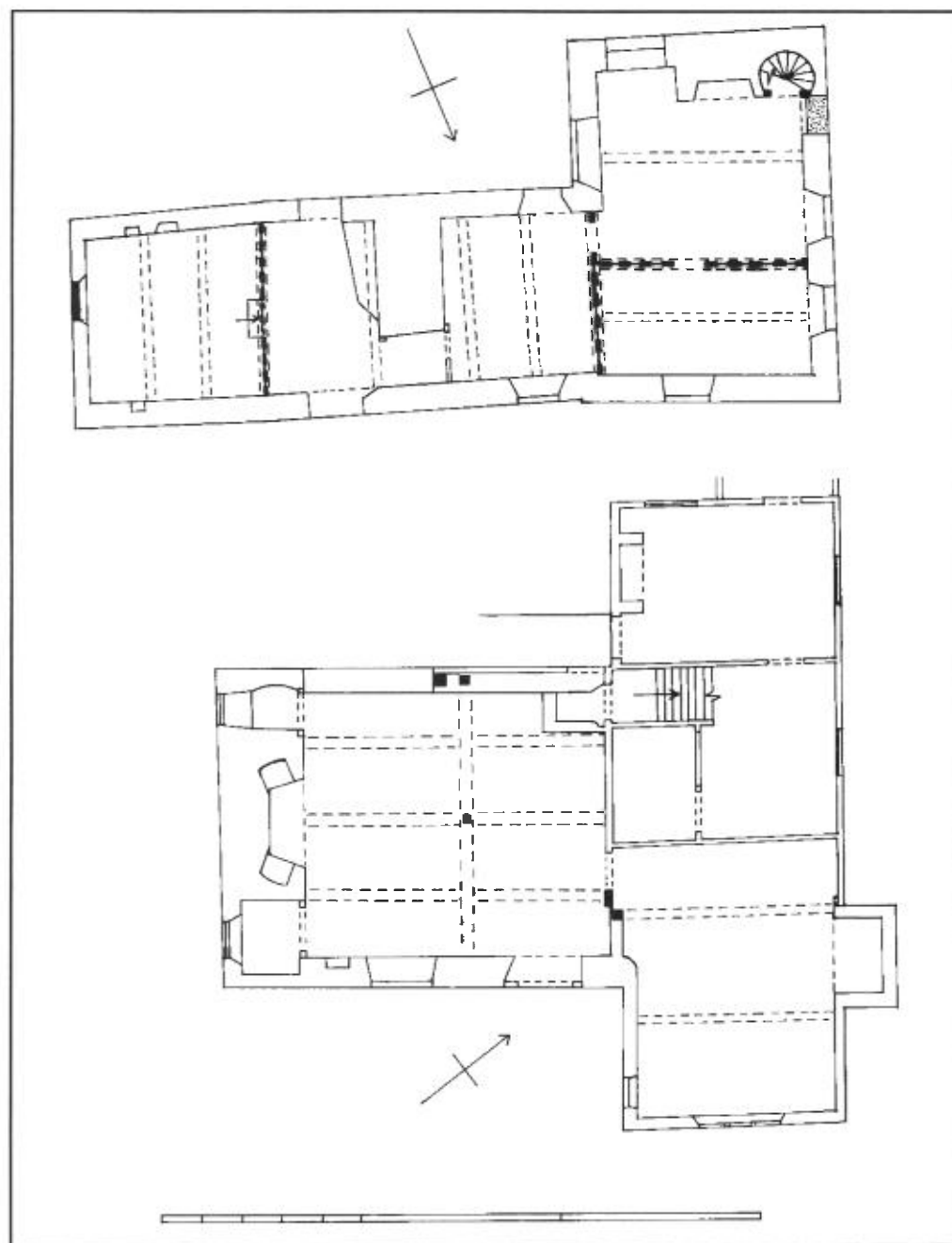


FIG 3

- a. White Haywood Farm, ground floor (top).
b. Wellbrook Manor, Peterchurch; ground floor (bottom).

dual function accounts for the greater width of so many cross-passages in the Marches and the south-western counties - up to 9½ ft. - as compared with the fairly standard 6 ft. width in eastern and south-eastern England. Even 7 ft., as in *The Old House*, is significant. At the upper end of the hall the inner room, which was open to the roof, seems, in its original state, to have been remarkably narrow; *Cwarelau* in the parish of Newton³³ is a more typical example, both in size and in being lofted over.

White Haywood Farm, Craswall (FIG. 3a), makes an interesting comparison overall. It has the same basic elements, parlour, service room, hall and cross-passage, and also retains a room beyond which is assumed to replace a byre.³⁴ And it developed in much the same way (FIG. 4), the stone-walled parlour wing being added in 1635 to an existing hall range and the latter being rebuilt with stone walls subsequently, as is made clear by the misalignment of the north wall. The size of the parlour in relation to the hall is much like that at *The Old House* but both rooms are smaller, especially the hall, which is no more than 13½ ft. wide - so narrow that this must originally have been a peasant house. Here, though, the parlour takes over from the hall as the principal room and the compiler of a probate inventory might well have referred to it as the parlour or hall. But it remained a peasant house, for at the lower end the former byre was rebuilt for some other farm purpose, there being now no trace of use for cattle; and again, breaks of alignment show that this is a separate phase of the complex piecemeal rebuilding.

End-passages and their significance

The one feature of *The Old House* not easy to find in S.W. Herefordshire is the cross-passage at the end, a position which is difficult to account for except by assuming that a farther extension of the house has been demolished. The later in date the house, the more force this argument has, because once the cross-passage began to fall out of favour and to be replaced by a more centralised entrance, a passage at the end of the house, with a chimney-stack backing on to it, became increasingly anomalous. So it is at *The Old Manor House*, Eardisland³⁵ (FIG. 5b). Its name suggests that it is a step up the social scale from *The Old House* yet the hall widths are much the same and perhaps there was very little social difference between them as built. The relative sizes of hall and cross-wing, though, are very different, and appear to show that the latter combined from the first a service room and a parlour with a fireplace; also that a late-medieval open hall was replaced by a taller two-storey block in the 17th century. After that took place the Eardisland house and the Vowchurch house must have been very similar in the accommodation they provided and, rather remarkably, in the continued use of the end passage. Only during the 18th century did they begin to present a contrast: the former prospered, as is clear from the refronting of the wing in brick; the latter, unimproved, fell into social decline.

Although the end-passage entrance is a strange survival in an age when English houses were becoming more centralised the reason for its persistence can be seen by comparison with some of the houses where it disappeared. The best-published instance is *Wellbrook Manor* (formerly *Lower Wellbrook Farm*), Peterchurch³⁶ (FIG. 3b). With a width of 22 ft. it clearly was a manor-house and its original form, with a hall and combined service and parlour wing, resembles that of *The Old Manor House*, Eardisland.

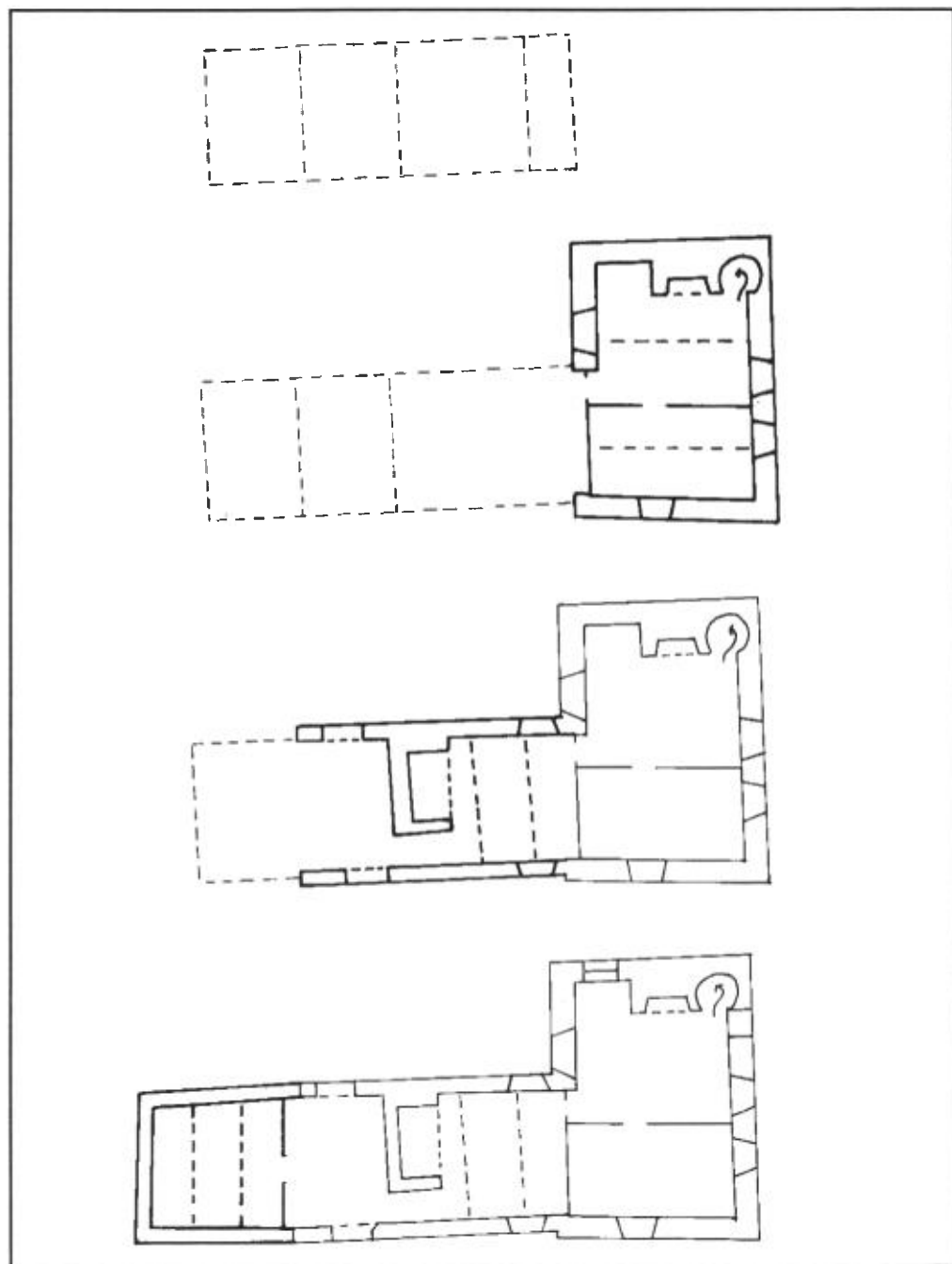


FIG 4
White Haywood Farm, Craswall; development diagram.



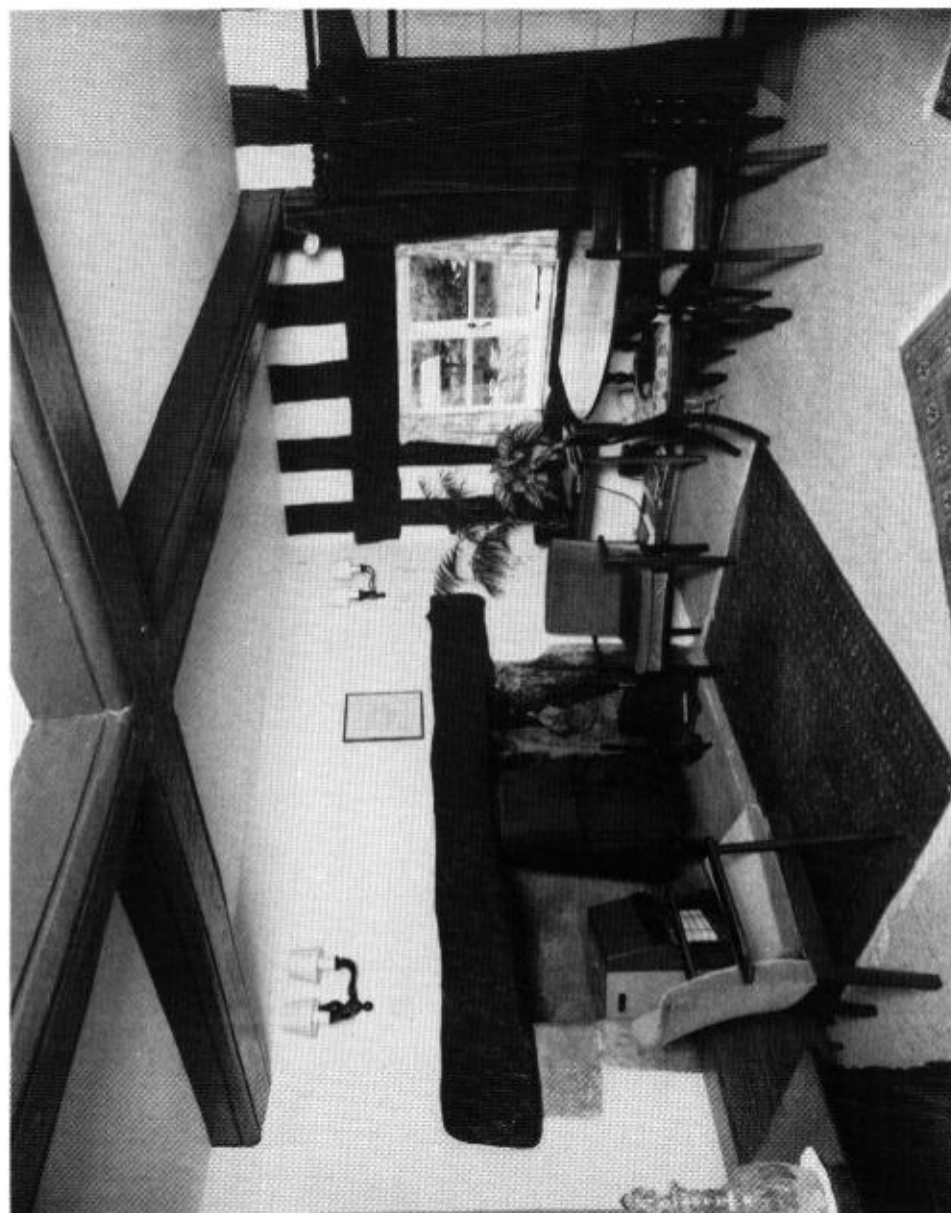
1 - Woolhope Club Badge - Carpet Bad, Churchill Gardens, 1991. (K. Hovard).



II - The Old House Vowchurch, N. elevation. (Copyright R.C.H.M.E.).



III - The Old House Vowchurch; hall showing doorway to service room, housing (in left jamb) for second door-head, and chamfered stud in partition. (Copyright R.C.H.M.E.).



IV - The Old House Vowchurch; hall showing fireplace with reused timber lintel, post carrying inserted binding beam, and moulding on latter and bearer. (Copyright R.C.H.M.E.).

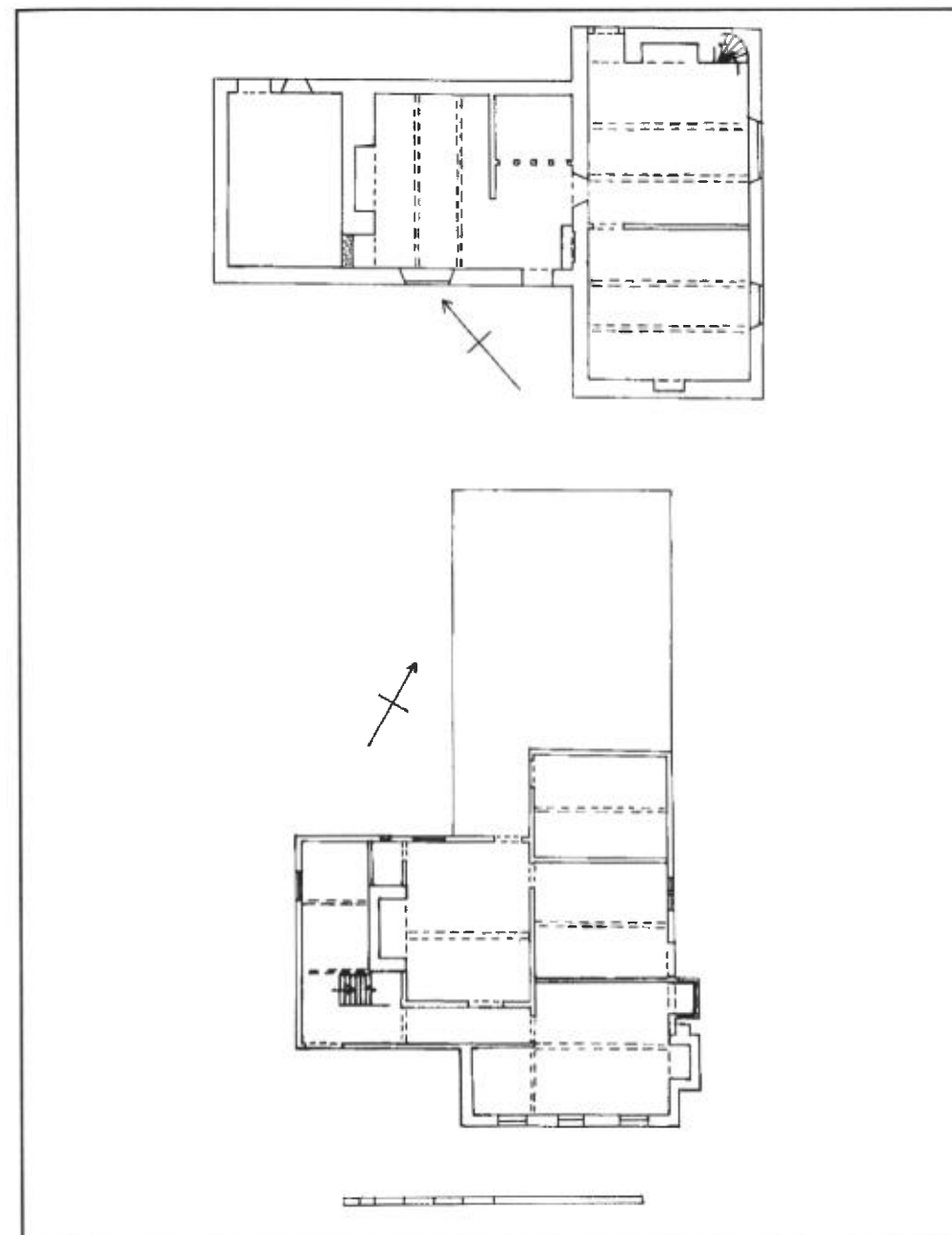


FIG 5
a. Court Farm, Craswall; ground floor (top).
b. The Old Manor House, Eardisland; ground floor (bottom).
(Based on small-scale sketch plans in R.C.H.M.E. files).

Here, though, when the timber-framed hall was rebuilt with stone walls, a chimney-stack was built in the former cross-passage with a lobby entrance on one side and a winding staircase on the other, and preserving the wing staircase. Later a new doorway was made, opening directly into the hall and next to the wing, presumably to give more direct access to the wing and a less cramped entrance. That must have reduced the effective living space of the room while leaving it the passage room it was before. To centralise the plan more effectively some easy and direct access from the entrance to a central staircase was necessary, something which could not be done without either encroaching extensively on the hall or replanning the wing.

Some of these difficulties were better overcome at Court Farm, Craswall³⁶ (FIG. 5a), where a more thorough and effective form of centralisation took place, perhaps in the late 17th century, by the creation of a small entrance hall next to the wing. This permitted a better circulation pattern at the cost of reducing the area of the hall; probably no great loss once its social importance declined and it became a kitchen, and indeed its new proportions, wide and short, are appropriate to that function. That the house once had a byre at the lower end is apparent from the doorway (blocked) leading to the stable - a later function, one of a number which replace the original one in those houses where a room below the passage is retained.

But whatever form a centralised plan took was restricted by the social need, throughout the 17th century and much of the 18th, to perpetuate the hierarchical order within the house. That meant maintaining, even in modified form, the sequence of entrance, master's seat and table, and parlour or inner room; a staircase in such a traditional sequence was at a point well away from the entrance, at the farthest point from where any stranger or inferior person entered. Where, as was commonly the case, the hall range and the wing did not intercommunicate on the first floor, two staircases were needed, each placed at the farthest possible point from the entrance. It was very difficult to alter a house designed on these lines to meet the 18th-century demand for a staircase close to the entrance so that all rooms could be reached independently without going through any other. Indeed, to do so required virtual rebuilding of at least part of the house, and the end passage was less inconvenient by comparison with other tradition-based plans than some more modified forms of plan.

These few examples may serve to show how the enormously varied plans found in Herefordshire can be categorised by relating them to a hypothetical model based partly on archaeological evidence and partly on an amalgam of features in existing houses.³⁸ On that basis the differing fates of particular houses may be used as the evidence of social and economic change, not only for the individual houses but, more importantly, as the basis for comparison within and between localities and regions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

That The Old House still exists is due to Dr. and Mrs. G. Rabey who, finding it in poor condition, repaired it thoroughly and provided modern amenities in a sympathetic way; they kindly answered many questions about its state when renovation began in 1976.

Our thanks are due to the staffs of the City of Hereford Library and the Hereford office of the Worcester and Hereford County Record Office. We also acknowledge with pleasure the help received from several individuals: Mr. Rod Sheffield enlightened us on details of the work from 1978; Miss S. Griffiths, who moved into the smallest cottage in 1904, gave us her very helpful recollections of the house in the early years of this century; and Mrs. John Comyn kindly made her unpublished research on family histories available.

We are indebted to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Mr. T. G. Hassall, for permission to reproduce photographs, to quote from the manuscript reports on The Old House and other houses in the county, and to use the Commission's plans (except for The Old House) as the basis for our own.

Since this paper was accepted for publication a number of photographs have been found taken in Vowchurch between 1901 and 1903. Several show the north and the west elevations of the house. The infilling of the west wall is brick 'nogging.' The beams and windows are essentially as at present and there is no extension outwards beyond the wall.

The Club is much indebted to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the publication of this report.

ABBREVIATIONS

HCL Hereford City Library

HWRO Hereford and Worcester County Record Office

REFERENCES

- ¹ R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, I (1931), 245 and pl. 17.
- ² Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses*, 3 parts, (1951-4); S. R. Jones and J. T. Smith, 'The Houses of Breconshire', *Brycheiniog*, the most relevant of the 7 parts for the present article being I, 'The Builth District', 9, (1963), 1-77; II, 'The Hay and Talgarth District', 10, (1964), 69-183; IV, 'The Crickhowell District', 12, (1966/67), 1-91.
- ³ HCL, FLC 942.44 (Ms.).
- ⁴ *Loc. cit.*
- ⁵ HWRO, S326.
- ⁶ Mrs. John Comyn, unpublished research.
- ⁷ HWRO, M5/31. (8) HWRO, AR 40; Piccadilly is about 2200 yds. N.E. of The Old House and is marked on O.S. 1:25000 sheet SO 33.
- ⁸ HWRO K42/85-119.
- ⁹ *Loc. cit.*, in note 7.
- ¹⁰ HWRO, Diocesan Records, 1716.
- ¹¹ Date of Rectory, inf. Mrs. John Comyn. Even as late as 1870 *Kelly's Directory* gives the annual value of Turnastone as £80 and of Vowchurch as £232. In 1891 the latter was worth £237 and in 1905 only £150 (including glebe and vicarage).
- ¹² *Kelly's Directory* (1870). Lowther was vicar 1836-74. Land Tax returns in his earlier years show him living in Turnastone, where he is said to have rebuilt the stables; HWRO. The vicar from 1895 to 1910 was the Rev. Skellington Hume Dodgson, the younger brother of 'Lewis Carroll', who benefited from the royalties of *Alice in Wonderland*.
- ¹³ Jones and Smith, *op. cit.* in note 2, I, 6 (Llannerch-y-cawr).
- ¹⁴ Correctly N.E., and other points correspondingly.

¹⁶ In eastern England the upper storeys of timber-framed buildings are invariably jettied; in western and perhaps northern England, as some important and comparatively early buildings such as Amberley Court, Marden, Herefs., show, they are not; J. T. Smith, 'Timber-framed building in England...', *Archaeol. J.*, 122, 1965, 133-58, esp. 150-1. It would be interesting to test this generalisation by collecting all the examples in Herefordshire and indeed in the Welsh Marches.

¹⁷ Pen-y-bryn, Llangattwg; Jones and Smith, *op. cit.* in note 2; IV, 3609.

¹⁸ J. T. Smith, *English Houses 1200-1800: the Hertfordshire evidence*, (1992), 185-6.

¹⁹ This term has been adopted in deference to the CBA's Practical Handbook No. 5, *Recording Timber-Framed Buildings*, although 'truss-blades', in the terminology of the late Professor R.A. Cordingley is preferable: 'British historical roof-types and their members', *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.*, N.S., 9, (1961), 73-118, esp. 116.

²⁰ Mr. J. W. Tonkin informs us that this is the local practice, not as in, e.g., Hertfordshire; *op. cit.*, note 17.

²¹ White Haywood Farm, Craswall, has another such truss in the hall range, but this is markedly less important than the hall range in The Old House; *op. cit.* in note 1, 46 and archive report.

²² E. Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses*, 147-51 (Devon).

²³ Wood fragment in the possession of Dr. R. E. Rewell.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* in note 17.

²⁵ E. A. R. Rahbula.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* in note 50-1.

²⁷ This process was very common in Hertfordshire in the 15th and 16th centuries and the houses associated with these small estates are commonly about 18-20 ft. wide, as are the smaller manor-houses.

²⁸ This statement is based on Hertfordshire houses but appears to be far more widely applicable.

²⁹ E. g., R. B. Wood-Jones, *Traditional Domestic Architecture in the Banbury Region*, (1963), 109.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* in note 19, 37-8, 168. At Black Darren the hall plan, assuming it was originally more or less square, raises a question about the size of the inner room.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² J. T. Smith, personal observation.

³³ *Op. cit.* in note 1, 206 and record card in archive.

³⁴ As note 21; and *op. cit.* in note 22, 167, although not all of what is there said about the house is accepted here. Most importantly, the sequence of development was overlooked both by Mercer and the original investigator (J. T. Smith).

³⁵ R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, III (1934), 48 and archive record card. The date of the house may be open to revision because the investigator, J. W. Bloer, does not mention the upstairs rooms or the roof; it being then a private hotel, he may have been unable to see them.

³⁶ *Op. cit.* in note 1, 214-5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 44-5, and archive record card.

³⁸ For the application of these ideas to a whole county see Jones and Smith, *op. cit.* in note 2. The authors regret that circumstances did not permit completion of this work by, first, a supplement to the fieldwork, and then a general discussion and statement of conclusions.

Herefordshire Street Ballads

By ROY PALMER

'A song, a song, a song for a penny. As large as a barn door and not quite so thick.'

Such was the cry of a ballad seller at Weobley Fair, before the first world war. It is not possible to say where his material came from at that time, but there were certainly street ballad printers at work in Herefordshire during the 19th century - though apparently not before. Not in English, that is, but in the 18th century Willoughby Smith (who began *The Hereford Journal* in 1739) printed at Hereford two chapbooks containing religious ballads in the Welsh language.²

The county did feature - though only very occasionally - in sheets issued in London and elsewhere. One example is 'Love Overthrown,' from the ballad collection made by Samuel Pepys. It has this compendious sub-title:

The Young Man's Misery: and the Maid's Ruine: Being a True Relation, How a Beautiful Hereford-shire Damsel (who coming to Live in London, and being greatly Beloved by her Master's Son) was, by her Mistress, Sold to Virginia: And of the Great Lamentation her Disconsolate Lover makes for her.³ (Appendix 1).

The notion may seem extravagant, but there was a period in the 17th century when kidnapping or 'spiriting away' (as it was called) to Virginia (the name stood for anywhere in America) was a real problem, so much so that it was made a capital offence in 1670.

Interesting though it is, the ballad has no connection with Herefordshire other than the mention of its name. Other sheets were more specific: for example, 'The Miraculous Judgement of God shoven in Herefordshire, where a mightie barne filled with Corne was consumed with fire begynninge last Christmas Eeve, and Duriinge ffyftene Dayes after' (1595)⁴ and 'A newe ballad of the late commotion in Herefordshire occasioned by the Death of Alice Wellington A Recusant' (1605).⁵ Unfortunately, though, both of these are now lost. So too are 'Home and Herefordshire' and 'The Decayed Clothier of Ledbury',⁶ yet one lives in hopes that copies of these might one day turn up.⁷

'The bishop of Herefords entertainment by Robin Hood and Little John' is perhaps better known as 'Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.' It is set in the mythical Barnsdale, and tells how the haughty and unbending bishop is outwitted, robbed and humiliated. Late 18th century copies exist, printed in London, Newcastle and York - but not Hereford.⁷

'Newes from Hereford' relates in twenty-six verses the 'wonderful and terrible Earthquake' of October 1661.^{7A} 'The Worlds Wonder' gives in ballad form 'strange and true News from Leompster in Hereford-shire of one Alice Griffiths, that had four men children at a birth, upon the 25th day of April last past, 1677.'^{7B} Both of these sheets were printed in London. So, some twenty-five years after the events it narrates, was 'The Downfall of William Grismond; Or, a Lamentable Murther by him committed at Lainterdine, in the County of Hereford, the 12 March, 1650.'^{7C} It would be interesting to elucidate the background to these ballads from local sources.

HEREFORDSHIRE PRINTERS

Ballad printers worked in four Herefordshire towns: Hereford, Ledbury, Leominster and Ross. Collectively, they were in business from 1810 until 1868. Their output was not large, though we can only judge from what has survived, which may be merely a small proportion of their work. I know of 172 sheets bearing some 244 titles.

Some of the printers are just names - T. Harris of Ross, for example, or G. Rodwell of Leominster - but of others more is known. Richard Herbert Elliott of Hereford belonged to a Scots family which came south in about 1790 because of religious dissension and persecution. Between about 1835 and 1869 he printed on a small wooden Caxton press in premises at Cats Lane behind the Maidenhead Inn, Eign Street. He also started a branch of the Plymouth Brethren, ran a school, issued a newspaper, and had an office for hiring servants (not for Virginia) and letting houses and estates. He brought up five sons, all as printers.⁸ One of these, as late as 1912, was still printing sheets of carols at Christmas, though I have not seen copies.⁹

Matthew Child was a bookbinder, bookseller, stationer and printer, also in Eign Street, Hereford, from 1830 until 1834, when he moved to Kington.¹⁰ Printed notices on some of his sheets indicate that they were also sold by a whole range of shopkeepers:

Pritchard, opposite the Masons' Arms, Westgate Street, Gloucester
Williams, Upper-cross, Kington
S. Hinton, Iron Cross, Leominster
Sherriff, Hay
R. Stokes, Sidbury, Worcester
Osbaldeston, Lower Westgate Street, Gloucester.¹¹

This information, incidentally, would have been invaluable in helping to date Child if other indications had been lacking. It also points to a considerable area over which his work circulated.

A second means of distribution was provided by itinerant vendors; some printers' sheets bear at the bottom the significant words: 'Travellers supplied.' Such hawkers naturally bought wholesale from printers, and sold retail. One of Elliott's sheets, 'Cobler at Greenwich,' states: 'Printed for the Vendor.'¹² In this case, the hawker has commissioned the printing, and borne the cost himself, no doubt in hopes of increasing his final profit by doing so.

Some of the other printers on whom we have information supplemented their own incomes by various combinations of activities such as running circulating libraries, selling patent medicines, music and musical instruments, wallpaper, stationery. T.B. Watkins of Hereford was a commissioner for taking special bail¹³ - whatever that was.

In terms of output, by far the most important were two Ledbury printers, James Gibbs, Junior, of the Homend, and Thomas Ward, of the High Street. Between 1833 and 1859 Gibbs issued thirty-seven sheets which have survived, and probably others which have not. Over a shorter period (?1825-39) Ward issued fifty-three sheets. The material he published is about three-fifths traditional or neo-traditional, two-fifths popular.

Over and over again, not only in Herefordshire but in other parts of the country, printers issued such texts as 'Auld langsyne,' 'Home, sweet home' and 'Robin Adair.' The

craze for 'Jim Crow' songs - Black and White Minstrels, *avant la lettre* - of the 1830s quickly moved on to the ballad sheets. There was also a vogue for songs with backgrounds in Wales ('The Maid of Llangollen'), Ireland ('Hurrah for the Irish Stew') and above all Scotland ('The Lass of Dundee', 'Scots wha hae', 'Highland Mary').

Despite its landlocked position Herefordshire gave a ready welcome to maritime songs such as 'The Sea,' 'The Deep, Deep Sea,' 'The Death of Nelson,' 'Joe the Marine,' 'Heaving the Lead' and 'Lash'd to the Helm.' Traditional sea songs such as 'The Rambling Sailor' also appeared on local street ballads, together with 'The Nightingale' and 'The Pretty Ploughboy' (both with pressgang themes).

Other traditional songs issued by Herefordshire printers include:

All round my hat
Bold Robin Hood
Bonny bunch of roses
Constant farmers' son
Devil and Little Mike
Fanny Blair
The Golden Glove
Lord Marlborough.
Roving Journeyman
A week's matrimony
The Wild Rover

The most popular of such songs seems to have been 'William and Harriet,' for it was published four times by three different local printers.

One can draw the conclusion that if such songs were sold then they were sung, and probably went into oral circulation. None of those just quoted has been recorded from oral tradition in the area. The list of songs both printed and so recorded locally is short:

Banks of Sweet Dundee
Farmer's Boy
Green Bushes
Herefordshire Fox Chase
Lost lady found
Milkmaids fair
Outlandish Knight
Pretty Ploughboy
Seeds of Love
Sheffield Apprentice
The Transport [Botany Bay]
Undaunted Female [Box on her Head]
A Virgin Unspotted.¹⁴ (Appendix 2)

LOCAL SONGS

In one sense - that they circulated in Herefordshire - all the street ballads printed there and all the songs recorded from oral tradition are local. Few are so in the strict sense that they deal with people or events in the area. The county of hops and cider seems to have produced no songs on these topics. Herefordshire is not rich in historical happenings,

but a juicy scandal which exercised the people of Ledbury in the 1860s was left to an anonymous ballad printer (probably in London) to exploit, as 'The Frolicsome Parson Outwitted.'¹⁵ (Appendix 3). Perhaps the topic was too hot to handle locally, though another song on the same events survived until the 20th century in Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire. Its opening words even became a kind of saying: 'Ledbury town in Herefordshire.'¹⁶ (The facts of the case are that Rev. John Jackson, Rector of Ledbury from 1860 until 1891, was suspended from duty for two years (1869-71) while an investigation was held into the allegation that he was the father of one of his servants' children. He was exonerated and restored to his position, though the ballad writers and singers preferred to believe that the original allegation was upheld).

In a more orthodox religious context, 'The Bosbury Carol,' (Appendix 4) which retells the Christmas story in eighteen verses, was already some fifty years old when Ward printed it. It may have been a particular favourite in Bosbury, or have been written by some one from the village. The tune now appears to be lost; though it was once known locally no one seems to have taken the trouble to record it.

Many carols and religious songs were printed by Elliott. They include 'The Angel Gabriel,' 'The Heavenly Stranger,' 'Mary's Lamentation at the Sepulchre' and 'The Repenting Sinner.' Such material clearly had an appeal, for other local printers issued such titles as 'Two Carols on Christmas' (T.B. Watkins, Hereford), 'Two Celebrated Christmas Carols' (Farror, Ross), and 'The Christian Carol Boy' (Powle, Ross).¹⁷

By contrast, sport and entertainment are much less well represented. Drinking gives us 'Ledbury Ale,' printed by Gibbs of Ledbury:

D'ye mind me? I once was a sailor,
And in different countries I've been,
If I lie, may I go for a railer -
But a thousand fine sights I have seen:
I've been crammed with good things like a wallet,
And I've guzzled more drink than a whale,
But the very best stuff to my palate
Is a glass of your Ledbury ale.¹⁸

I suspect that this has been adapted from elsewhere, but I have not yet been successful in tracking down the original - if it exists.

Two local foxhunting songs appeared on ballad sheets. Harris of Ross issued 'A Favorite Fox Hunting Song, For Herefordshire and Radnorshire' which begins:

Come all you gentlemen of fame, of high and low degree,
That take delight in fox hunting come listen unto me.
A story true I'll tell you, concerning of a fox
They hunted him over mountains high thro' valleys woods and rocks.¹⁹

It describes over a further twelve verses the progress of a hunt over various hills and woods near Painscastle. No date is mentioned but the ballad probably describes a particular event, as does Watkins' sheet, 'The Herefordshire Fox Chase.' (Appendix 5). This takes twenty-six verses to chronicle an epic hunt which took place on Twelfth Eve (5th January) in 1797:

All you that love hunting attend to my song,
I'll beg some indulgence that will be rather long,
It's concerning the huntsman, the horse, and the dogs,
That never fear'd mountains, hedges, ditches, or bogs.

The year 97, Twelfth Eve was the day,
Bright Phoebus shone clear, and the morning way gay,
Resolved on a chase to which Reynard gave birth,
I'm sure such a chase was ne'er equal'd on earth.²⁰

After a pursuit, we are told, of ninety-eight miles, the end is reached, thanks to the light of Luna:

Now Reynard is dead, and my song ends at last,
Excuse me, I'm thirsty, then push round the glass,
So I drink with a wish that all great men in place,
To their king stick as true as these hounds to their ch[ase].

The ballad certainly went into oral circulation, for a copy was written out from memory for Mrs. E. M. Leather in the early 20th century.²¹ Mrs. Leather also had in her manuscript collection a further version to the tune of 'Six Bottles More' from a blacksmith called Noah Richards.²²

In addition to this sheet, Watkins has one bearing two ballads on fairs, both adapted from pieces which had earlier appeared elsewhere.²³ 'The Rigs and Whirligigs of the Fair' is better known as 'Countryman's Visit to Bartholomew Fair.'²⁴ 'The Humours of Hereford Fair O' begins:

Oh, Hereford, Hereford fair
Is a scene of confusion and frolic;
Such wonderful doings are there,
'Twould cure an old maid of the cholic.
There's plumb pudding stir'd up with grease,
No one could dislike for [but] a snarler,
And they sell it a penny a piece,
And you may buy it at every corner.

Beginning 'O Bartlemy, Bartlemy Fair,' it was originally issued by J. Pitts of Seven Dials, London, under the title of 'Bartholomew Fair. Or The Humours of Smithfield.'²⁵ Even so, Watkins must be given some marks for attempting to suit his wares to his locality.

In Ward's sheet, 'The Humours of the Fair,' the reader or singer is left to insert the name of an appropriate town in the blank space:

Ye gallants so pretty in Country and City
Come listen awhile and the truth I'll declare,
Concerning my rambles, and how I did jamble,
Until I arrived at --- Fair.
Where the lads and the lasses they all did flock together,
You'd have thought that a few of all nations were there,
A place to be seen far surpassing all other,
For mirth and good humour was --- Fair.²⁶

The same procedure is followed in another of Ward's sheets, 'The Hiring Day,' which begins:

Were you at ---- or did you see,
 Hey down, ho down, O diddle dee?
 Were you at ---- or did you see I pray,
 The pretty pastimes on the hiring day?
 (Chorus)
 They're all a coming as fine as Lunnon,
 To ---- upon the hiring-day.
 Winter is come and summer is past,
 Hay down, &c.²⁷

The ballad was no doubt on sale at Ledbury's October hiring fair - and elsewhere, too: for it also turns up with a different imprint at Cirencester.²⁸ The jolly mood quickly gives way to an attack on the pride and extravagance of farmers, and the ballad ends with these complaints:

Old Skin 'em-alive was my master last year,
 He allowed me neither ale nor small beer;
 The cheese was bad and full of eyes,
 And rusty fat bacon was made into pies.
 The bread was bad, the flesh was scarce,
 These are the reason for leaving my place.

Criticisms of farmers feature in a whole series of ballads printed by Ward, though originating elsewhere. 'The New Fashioned Farmer' sounds almost like passages from Cobbett set into verse:

A good old-fashioned long great coat
 The farmers us'd to wear, sire
 And on old Dobbin they would ride
 To market and to fair, sir;
 But now fine geldings they must mount
 And join all in the chase, sire,
 Dress'd up like any lord or squire,
 Before their landlord's face, sir.²⁹

So do 'My Old Hat':

Now the commons they are taken in, and cottages pulled down,
 And Molly has no wool to spin her linsey woolsey gown;
 The winter cold, and clothing thin, and blankets very few,
 Such cruelty did n'er abound, when this old hat was new;³⁰

and 'Times are Altered,' which was issued in two different editions by Ward:

When Bonaparte was in vogue, poor servants could engage,
 For sixteen pounds a year, my boys, and that was handsome wage;
 But now the wages are so low, and what is worst of all,
 The masters cannot find the cash, which brings them to the wall.

When fifty acres they did rent, then money they could save,
 But now for to support their pride, five hundred they must have.
 If those great farms were taken, and divided into ten,
 Oh we might see as happy days as ever we did then.³¹

This is strong stuff, and it is interesting to see that Ward issued so much of it in sleepy Ledbury. Social comment is an important characteristic of street ballads. Ward printed 'The Pitch Plaister,' an attack on body snatchers; Elliott, a light-hearted piece on

'The Wonderful Effects of the Great Rail Roads now Planning through the County,' and also 'Queen Victoria,' a warm welcome on the coronation tempered by comments on the poverty of the people and the need to reform parliament.³² Gibbs of Ledbury hedges his bets with one sheet bearing both 'Rule Britannia' (all six verses) and 'Reform Song:'

Now, my friends, we've gain'd our will,
 Since we've pass'd the Reform Bill;
 Then let us to our text stand true,
 And ne'er desert our loyal Blue:
 And with our glorious Union Jack,
 Our Tory foes will ne'er turn back.
 O the Bill, the Reform Bill
 We've gain'd, and nothing, but the Bill.³³

The same printer has a curious piece on the same subject, which I have seen nowhere else:

Song, by a Member of a Cricket Club
 Come, Fielders, round the table *pop*,
 A health to our good King *to tip*;
 Be every one, though strange, *long stop*,
 But do not take to *leg* or *slip*.

Grim Care has often held the *bat*,
 And boasted of her doleful *winnings*;
 But we will *run her out* of that,
 And jovial mirth shall have his *innings*.

Should Fortune dare to take the *ball* up,
 Resolv'd to *knock our wickets down*,
 We'll *keep our ground*, nor fancy all up,
 But smile and laugh at Fortune's frown.

Though friends themselves should be her *fielders*,
 And us all *cunning out to catch us* -
 We'll show them we are good *bat* wielders,
 And how unfit they are to *match* us.

Then come, my boys, your glasses fill -
 Let none at liquor take the *dumps*;
 But drink, regardless of the *Bill*,
 As long as he can keep his *stumps*.

Here's then a health to good King William,
 Long may he live to grace the Crown;
 Let us a flowing *Crown* bowl fill him,
 And in it all but loyalty drown.

If foes or traitors dare approach,
 May William prove a *striker* stout;
 And, ere the knaves can *score a notch*,
 Bowl every rascal of them out.³⁴

Crime was a perennial preoccupation for ballad printers and their audiences. A small collection of sheets - some without imprint, some printed locally, and some printed or re-printed in London - deals with murders in Herefordshire over a period of a hundred years,^{34A} starting in 1781 with 'Elegy on Mary Perry' (killed by a jealous lover on her way

home to Cholestrey from a dance at Leominster) and concluding in 1888 with 'Execution of Scandreth & Jones At Hereford for the Brutal Murder of Mr. Ballard at Tupley' (sic). In between come 'The Leominster Tragedy' (1816) on the murder of Mary Cadwallader by her husband, and 'A Dreadful Warning to all Young Women; Giving an Account of a Melancholy Example of God's Judgement on Mary Grant, Only 16 years old, who was Executed at Hereford ... for the Wilful Murder of her Mother' (undated). 'Gritton of Garway, or the Murdered Man's Lament,' issued by Benjamin Powle of Ross, deals with the killing of an Orcop wrestler at a village feast.

No county is an island. Ballad sellers came to Herefordshire from neighbouring counties, and even drew their supplies from major centres of printing such as Birmingham. Conversely, Herefordshire people travelled from time to time to markets and fairs in other counties, where ballads would be on sale. Even so, it is of interest to see what was being printed - and therefore presumably sung - in Herefordshire. As a boy, John Masefield saw people 'singing ballads in the cold' round the streets of Ledbury.³⁵ Some thirty years later, ballad vendors were still travelling round fairs with their songs 'for a penny.'³⁶ Today the singers of such songs are to be found mainly at folk clubs and festivals. That they still have an audience is a testimony to the strength of the material.

CHECK-LIST OF PRINTERS

Hereford

Thomas Davies, (1788 or 1795-1815), Britannia Printing Works, 1 High Town. (Bought no. 2 in 1802. When no. 1 was demolished in 1804, no. 2 was re-numbered as no. 1).

Matthew Child, (1830-34), Eign Street. Bookbinder, bookseller, printer, stationer; moved to Kington in 1834; one sheet marked 'Child and James.'

Richard Herbert Elliott, (c.1835-69), Eign Gate; Eign Street; St. Peter's Street. Printer, proprietor of a school and a newspaper, owner of an office for hiring servants and letting estates and houses.

John Parker, (1822-39). Bookbinder, bookseller, music seller, printer, seller of medicine and wallpaper; took over from his father, W. H. Parker in 1822; one sheet marked 'W. H. and J. Parker.'

Thomas Beavan Watkins, (1810-36), Albion Press, High Town. Bookbinder, bookseller, circulating librarian, stationer, commissioner for taking special bail, printer.

Ledbury

James Gibbs, Jnr., (1833-59), Homend Street.

Thomas Ward, (?1825-39), High Street. Printer, bookbinder, bookseller, circulating librarian.

Leominster

James V. Chilcott, (1831-55), Broad Street; Draper's Lane. Printer, bookseller, stationer.

G. Rodwell.

Francis Went, (1813-39-?), High Street. Printer, stationer, postmaster.

Ross

William Farror, (1813-39), High Street. Printer, stationer, bookseller, bookbinder, circulating librarian.

T. Harris.

Benjamin Powle, (?1825-39), 95 High Street. Printer, stamp distributor.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Ella Mary Leather, *The Folk-lore of Herefordshire* (1912), 181.
- ² J. H. Davies, *A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads printed in the Eighteenth Century* (1911), nos. 262-3.
- ³ *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day (5 vols.) (1987), vol. 5, 307.
- ⁴ Hyder E. Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1924), no. 1767.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1473.
- ⁶ *Illustrated Guide to Ledbury and District* (1948), 150.
- ⁷ See Joseph Ritson, ed., *Robin Hood: A Collection of all the Ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads, now Extant, relative to that celebrated English Outlaw* (1823), 207; Rainer Wehse, *Schwanklied und Flugblatt in Grossbritannien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 459; Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Singing Tradition of Child's Popular Ballads* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1976), no. 144.
- ^{7A} Bodleian Library, Wood Collection, 401.80.
- ^{7B} Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Collection, 566.95.
- ^{7C} Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Collection, 566.180.
- ⁸ F. C. Morgan, 'Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXX (1941), 106-27 (pp. 117-8). For dating I have also drawn on P. B. Freshwater et al., *Working Papers for An Historical Directory of the West Midlands Book Trade to 1850* (7 fascicles, Birmingham, 1975-87).
- ⁹ Leather, *op. cit.* in note 1.
- ¹⁰ For these and other printers' dates, see Check-list at the end of this article.
- ¹¹ My main source for Herefordshire street ballads is volume 20 of the Madden Collection in Cambridge University Library. A further small number is preserved in the Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.
- ¹² Madden Collection.
- ¹³ Freshwater, *op. cit.*, fasc. 7, 52.
- ¹⁴ Versions of these songs noted from oral tradition in Herefordshire are to be found in Leather, *op. cit.* in note 1 ('Milkmaids fair' and 'Pretty Ploughboy'); E. M. Leather Manuscript Collection in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House ('Farmer's Boy', 'Banks of Sweet Dundee', 'Green Bushes', 'Herefordshire Fox Chase', 'Outlandish Knight' and 'Seeds of Love'); Lucy E. Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland eds., *English County Songs* (1893), 78 ('A Virgin Unspotted'); Cecil Sharp Manuscript Collection, Clare College, Cambridge, with copy at Cecil Sharp House ('Lost Lady Found', 'Sheffield Apprentice', 'The Transport' and 'Undaunted Female').
- ¹⁵ Charles Hindley, ed., *Curiosities of Street Literature* (1871), 156.
- ¹⁶ See 'The Ledbury Parson' in Roy Palmer ed., *Everyman's Book of British Ballads* (1980), no. 81.
- ¹⁷ Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.
- ¹⁸ On a sheet with 'Polly Hopkins and Mr. Tomkins,' Madden Collection.
- ¹⁹ Madden Collection. There is another copy in 'A Collection of Ballads printed at Various Places in the Provinces,' British Library, 1876 e 3.
- ²⁰ Madden Collection.
- ²¹ Leather, *op. cit.* in note 1, 264-5.
- ²² E. M. Leather MS Collection.
- ²³ A copy of the sheet bearing both ballads is in the Madden Collection. 'The Humours of Hereford Fair O' only is in the Pilley Collection.
- ²⁴ See Roy Palmer, *The Sound of History. Songs and Social Comment* (1988), 161-3.

²⁵ There is a copy of the sheet in the Firth Collection, c 19, fol. 179, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

²⁶ Madden Collection.

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.* See my article, 'Gloucestershire Street Ballads', *Gloucestershire History* (1990).

²⁹ Madden Collection. For a full text, with tune, see Roy Palmer, *English Country Songbook* (1986), no. 27.

³⁰ Madden Collection. For a discussion of the song and its history, together with a full text and tune, see Palmer, *Sound of History*, 37-9.

³¹ Madden Collection.

³² All *id.*

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Id.*, with another song entitled 'Jack of All Trades,' which begins 'I'm parish-clerk and sexton here; My name is Caleb Quotem.'

^{34A} Hereford City Library, Pilley Collection, 2137.

³⁵ John Masefield, *Wanderings* (1943), 16.

³⁶ As note 1.

³⁷ 'a native inhabitant', *Hints of Ledbury* (1831) in Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.

+ Love Overthrown. 1750.

The Young Man's Misery; And the MAIDS' RUINE:

Being a True Relation, How a Beautiful *Hereford-shire* Damfel
(who coming to Live in *London*, and being greatly Beloved by
her Master's Son) was, by her Mistress, Sold to *Virginia*: And
of the Great Lamentation her Disconsolate Lover makes for her.

To the Tune of All happy Times when free from Love, &c.

There was a Maiden Fair and Clear,
The which came out of *Hereford-shire*,
A Serving-Maid now for to be,
That fitted best to her Degree.

Her Skin the Lillie did invite,
To try which was the better White:
Her Checks were of Vermilion Red,
Like fragrant Beds of Roses spread.

At length this fair Damfel came,
As Servant, to live in the Strand,
With a Tradesman of great Renown,
Whose Wealth and Riches did abound.

This Tradesman had a youthful Son,
Whose Heart to Love had not begun;
But pritty Betty was so Fair,
She soon did draw his Heart in Snare.

He oftentimes did Betty try,
But she always did him deny,
Saying, Good Sir, it is in Vain,
My Honour you shall never stain.

One Night he watching of his Time,
He unto Betty told his Mind,
How that he dearly did her Love,
And nothing sure could it remove.

Therefore my dearest Dear (quoth he)
If that thou wilt consent with me,
On Sunday next, to end all Strife,
My Dearest, thou shalt be my Wife.

His Mother chanced them to hear,
Who bid her self in a Place near;
She strait resolved in her Mind
To Frustrate her Son's Design.

Then in the Morning she did say,
Come Betty dress you speedily;
For in the Country you must go
With me for One Day or Two.

And so away she did her bring
Unto a Captain of her Kin,
Whose Ship that time lay in the Downs,
And he was for *Virginia* bound.

And so away this Damfel's gone,
Unto *Virginia* sailing on.
O Heavens unto her prove Kind,
And grant she may some Comfort find.

But when her Mistress was come Home,
Tom are Welcome Mother, said her Son;
But where is Betty now, I pray,
That she so long behind doth stay.

I understand, my Son, quoth she,
How great your Love is to Betty;
But your Designs are all in Vain,
For Betty's sailing on the Main.

And now this Young-Man's grown so Sad,
No sort of Mirth can make him glad;
But oft in slumbring Sleep doth cry,
O Betty, Betty, I must Dye!

Two New Carols.

THE VIRGIN UNSPOTTED,

And another by an eminent Hand.

Righteous Joseph.

A Virgin unspotted (the Prophets foretold),
Should bring forth a Saviour, as we do behold,
To be our redeemer from death, hell and sin,
Which Adam's transgression had plunged us in.

CHORUS.

Then let us be merry, cast sorrow away,
Our Saviour, Christ Jesus, was born on that day.

In Bethlehem city, in Judah, it was
That Joseph and Mary together did pass;
And for to be taxed when thither they came,
Since Cesar Augustus commanded the same,
Then let us be merry &c.

But Mary's full time being come as we find,
She brought forth her first born, to bless all man-
kind

The Inns being full, (for this heavenly guest)
No place was there found to lay him to rest:
Then let us be merry, &c.

But Mary, blest Mary, so meek and so mild,
Soon wrapt up in swaddlings this heavenly child,
A manger was his cradle, where oxen did feed,
The great God of mercy approv'd of the deed,
Then let us be merry, &c.

To teach us humility all this done:
We learn'd from those wise men all pride to shun;
A manger was his cradle, where oxen did feed,
The great God of mercy approv'd of the deed,
Then let us be merry, &c.

Then presently after the shepherds did spy,
Vast number of angels, who stood in the sky:
So merrily talking, so sweetly did sing,
All glory, all praise, to our heavenly King?
Then let us be merry, &c.

R O S S.

Printed and Sold by W. Farrow,



APPENDIX 2 THE VIRGIN UNSPOTTED

THE FROLICSOME PARSON OUTWITTED.

Come all you hearty roving blades, and
listen to my song,
A verse or two I will unfold, and will not
keep you long,
It is of a frolicsome parson, as you shall
quickly hear,
That dwelt in the town of Ledbury, in the
county of Herefordshire.

The parson being a rakish blade, and fond
of sporting games,
He fell in love with the pretty cook, as I
have heard the same;
The parlour-maid found out the same, and
in the fruit room looked,
And there she saw the parson sporting with
the cook.

It was in nine months after she brought him
forth a child,
Within the rectory it was born, it drove him
nearly wild:
It proved to be a male child, at least they
tell us so,
Then this damsel from the rectory was
quickly forced to go.

Then the secret to unfold, it was her full
intent,
During the time of service into the church
she went,
Holding the child up in her arms, and on
the parson gazed,
Saying, lovely babe, that is your dad, which
filled him with amaze.

The congregation they all stared, the parson
seemed confused,
And many a lad and lass no doubt, within
them felt amused;
Such a scene as this was never known within
this church before,
Let us hope that it will be the last, and the
like shall be no more.

'Twas then a court was called in town, for
to invest the case.
There the parson, cook, and parlour-maid
they met face to face,
And many more in court appeared, to hear
the sport and fun,
This damsel swore the parson was the father
of her son.

Your reverence; you are found to blame
the Justices declared,
Although some honest country lad you
thought for to ensnare;
So with all your doctrine and your skill
unto him they did say,
A half-a-crown each week to the child
you've got to pay.

His reverence felt dissatisfied with such a
glorious treat,
To a higher court he did proceed, and there
was quickly beat,
So this damsel she's victorious, the truth I
now declare,
And his reverence is suspended for the period
of five years.

Come all you blooming servant maids a
warning take by this,
When in service with the parsons don't be
treated to a kiss;
Or it may cause much jealousy, as you may
all well know,
Then you from service must be gone your
sorrows for to rue.

Now to conclude and make an end and finish
up my song,
All you young men that's deep in love, be
sure don't stay too long;
Join hand in hand in wedlock's band without
the least delay,
Before the fairest of all girls is by parsons
led astray.

APPENDIX 3 THE FROLICSOME PARSON OUTWITTED

The Bosbury Carol

WHEN we were all through Adam's fall,
 Once judged for to die,
 And from all mirth brought to the earth,
 To dwell in misery;
 God pitied then his creature man,
 In Scripture as you may see,
 And promised that a woman's seed
 Should come for to make us free.
 Oh! praise the Lord with one accord,
 All you that present be,
 For Christ, God's Son, has brought pardon,
 All for to make us free.

Then man did trust God's promise just,
 Hoping there life to find;
 Two thousand years it did appear,
 This promise they kept in mind.
 Man of reason knew not the season,
 Nor of what stock he should be,
 In whom the rest might all be blest,
 And come for to make us free.—Oh! praise,

Then at the length, man's faith to strength,
 God did the same renew.
 To Abraham, that perfect man,
 In words both brief and few:
 Who did divine, that of his line
 A maid with child should be,
 That should him bear, and so prosper,
 And come for to make us free.—Oh! praise,

David the king knew of this thing,
 Whereat he did much rejoice;
 Jeremiah by name did it proclaim
 Abroad with an open voice;
 Isaiah, he did prophesy
 That a maid with child should be,
 In whom the rest might all be blest
 And all for to make us free.—Oh! praise, &c.

From age to age was given knowledge
 That one should us ransom,
 And all this space they look for grace,
 And that was for to come.
 And in those times by figures and signs,
 Redemption they did see,
 Whereby they knew one would ensure,
 And come for to make us free.—Oh! praise,

When the time was come that our ransom
 Should be fully satisfied,
 Then Christ our dear he did appear,
 As it was prophesied.
 And of a maid, as Isaiah said,
 He took his humanity,
 Fulfilling sure the Holy Scripture,
 Did come for to make us free.— Oh! praise,

He thought no scorn for to be born
 Of a birth both low and small,
 Betwixt ox and ass in a crib he was

Laid poorly in a stall.
 To the shepherds in fold this thing was told.
 In Luke as you may see;
 Who sung glory to the Lord on high,
 That did come for to make us free.—Oh! &c.

Wise men from far found out a star
 Which still them went before;
 And when it came where Jesus was,
 It stood still o'er the door:
 And thus in space brought to the place
 Where they the child might see,
 Where they did bring their offerings
 To the Lord God that made us free.—Oh!

Herod the king much marvelling
 To hear of these tidings good,
 In furious rage did send to raze
 And shed the innocent blood.
 Supposing plain Christ to have slain,
 Of his purpose yet mist be,
 For Christ was kept within Egypt
 And all for to make us free.—Oh! praise &c.

At twelve years old with doctors bold,
 Began he to dispute
 When they did object, with answers direct
 He did them all confute.
 And so his name into great fame
 Did grow and multiply,
 That none but he in Scripture as you see,
 Did come for to make us free.—Oh! praise,

He preached, he taught, he miracles wrought,
 To have his power known,
 Yet he was still for his good-will,
 Refused of his own.
 From death to life he raised rife,
 The leprous cleansed he,
 In all men's sight from evil spirit
 Full many he set free.—Oh! praise the &c.

The deaf and dumb to him did come,
 As Matthew doth record;
 The sore and sick their health did seek,
 To health they were restored;
 He proved kind to lame and blind,
 And made them go and see;
 Yet he did yield for to be killed,
 And all for to set us free.—Oh! praise, &c.

By false Judas betrayed he was
 To the elders and the scribes,
 Who did him hire for to conspire
 Giving to him great bribes:
 Then with consent forthwith they went,
 Their guide then for to be,
 In a garden fair they found at prayer
 The Lord God that made us free.—Oh! &c.

When he was took and quite forsook

Of his disciples then,
 And brought from thence without offence
 To suffer pain and woe,
 Before Caiphas led he was
 Examined for to be,
 Where he was stript and naked whipt,
 And all for to make us free.—Oh! praise,
 And in despite clothed him in white,
 To the hall they did him bring,
 With a wreath of thorns they did him scorn,
 And crowned him a King.
 Yet there no sin was found in him,
 But truth and verity;
 So this meek Lamb unto death came,
 And all for to make us free.—Oh! praise, &c.

When they were come into the room
 Which was the judgement place,
 With cruel fists before the high priest,
 They smote Christ on his face:
 And on the cross nailed he was,
 On the mount of Calvary,

His heart was rent, his blood was spent,
 And all for to make us free.—Oh! praise, &c.

The sun was black, the earth did quake,
 The rocks did rend asunder,
 Both far and near there did appear
 Much darkness and great wonder:
 Graves did disclose, dead bodies rose,
 And walked openly;
 Which proved plain that there was slain
 The Lord God that made us free.—Oh! &c.

And thus in death yielded up his breath,
 Saying, consecrated Just,
 All this was done by Christ, God's Son,
 To bring men's souls to rest.
 Therefore you all, both great and small,
 That here now present be,
 Serve him always with diligent praise,
 The Lord God that made us free.—Oh! &c.

Ward, Printer, Ledbury.

APPENDIX 4 THE BOSBURY CAROL

The Herefordshire Fox Chase

All you that love hunting attend to my song,
I'll beg some indulgence that will be rather long,
I's concerning the huntsman, the horse, and the dogs,
That never fear'd mountains, hedged, ditches, or bogs,
The year 97, Twelfth Eve was the day,

Bright Phoebus shone clear, and the morning was gay,
Resolved on a chase to which Reynard gave birth,
I'm sure such a chase was ne'er equal'd on earth.

Squire Parry well mounted, away he did ride,
James Careless with hounds coupled close by his side,
Then off to St. Margarets Park did repair,
For Reynard long time had been harbouring there.

No sooner arriv'd, as I've since understood,
But the drag of the Fox they cross'd near the wood,
Cries James, Hark to Rounder! for that was the hound,
Which led the whole Pack, and old Reynard first found.

Hark! Hark altogether! good dogs, was the cry,
The next that did second was Bumper, then Fly;
Then all came together, how sweet was the sound,
The Fox now broke cover, and dash'd o'er the ground.

Now Reynard's unkennel'd, hark forward my boys,
Hark! hark! tally-ho, what can rival those joys,
And those that have souls, let them join me in score,
For yonder goes Reynard at full speed before.

From thence, off to Chanston's great covers he bounds
James Carless he follow'd the staunch mettled hounds,
No hedge, ditch, or gate, wall or stile could him set,
Such a horse and a rider before never met.

O'er Snowdel Park, then off to Cusop Hill ran,
Though Dorstone to Moccas the sport thus began,
Then he takes Blackmere Hill, so pleasing a thing,
To hear the woods echo and village to ring.

Then turn'd down again, & round Preston's Court went
Through Tibberton backward to Timberline bent:
Before I go further, a joke I'll unfold,
If I'm wrong pray forgive me, for I have been told,

That Reynard, the first time he left his abode,
Thinks he, I'll provide for a bait on the road,
So equip'd himself off with the wing of a goose,
But was so tightly pursued his prey he let loose.

The Squire fatigued, and long time left behind,
Spied the wing, caught it up, and it serv'd him to dine,
The first house he came to was Lloyd's, I declare,
So he left the sweet hounds to feast on it there.

Thus din'd off what Reynard intended for lunch,
And instead of pursuing he stuck to the punch,
So here I must leave him in this soaking place,
Since drink he prefers to the Fox Hunting Chase.

And now to continue my song as before,
Thro' Brampton to Kingston, then round to Blackmoor;
O'er Moorhampton Park with speed now he hounds,
How charming the hills did redouble the sounds.

The Golden vale crosses, that well known sweet turf,
In Chanston's great covers 'twas fear'd he would earth,
But the hounds push'd so hard, & the warmth of the day

Obliged him to pass them, and in haste seek his way.

Then up to Cwm Dingle was Reynard's next choice,
You'd have thought the trees on each side had a voice,
Not Handel himself could such music impart,
Had Diana been there shed been pleas'd to the heart.

Once more to his old native park did repair,
And he thought, but in vain, to get shelter there,
For the hounds gaining ground, scarce a field now behind
He, altho' quite at home, yet no safety could find.

The sun which had shone so delightful all day,
Had finished his course and to Luna gave way,
Poor Reynard now weaken'd, his brush swept the ground
Yet aim'd for the Darren by way of Longtown.

The Black mountain climb'd tho' scarce able to creep,
But Rounder and Brusher soon made him retreat,
Close down by the Darren they ran him in view,
Such a night of confusion no fox ever knew.

For Abergavenny he takes then a head,
The old hounds got up and the pack soon they led,
This shew'd that old Reynard soon conquer'd would be,
As you in the sequel shall certainly see.

Away down to Cloddock the road they take,
Then for Llanvihangel, the farmers awake;
Out of bed they all jump'd, hearing hounds at full cry,
Half-dress'd bundled off, & swore Reynard should die.

Then over a hill call'd the Skarrig, I hear,
'Twas thought he'd lead them all round Monmouthshire,
But, turning back short, Rowstone took in his way,
In a field near to Dulas they brought him to bay.

But striving to lead again, tho' in vain,
For Ringwood and Ratler led to him amain.
Then Darter and Bumper came up by and by,
And sentenc'd poor Reynard that moment to die.

The rest of the pack limping in one by one,
Seem'd pleas'd when they saw that the business was done,
For when Reynard no longer his strength could boast
To the hounds broke under and gave up the ghost.

James Carless soon came who had tired his dog,
And as for himself was scarce able to wag,
For ninety-eight miles all bad ground I protest,
This man, horse and dogs, not one moment did rest.

Then seeing old Reynard lie dead on the ground,
The hounds lay in rapture enclosing his round,
To welcome the huntsman the dogs all rose up,
And each join in chorus the joyful wo hoop.

Now Reynard is dead, and my song ends at last,
Excuse me, I'm thirsty, then push round the glass,
So I drink with a wish that all great men in place,
To their king stick as true as these hounds to their chase.

T. B. Watkins, Printer, Hereford.

Reports of the Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1991

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

It is surprising to realise that it is as long ago as 1979 when the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act went through Parliament on the eve of the dissolution. Although it took several years to come to fruition, one result of this Act was that Hereford became one of the five towns in the country to be selected as an Area of Archaeological Importance. Although funding has been a constant problem, this Act and the labour force provided by the Manpower Services Commission, ensured that City sites were properly excavated in advance of development. Major excavations, such as Maylord Orchards, Trinity Almshouses, the Sack Warehouse, Deen's Court and the monastic sites at the Greyfriars and St. Guthlac's were examined. The results are now being prepared as a monograph and should be published late in 1992.

A radical change occurred in November 1990 with the publication by the Department of the Environment of the Planning Policy Guidance number 16 on Archaeology and Planning. This key document looked at archaeological remains as a finite non-renewable resource, in many cases highly fragile and vulnerable to destruction. The purpose of the guidelines was to ensure that where nationally important remains, whether scheduled or not, and their settings, are affected by proposed development there should be a presumption in favour of their physical preservation. To implement this, the Department considered that the key lay with local authorities, acting within the framework set by central government, and in their various capacities as planning, education and recreational authorities, as well as with the owners of the sites themselves. The guidance concentrates on giving advice on the handling of archaeological matters in the planning process.

This guidance has now been operating in Hereford for just over a year, and its effect on development proposals can be assessed. In making archaeology a material consideration in planning policies and decisions, the guidance has placed archaeology on a formal basis and has substantially increased the workload of archaeological organisations such as the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit. In addition the guidelines include recommendations concerning the financial obligations of developers who are now prepared to pay for both desk-top evaluations and for on-site investigations. In the following paragraphs I hope to show how the guidelines have been particularly successful in the context of the important archaeological remains in the historic city of Hereford.

During 1991 the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit has carried out several desk-top surveys in the city. In each case a report has been produced which examines the documentary and cartographic information, and assesses the results of previous archaeological investigations in the area to determine the archaeological potential of the site in question.

A typical example is the site of the Black Swan in Widemarsh Street which the Co-operative Retail Services intend to re-develop as an extension to their present store. The desk-top survey considered the possibility of an early road continuing the line of Broad Street through the present All Saints' Church and continuing at the rear of the development site. This emerged as a distinct possibility and could have included Saxon extra-mural development along its edges. The desk-top survey was also of considerable use to the developer for it established the ground plan of the buried cellars of the inn and its neighbouring buildings. The survey concluded with a recommendation that evaluation excavations should be carried out to determine the upper limits of the archaeological strata and thus enable the developer to design the foundations with the minimum of damage to potential archaeological features. As a result of this the foundations now consist of slender steel tubes which were rammed into the ground and which cause the minimum of damage to the buried archaeology. They were so positioned that the ground beams for the building can be accommodated within the overburden above all the significant archaeological deposits. This means that the only major disturbances to the site will be for drainage works and for the base of a lift shaft. The developer has agreed to fund the necessary recording and excavation associated with these works which, it is anticipated, will give an indication of the quality of the levels which will be buried underneath the new store. Future archaeologists will, it is hoped, have a reasonable idea of the extent and nature of the buried levels which could be examined whenever the store has to be demolished.

A similar exercise was carried out on a car-park site in Bath Street, near the corner with Commercial Road. This site is just outside the position of the Bye Street Gate, where some extra-mural occupation could be anticipated, and could also be within the precincts of St. Guthlac's monastery - the main buildings of which were on the site of the present bus station. The desk-top survey was once again followed by evaluation excavations, but in this case no significant archaeological levels were exposed, the whole site having been cultivated down to the level of the natural gravels in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this particular case no further excavations are proposed, although archaeologists expect to conduct a watching brief on any trenches which are dug for foundations for the proposed new buildings.

A third example is the old Toyota Centre between Green Street and Mill Street. Although this area is well outside the Saxon and medieval town, it is relatively close to the assumed position of the east gate of the extended Saxon town. The road leading from this gate in an easterly direction could well have crossed the site and, following the desk-top survey, a machine-cut trench was excavated across the assumed line. There were no traces of any Saxon road or of Saxon occupation within the limits of the trench and, once again, it was possible to recommend that the development be allowed with traditional footings, but with a proviso that the southern part of the site, which is presently occupied by buildings, should also be examined by a trench after the buildings are demolished.

A recent site, which may have considerable potential when the development commences, is at the rear of the Midland Shires Farmers building in Widemarsh Street. The site is earmarked for an agrochemical store and evaluation excavations, which followed a

desk-top survey, demonstrated that there are buried waterlogged deposits containing a whole wealth of environmental material including cut timbers, seeds and grasses. The Wide Marsh probably covered quite a large area in this part of the city, and the presence of cut pieces of timber indicate that there was a building in the near vicinity, possibly a mill, which could have been associated with the Tan Brook. Following discussions with the architect it was decided that the most appropriate foundations were of the pad variety where square holes are cut down to the natural gravels and filled with concrete. The developer has agreed that he will fund an archaeologist on site during the ground works and will also pay for the necessary specialist examination of these interesting buried and waterlogged levels. When this work is carried out, it is quite likely that we will learn a lot about the general nature and vegetation of the Wide Marsh during the early medieval period.

On one site in Hereford it has not been possible to carry out evaluation excavations. This is the old W. H. Smith shop in Commercial Street which has recently been bought by Chadds of Hereford. Chadds have been using the shop for the Christmas trade but now intend to demolish and replace it with a three-storey structure with floor levels contiguous with those in their present store. The front part of the W. H. Smith building has a full cellar, but the rear part towards Union Street does not appear to be cellared at all. The whole of the triangular piece of ground between All Saints' Church, Union Street and Commercial Street is of considerable archaeological interest as it could be an early example of market infilling. A possible alternative is that it was associated with the early monastic settlement of St. Peter's which was dissolved in 1144. Chadds have a long history of making full use of all their buildings including basement retailing. Because of this they want to extend the basement of their new acquisition for the full width of the site through to Union Street. Although the site has considerable archaeological interest, its importance was not considered sufficient to recommend preservation at all costs, and the City Council Planning Department has agreed that the cellar can be constructed subject to suitable archaeological excavations being carried out. Chadds have agreed to this and will fund the archaeological work which, it is anticipated, will start in the very near future. Close co-operation between the archaeologists, the building contractor, the architect and Chadds should ensure that this new extension to their store will open by September 1992, in time for the Christmas trade.

From these examples it can be seen that the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit is still actively involved in the investigation, recording and preservation of the archaeological heritage of Hereford. The main change over the past year has been that the Unit has been employed by the developer, rather than having to find funds from any source which may be available. Developers now see archaeology as a legitimate part of the planning process in which they have a practical involvement. As a result they have begun to appreciate the problems of archaeology and the need for preservation, either *in situ* or by excavation. Archaeologists have also begun to understand the problems which developers face, both from an economic point of view and from the practical design of foundations for new buildings.

One area, which is so sensitive that only the bare minimum of archaeological work has been carried out to date, is the proposed site for the new Mappa Mundi and Chained Library building to the west of the Bishop's Cloister. Here, the Archaeological Unit has

prepared a desk-top survey as a result of which four boreholes were drilled to establish the depth of the archaeological strata. The boreholes also established the presence of burials and encountered some stone foundations, presumed to be those of the music room which preceded the present west range of the cloister. Within the last few days, Stratascan of Worcester have carried out a full geophysical survey of the site, including a resistivity survey and a radar scan, the results of which will add considerably to our knowledge of the site without causing any damage whatsoever to the archaeological levels. The Mappa Mundi Trust are deeply conscious of the archaeological importance of this area and have attempted to ensure that every possible means is used to establish the quality of the deposits. Eventually a decision will be made - whether the remains are of such importance that they must be preserved *in situ*, or whether the remains should be excavated and a paper record, to the highest possible standards of modern archaeology, will be adequate.

The City of Hereford Archaeology Unit has been active on several other projects within the old county of Herefordshire. On the edge of the city the Unit has carried out a detailed survey of the White Cross. The cross is one of the most important of the standing ancient monuments in the city but is now suffering from a variety of problems. Its position in the middle of a roundabout on a busy main road has led to damage from traffic vibration, and investigations have shown that it is surrounded by a veritable maze of service trenches from all the public utilities. Poorly consolidated back-filling of these service trenches has caused some subsidence which could affect the stability of the monument. The stone work of the monument is also eroding rapidly and the decorative panels are in urgent need of consolidation work. The survey included a detailed set of drawings of the monument and established the extent of the 19th-century restoration works. Plans are now being formulated to carry out a full restoration of the monument, to ensure that the deterioration is arrested and that its stability is improved. The works will be funded by the City Council, who own the monument, and English Heritage, who are actively involved in the restoration proposals.

Outside the city the Unit has continued its involvement in recording work at Goodrich Castle - the programme is now in its tenth year. English Heritage, who are responsible for the monument, has agreed that the Unit should be responsible for the production of a volume detailing the history, architecture and archaeology of the castle. It is anticipated that the work on this project will take several years, so it may be 1996 or 1997 before the volume finally goes to press. Long term projects such as this will ensure the well-being of the Archaeological Unit as it can then plan a comprehensive programme well in advance. This allows for a degree of job security which has not been possible in previous years.

The Unit has been involved in several projects associated with churches in the county during the previous year. The ruined church at Brockhampton-by-Ross suffered a partial collapse of the north wall early in the year and, following clearance work, the remaining upstanding part of the wall was recorded on a stone-by-stone basis. This small amount of recording demonstrated that the church was much earlier than had been suggested in the Royal Commission survey, and that it had a complex history of building and restoration. English Heritage will consider grant aid towards a restoration project but are

not prepared to do so unless there is a local involvement. Unfortunately the Parochial Church Council, with its important arts and craft church in the northern part of the parish, do not feel able to help. This church is a most important part of the heritage of Herefordshire and should a member of the Woolhope Club be interested in helping to form a local trust to raise funds and administer grants from English Heritage, I would be very grateful if they would contact me.

At Canon Pyon Church the Archaeological Unit examined and recorded new drainage trenches which were excavated around the church and produced a report for the Parochial Church Council. Apart from burials, the excavations exposed the foundations of an early vestry attached to the north-eastern corner of the church.

The Unit was involved with one project which was, in part, the consequence of an earlier article in the *Transactions*. This was at Urishay Chapel in Peterchurch parish. Members will remember that several years ago the Archaeological Unit carried out a full survey of the building in advance of the restoration of the chancel and the eastern part of the nave by the Friends of Friendless Churches. Unfortunately sufficient funds were not available at that time to restore the whole of the building and, since that work was completed, the north wall of the unconsolidated part of the nave has begun to take a very dangerous lean towards the road. This became so dangerous that it was agreed that demolition was the only practicable solution. The Unit carried out detailed recording of this wall as it was demolished down to the foundation level. The survey added substantially to the knowledge of the methods used in constructing this type of building in the 12th and 13th centuries. However, the paper record is but a poor alternative to the complete restoration of this important chapel, and it is hoped that such tragedies can be averted in the future.

The Archaeological Unit now has a permanent staff of seven and is involved in many projects well outside the boundaries of Herefordshire. These projects enhance the reputation of the Unit and ensure that it has the appropriate staff to carry out any project which may be necessary within the confines of the city.

HEREFORD AND WORCESTER COUNTY MUSEUM

The Sites and Monuments Record

Work has continued on updating and enhancing the Sites and Monuments Record. There are currently over 12,000 sites on the record and this rises daily. New sites are too many to mention individually, but in the last year have been derived from fieldwork, documentary research, finds identifications for members of the public and (substantial numbers) from aerial photographs.

The SMR is of course open to members of the public on an appointment system. Further details on all the sites listed below are held in the record.

Aerial Photographs

The Archaeology Section collection of photographs now stands at over 6,000, derived from a number of sources. The collection for the western side of the county has now been largely indexed and accessioned into the SMR, including the productive 1990

collection from Jim Pickering and Chris Musson. In late 1991, the R.C.H.M. passed a large collection (over 1,000 prints) of 3 ft. x 3 ft. photographs from the 1970s (used for ordnance survey remapping) to the Section. These, some of which have new archaeological sites on them, are in the process of being indexed.

One other collection of aerial photographs, those taken by the MAFF for Preston Wynne station in the last ten years, has been examined. These revealed over thirty new sites in Preston Wynne and the surrounding parishes. They included new enclosures, ring ditches, a possible motte and bailey and a possible marching camp.

Monuments Protection Programme

This English Heritage funded programme is now nearing completion. In the last year sites have been assessed by monument type according to strictly laid down criteria. This has led to ranking lists being drawn up. On the basis of these and the recommendations of the Archaeology Section, English Heritage will, after field visits undertaken by their staff, decide which sites fall within the category of 'nationally important' and will then schedule (under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979) a representative sample across the county. This programme has been extremely useful as eventually it may lead to more protection for a larger number of sites. But it has flagged up the need for more detailed recording of large numbers of sites in the county and regular field visits to keep the records on their condition up to date.

The Marches Upland Survey

In September 1991 this major two year survey project (largely funded by English Heritage) started. The project will use and build on established methodologies in its assessment of the threatened archaeology of the survey areas. An extensive examination of the Uplands will be followed by intensive fieldwork in sample areas. As well as the discovery of new archaeological sites it is intended that a quantifiable increase in the understanding of the nature (quantity and quality) of the archaeological resource in these areas will result. There will be feedback into the planning process (through the SMRs) as well as into the MPP.

The area under discussion consists of part of Shropshire and of Herefordshire. The uplands are defined here as areas with land over 250 m. The three survey areas that lie within this county are: the Black Mountains and foothills, the Wye/Arrow watershed and the Ludlow Anticline and the Silurian hills of Herefordshire.

At the time of writing, the first phase, of data gathering and enhancing the SMR, has taken place. The transect areas for fieldwork have been chosen and this will start shortly.

Fownhope: Rudge Farm (HWCM 8337)

Archaeological recording in advance of oil test drilling on the site of a reported flint scatter at Rudge Farm, Fownhope failed to reveal any prehistoric activity. Deposits relating to charcoal burning were revealed. Evidence included dumps of charcoal and fired clay, a fence line rebuilt on several occasions and possible evidence of a charcoal burner's cabin. Deposits dated from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Hereford: Canal Road (HWCM 3983)

An evaluation was undertaken adjacent to the Blackfriars ruins in an area expected to fall within the friary precincts. Early, though undated, medieval activity was represented by two land boundaries, one of them subsequently sealed by a road surface (relaid on two occasions). Walls of the friary buildings, possibly the east end of the friary church itself, were identified. Three phases on the same alignment and location were recognised, the latter possibly that documented in 1424. The demolition of this building is linked to the dissolution of 1538 and the dismantling of the friary buildings in 1614.

A ditch c. 8 m. wide and c. 1.5 m. deep, lay some 25 m. east of the wall footings. Provided with reinforced and revetted sides, it served as a water channel or, possibly, the precinct boundary and contained tanning waste and crop processing residues.

Leintwardine, 12-14 Watling Street (HWCM 10863)

A watching brief in April failed to find evidence for the outer eastern defensive ditch within 10 m. to the west of the present road line of Watling Street.

Leintwardine, Community Centre (HWCM 8247)

Excavations in April 1991 on the site of the new Community Centre, within the scheduled Roman settlement, identified further features of late 2nd and early 3rd century domestic occupation. Important finds included sherds of Rhenish ware beaker with applied moulded figures of Hercules and a satyr seducing a nymph. An environmental sampling programme produced quantities of charred plant remains, which represent the first such evidence for Roman Herefordshire.

Leominster: Buttercross (HWCM 7044)

The Buttercross site in the centre of medieval urban Leominster was evaluated in advance of development in January 1990 and the presence of well-preserved archaeological deposits was recorded. Excavation of part of the development site was undertaken in June-July 1991. Dry stone wall foundations of several medieval building on the High Street were recorded. Associated structures included tile-built internal hearths, a stone-built oven, clay floors, cellars and cess/latrine pits. Two distinct medieval phases were identified.

A fine series of copper alloy pins was recovered, as well as ironworking finds (hearth bases) and a major assemblage of pottery. The quantity of building stone (dry stone walling and roofing tiles) was notable. Environmental sampling provided extremely well preserved and important medieval remains of regional importance. Good collections of both charred plant remains generally and mineralised remains from the cess pit were recovered.

Longtown: Penbailey (HWCM 1036)

A watching brief indicated further evidence for medieval occupation within the enclosure to the north of the castle. An evaluation on the same site in 1988 had indicated the presence of structures and other occupation evidence including Monnow Valley ware.

Mordiford: Bridge (HWCM 915)

Following a warning by a member of the public that unauthorised works were likely to take place in the near future on this scheduled site, arrangements were made for an archaeologist to be present during works. A watching brief was carried out on the bridge during the excavation of a gas pipe trench. The bridge consists of two bays with two flood arches further west, two emergency arches in the widened causeway, two arches through which the flood relief channel flows and a single further emergency arch which is now beyond the Lugg defences to the west of the river. The bridge was described in detail by the R.C.H.M. in 1932, although the descriptions of the two arches of the bridge appear to have been transposed. A bridge was said to have existed on this site in 1352 and the western arch was considered to be of that date. Documented repairs occur in the 15th and early 16th centuries. The eastern arch, the flood arches and the remainder of the causeway were assigned a 16th-century date. However a 15th-century moulded string course survived above the eastern arch. In the 18th century the bridge was widened to the south. In 1955 Herefordshire C.C. resurfaced the road.

The resurfacing of the 1950s appears to have caused significant truncation of the earlier road surfaces. Those that survive occur in the area of the flood arches. Little evidence of the internal bridge structure was revealed. Strengthening of the top of the western arch was revealed in the form of an iron reinforcing rod. Evidence of the original position of the southern parapet was found, linked with a deposit of building rubble to the east of the bridge dated to the 18th century. From evidence within the structure of the eastern flood arch, the bridge may at one time have been of three arches, each supported by three ribs, the highest and widest being in the middle. Since modifications are known in the 15th century and again in the 16th such a date must be inferred for the conversion of the small western arch to the first of a pair of flood arches. Much of the internal stonework of this arch appears to have been replaced, perhaps in the 18th century.

Richards Castle: Moated site (HWCM 7017)

Following a field visit to Richards Castle, a number of finds from this cropmark site (revealed by metal detecting) were passed to the Archaeology Section by their finder for identification. These included several silver pennies, a jetton, window cames and a 14th-century brooch fragment. These, together with the cropmark evidence, confirm that the site is that of a medieval moat with associated fishponds.

COTSWOLD ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

New Weir, Swainshill, Kenchester (SO 436418)

A topographical and standing structure survey was undertaken by Costswold Archaeological Trust on behalf of the National Trust in advance of river engineering works. The survey identified an area of stepped masonry to the north of the upper 'buttress' previously described (Shoesmith 1980) and demonstrated that the extant wall of the lower 'buttress' is in fact the landward face, the majority of the structure having been lost to the river. Previously unidentified walls and robber trenches were recorded in the area between the 'buttresses' and for 25 m. downstream from the lower 'buttress.' Preliminary

river bed survey identified ninety-four worked blocks (including a crudely worked column-drum) below the summer water level, with distinct concentrations in front of the 'buttresses.' A tufa voussoir was found lying on the river bank, suggesting a vaulted roof in some part of the complex. A geophysical survey (by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage) of the river terrace yielded comparatively little new information. Work will continue next year. G. T. Walker.

REFERENCE

- R. Shoesmith, 'The Roman Buildings at New Weir, Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIII (1980), 135-54.

Botany, 1991

By PETER THOMSON

Using Herefordshire Botanical Society Records

The first half of the year was remarkably cold with northerly winds persisting until nearly midsummer and frost striking in early June. This regime seems to have suited many flowers as most bloomed profusely and lasted well. Notable in this respect were *Anemone nemorosa*, wood anemone, *Hyacinthoides non-scripta*, bluebell and *Leucanthemum vulgare*, oxeye or moon daisy, the latter producing a magnificent display on the covered tip heap at White Rocks Reserve on the Great Doward.

A summer drought set in by mid-July and there was little significant rainfall until late September by which time some leaves were falling and herbaceous plants were becoming desiccated. Detailed records of the location of plants found during the year are held by the Recorder of the Herefordshire Botanical Society (Mrs. S. E. Thomson), so I will select for comment some which seem to be of particular interest.

Ophioglossum vulgatum, adder's-tongue fern, is a plant with a single sterile frond, looking at first sight like a plantain leaf, and an upright spore-bearing spike. It is characteristic of undisturbed old grassland and is widespread, but rarely common, throughout the county. It was found this year growing in great abundance on Bromyard Downs just north of the road to Buckenhill. We were surprised to learn that the area had been ploughed up some twenty years ago in order to try to eliminate gorse. This had been partially successful but the gorse is now returning. It seems that once ploughed no re-seeding or fertilizing was done and the adder's-tongue was able to re-establish itself with vigour.

Botrychium lunaria, moonwort, is closely related to adder's-tongue but has a pinnately lobed sterile frond and is much less common in the county, but it was reported by Mrs. Hilary Ward and Dr. Johnny Birks of English Nature from a meadow in the west of the county. Nationally its distribution partially complements that of adder's-tongue as it is a northern montane species of well-drained, base-rich soils.

Asplenium viride, green spleenwort, is another northern montane species of lime-rich soils which is near the southern edge of its range in Herefordshire, but we were able to confirm very small amounts still present in screes below the Black Daren.

Gymnocarpium robertianum, limestone polypody, is well known on the Black Daren screes, but in 1991 it was also found to be abundant on the Red Daren screes, confirming Purchas's record of 1851. Purchas and Ley (1889) also record it 'about the quarries, Great Doward.' It has not been seen in that locality this century and if it had survived is probably now well buried under tons of domestic rubbish.

Mentha pulegium, pennyroyal, is a small-leaved mint of damp places and is now a rare plant nationwide. It has declined all over the country this century, so it was particularly pleasing for David Armstrong to find it at a site near the Gloucestershire border.

Thymus pulegioides, large thyme, was described as common by Purchas and Ley (1889) and as the most frequent form of thyme in the Ross area, but Mrs. Whitehead in her *Plants of Herefordshire* (1976) classed it as rare with only half a dozen sites. It is not often reported now but was found on the Woodside Reserve on the Great Doward and on Ewyas Harold Common, where it was noted by Peter Garner and Roger Maskew, and where Michael Porter also found it in the 1950s.

Rosa spp., Roses. The identification of wild rose species is a demanding task and we are now fortunate to have Roger Maskew living near the county boundary. He visited Herefordshire in early September when the hips were ripening; this is the only time of year when all the characters necessary for identification are readily seen. During his visit he identified a number of species from various sites in the county. At Dudale's Hope, near Bodenham, we saw *R. sherardii*, Sherard's downy rose, *R. canina*, dog-rose, *R. arvensis*, field-rose, and *R. x dumetorum*, which is a cross between *R. obtusifolia* and *R. canina*. At Sutton Hill *R. stylosa*, short-styled field-rose, *R. canina*, *R. arvensis* and *R. sherardii* were identified. *Rosa micrantha*, small-flowered sweet-briar, was seen in the lane leading to the Monument Reserve on Common Hill and farther on in the old quarries several plants of *Rosa rubiginosa*, sweet-briar, a rarely reported species of rubbly limestone soils, were found on a steep south facing slope. On Ewyas Harold Common most of the roses were *Rosa canina* with some *R. arvensis*. Hybrids of *R. canina* seen here included *R. canina* x *R. obtusifolia* = *R. x dumetorum*, and *R. canina* x *R. tomentosa* = *R. x scabriuscula*, suggesting that the other parent plants may be somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Spiranthes spiralis, autumn lady's-tresses, was reported from a lawn on the Great Doward where it has flowered regularly 'for years.' This plant thrives on this limestone soil in short turf and may be more frequent in old lawns than we realize. Neglecting to mow in about August may allow it to flower in previously unknown locations! On the other hand other known sites failed to produce flowers in 1991.

Orchis morio, green-winged orchid, is an old pasture species frequently found growing with cowslips. It was reported this year from the Doward lawn (as above) and from a pasture near Ledbury where about 200 spikes were counted. This species is very variable in colour from pure white to deep purple, but all have green veins in their sepals which give the plant its name. White specimens were reported in the Doward lawn and the Ledbury site yielded variations on the pink-purple theme. A third site near Risbury produced a single spike on a neglected lawn.

Ophrys apifera, bee orchid, has few sites in the county but, like *R. rubiginosa*, it has a predilection for rubbly limestone soils. This year, about 50 spikes flowered at a site on the Great Doward where previously only odd spikes had been reported. The bee orchid, being self-fertilizing, is prone to produce localized forms and all the flowers examined had a lip narrowing to a point at the tip instead of the more usual rounded form.

Acorus calamus, sweet flag, is a native of S. Asia and W. North America, which was introduced to Europe by 1557 and recorded as naturalized in Britain by 1660. In Herefordshire it has rarely been recorded but a big stand is present in the river Wye a few hundred yards upstream from the Bunch of Carrots Inn at Hampton Bishop.

A visiting botanist from the Institute of Terrestrial Ecology provided us with two new county records: the rare pondweed, *Potamogeton trichoides*, was recorded from two sites in the old Hereford and Gloucester Canal, and a hybrid water speedwell, *Veronica anagallis-aquatica* x *V. catenata* from Bodenham Gravel pits.

The autumn proved to be a better than average season for fungi and an expedition to Bircher Common and Fishpool Valley under the leadership of Ted Blackwell, yielded a total of over 160 species in one day's foraging. There seems to be an increasing interest in collecting edible fungi. The effects of this on fungus populations has yet to be assessed but it is certain to put pressure on to fungal habitats in a country where there is a high population and relatively little suitable woodland.

Buildings, 1991

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Grimsworth area twenty-one years after it had worked there in 1970.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based on Ewyas Harold.

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

ALMELEY

THE MALTHOUSE. SO 333525 Tithe No. 110

This house does not appear in the R.C.H.M. inventory, but seems to have been built in the period pre-1715 with which it deals. It adjoins Ladylift which is dated 1891 and was probably regarded as being part of it.

It is a four-bay house running east to west facing south with a garden in front of it. The four eastern bays are of rubble though this seems to encase a timber-framed house and part of the upper storey is still of timber-framed construction. The western bay is of brick. Along the back, i.e. north side, is a lean-to.

The roof is of three trusses of heavy principals with a collar-beam supported by raking struts from the tie-beam. Each side has two side purlins to which the common rafters are pegged and there is a ridge purlin.

The construction is typical of the Marches and West Midlands in the later 16th and first half of the 17th centuries from c.1570 to c.1640.

Getting a more definite date within that period is more difficult. The beams have a quite shallow chamfer with a run-off stop, features which have a long run in the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries. The comparatively modern windows have three lights and wooden mullions very much in the style of the late 16th/early 17th centuries and may well have more or less copied what was there before, though the lights are a little wider than most of the time. The big square panels in the partition are of the type one would expect to find in the mid-and second half of the 16th century as are the big, horizontal panels in the walls. This date would agree with the carpenter's assembly mark which was of the length found at the time, shorter than the long marks of the late medieval period and early 16th century, but longer than those of the generation 1610-40. These features and the fact that there are no attics point to a date in the last generation of the 16th century; thus there appears to be an Elizabethan house here, c.1580 or ten years or so before or after, which has been adapted during the past 400 years to meet changing needs and added to in the 19th century.

AYMESTREY

GATLEY PARK. SO 449685 R.C.H.M.3 Tithe No. 347

The corner post in the north-east corner of the house seems to be cut from a tree at least about 3 ft. in diameter and 30 ft. or more in length. These figures are arrived at from the fact that the existing post and the piece cut from it are 13 ins. on the outside face in each direction: the tree rings seem to indicate that it is from one quarter of the trunk, and from the height of the room and the room above and the depth of the cellar.

From the way it is cut it would appear that there could well be a similar post at each corner of the original house at Gatley. Assuming that this is the case it is worth looking for parallels and some sort of criteria by which to try to date it. The only other houses I know with comparable timbers are the Bishop's Palace at Hereford which is definitely an aisled building of c. 1190 and Kilington at Staunton-on-Wye, a strange house and adjoining building, but with some hint of an aisled structure.

Much more similar to the Gatley structure are the belfries at Pembridge and Yarpole, the former with a dendrochronology date of 1115+. There are similar towers at Orcop and Mable, both now joined to the church. The R.C.H.M. dates the former to the 16th century, but in both cases the churches date back to late Norman times and I see no reason why these massive timber structures should not be contemporary.

Newdigate in Surrey has a similar structure which Pevsner dates to the 15th century. Brookland in Kent is another magnificent example which seems to date from the 13th century.

In Essex there are a number of these belfries based on four main posts. These are clearly related to the stave churches of Norway and Sweden all of them with four main posts just like Pembridge and Yarpole. Some of the best known Norwegian examples are Eidborg, Fantoft, Gol, Heddal and Hopperstad, and Hedared in Sweden is another good one.

The type is dependent on the availability of good timber and probably the best modern example is the Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone Park, Wyoming, U.S.A. There the timbers go up from the ground through four or five storeys. It is a fantastic building.

To come back to Gatley. From the dates I have given above it can be seen that the type is early, much earlier than the usually accepted date of the 1630s. Gatley is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls in 1330 and John de Gateley appears in the Hereford Cathedral Muniments, 585, early in the 13th century. According to Ekwall it is also mentioned in the Episcopal Registers in 1275. The timber posts could well belong to a 13th-century house.

Other pieces of evidence for a house pre-1630s are the solid oak treads of the newel stairs above the south-west corner of the hall and also the nine octagonal shafts of the central chimney-stack which are typical early-mid-16th century, say 1520-60. The brick seems to be about right in size for the early 17th century, but I have found evidence of brick making in the county as early as 1190 at Much Marcle.

The Museum of London reported on this post: 'The sample contained 152 rings and is oak (*Quercus* spp.).

The sample significantly cross-matches with a large number of reference chronologies from the West Country, the Midlands, and Yorkshire, and is dated AD1365 to AD1516. This is a single sample with no sapwood. Thus we can provide only a *terminus post quem* of AD1525, by applying the minimum sapwood number to the last ring present. Unfortunately without examination of the beam concerned no idea as to how much later than this the date is likely to be, but it could be more than several decades.'

BISHOPS FROME

INSTONE. SO 659502 Tithe No. 325

In May 1789, James Gardiner bought for £4,000 the 'Capital messuage, Tenement and Dwelling House and ffarm with the appurtenances commonly called or known by the name of Ingestone otherwise Inton' and 211 acres.

This house seems to have been of two storeys with a narrow plat-band and elliptical-headed windows probably built c. 1700. The top nine courses of brick laid in English Garden Wall bond look like an addition to form the attics. However, there was a much earlier house here for in the vaulted cellar is a late medieval pillar of red sandstone, 22 ins. in diameter. Apart from this area the cellars have flat joists carried on a beam with a one inch chamfer with diagonal stops which look contemporary with the remainder of the house.

In the parlour there is plaster decoration of a rose pattern on the beam which again has a one inch chamfer and ogee stops. Over the back kitchen is a granary and adjoining the house is a most unusual two-storey 'loo'.

The walled kitchen garden is constructed of big brick which is found very occasionally in the 18th century. The main house bears the date 1817 and the barn 1839.

BREINTON

MANOR COTTAGES. SO 464403 Tithe No. 228

This pair of houses is not in the R.C.H.M., but comes within its period. There are long carpenters' assembly marks, beams 13 ins. wide, long ogee stops varying from 4 to 7 ins. and straight wind-braces. The pair dates from the late 16th century and was built as one house.

EATON BISHOP

POSTMAN'S COTTAGE, RUCKHALL COMMON. SO 449395 R.C.H.M. 9 Tithe No. 345

This house, now one dwelling again, is recorded by the R.C.H.M. as being two dwellings when their survey was done in the late 1920s. The fact that they recorded it means they felt it had been built before 1715.

The building is timber-framed, five panels long and four panels wide. On the sides these panels are big, almost square, but just horizontal, while on the gables they are

vertical, but still quite big, about 45 by 35 ins. Each has been divided into two panels by thinner, horizontal timbers, probably in the later 19th century.

From the original panel size the building would appear to be 16th century rather than 17th, but in plan and especially from the evidence of the carpenters' assembly marks on the central truss it seems to be late 17th or even very early 18th century, anything from c. 1680-c. 1715. These carpenters' marks are punched or gouged rather than scratched and are almost circular and crescent-shaped, the circular being a very unusual type.

The bigger room is about 14 ft. 3 ins. by 10 ft. 6 ins. and the smaller about 14 ft. 3 ins. by 7 ft. 6 ins. Each has a chamfered spine beam running from the central external timber to the central timber of the internal partition with a stepped stop at this partition and a run-off stop at the gable in the smaller room.

There is a fireplace at each gable adjoining the central beam. That in the bigger room has a bake-oven on the corner towards the front and there also appears to be a kiln on this corner, probably for drying barley or malt.

On the back the house has been extended by a modern lean-to. Frequently such a lean-to is contemporary or near-contemporary with the original house, but there does not appear to have been one here.

HOPE MANSELL

OLD CIDER HOUSE. SO 633196

This building is now ruinous and overgrown, but it appears to have been a three-room house running up and down the slope, about 50 by 20 ft. with a paved area below it about 17 ft. long which perhaps marks the site of an old cider mill. To the west of the middle room is an extension about 6 ft. wide which may have been a store. The whole building is of flat slabs of local red sandstone. Dating is difficult, but it is probably c. 1800.

One very interesting feature of the field to the east of the building is the large number of young oak trees growing naturally from acorns fallen from nearby trees. Most were 6 ins. or so high, but some were as little as 2 ins.

This building is now in Mitcheldean parish.

KINGTON

13 HIGH STREET. SO 296567

This is a remarkable house in that so much has survived for nearly seven centuries and surprisingly was not noticed by the R.C.H.M. survey about 1930 or as far as I can tell by any other official or semi-official body.

Cruck buildings are unusual in towns, but presumably this house predates the present town and is a relic from 'Kington in the fields' when Kington itself was around the church and castle. The reference to 'in the fields' is to the open fields, the lay-out of which can still be seen from the path which runs east-west behind the southern side of High Street, though it has been cut into by the car park.

The crucks are massive with a span of about 21 ft. each cruck being 2 ft. 7 ins. at the elbow. They are unusually close together, in fact, the closest I have found in any house, each bay being only 7 ft. 6 in. Just as unusual is the fact that each of the crucks has trefoil decoration above the collar, a feature normally found only on the central cruck. The west wall is modern, but presumably this also was of cruck construction, for there are two tiers of cusped wind-braces running into it. Two tiers of similar wind-braces, all with a hollow chamfer occur in each bay.

Each pair of crucks is arch-braced to the collar with the arch-braces hollow-chamfered just like the wind-braces.

The central cruck has a V-shaped groove running down the face of the chamfer, a feature often found in stone in churches of the area and almost certainly 14th century in date. The ogee-headed window with cusped decoration in the east wall adjoining the Lamb Inn is of similar date.

The puzzling feature about the house is to decide what was its original purpose. At the east end there is a doorway in the north wall and another opposite leading into the front extension onto the street. This may be what is left of an original cross-passage, but if it was there would almost certainly have been more of the house to the east. End passages are very rare indeed. If it was built as a house it was a very wealthy one and probably this was just the hall of the house open from ground to the apex with a parlour wing or extension at one end, probably the west and a service wing or extension to the east, perhaps simply a lean-to with the window already mentioned giving gable lighting to the hall. I could find no definite evidence of a louvre, but there has been some alteration in the roof; so this is not conclusive evidence against it being a house.

The floor seems to have been inserted in the 17th century, probably between 1640 and 1660 for the stops on the 2-in. chamfers of the beams are diagonal, probably a sign of Puritan influence. Pre-civil war and post-restoration they would almost certainly have been more decorative.

Thus here is a wealthy open hall dating from the 14th century, modernised in the 17th and completely hidden from the High Street by a later addition, probably always partly some form of business-shop and workshop with chambers above.

If it was not built as a house it could have been built as the hall of some craft guild in the developing Kington, but this seems less likely.

The front of the building has the shop on the ground floor today and above it a room with sashed windows and very fine glazing bars. These windows are probably of the 1820s-1840s, a period of very fine carpentry. This may be the date of the extension, for it was a period of prosperity in Kington with Meredith's foundry and the early tramway.

LONGTOWN

OLDCOURT FARM. SO 338303 R.C.H.M.5 Tithe No. 335

The hall of this house has now been opened up to its original form though it is difficult to appreciate this because of the inserted 17th-century chimney-stack. The central cruck is much superior in finish to the other two.

MARDEN

UPPER PARADISE FARM. SO 520774 R.C.H.M. 40 Tithe No. 650

This house is described by the R.C.H.M. as being of 17th-century date, timber-framed, with a modern extension to the south, and having a good ceiling in one room.

The house has a timber-framed wall of ten square panels along its western side with a doorway in the sixth panel from the north and a big, projecting bake-oven against the tenth. Beyond that the wall continues southwards in brick, apparently as an extension. The east wall is of brick with a doorway about two-thirds of the way along. The north gable wall has three square panels in its western part and the other half is of brick.

At the southern end of the house it runs on into a 19th-century brick house which is built around a piece projecting from the south-west corner.

There is a lobby entrance on the east side and another entrance into the main room on the west. This main room (the hall) has a big stack 9 ft. deep, the hall fireplace having a bake-oven on the east side projecting outside the house, and what appears to be a malt drying oven or kiln inserted on the west side. The stairs go up in the north-east corner along the east wall of the room. There is a central, longitudinal beam with 4 in. chamfers and a short section of transverse beam from the fireplace to the west wall with a slightly shouldered, run-off stop at the end of it against the external wall.

There is a timber-framed partition at the north end of the room through which a door by the stairs and a door by the west wall lead to the northern end of the house, again with a central beam with 4 in. chamfers. The window in the hall is in the centre of its west wall, that in the north-west bay is in the end panel of the west wall and in the north-east bay one is in the north wall in the second panel from the east.

In the southern, later room of brick are two longitudinal beams and two transverse beams all with 4 in. chamfers. In the south-west corner there is a big pantry or cupboard in the space west of the chimney with a window in the west wall. In the central panel of the ceiling is the plasterwork referred to in the R.C.H.M. A few of the original emblems survive, no doubt still on their 17th-century armatures, but in quite recent times somebody has added a number of modern casts of which a number of similar examples are still preserved in the house. There is a window in each side wall.

The stone fireplace lintel and jambs in the southern chamber on the first floor have an ovolo moulding and hollow chamfer with a quirk between them. There are carpenters' assembly marks about 4 ins. long on this truss in a series from I to V with two lines at angles to the Roman numerals. Above the tie-beam which is carried on posts with an enlarged head is a king strut to a collar. There are two through, trenched purlins. On the opposite wall are carpenters' assembly marks facing into the room again running from I to V, but this time differenced by the use of a circle. It is very rare for carpenters' assembly marks to face each other on two adjoining trusses. Marks are differenced in this way to distinguish between different levels.

The partition and truss between the two ends of the original timber-framed house again has carpenters' assembly marks running from I to V on its north face from west to east. The truss at this position is a typical collar and tie-beam type of this area, again having two through, trenched purlins on each side with a ridge purlin at the apex. There are three vertical struts between the tie and the collar and two raking struts from the collar to the principals, all with single pegging.

To the north of this, built as an intermediate truss between it and the gable is a king post which still has some bark on it. This form of construction is late in this area and with the fact that it has been left so rough suggests that at some time, probably after the third quarter of the 18th century and much more likely in the 19th, perhaps even quite late in that century, there had been some sort of collapse at this end with a consequent rather rough rebuilding.

The R.C.H.M. dated the house as 17th century but from some of the features it is possible to get a probably closer dating within the century. The basic construction is typical of much of the Marches, especially the central part from south Herefordshire to the Severn at Shrewsbury and from the Malverns to Rhayader. The four in. carpenters' assembly marks are typical of the very late 16th century and the period up to c.1620-30. Before c.1600 they would have been longer, six or seven ins., while after about the third decade of the 17th century they would have been more likely to be about three ins. The moulding on the stone fireplace upstairs combines the Gothic cavetto or hollow chamfer with the Renaissance ovolo. In Herefordshire the ovolo is gradually replacing the earlier mouldings from very early in the 17th century and by about 1620 or just after the Gothic mouldings disappear for about sixty years after which there appears to have been a short revival.

The bake-oven and the malt-drying oven (if such it is) are later insertions.

Strangely the chamfers on the beams do not have stops, except for the one example by the fireplace, and this is of a type which has a very long run.

In plan and size the house is typical of the standard two-up, two-down comparatively well-off houses of the time. The 'extension to the south' in brick has internal features, the beams and the ceiling, which appear to date from the 17th century. The beams are very similar to those in the main house, but the ceiling is of the type based on a circle which is found in the last twenty years of the century and early in the 18th. The timbers of the wall immediately south of the hall are not weathered; so there has always been something against it. It appears that the brick must have replaced timber-framing here just as it has done on the east wall of the main house. From the brick used it appears to have been replaced not earlier than the third quarter of the 18th century and it could have been done at anytime in the hundred years after that.

Thus I would expect the house to have been built c.1620, certainly within at most ten or fifteen years either side of that date, shall we say the generation centred on 1620, and then the plasterwork late in the same century and much of the timber-framing replaced in brick at a much later date, quite possibly in the 19th century.

MICHAELCHURCH ESCLEY

TY CARADOG. SO 324325 Tithe No. 824

This house does not appear in the R.C.H.M. inventory of 1933 which means that the investigators at the time did not regard it as having been built before 1715. Alternatively, as it is almost on the parish boundary, it may have been missed.

Having looked at it in 1971, 1974, 1982 and again on three occasions this year (1991) I think it should have been included. The house is L-shaped with the main block running north-west - south-east along the 750 ft. contour and the wing running north-east down the hill from the northern end of it. A barn along the north-east side of the yard completes the third side of a rectangle. The brook to the north forms the parish boundary and flows west-north-west to join the Escley Brook rather over half a mile away.

Externally with its one storey plus attics, its local sandstone roof and its whitened walls it is a typical western Herefordshire/Brecon/Gwent type of farmhouse.

The main block contains the hall and a room to the north. The hall is lit from both lateral walls and has a deep fireplace projecting into the room from the south wall with the curving stairway typical of the area between it and the east wall. This stairway is lit by a two-light window with a diamond-shaped mullion rebated for glass. On the opposite side of the fireplace is a cupboard using the space between it and the west wall. The two longitudinal beams are chamfered with ogee stops, and run the full length of the room from the fireplace to the screen at the north end.

The screen is of the post-and-panel type often found in the older houses of the area. It is set into a sill and a transverse beam, the latter being swollen on both sides to take the transverse beams in the hall and in the parlour beyond it. The doorway in the centre has chamfered jambs with ogee stops and the lintel is mason-mitred to them. The parlour is lit from a window in the west wall and has beams like those in the hall with similar stops.

The wing has the entrance to the house at its western end against the main block. This leads into a lobby with a post-and-panel screen facing the entrance, a doorway on the left (west) into the hall and on the right (east) into the wing. The post-and-panel screen facing the entrance has a doorway leading into what is now a toilet with a window in the north wall. This could well have been a ground-floor cellar in the original house; it was quite common to have them in this position.

The doorway on the right leads down a step into the service end of the house. It occupies the second section of a typical Herefordshire wattle and daub screen, the first section forming the right (east) wall of the lobby and the other three sections divide this room from the toilet. This service room is lit by a window in each longitudinal wall, that in the north wall still having four lights with three diamond-shaped mullions. No doubt this was the pattern of all the windows originally.

The fireplace is in the east wall and has a bake-oven in its northern corner and a circular stairway between this and the wall. As in the hall there are two chamfered longitudinal beams with ogee stops against the wattle and daub screen. To the south of this fireplace between it and the south wall of the room a passage 6 ft. long leads through the thickness of the wall and fireplace to a modern kitchen.

On the screen are short carpenters' assembly marks about an inch long. The truss above this has a tie-beam with a collar-beam above. The latter forms the head of a doorway which interrupts the tie-beam in the centre. The purlins are the usual heavy, trenched, through-purlins which are found in the Marches, two on each side and a ridge purlin. Surprisingly the studs and the posts are only single pegged into the tie-beam and collar instead of the more usual double pegging. The truss over the centre of the hall is similar, but without the doorway.

The house presents a number of problems as to dating and general interpretation. At first it seems to be late 17th century. The lobby entrance and the short carpenters' assembly marks seem to point to a date in the last generation or so of that century. The ogee stops could date from this time as there was a revival of some medieval features for a short period. The fact that the mullion on the stairway window is rebated for glass is also a feature which tends to be late rather than early.

On the other hand the mason's mitre on the doorway in the screen in the hall is usually a sign of 16th-century work or earlier, for the carpenter's mitre was in general use by the end of that century, and the ogee stops are normally early 16th century or earlier.

It is possible that the hall block was built first, perhaps in the late 15th or early 16th century and the wing added in the 17th century either as a new wing or a replacement of something still earlier. It is the sort of thing which happened, and I feel it could well be the answer in this case.

The gable doorway of the wing by the big fireplace is a long-house feature and if not from an actual long-house where people and cattle had direct access to each other is derived from that idea. Olchon Court and Black Daren in the Olchon Valley are of this type. Thus it seems possible that the modern kitchen may be on the site of an earlier byre.

During the year thirty-four planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor additions and alterations. Notifications are usually received from the local planning authorities and in all cases from the Council for British Archaeology. Five of them involved demolition or drastic alteration and comment was made about these. At Orleton a protest was made at the proposed demolition of a brick boundary wall which would have helped to spoil a very good village street. This was upheld. It was suggested that a proposal to convert Woofferton Grange into five flats should be modified to keep more of the feel of the Georgian house. A similar comment was made on The Pantalls, Sutton St. Nicholas, where it was proposed to convert the farm buildings and house into eleven units and build two extra houses as well. A protest was made at the proposal to convert barns at Brinsop Court into seven units and as at Orleton this was upheld. The fifth was about the Booth Hall where major alterations are to take place. A plea has been made that the very fine medieval roof should be preserved.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people, especially those who have drawn my attention to buildings and those owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander around their houses and outbuildings.

Geology, 1991

By P. CROSS

GEOLOGY IN HEREFORDSHIRE AND ITS BORDERS
NEW PUBLICATIONS APPEARING IN 1991

Two publications concerned with geology in Herefordshire and its borders appeared in 1991:-

- (1) *Mortimer Forest Geology Trail*, edited by Andrew Jenkinson, published by the Forestry Commission, Marches Forestry District, Whitcliffe, Ludlow, Shropshire SY8 2HD.
- (2) 'The OSTRACODERM PHIALASPIS from the Lower Devonian of the Welsh Borderland and South Wales,' by P. R. Tarrant (*Palaeontology*, vol. 34, part 2, (1991), 399-438, 6 pls.).

The first publication is a well-illustrated booklet on the cover of which under the title stands 'Walk 4 miles, see 13 sites, through 15 million years of earth history.' The booklet is based on the trail originally devised and described for the Nature Conservancy Council in 1977 by Dr. J. D. Lawson of Glasgow University. This earlier publication has been revised and updated 'to match the current situation.' An introduction under the headings About the Trail, Ludlow Rocks and Fossils, Murchison, The Silurian System and The Ludlow Anticline is followed by a section on fossils to be found at sites along the Trail under the heading Animals of a Shallow Sea. A detailed plan showing sites of the exposures is followed by descriptions of rocks and fossils at all 13 listed sites. There are sketches of some of the rock faces and illustrations of some of the more common fossils to be found. This is a very valuable field guide especially for the amateur geologist.

The second publication is of more interest to specialist palaeontologists and is mainly concerned with a study of the Lower Devonian ostracoderm *Phialaspis symondsi*. A map shows known phialaspid localities in the Anglo-Welsh Lower Old Red Sandstone. Among listed localities nineteen are in Hereford and Worcester and include the Black Mountain District.

Herefordshire Field-Names, 1991

By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

We are pleased to report that publication continued in the spring and autumn of 1991 despite the temporary closure of Hereford Record Office and are very grateful to the staff for their help during the closure.

Since publication started in 1987 there have been nine printings and 5,647 copies produced. One hundred and ninety-eight parishes have been completed which now include all the market towns. There are approximately forty parishes still to be covered.

We will be pleased to receive any amendments or additions to the published parishes. May we emphasise that the older field-names sent for Part 2 should include names that are the same as recorded in the tithe schedule as well as those that are different, as we wish to discover the age of the field-names.

Thanks are due to all those involved in this project especially our map artist Geoff Gwatkin and also the typists.

PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name : AYLTON

Contributed by John Wickham King

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
109	Yay Alsters Pasture	18th cent.	1
66	Birchley Leasow	1831	2
67	Old Castle Field	1831	2
78	Broad Croft	1831	2
81	Fearnbrook Hopyard	1831	2
82	Mill Croft	1831	2
83	(included)	1831	2
	Cherry Orchard		
	Green		
	Fold Yard		
96	Green Orchard	1831	2
128	Upper Meadow	1831	2
129, 129a	Lower Meadow	1831	2
130	Horley Hays	1831	2
132	Sheepcote Field	1831	2
159	Badley Field	1810	3
160, 161, 164	Sunt Hill	1810	3
85, 92-98, 122,	The Grout	1620	4
124-7. (Uncertain	The Meadow Piece		
but probably these	Middell Leasow		
tithe nos.)	Littel Parsonage		

Parish Name : PIXLEY

Contributed by John Wickham King

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
62	Chippenhall	18th cent.	1
81	Whitfields Coppice	1807	5
80	Alders Pasture	1807	5
125	Old Clover Meadow	1807	5
7 (part)	Fishpool Orchard	18th cent.	1
57	Yea Meadow	" "	1
56 (part)	Yay Alsters Pasture	" "	1
12, 13, 14	Fishpool Orchard	" "	1
28	Botchetts Land	" "	1
39	Hall Corner Pasture	" "	1
40	The Nine Acres	" "	1
43	Lower Cow Leasow	" "	1
64	The Yare	17th cent.	6
142a	Linacre Field	17th cent.	6
(Unidentified)			
111 or 65?	Homwoods Croft	17th cent.	6

KEY TO SOURCES

- 1 Map of the Knapp & Priors Court property of the Right Hon. Lord Sommers (sic). (18th century).
- 2 HRO G2/111/54. Map marked 'Aylton', 1831. Biddulph Family Papers.
- 3 HRO D96/84. Plan dated 1810, showing land of T. Webb & Revd. Hall.
- 4 HRO 1/8 Aylton Glebe Terrier.
- 5 Map of Mainstone Farm by T. Davis, surveyor 1807.
- 6 HRO 1/60 Pixley Glebe Terrier.

Note: The reference in the tithe award to 'In Yey Field' but in 6 to 'The Yare' makes it likely that tithe nos. Aylton 109 and Pixley 52-57, 60, 68 were originally 'Yare'. Likewise that Pixley 140, 141, 141b, 127, & 128 were originally 'Linacre'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to Mr. J. Hervey-Bathurst of Eastnor Castle for maps 1 & 5 and for information from the Eastnor Estate Archives.

Parish Name : DONNINGTON

Contributed by John Wickham King

TITHE NO	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
67	Perrycroft Tenement (part)	1795	1
45	Round Lands	1795	1
55	Dynchill	1607	2
57	Cherry Orchard	1607	1

59	The Sling	18th cent.	3
	Ashcroft	1607	2
60 (part)	Briary Pasture	18th cent.	3
60 (part)	Wheatland Meadow	" "	3
60 (part)	Orley Ground Pasture	" "	3
88, 76	Moncroft (part of)	1607	2
68, 69	Perrycroft Tenement (part)	1795	1
159	Upper Rudge Hill	1757	4
183-5	Part Further Park	1816	5
33, 40	Lamerke Sich and Formerscort	1604-5	6
43	Pirricroft	1604-5	6
64, 70	Common Field called Fowlett	1795	1
77	Moncroft (part)	1607	2
14	Black Mans Dole	1819	7
23	Grims Meadow	1819	7
87	Moncroft (part)	1607	2
99	Wiltens Croft	1757	4
146	Honycroft	1757	4
162	The Shaweyate	1578	9
		1629	
101	Larpars	1607	2
		1757	4
103	Larpars Moor	1757	4
1369-70	Malmopol Mill	1720	8*

Unidentified from 1607 Glebe Terrier

Parsonage Moor

Ridge called the Warre

Unidentified from Skipp Deeds of 1604/5 (probably Donnington Court Farm)

Capital messuage called The Grove or Nether Grove

Close or garden called the Pool Orchard

Close called the Waynehouse Close

Close or leasow called the cowl

Orchard called the Well Orchard

Close called Gabbs Close

Meadow called Brademeddow

Meadow called Pirricroft Pripe

Meadow called Pirricroft Green

Meadow called Charmeddowes Pleck

Piece or ridge in Charmeddowes Pleck

1½ acres & little pleck of meadow lande Oswalshs in Sowt meddow

KEY TO SOURCES

- 1 HRO G2/111/37 Biddulph Papers, plan of Argus Farm 1795.
- 2 HRO1/34 Donnington Glebe Terrier 1607.
- 3 HRO G2/111/57 Biddulph Papers, plan of Argus Farm. u/d. late 18th cent.
- 4 Donnington Glebe Terriers 1757.
- 5 HRO Q/R1/17 Eastnor Inclosure Award 1816.
- 6 HRO B38/359, Box 2 Skipp Family Deeds 1604/5.
- 7 HRO Biddulph Papers, plan of land of late William Hankins.
- 8* HRO J95/1 Survey of Hazle Manor, Ledbury by C. Price 1720. (Malmopol Mill identified as Leather Mill shown on the Ledbury tithe map, probably a corruption of

'The Lower Mill'.) For full details see King, H.W. 'The Mills of Ledbury' in Herefordshire Archaeological News, No. 56 September 1991. *Archaeological Research Section of Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club.*

9 HCRO Biddulph Deeds G2/294 & 297.

Parish Name : DONNINGTON

Contributed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow

Malmespol mill (see 8* above)	1261	St. K.
<i>Unidentified</i>		
Lameley	1163-69	Capes
Smokeacre, Bruggescroft	1264	AD
Walsueth	1304	Swin

KEY TO SOURCES

Capes	W.W. Capes (ed.) Charters & Records of Hereford Cathedral.
St. K.	A.T. Bannister, 'A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts, dealing with St. Katherine's, Ledbury', <i>Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club</i> (1923).
AD	Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (PRO). In progress.
Swin	W.W. Capes (ed.) Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis. <i>Cant. and York Society</i> (1909).

Parish Name : MUNSLEY

Contributed by John Wickham King

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
186	Garden & Green	1828	1
188	Linnage Field	1828	1
		1827	2
187	Old Grafts	1828	1
		1827	2
192	Brick Field	1827	2
	Plock & Brick Clamp	1828	1
195	Five Acres	1828	1
		1827	2
197	New Grafts	1828	1
		1827	2
184	Cow Leasowe	1828	1
		1827	2
178	Punsford Wood	1828	1
	Paunsford Wood	1827	2
88	Hallow Meadow	1709-10	3
116 (also 101)	Morrendley	1630	4
107	Broomy Leasow	1630	4
114	Barnecroft	1630	4
137	Pursford Acre	1630	4
85	Broddemeadow	1630	4

Unidentified

One parcel called Shepperds.....Land	1630	4
Parcel called the Sling 2 acres	1630	4
Three closes called respectively;	1709-10	3
Cow leasow, Middle Leasow & Orley Leasow		
Arable known as the Old Orchard	1709-10	3
Arable known as the New Orchard	"	3
Tillage known as Moorend	"	3
Tillage known as Orchard Croft	"	3
Land adjoining Hallow Meadow called The Old Lands	"	3
Meadow called the Moorend Orchard	"	3
Meadow called the Long Meadow	"	3

KEY TO SOURCES

- 1 HRO D96/94 Plan of Callow Hills Estate 1828.
- 2 HRO D96/93 Plan of Callow Hills Estate by T. H. Davies 1827.
- 3 HRO C46/34 Lease & Release 1 & 2 Feb 1709-10 (1) Francis Jauncey (2) William Hanbury & another (3) John Elton.
- 4 HRO 1/54 Munsley Glebe Terrier 1630.

Industrial Archaeology, 1991

By JOHN van LAUN

TRAMROADS IN HEREFORDSHIRE

With the inclusion of industrial archaeological sites by the Sites and Monuments Record held by the County Archaeologist it is my intention that a separate industrial archaeological gazetteer for each topic should be covered annually with a bibliography. The County Archaeologist relies very heavily on voluntary help in compiling the list of monuments and this Club, as the premier body for such topics in the county, must be seen to play its part. It is hoped that publication will stimulate readers to add and update industrial archaeological monuments within the club's geographical area.

This first gazetteer will attempt to record physical remains of tramroads (horse drawn railways) within the old county of Hereford. Tramroads within the county have received a reasonable amount of attention and although the course of them has been known and published no detailed listing of physical remains has taken place.

There were three tramroads in Herefordshire. To the north of the county (including the large section in Powys) the Hay Railway and its continuation the Kington Railway formed a continuous link from the Brecknock & Abergavenny Canal at Brecon to quarries at Burlingjobb in Powys. To the south of the county the Hereford Railway with the Llanvihangel and Grosmont Railways formed a continuous link from the Brecknock & Abergavenny Canal near Abergavenny to Hereford. Although all three obtained their acts of Parliament as 'railways' they were constructed as tramroads, that is with 'L' shaped plates. Unlike modern railways, which derived their pattern from the north-east, plateways had the flange on the rail allowing the wheels to be plain. This method was common throughout South Wales from 1800 onwards. The gauge for all three tramroads appears to have been 3 ft. 6 ins. (1.06 m.) a gauge favoured by John Hodgkinson who was engineer for the Hay and Hereford Railways and involved with the Kington Railway.

The HAY RAILWAY was authorised 25 May 1811 (51 Geo. III c 122) followed by a second Act 20 May 1812 (52 Geo. III c 106) and opened to Hay on 7 May 1816 and to Eardisley on 1 December 1818. It was 24 miles long. The track was of the old pattern using 3 foot (0.91 m.) plates spiked directly to stone block sleepers. Each plate had an integral foot to limit movement. The section of the Hay Railway in Herefordshire was taken over by the Hereford, Hay & Brecon Railway on 6 June 1862 and the railway opened from Eardisley to Hay on 11 July 1864 and from Hay to Brecon 19 September 1864.

Archaeology

Stone bridge
Whitney Bridge (Toll Bridge used by tramroad)
Raised metallised track

SO 2305 4278.
SO 2589 4742.
SO 2927 4709 to 2936 4720.

Between two hedges
Metallised track
Track between two hedges

SO 2957 4750 to 2972 4765.
SO 2972 4765 to 3016 4784.
SO 3016 4784 to 3081 4822

The KINGTON RAILWAY was authorised on 23 May 1818 (58 Geo. III c 63) and opened from Eardisley, where it joined the earlier constructed Hay Railway, to Floodgates, Kington on 1 May 1820 and opened throughout to Burlingjobb in Powys on 7 August 1820.¹ A great deal of the course of the Kington Railway was taken over by the Kington and Eardisley Railway which opened in 1874 but the last meeting of the tramroad company was held 20 October 1862. The section between Kington and Burlingjobb, remained open for longer. The length of the Kington Railway was 12¼ miles. The track was of cast-iron plates laid on stone sleeper blocks. A chair with two semicircular lugs was interposed between the plates and the sleeper. A single chair secured the ends of two plates.

Archaeology

Embankment
Embankment into cutting
Stone bridge
Cutting (partly filled)
Bridge (filled)
Cutting into embankment
Track
Embanked against wall

Cutting
Track
Track through Piers Grove Wood
Track to Waterloo Bridge
Waterloo Bridge Abutments
Road
Disturbed track north of Kington
Track some stone blocks
Castle Hill Ironbridge

SO 3136 4953 to 3138 4975.
SO 3138 4975 to 3163 5017.
SO 3163 5017.
SO 3303 5490 to 3302 5499.
SO 3301 5503.
SO 3300 5503 to 3290 5520.
SO 3290 5520 to 3308 5617.
SO 3310 5618 to 3328 5646.
SO 3328 5646 to 3258 5683.
SO 3262 5676 to 3242 5676.
SO 3218 5672 to 3164 5715.
SO 3164 5715 to 3117 5703.
SO 3117 5703 to 3069 5695.
SO 3068 5694.
SO 3068 5694 to 3035 5693.
SO 3024 5691 to 2940 5693.
SO 2940 5693 to 2903 5698.
SO 2904 5697.
SO 2904 5697 to 2895 5699.

The early iron bridge at Castle Hill is the most important monument on the Kington Railway and an attempt is made here to date it. The Kington Railway Minute Book² for 19 July 1821 refers to 'the permanent bridges over the Arrow and Back Brook are not erected' even though the tramroad had been opened the previous year. It is possible that the extant iron bridge was intended to be temporary and never replaced. The Minute Book for the 24 May 1833 leads one to suspect that the bridge was in need of modification by then. 'We [Morris Sayce the Contractor] are of the opinion that the width of the Castle Hill and Waterloo Bridges, though less than that stipulated for by the contract may be deemed sufficient but that the floors thereof, & all the appurtenances should be completed with iron work according to Mr. Balls 4th report.' The Contract³ allowed for iron or stone and specified ten feet between the parapet walls at least. The bridge is still very narrow with a deck of wood but has railings. From this it would appear that the infrastructure is as built in 1821. The railings may have been added sometime after 1833 but is unlikely as soon after the meeting of 24 May the maintenance was in the hands of local labour.

The HEREFORD RAILWAY was authorised on 26 May 1826 (7 Geo. IV c 100) and opened to the Wye Bridge at Hereford on 21 September 1829. The length was around 12 miles. The track was constructed of combined tiebars with chairs laid on stone block sleepers. The track was held in place with ballast packed between the flanges of the plates. Much of the track of the Hereford Railway together with the Llanvihangel and Grosmont Railways was used by the Newport, Abergavenny and Hereford Railway and closed 1 May 1853.

Archaeology

Llangua road bridge	SO 3955 2653.
Embankment (bridge over river destroyed)	SO 3945 2745.
Cutting (partially filled)	SO 4083 2875 to 4094 2886.
Embankment	SO 4132 2930 to 4141 2953.
Cutting	SO 4182 2979 to 4216 3008.
Embankment	SO 4256 3032 to 4288 3032.
Embankment	SO 4500 3155 to 4519 3152.
Embankment	SO 5038 3920 to 5073 3946.

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² Hereford Record Office E 86/1.
³ Extract from the Minute Book and 'Contract for the Construction of the Kington Railway' between William Hazeldine and Morris Sayce and the Kington Railway dated 1 November 1818. Clinker Collection. Brunel University.

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Mammals, 1991

By W. H. D. WINCE

BATS

Ms. Holland and the Herefordshire Bat Group report the finding of several new Pipistrelle roosts. Further to the finding of a Barbastelle (*Barbastella barbastellus*) in 1990 it may be of interest to know that bats of this species have been found in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire recently. The number of Greater Horseshoe Bats counted in the Doward caves numbered from six to twelve in the early months of the year, in 1990 the number at a similar time was only two or three. Lesser Horseshoes this year were 22-24. Dr. J. Birks says a Lesser Horseshoe Bat was roosting with Pipistrelles and Brown Long Eared Bats in the loft of his house near Ledbury.

DORMOUSE

Miss E. Kirby working with the Herefordshire Nature Trust discovered twenty-four new Dormouse sites in scattered habitats in the county; it is possible that many more sites would be found by patient searching. The dormouse is however not a common species.

HARE

Dr. J. Birks says he has only had one sighting of a hare in 1991 in the Colwall/Ledbury district. Hares often end up as road casualties and many are killed as a result of lamping and coursing.

POLECAT

Dr. Birks reports polecat casualties at Eastnor (August) Bredenbury (September) Bromyard (November) and east of Ross (December). Dr. D. Langford says he saw an adult polecat and two young in July.

English Nature is starting a study of polecat distribution and spread in the West Midlands Region. They need recent records and if possible dead bodies from gamekeepers gibbets and road casualties. Dr. Birks should be contacted at English Nature's Malvern Office (0684 560616).

BADGER

The Herefordshire Badger Group has evidence of illegal digging of several setts. Miss E. M. Edwards reported that a sett in the Colwall district had been dug and a dead badger cub had been found at the site in October. The cub had two holes in its skull probably due to a garden fork being thrust through its head.

OTTER

Signs of otters have been found on most of Hereford's rivers - The Dore, Monnow, Arrow, Frome, Lugg, and Wye. However there are no sightings reported.

SEAL

A report in the Daily Telegraph indicated that a seal was seen in the lower Wye in April. The species was not identified.

Ornithology, 1991

By BERYL HARDING

Following the heavy rain at the end of December 1990, January continued wet and windy with sharp frosts, down to -8°C at the end of the month. February was the coldest for four years reaching -10°C with several falls of snow up to 200 mm. With rainfall 127 mm.+ in January the Wye meadows and other wetlands were visited by flocks of mute and Bewick swans, plus some seven Whooper swans at Clifford, with flocks of up to 200 lapwing and numbers of geese, wigeon, teal, mallard, gadwells and snipe. Flocks of 80+ of both tufted duck and pochard were seen at Bodenham gravel pits.

The effect of last winter's more severe weather can linger on into spring taking as it did a heavy toll on many species, sealing food under snow and ice when most needed. Many birds were weakened by this and their spring insect food supply was also affected by damp and cold. Insects are impervious to cold when dormant but once active in early spring are susceptible to cold spells. Birds that do survive these hazards will have less competition later.

Despite this a nuthatch was calling in Llanwarne in February and many curlews. The first chiffchaffs were seen and heard on March 14 - are some over-wintering? A single swallow was sighted at Ross on April 6, house martins at Titley on April 11 and willow warblers on April 12. The cuckoo was heard by April 13 and some swifts returned by April 24.

During May most summer migrants and residents have commenced nesting and rearing young. This May was cold and dry with northerly winds. It was too early to see the effect of February's cold weather on vulnerable species such as wren, goldcrest and long-tailed tits until the Bird Census results made in autumn. By June the whitethroats and other warblers are all well into nesting with some residents such as blackbirds starting a second brood. Starlings have been found to lay random eggs in other starlings' nests if their own have been predated. Early June also proved cold with 1°C of frost and northerly winds which though not affecting fruit blossom would affect brood feeding. It has been calculated that on average there is one pair of breeding birds per every human U.K. resident, i.e. some sixty-million pairs. Including the resultant young and non-breeding pairs the total could be approximately 250 million flying around by July!

The restless blue tits are always in search of tasty morsels. A nesting pair may bring on average 700 caterpillars a day to their young. Beekeepers are not fond of them as they catch bees emerging from the hive, dealing effectively with the stings and rub the venom out against a perch before eating.

The Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme results are only available for 1990 and show that twenty-two sites were recorded with 502 of the 710 boxes used - a 4% rise on 1989. Pied flycatchers, blue, great and coal tits showed a decrease in the young fledged. With the previous mild winter caterpillars emerged too soon and were too large for the young who died from lack of food. Wrens and tree-creeper used boxes again after a six-year absence.

On the sites recorded by us in 1991 wire netting had been placed around many boxes to prevent repetition of woodpecker predation. Fewer boxes were used on the Welsh Newton site but 75% of blue tits were fledged with a 240% increase of great tits on the previous year. On one of the Doward reserves more boxes were taken up this year - nuthatches and great tits were successful but only 30% of the pied flycatchers fledged. The male pied flycatcher, or bigamy bird, has one or two females on nests at a time but the fledglings can die if the temperature is below 12°C . They are also more susceptible to the tannin build-up in caterpillars feeding on oak leaves.

The peregrine falcons at Cymyoy made the usual preparations to raise young but nothing came of it. Either one or both are infertile for some reason, or too elderly. Another pair successfully raised three young further east becoming the first pair in Herefordshire, and those guarded by the R.S.P.B. at Symonds Yat raised two. The peregrine population is probably rising, enough to cause concern to pigeon fanciers. They have been noted feeding in the centre of the county, especially in winter. A random osprey was seen flying downstream on the Wye in June, a goshawk and red kites were also noted in the summer.

There is now a Barn Owl Rehabilitation Scheme in Herefordshire run by Sally Pittam. Young owls are bred in captivity from disabled adults. The first ten were released in the spring in the north of the county where there is a low adult population and the habitat is suitable. Anyone interested, who lives in the Leintwardine, Wigmore, Shobdon, Bircher area, who has suitable nearby hunting ground of rough grassland and hedges, abundant small mammals, freedom from too much disturbance and a seldom-used barn or outbuilding for a release/home base could participate via the Nature Trust. Another important factor is the time available to devote to their early feeding.

August, which was hot this year, is the quiet time with birds moulting. This is later followed by another period with few garden birds visible having moved into the countryside for their annual feast of seeds and berries to lay down winter fat deposits. However, pied wagtails are extra-visible in September running and leaping on roofs and grass swards for the rich insect harvest. Such wagtails are part of a rolling migration southwards. Many will overwinter here but the bulk are massing towards the south coast prior to their channel crossing to the winter sun. Again this winter, roosting flocks of 800+ are to be heard and seen in High Town. Reported during the year was:-

- i) A dead red-shank by the Wye near King's Caple in February where they feed.
- ii) A snipe returned to a garden in Garway.
- iii) A single corncrake was seen several times near Bromyard in May.
- iv) A nutcracker was noted in Colwall in the autumn. Could this be the one that arrived in the Midlands and was sufficiently tame to sit on observers' tripods?
- v) A minor invasion of waxwings are moving westwards.
- vi) Nightingales were singing in Bredwardine in May and June.
- vii) After many years working in the Wigmore area a farmer, when ploughing this autumn, was followed for the first time by buzzards feeding off the plentiful supply of mice turned up by the plough.
- viii) Four corvids were seen on an electricity wire, whether crows or jackdaws was not certain, three were perched normally and flew off on closer investigation - the fourth

was hanging upside down. It dropped a few feet in the air and flew off apparently unharmed!

The change from summer to autumn this year was marked by a long, late period of sun and warmth turning suddenly into wet and stormy conditions. With September gales there are frequent reports of Manx shearwaters blown inland. These are the youngsters about to fly to South America and abandoned unfed in their burrows for a week before departure. (One ringed juvenile took seventeen days to reach Brazil from its burrow in S. Wales.) Local reports were of one picked up in Ledbury and later released off the coast and of four others picked up in the Midlands in late September. A mild November-December allows birds to feed on soil invertebrates and leave the fruits, nuts and berries till later. Once a cold period sets in, as in mid-December, then this stock is depleted rapidly. As autumn 1990 gave a vast crop of beech-mast that of 1991 was naturally poor, so supplementary feeding will be necessary for many birds during the late winter - especially with the large numbers of chaffinches and blackbirds from Scandinavia and E. Europe that winter here.

The year has concluded with November wet at first, then cold to -6°C and mid-December with freezing fog and hoar frosts for several days. After a mild Christmas the month closed with gales, less severe locally, and only 18 mm. rain.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1991.

By JOE HILLABY

16-18 High Town. HC/910425-6/PL&LD/E. 1 October.

The application was to remove the existing shopfronts and alter the facade and rear elevation of Alban House. This was the premises of 'Augustus C. Edwards, Silk Mercer, Family and Household Draper, Hosier, Milliner, Mantle Maker, Costumier, Ladies and Childrens Outfitter and Importer of Oriental Curtains, Silks, Furs, Gloves, Laces etc.' In the extensive workroom to the rear 'dresses, trousseaux, layettes, India and Colonial outfits etc' were made - 'a perfect fit guaranteed.' The committee, noting that the City Archaeology Unit had been asked to provide a report on the interior, merely recommended that the design of the new shopfront should take adequate account of the four pilasters which grace the first and second floor of the elevation. If these are reflected in the facade at street level some of its former dignity will be restored.

Castle Street. Cathedral School 'New Block'. HC/910431-2/LE&PF/E. 15 October.

Application for extensive alteration and additions to the existing building. The committee suggested a number of amendments to modify aspects of the proposals which were inappropriate in so sensitive a location - at the western end of Castle Street, close to the west front of the cathedral. In particular:

- 1) a conventional gabled roof, of low pitch, should be used instead of the proposed barrel vault or Dutch barn style roof;
- 2) the eastern wall should not be replaced with an extensive area of glazing from ground to roof. As this was a 'shiny material' in the terms of the City's *Conservation Guidelines*, it was not acceptable.

The committee therefore recommended refusal as the application stands. However, the various points raised should be discussed with the applicant to ensure that the conflict between architectural styles in Castle Street and the Close was not too great.

Other Matters

20 Church Street. HC/900130. 27 March; HC/900330. 14 August 1990.

On a site visit a considerable amount of stone window tracery was discovered by the Club's representative, under a mass of vegetation and rubble, on the boundary to the north of the site. This had come from the cathedral. Such examination as was possible suggested that it was medieval and had probably come from the nave. An offer by the cathedral authorities to rehouse this material within the Close was declined by the propri-

etors, Elgar Estates. The committee drew the City Planning Department's attention to the need for an adequate record and suggested the matter should be taken up with English Heritage. After the passage of much time a letter from Elgar Estates was read out in which it was stated that the tracery would be kept on site where the remains were to be used within the building. There has been no indication of any interest on the part of English Heritage, nor has any record been made of the tracery.

Result of appeal: The Wye Invader. HC/900096/PF.

The appeal related to the proposal to use a Dutch barge some 38 m. in length, which for many years had operated on the Rhine, as a restaurant, after conversion and addition of a new superstructure. The appeal site lay on the south bank of the Wye. The Inspector found that the Wye Invader bore little relationship either to the history of Hereford or to the special character of the area and that the proposal would introduce a commercial activity to a part of the riverside distinctly characterised by natural beauty and the lack of such activity. He concluded that the proposal would fail to preserve or enhance either the character or appearance of this important setting within the Conservation Area. 'It would in my view unduly harm the setting of the Wye Bridge, the cathedral and associated buildings, and of this part of the riverside.'

Archaeological Research Section, 1991

By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

Membership of the section has increased to ninety-seven this year. It was decided that special attention would be given to castle sites. Eight field meetings were held with an additional lecture held in Llanwarne village hall. Another lecture was cancelled. An enjoyable garden party was held at the home of John and Beryl Harding. The A.G.M. and annual dinner was held in December at the Golden River Restaurant in Hereford. Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been published, one in January and one in September. Field meetings have been well attended.

In *January* members attended an indoor lecture at Llanwarne village hall. Charles Mundy, Worcester City District Archaeologist gave an informative talk on the importance of public awareness, and prompt action in the excavation and protection of archaeological sites.

In *February* a lecture by Hilary White at Llanwarne village hall on Sites and Monuments Records and air photographs, was cancelled because of snow. An attempt to re-schedule it failed due to illness of the lecturer.

In *March* the section visited the Clifford area with Roger Stirling-Brown to examine some castle sites. After recording the Methodist Chapel at Priory Wood, Clifford, under the direction of Mary Thomas, the group visited the castle site at Old Castleton. Mr. Stirling-Brown explained that the castle was probably added on to an existing settlement and was so named to distinguish it from Newton where the castle and settlement were built together as an attempted borough foundation. In the afternoon visits were made to Clifford Castle; which on examination now appears to be of several building periods and then to the Roman fort at Clifford considered by J. K. St. Joseph to have been a temporary campaign fort later replaced by the Clyro fort. The day ended with an unexplained earthwork in a field called Mount Close, at Castle Barn, Winforton. Containing ramparts and ditches and situated in a flood plain, one could only speculate on its origin.

In *April* members met at Lingen Church to visit more castle sites in north Herefordshire under the guidance of Roger Stirling-Brown.

In *May* more castle sites in the Brilley area were examined.

In *June* Ruth Richardson and Elizabeth Taylor led us on a very wet field meeting in the Snodhill area. An inconclusive attempt was made to try and discover the site of the Free Chapel described by Leland as 'infra castrum,' still in use up to the '17th century.'

The site of Snodhill Castle was then examined. Known to have been in existence in 1194 when mentioned in the *Great Roll of the Pipe*, the castle was built by Robert de Chandos, who owned other property in the district. It has been suggested that the castle was built within a hillfort but the wet conditions made further exploration too difficult. Members then went to a site at The Gobbets, Peterchurch. Referred to locally as 'The Splashes' this very marshy site is probably a moated homestead. Further examination is

planned when the vegetation is less. Finally the ramparts of Poston hillfort and the site of Poston Castle were visited.

July saw us in the Monmouth area on a tour of castles and churches, devised by Peter Halliwell and Richard Kay. After a short visit to Welsh Newton Church we went on to visit the restored redundant church of St. John the Baptist at Llanrothal. Skenfrith Castle was then visited. The motte and bailey at Newcastle, Castell Meirch (Castle of the Horses) as it was called, probably had an additional third bailey on which the farmhouse now stands. Visits were then made to the parish churches of St. Maughans, St. Dingats and Mitchell Troy. Two motte and bailey sites at Dingestow, only a few hundred yards apart, were also examined. Some members then went on to Monmouth to listen to an on-site talk by Steve Clarke.

In *September* on a beautiful autumn day Jim Tonkin led us on a walk around the Lingen area. We looked at churches and interesting houses and farms. A visit to the Mistletoe Oak was included.

In *October* Graham Sprackling led an exploration of the Dulas Valley, where Great and Little Walkmill, Home Farm Mill, Castle Bach and Great Bilbo Farm were visited. Interesting remains pointing to the existence of a former priory site near Dulas Court were found at one of the farms.

In *November* Rosamund Skelton and Elizabeth Taylor led members on an examination of some sites in the Much Marcle area. The ancient farmhouse of Chandos was visited. A probable mill-pond site to the rear of the Slip Tavern, in an orchard behind Mill Cottage, was also investigated, but only after a good meal at the inn.

Reports of all field meetings are published in the Herefordshire Archaeological News.

Natural History Section, 1991

By BERYL HARDING

Membership is at ninety eight. Eight field meetings were planned with one indoor meeting. As usual the leadership of these outdoor sessions is greatly appreciated by those that attend.

14 March. The Annual General Meeting was followed by slides and reminiscences by Dr. Walter Wince.

20 April. A very wet half-day visit to *Bucknall's Wood, Madley* was led by Martin Hales.

This wood was part of the Guy's Estate, now 18½ acres of flat, wet woodland some 30% of that 150 years ago. It was worked as alder coppice with hawthorn, blackthorn and wych elm, so two years ago it was decided to re-establish the coppice cycles and make the wood commercially viable. Once established, this could provide a financial resource of £800/acre p.a. In one season coppiced hazel regenerates into 2½ metre shoots which can then be layered for denser growth. Cycles of less than seven years would adversely affect dormice feeding. Further income could come from cutting standard trees on 15-30 year cycles as in the 16th century. The coppiced wood brings more revenue than pulp. It is hoped that charcoal could be produced on one site. This would require a 20-30 year cycle, depending on the tree type used.

The uncut tree canopy, predominantly ash, has been left to give shelter. Peripheral oaks were cut out thirty years ago, so it is hoped to plant other trees but it may prove too damp for ash, let alone oak. Many ash standards are only 5 cms. diameter after twenty-five years. The rides are being widened by locals in return for firewood. Pignut, wood-spurge, guelder rose, soft shield fern, hard fern and broad buckler fern occur plus a vigorous hybrid of male fern and scaly male fern. Suckering red and black currant could prove as difficult as brambles eventually.

When coppicing has occurred the wood anemones have increased near the hazel stools - perhaps because these give the preferred drier conditions including humus. The ground flora is very dense with dog's mercury, bluebells and wood anemones plus wild angelica, yellow iris, yellow pimpernel and yellow loosestrife with woody nightshade - all typical of a wet woodland. Colchicum and meadow sweet occur near the edges as remnants of old grasslands. Patches of herb paris (some 5-leaved) and long spikes of early purple orchid were found.

13 May. A *Bird Song Identification* morning led by Keith Mason in Haugh Wood.

Over fifty crossbills were seen and heard in the woods - remains of the massive invasion of 1990. Some twenty species were identified, including long-tailed tits carrying feathers for nesting. We then went to Broadmoor Common to compare those of woodland with the open ground and copse. Another twelve species were heard and seen. A slow-worm was found wounded and apparently dead but after some handling made off with vigour.

13 June. A visit to *Gilfach Farm belonging to the Radnor Trust* was led by their Conservation Officer, David Hargreaves, on a very blustery day rather typical of our cool summer.

Gilfach was bought three years ago plus 130 acres of conifers to provide further revenue for the future management of the total 413 acres. The area is an S.S.S.I. and managed accordingly with different habitats.

Prior to purchase, the hillsides had been overgrazed by sheep so that most of the heather had been destroyed plus the lower slope bilberry. Now it is rented out for selective grazing to allow regeneration but bracken could invade faster than desired species. Careful spraying and bruising of the stems is keeping it under control.

Other habitats include:-

(a) Sessile oak woodlands regrown after clear-felling thirty years ago with a variety of lichens and a consequent haven for insects and birds. Nesting boxes have been erected and no grazing will be permitted until the ground flora has regenerated. Already wood sorrel and bluebells are re-appearing. After five years comparative areas will be made with some felling and clearance.

(b) The old Mid-Wales Railway ran through part of the reserve and a section of tunnel with grids at each end provides a winter roost for bats. Five species have been recorded.

(c) Above this track is more grassland needing regeneration. The site is exposed so that after sixteen months grass seed-heads are only 25-30 cms. high. Wild flowers are beginning to reappear.

One sheltered field near the farmhouse had clusters of mountain pansies as well as marsh bedstraw, pill sedge, milkwort, bird's foot trefoil, tormentil, cat's ear, sorrel and orchids.

(d) The river Marteg flows in the valley and the flanking meadows are also below the spring line thus giving richer grazing for cattle and sheep plus areas of marsh with typical marsh flora and sundew and butterwort. White, mauve and blue milkwort flowered there.

(e) Further downstream the valley narrows so turbulent water has created pothole patterns. On one rock crevice bitter wood vetch grows, now quite rare in this county and Shropshire. Beyond the rough water king-cups and globe flowers grow - the latter having lost its foothold in many parts of the country. An otter holt was also seen protected by a pile of brushwood to simulate flood debris.

The bird life is varied and includes buzzards, merlins, peregrines, goshawks nesting last year, red kites, ravens and kestrel.

The farmhouse is a typically Welsh long-house with newer 17th-century timber-framed gable extensions. Although dilapidated, the aim is restoration and the provision of an educational interpretive centre.

2 July. A revisit to the *Doward Reserves at Leeping Stocks* to re-monitor species listed to date and led by Anthea Brian. Plant counts were done again in the 5 m. permanent quadrats and in random quadrats.

Compartment 3 in cleared woodland showed nineteen species in 1989 and again in 1991 with a diminution of bullace suckers, ash and dogwood seedlings but an increase of wood rush, brambles, bracken and maple seedlings or suckers.

Compartment 4 in uncleared wood showed sixteen species in 1989 and nine in 1991 with a decline in bluebell, dog's mercury, ash and field maple seedlings but an enormous increase in birch seedlings.

In the afternoon *White Rocks Quarry Reserve* was visited, an area of county rubbish infill some years ago with a mediocre top soil cover. General recovery is improving with ash seedlings in the runnels, many planted trees have struggled severely but around them are numerous silver birch seedlings. Amid areas of ox-eye daisy, eighteen other species were found also fifty-two bee orchids on the original limestone grassland found at the edge of the quarry. One was struggling on the infertile, acid soil of the dump.

A grass snake was seen disappearing in the vegetation also the large toad it had been considering as food. This was still inflated, covered with froth and reared on its back legs to appear as formidable and unappetising as possible.

13 July. An *Evening Badger Watch* led by Estelle Davies near Bosbury.

It proved to be cold with no moonlight. The site was large with six setts but only four were active this year. Prior to dusk, members explored the territory and found their latrines, used the previous night, at the boundary between neighbouring clans. Recently published field-work has found these to be very revealing giving scents of individual groups, numbers of badgers involved and food-type remains, e.g. the chaetae or bristles of earthworms, insect wing cases etc. Their clear tracks through grassland and woods were followed and the recently used scratching post and areas of flattened grass used for play were noted.

With their emergence expected at 9.30 p.m. three hides were made behind trees facing the sett entrance. Noises and the 'whickering' of cubs were heard, one head came out and withdrew immediately. Awareness of watchers probably caused them to use other tunnels and exits - where 100-200 tonnes of earth had been excavated over a few years. Despite disappointment those in the first car to leave saw a large badger cross their path.

When prospecting three days earlier five glow-worms were seen.

10 August. A *Dragonfly Identification Day* in the Forest of Dean led by Mike Averill.

It was a warm, sunny day so the insects were flying well. Both sites are reserves of the Gloucester Nature Trust on lease from the Forestry Commission.

Site A: Meering Meend is a natural pond with two small wet areas. Drainage from surrounding conifer woods gives acidity to the water. It lies on a glacial head some 280 m. high and the adjacent wet heathland is a relic of a once widespread habitat. The pond is about one acre with half taken over by bulrush and branched bur-reed. Bogbean and other pond flora are present and it has an interesting dragonfly population.

Site B: Woorgreens Lake and Marsh is on land reclaimed from open-cast mining. Marsh, lake and open heath grew up and water entry is controlled by a sluice. It is now Dean's best dragonfly site with seventeen species recorded and a large breeding population of the scarce Blue-Tailed Damselfly. The reserve is also important for birds of heathland and waders. Willow and alder have been planted for screening and bulrush is regularly cleared.

Results (* = netted and freed)

Damselflies

* Azure *Coenagrion puella*

* Common Blue - *Enallagma cyathigera*

Site A

Site A and Site B

- * Emerald - *Lestes sponsa*
 * Blue-tailed - *Ischnura elegans*

Site A
 Site A and Site B

Dragonflies

- * Common Darter - *Sympetrum striolatum*
 * Ruddy Darter - *S. sanguinem*
 Emperor - *Anax imperatum*
 4-spot chaser - *Libellula quadrimaculata*
 * Black Darter - *Sympetrum danae*
 Downy Emerald - *Cordulia aenea*

Site A
 Site A
 Site A and Site B
 Site A
 Site B
 Site B

28 September. *The Geology of the Hereford and Leominster Basin* led by Peter Thomson.

This field trip was wisely cancelled due to heavy, daylong rain and will be on next year's programme.

22 October. *A Fungus Foray* was led by Stephanie Thomson at Dinmore Woods on a pleasant afternoon. On the whole, autumn had been dry giving fewer fungi than usual. Those filled with spores underneath can be confusing to identify unless the appropriate spore colour is known. Forty-six species were identified within the south part of the wood.

AGARICALES

- Agaricus silvicola* Wood Mushroom
A. semotus
Amanita inaurata
A. muscaria Fly Agaric
Clitocybe clavipes Club Foot
C. infundibuliformis Common Funnel Cap
C. nebularis Clouded Agaric
C. suaveolens
Collybia butyracea Bitter Cap
C. dryophila
C. fusipes Spindle Shank
Coprinus comatus Shaggy Inkcap
C. micaceus Glistening Inkcap
Cortinarius pseudosalar
C. rufo-olivaceus
Hygrophorus fossus
Hypholoma fasciculare Sulphur Tuft
Laccaria laccata The Deceiver

- L. amethystea* Amethyst Deceiver
Lactarius glycosmus Coconut-scented Milk-cap
L. hepaticus
L. mitissimus
L. quietus Oak Milk-cap
Lepiota procera Parasol
L. rhacodes Shaggy Parasol
Lepista nuda Wood Blewit
Mycena galopus
Oudemansiella radicata Rooting Shank
Paxillus involutus Brown Roll-rim
Pholiota gunmosa
Psathyrella graalis
P. hydrophila Brittle Cap
P. candolleana
Pleuteus cervinus
Trichomolopsis rutilans Plums and Custard

BOLETALES

- Boletus chrysenteron* Red Cracked Bolete
B. edulis Cap

- B. subtomentosus* Downy Bolete
Suillus luteus Slippery Jack

APHYLLOPHORALES

- Coriolus versicolor* Many-zoned Polyphore

- Piptoporus betulina* Birch Polyphore

GASTEROMYCETALES

- Lycoperdon perlatum*
L. pyriforme

- Phallus impudicus* Stinkhorn

ASCOMYCOTINA

- Xylaria hypoxylon* Candle-snuff Fungus

Weather Statistics, 1991

Month	Max. temp. shade °C	Min. temp. shade °C	Nights air frost	Rainfall mm. month (10 years mean)	Max. rainfall in one day mm	Days with rainfall
January	13.0	-4.5	7	77.6 (67.8)	21.2	13
February	14.0	-8.5	17	29.9 (41.8)	6.3	13
March	19.0	-0.5	1	54.7 (44.6)	22.5	12
April	20.0	-1.0	1	66.5 (46.1)	25.0	10
May	27.0	1.5	0	13.7 (50.1)	6.0	3
June	24.5	1.5	1	67.2 (63.7)	16.0	12
July	30.0	4.5	0	46.2 (34.9)	20.8	10
August	30.0	9.0	0	9.8 (50.4)	4.0	3
September	29.0	3.0	0	41.3 (46.5)	26.0	8
October	21.0	1.0	0	48.1 (64.0)	15.3	15
November	15.0	-2.0	2	75.8 (65.0)	25.7	14
December	14.0	-6.0	9	14.8 (59.6)	4.3	6

Highest temperature 10 July and 21 August 30.0°C

Days with rainfall 119

Lowest temperature 9 February -8.5°C

Greatest rainfall in one day

Total rainfall for year 545.6 mm

26.0 mm on 28 September

(10 years mean 634.5 mm.)

Days with night air frost 38

Recorded at Leighton, Ledbury by E. H. Ward.

