

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
WOOLHOPE  
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB  
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

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# LIST OF OFFICERS, 2005/2006

*President:* Dr. P. A. OLVER

*Vice-presidents:* Mr. J. G. HILLABY, Dr. J. C. EISEL, Mr. B. S. SMITH,  
Mrs. R. E. SKELTON

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<i>Hon. Editor</i>				Mr. J. W. TONKIN (Mrs. LOWE from Nov. 2005)

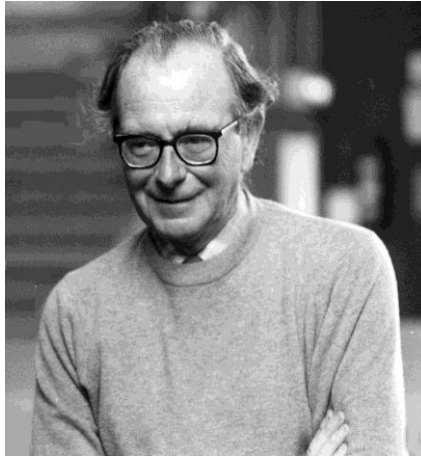
## SECTIONAL RECORDERS

<i>Archaeology</i>	-	-	-	Mr. R. SHOESMITH
<i>Botany</i>	-	-	-	Mr. P. THOMSON
<i>Buildings</i>	-	-	-	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
<i>Entomology</i>	-	-	-	Dr. Mrs. A. D. BRIAN
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<i>Herefordshire Field-Names</i>	-			Mr. B. S. SMITH
<i>Industrial Archaeology</i>	-	-		Dr. J. van LAUN
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Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the Woolhope Club *Transactions* should be submitted to the current editor: Mrs. R. A. Lowe, Charlton, Goodrich, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire, HR9 6JF. Please request a copy of *Notes for Contributors to the Transactions* or see the website.

## Obituary - Peter Thomson



Members of the Woolhope Club and the Hereford Nature Trust were greatly saddened to hear of the death of Peter Thomson, who died suddenly on Saturday, 5th February 2005 on returning home after attending a Club meeting.

Originally trained as a geographer, he had a very wide interest in natural history and concluded his career by passing on his knowledge to younger generations at Bristol Polytechnic. He retired in 1983, and thenceforth devoted his life to natural history in Herefordshire and elsewhere—in particular the geology and botany of the county. A born teacher, his knowledge and understanding of these subjects was enthusiastically imparted in numerous lectures and guided walks over the years. His simple explanation of detail added enormously to the enjoyment of his hearers, and was further enhanced by his beautiful slides.

He and his wife Stephanie became members of the Herefordshire Botanical Society and were greatly involved with the Ledbury Naturalists—continuing interests for Stephanie. He joined the Hereford Nature Trust shortly after its inception in 1962 and was a Trustee for many years and again at the time of his death. He was President of the Club in 1999-2000 and was the County Recorder for the Club of both botany and geology. His gentle enthusiasm and knowledge will be missed by many.

This photograph of Peter in a typical pose was taken in 1988, when he was in conversation with David Attenborough, and is printed by kind permission of the photographer Philip Price.



# Proceedings, 2005

## SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 15 January: Dr. P.A.Olver, president, in the chair.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin, B.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'The Olchon Valley Project.' This project was initiated in 1999 and funded by Longtown Group Parish Council and LEADER+ and co-funded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and Food and Herefordshire Council. The area covered was Longtown, Llanveynoe, Craswall and Walterstone situated in the south-west of the county along the boundary with Wales, with the rivers Olchon, Escley and Monnow flowing north-east to south-west through them. As well as a survey of historic buildings other subjects included the field-name surveys and local history topics.

He explained that this part of Herefordshire was in the diocese of St. David's until the 1850s, and that the probate, ecclesiastical and other records were at the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. The place names were a mixture of English and Welsh. He gave details from a selection of wills and inventories dating from 1580 of Thomas ap Richard als Taylor of Craswall to 1805 of Rachel Jones of Longtown. These indicated the contents of a household, the farming stock and wealth.

Mr. Tonkin dealt with houses dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century pointing out their architectural features and developments through the centuries. These were illustrated by coloured slides which included Ty Mawr and Old Court for the fourteenth century, both restored in recent years; Black Daren for the fifteenth century, a cruck building and long-house now undergoing restoration, but which still had cattle in it in the 1960s; Allt-yr-Ynys, the home of the Cecil family, with a good plaster ceiling and having twelve hearths on the 1665 Hearth Tax, and Brass Knoll with a Renaissance gable for the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century showed a wealth of post-and-panel screens and chamfered and moulded beams as at White Haywood and Trewern. Eighteenth-century Georgian ideas occur at Ruthlands (Longtown) and Sunny Bank. For the nineteenth century examples were Greenway, Pencelly and the communal bake-house at Longtown.

The results of the various surveys will be published.

SECOND MEETING: 5 February: Dr. P. A. Olver, president, in the chair.

Mr. G. C. Wood gave an illustrated talk on 'Hereford Railways—What if?' He explained that in the nineteenth century promoters of railways had to promote their own private Act of Parliament, and this led to rivalry between the companies. In 1836 two routes were proposed between Hereford and Gloucester, one by Brunel and the other by W. H. Price. In 1844/5 many schemes were put forward and the local council urged that all lines met on one common station. Sites mooted were at Portfields and Bewell Street, behind the Red Coat Hospital, at the head of the canal between Bye Street and Widemarsh Street, and behind the County Prison and the Poor House. If a common station was to be built on the Portfields All Saints' Church should be demolished. More schemes caused bitter relationships between the public, the council and the railway companies. One scheme proposed a deviation line around the city. Due to an economic slump in 1847 nothing happened until the 1850s when new ideas and antagonisms resurfaced. Stations were proposed at Barrs Court and Barton Road areas. On 29

October 1853 a line was opened with a temporary station near the canal bridge at the bottom of Widemarsh Street. Another company opened a line with a temporary station near Barton Road Bridge. In 1855 a new station building of classical design was constructed there. The 1860s saw the amalgamation of companies to form a network for the city, and to provide a link between the two stations. More legal proceedings and proposals took place, and it was agreed to re-develop Barton Road Station which was completed in 1884. Finally on 1 January 1893 Barton Road Station closed and after almost fifty years all trains in and out of Hereford used one common station.

A detailed history is to be found in Mr. Wood's book *The Railways of Hereford*.

THIRD MEETING: 26 February: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, senior vice-president, in the chair. Mr. J. Freeman, M.A., gave a talk on 'Early Field-names in Herefordshire.' He referred to the importance of the Field-name Survey carried out by the club which is now 'online.' He concentrated on the field systems between 1100 and 1500. So far he had collected over 3,000 names. Analysing these a variety of sources show up, such as the use of compass points which come through to the time of the tithe maps, (1840s), names of trees, crops, man-made features, the open-field system and the most common of all natural features. Examples are:- *feld* in Saxon times meant field, a common field which later referred to enclosed land; *stocken*, a cleared field; *shut*, a corner; *sych*, drainage; *mere*, marsh; *quarrel*, quarry; *selion*, strip or furrow; *acre*, strip; and *slad*, low land.

It is hoped to have a similar talk on meadow land.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 26 March: Dr. P. A. Olver, president, in the chair. The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 767 members.

Dr. Olver reviewed the club's activities during the year and gave his address on 'The Tale of the Trilobite' which is printed in these *Transactions*.

## FIELD MEETINGS

### FIRST MEETING: 19 May: WOLVERHAMPTON AND BEWDLEY AREA

After coffee at the Running Horse near Bewdley members travelled to Wightwick Manor near Wolverhampton. Before a tour of the house a guide gave a brief history of the house. It was built between 1887 and 1893 by the architect Edward Ould for Theodore Mander, the paint manufacturer. It is of timber-framed construction on a red sandstone base. The interior is influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, and contains a fine collection of William Morris textiles, wallpapers and furniture, William de Morgan tiles, stained glass by Kempe and paintings by Ruskin, Hunt and Millais.

The seventeen-acre garden was originally designed by Alfred Parsons and altered about 1910 by Thomas Mawson.

The Mander family have been public benefactors and in 1957 gave the property to the National Trust.

*En route* to Bewdley Dr. Olver referring to the geology of the area said that the rocks were of the Permian period and were laid down some 250 million years ago when the area would have been desert. The town of Bewdley was at the centre of the Highley sandstone and in the streets black dolerite from the Cleve Hill is used. Members visited the museum which contains a number of workshops including a ropewalk.

During the day the coach was not behaving itself and going up the hill out of Bewdley began to smoke. Luckily this happened just beyond the Running Horse, so members walked back to it and refreshed themselves whilst awaiting a replacement coach.

#### SECOND MEETING: 16 June: KIDDERMINSTER AREA

Members travelled via Stourport and stopped at Wilden Church to have coffee and look around it. Unfortunately, five minutes before arrival there was an electric power failure, so there was biscuits but no coffee. The fourteen stained glass windows designed by Burne Jones who died in 1902 were erected there in 1914. The altar frontal was designed by William Morris. These would have been much more appreciated if there had been some electric light.

Next visited was the Bodenham Arboretum and Earth Centre at Wolverley. In 1973 Bodenham Farm was derelict. The Binnian family bought it and built a new house, and developed the farm for pedigree Hereford cattle and sheep. At the same time they created a three-acre lake and arboretum which contains some 2,700 species of shrubs and trees from all over the world. There are a number of well laid-out walks.

The afternoon was spent at Harvington Hall. It is a late medieval timber-framed house on sandstone footings, and by 1582/3 had been encased in brick. The great staircase was inserted about 1600. On the tour of the house the domestic rooms were seen on the ground floor; the state rooms on the first floor and the chapels and priests' rooms on the second floor. It has always been inhabited by Catholic families. In 1529 it was purchased by John Packington and through the female line passed to the Yate and Throckmorton families. In 1896 it was in a poor condition and in 1923 Mrs. Ellen Ryan Ferris purchased it and gave it to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Birmingham which has restored it. In 1936 the original wall paintings, probably dating from about 1600 were discovered underneath the whitewash.

#### THIRD MEETING: 19 July: BOTANIC GARDENS OF WALES AND ABERGLASNEY, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

This meeting was arranged to see the changes which have taken place since the visits to these gardens on 7 July 2001 and 15 June 2000 respectively.

The details minuted on those meetings have not been repeated here. Members who were on those visits were not disappointed.

In the Great Glasshouse at the Botanic Gardens one of the three horticulturalists explained the layout of the plants from six Mediterranean climate regions of California, Australia, the Canary Islands, Chile, South Africa and the Mediterranean Basin. A new feature is the Theatre Botanic especially built to show films in 360 degrees. Several members saw a film on 'The Planet of Plants.'

At Aberglasney the plants in the Cloister Garden and other areas have matured and walls have been restored.

#### FOURTH MEETING: 7 August: FOREST OF DEAN

The first visit was to the exposure at the cutting beside the Longhope bypass. The lowest Silurian beds include conglomerate limestones. The better-exposed flaggy calcareous siltstones which follow are the Upper Blaisdon Beds, equal to the Lower Leintwardine formation of Ludlow and having many typical fossils. The thin band of Lower Longhope Beds (nevertheless 3 m. thick) are distinguished by brachiopods with occasional trilobites. In the succeeding Upper Longhope Beds the number of brachiopod fauna is reduced and bivalves occur. Such changes

perhaps relate to the shallower water conditions and salinity variations associated with the Caledonian earth movements. Some fossils were found in the loose debris.

At Soudley four sites were visited. Locality No. 1 was by the entrance to the railway cutting where Brownstones of the Lower Old Red Sandstone were exposed consisting of cycles of mudstone, sandstone and thin conglomerates laid down in a large Mississippi-style delta complex. The steeply-angled beds of the Lower Devonian were very visible, and also the remains of current bedding. The sequence is overlain unconformably by the hard beds of quartz conglomerate brought down by flash floods at the time.

Locality No. 2 was the Old Sand Quarry which was worked around 1850. The quarry face exposed Tintern Sandstone from the Upper Old Red Sandstone grading upward into Carboniferous Limestone Shales. The sand was extracted as sand, not requiring to be crushed.

Locality No. 3 was a steep climb at the Blue Rock Quarry which was working until the late nineteenth century and used as a source for both lime and sand. The Lower Limestone Shales to the left are composed mainly of thin sandstones and greenish-grey mudstones dipping slightly. To the right of a gully formed by a fault are harder calcareous sandstones dipping steeply at 70 degrees. These harder calcareous sandstones have been left as protruding ribs.

Locality No. 4 was at the Blue Rock Tunnel exit where material from the quarry was carried away. Here the Lower Dolomite is exposed showing a well developed joint system which can be confused with bedding planes. Magnesium-rich fluids percolated down into the rock after deposition and later to alter the calcium carbonate of the limestones into the pink-coloured magnesium carbonate (dolomite) which is now called dolostone. No fossil preservation remains once the rock has been dolomitised.

Members travelled on a special steam day on the Dean Forest Railway. This is a preserved railway, one of several used in the past to transport coal, iron ore, dolomite and limestone. Today coal from Poland is being used for the engines.

Road works prevented a visit to the harbour at Lydney and the Severn estuary so a coal exposure in the Forest was visited instead. The slope uphill had become very overgrown with brambles and gorse, but with the aid of secateurs a point was reached where the fossilised remains of tree trunks were visible, and scattered pieces of coal were found further up the slope. During the Upper Carboniferous period continuing uplift of the land led to planing off of the lower rocks and a relatively stable climatic period of warm, humid, equatorial conditions gave rise to deltaic swamps. A series of slight up and down movements of the land, or changes of sea level, led to variations of deposition giving layers of sandstones, siltstones and limestones interbedded with coal seams; 30 ft. of material compresses to 5 ft. of rock after 30 million years of compression. N.B. There are no coal measures anywhere in the world in rocks older than 300 million years as trees had not evolved before that time.

Some time was spent looking at Newnham-on-Severn, and in the church members saw the Norman font with the twelve apostles carved on it. The views from the churchyard across the Severn estuary were dramatic.

(Beryl Harding )

#### FIFTH MEETING: 24 August: ELAN DAMS AREA OF RADNORSHIRE

After coffee at the Red Lion Hotel at Llanfihangel Nantmelan members travelled to the Elan Valley Centre near Rhayader. Here they were able to see a ten-minute video, and an exhibition on the history and building of the dams, to form reservoirs to provide a water supply to Birmingham. In 1904 it was opened by King Edward VII. As the Elan and Claerwen Valleys had an annual, average rainfall of seventy-two inches of good quality water, the narrowness of

the valleys for building dams, and the height of the area for water to be transported by gravity, James Mansergh convinced the Birmingham Corporation in 1892 to obtain an act of Parliament for the compulsory purchase of 70 square miles of land. To construct the reservoirs three manor-houses, eighteen farms, a school and a church were submerged. By 1904 four reservoirs, Caban Coch, Garreg Dhu, Pen y Garreg and Craig Goch were completed. During the Second World War the small coffer dam on Nant y Glo, which was the same design as the Ruhr dams, was used by Barnes Wallis to calculate the size of the famous bouncing bomb, which was used in the 'Dambusters' raid in 1943. Due to the war the Claerwen Dam was not built until 1952.

Members travelled along the narrow road by the sides of the Caban Coch and Garreg Dhu reservoirs to the top of the Pen y Garreg Dam, the smallest of the four reservoirs which was open to the public. The dam is 123 ft. high, 528 ft. long, almost 1,000 ft. above sea level with a storage volume of 6,000 megalitres. The foundations are 17 ft. below the river bed and 115 ft. thick at the base. It is constructed of concrete clad in natural hewn stone. At the top of the dam the party walked along rough ground, down nine steps and the through a narrow, dark passage and up a spiral staircase to the tower. There were small light openings along the passage from where one could see the thickness of the masonry. The volume of it is estimated to be over 90,000 cubic yards. From the tower there were views of the expanse of water on both sides of the dam as well as the landscape. It was beautiful sunshine, having rained for most of the morning.

Members travelled on the mountain road alongside the Craig Goch Dam to Gigrin Farm. This is a red kite feeding and rehabilitation centre. Seated at the hides the farmer scattered meat in various places. The crows and red kites lined up in the trees. Down came the crows to feed on the ground, followed by the red kites swooping down, grasping the meat in their talons and making off with it which they ate whilst flying. The meat is purchased locally; on average a quarter of a tonne is used each week. The red kites are all native to Wales. In October as many as 300 come to feed.

The final visit was for tea at the nearby Brynafon Country House Hotel. It is a converted Victorian workhouse built in 1878 and used as such until 1932.

## AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 1 October: Dr. P. Olver, president, in the chair.

Robin Jackson, B.A., A.I.F.A. gave an illustrated talk on the 'Investigations at Wellington Quarry 1986-2005 – A Prehistoric and Later Landscape.' He explained that the site is the most important one in Herefordshire and the West Midlands. Situated in the low-lying land of the Lugg Valley the conditions have been suitable for the survival and preservation of the artefacts from prehistoric times. The flooding over the Old Red Sandstone has produced silts. Remains of insects and plants, especially pollen grains, have survived from 13–14000 B.C.; willows and fish from 5000 B.C. to 750 A.D.; also cereals by 2000 B.C. People began to settle about 3500 B.C. as shown by the remains of animal bones and pottery, flints, hearths and burials of Beaker folk and the Iron Age.

A Roman settlement, a villa, of the 3rd./4th. century has been preserved in the quarry. Of particular importance is the discovery of a mill dating from c.700 A.D.; only four or five others have been found in the country. Some of its timbers are being preserved at the Mary Rose Trust. Unfortunately no gearing has been found. It is hoped to find another mill further

downstream. English Heritage is funding the excavations, and the quarrying company has been very cooperative and helpful to the archaeologists. Further work is scheduled for 2006.

SECOND MEETING: 22 October: Dr. J. C. Eisel, vice-president, in the chair.

This year is the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Lord Nelson. The meeting was attended by the Mayor of Hereford's secretary, Mrs. Anne Double, and her husband and son. The Right Worshipful Mayor of Hereford, Councillor Marcelle Lloyd-Hayes, had hoped to be present but was prevented due to other Nelson celebrations.

David Whitehead, M.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'Nelson in Herefordshire.' He had volunteered to give this talk because of his naval connections. A relative had designed the Whitehead torpedo, used with devastating effect in the Sino-Russian War in 1905. He said that modern history tended to heroes, but Nelson coincided with his interest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Also Nelson went on the Wye Tour. He was 'on the beach' in 1801 after the provisional peace of Amiens, and in that year bought the estate of Merton Place in Surrey. Emma Hamilton, his mistress, whom he had first met in 1792, was also delivered of his child, Horatia, in that year. There was some isolation from respectable society because of the unusual set-up.

The tour in 1802, during which he visited Hereford, was suggested by Sir William Hamilton. It lasted six weeks and cost £481, and during it Nelson received a fantastic welcome. After Admiral Robert Blake in the 1650s the fashion for heroes had lapsed, and it was not until Nelson that this was revived, becoming particularly noteworthy in Victorian times, but died in the First World War. Nelson took the adulation in his stride and always wore full dress uniform. The tour commenced in Oxfordshire, but the Duke of Marlborough refused them admittance to Blenheim Palace, sending out a hamper of cold meats for a picnic in the park, which was refused. Then on to Gloucester, where Nelson visited the gaol, and to the Forest of Dean where he looked at the timber reserves in the Forest, as there was a great demand for oak; one battleship requiring the timber from seventy-four acres of well-grown forest. On his return he made recommendations to the Admiralty, which resulted in Uvedale Price from Foxley being appointed Assistant Surveyor General at a salary of £400 per annum. He is said to have taken the job seriously.

Ross was next visited where he stayed at the Swan Inn, after which followed a tour down the river to Monmouth. Milford Haven, the object of the tour, was reached via Merthyr, where he visited the Crawshay ironworks. Then on to Tenby, where reports of the progress began to appear in the *Hereford Journal*. Margam orangery was admired on the return journey, and Piercefield at Chepstow visited before a return stop at Monmouth, where the party stayed at the Beaufort Arms. The opportunity was taken to visit the Kymin, and the naval temple, with the plaques for his naval victories. These affected Nelson, causing him to exclaim against the French. Then on to Ross and Rudhall, where he was entertained by the Westfalings. The proceedings were recorded in detail by the Rev. John Webb, curate of Ross.

From Rudhall the party travelled to Hereford on 23 August, where on their entry to the city the horses were taken from their carriage and the citizens themselves hauled the carriage to the City Arms Hotel. From the hotel Nelson went to the Market Hall, and in the room on the first floor was made an honorary freeman of the city. He made his way to the Bishop's Palace to see the bishop of Hereford, who had not been at the ceremony because of age and infirmity, before returning to the Great Room of the Hotel. The party left at about 2 p.m., having spent only about two hours in the city, but having made a tremendous impression on the citizens.

From Hereford the party went on to Downton Castle, the seat of Richard Payne Knight, with whom Sir William Hamilton had corresponded for many years. During the stay at Downton Nelson made a trip to Pencombe to visit his godfather, the Rev. Herbert Glass. After this the party made their way to Birmingham via Worcester, and then back to Merton Place.

The strong impression made on Hereford by Nelson was such that as soon as his death was reported in the *Hereford Journal*, a proposal was made to build a column in his memory. There were other calls on the generosity of the citizens, and money was slow in coming in. However, the foundation stone was laid the following year amid much ceremony, but it was several years before the column was completed. Because of shortage of funds an urn was substituted for the proposed statue.

(Notes taken by John Eisel)

THIRD MEETING: 19 November: Dr. P. Olver, president, in the chair.

This was the forty-third F. C. Morgan lecture, given by Ms. Sue Cooper on the 'God's Acre Project and Churchyard Preservation.' She explained that the project was set up in May 2000, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, Rural Heritage, DEFRA and others. The object is to make people aware and take an interest in the management of the environment in which they live. To do this it arranges courses and talks to those groups which are interested and have volunteers, who are prepared to take part in a particular project when a grant is awarded. As a result of the work done by groups on the conservation of churchyards, it is hoped that it will lead to a national network. In Herefordshire the following churchyards have taken part: Clifford, Cusop, Eye, Hentland, Leintwardine, Llangarron, Putley and Weobley. Examples include the recording and identification of plants, trees, mosses, lichens, liverworts, fungi, birds and memorials, as well as the geology of the stone walls. Suggestions are made as how to manage the hedgerows and the grass cutting to preserve the natural history for the future. Interpretation boards are erected for the benefit of the public.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 3 December: Dr. J. C. Eisel, vice-president, in the chair.

Officers for 2006 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 2004 were presented and adopted. These follow the Proceedings.

Mrs. Rosamund Skelton B.A., M.R.T.P.I., on behalf of the Archaeological Research Section gave an illustrated talk on 'The Historical Landscape of Monnington Straddle.' Using aerial photographs taken by Chris Musson following on from those taken as part of the Field-name Survey, she identified a number of sites in the Monnington Straddle area. These included a motte and bailey at Chanstone Court Farm; a possible deer hay at Monnington; an Iron Age fort at Holsty; a motte and bailey at Lower Park Wood; a motte and moat now hidden in trees at Monnington Court Farm and other buildings. Evidence of ridge and furrow also showed up in the Golden Valley area. Using documents and visiting the site at Monnington Court Farm, she had identified the Chapel House with a stone dated W.L.1651, a seventeenth century barn, a granary with stables below, and traces of a dovecote.

She referred to references in the Domesday Book, the 1377 Poll Tax, the Militia Assessments of 1663 and the 1665 Hearth Tax, She suggested that the population of the area had changed very little.

2005 has been an expensive year. To accommodate and for the security of the library in the Woolhope Room, five pairs of mahogany glazed doors with locks have been fitted, matching the existing library bays.

For the benefit of members and speakers a more powerful public address system and a digital projector have been purchased.

The club also undertook publishing a special publication on *Herefordshire Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII* edited by M. A. Faraday. This was made possible with a grant from the Marc Fitch Fund, a generous donation from Dr. Nourse, an American and money from the Geoffrey Walter Smith Fund - see the later review. There are copies still for sale.



# Herefordshire taxes in the reign of Henry VIII

Edited by Michael A. Faraday

The publication of M. A. Faraday's edition of the twenty-six lay subsidies and other taxes levied by the Crown between 1512 and 1547 was celebrated in the Woolhope Room, Hereford Library on 12 August 2005. The book is the first to be published by the Club under the terms of a bequest from Geoffrey Walter Smith of Hereford († 2001).

The transcription, indexing and editing of these tax assessments has provided historians with a prime source of evidence which would otherwise be unobtainable. With the exception of documents ascribed to the Subsidy of 1514, which are in the Herefordshire Record Office, all the original assessments are in The National Archives at Kew and therefore only inconveniently accessible to Herefordshire researchers. Many are difficult to decipher.

Although only summaries survive of some assessments, for the years 1525, 1543, 1545, 1546 and 1547 there are copious lists of the tax-paying inhabitants of the county, together with their estate-valuation (usually on their goods) and the tax charge. The assessments, arranged by hundred and township, accordingly provide directories of the county in a period of significant administrative, social and religious change. The Crown was turning to the gentry, magistrates and parish officers to administer the counties. The destruction of the monasteries and seizure of their estates between 1536 and 1539 were boosting the property market and cascading wealth through the mercantile and landholding classes. The assessments reveal the Exchequer's growing ability to tax them efficiently.

At a local level they provide the evidence about the population and prosperity of the county and its communities, listing and naming individuals of all classes from labourers and servants upwards. Speculative conclusions may be hazarded about the extent of population change and migration. The proportion of changes in successive lists of inhabitants suggests more movement than might be expected. Of particular interest is the large number of Welsh names in the western hundreds of Ewyas Lacy, Huntington, Webtree and Wormelow. Despite a steady if slow decline in the use of Welsh patronymic names 80% of the inhabitants of Ewyas Lacy hundred possessed Welsh names in 1543-45. Few Herefordshire parishes have registers of baptisms, marriages and burials dating from their introduction in 1538, but with some 30,000 names listed (and indexed) the assessments are also an important source for family historians pursuing their research back to the first registers and beyond.

Publication of the volume was aided by generous grants from Dr. James G. Nourse of San Francisco and the Marc Fitch Fund. The editor, Michael Faraday, himself a former H.M. senior inspector of taxes, has been a member of the Club since 1969 and a contributor to the *Transactions*. He has edited *The Herefordshire militia assessments of 1663* for the Royal Historical Society and (with E.J.L. Cole) *A calendar of probate and administration acts in the court book for the bishops of Hereford 1407-1541* for the British Records Society as well as lay subsidy assessments for the counties of Shropshire, Radnorshire and Worcestershire and a history of his birthplace, *Ludlow 1055-1660, a social, economic & political history*. He is now about to edit *The Bristol and Gloucestershire lay subsidy of 1523-27* for the Gloucestershire Record Series.

M. A. Faraday ed., *Herefordshire taxes in the reign of Henry VIII*, Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 2005, xiv + 474pp., (ISBN 0 9505823 2 8), £17.50 (£15 members) plus p&p. Obtainable from the Club's secretary.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS & PAYMENT ACCOUNT  
for the year ended 31st December 2004

2003	INCOME		
3,735	Interest on Investments	4,681	
2,389	Income Tax Refunds	141	
6,124			4,822
7,443	General Subscriptions	8,262	
245	Sale of Publications	532	
-	Grants, Donations & Legacies	8,325	
1,038	Victoria County History (net surplus)	6,125	
439	Archaeology Research (net surplus)	-	
241	ARS Lottery Fund (net surplus)	9,526	
-	Field Meetings (net surplus)	332	
63	Geology Section (net surplus)	169	
71	FMS/MAS (net surplus)	-	
4	George Marshall Fund	-	
17	Natural History Section (net surplus)	-	
9,561			33,271
15,685			38,093
	EXPENDITURE		
508	Insurance	578	
5,174	Stationery, Printing & Binding	9,540	
30	Meetings Expenses	-	
486	Postage & Telephone	597	
459	Subscriptions & Donations	149	
-	Repairs & Renewals	897	
300	Honoraria	300	
205	Accountancy	270	
170	Field Names Survey (net deficit)	-	
-	Capital Reserve Grants	1,920	
-	ARS (net deficit)	1,189	
-	Natural History (net deficit)	9	
(7,332)			(15,449)
£ 8,353	TOTAL SURPLUS in the year	£22,644	
=====		=====	

D. H. Davies, F.C.A.  
22 November 2005  
Independent Examiner

BALANCE SHEET  
at 31st December 2004

2003	ASSETS		
1,040	Herefordshire County Council Loan	1,040	
47,457	National Savings Investments	49,054	
	Bank Accounts		
21,595	Reserves	33,531	
7,656	General	2,086	
1,465	Subscriptions	819	
308	Natural History Section	300	
3,304	Archaeological Research Section	2,116	
956	Field Meetings	1,289	
63	Geology Section	231	
			90,466
34,347	Designated Accounts		113,507
112,843	Restricted Accounts		
10,123	Victoria County History	16,248	
291	George Marshall Fund	-	
1,241	ARS Heritage Lottery Fund	10,767	
124,498			27,015
208,342			230,988
=====			=====
Note that the following assets of fluctuating or indeterminate value are not included in this Balance Sheet:-			
1. £933 3 1/2% War Loan current value approx £770			
2. The contents of the library & stock of publications			
	CAPITAL		
	General Funds		83,846
190,619	Balance brought forward	-	
110,728	Less transfer to Designated Reserve	-	
1,000	ARS Lottery Fund		6,620
4,953	Add Surplus in the year		90,466
83,844			
	Designated Funds		
110,728	"New" Capital Reserve Fund/Transfer	112,843	
2,115	Add Surplus in the year	664	
112,843			113,507
	Restricted Funds		
9,084	Victoria County Fund b/f	10,123	
1,039	Add Surplus in the year	6,125	
			16,248
10,123	George Marshall Fund b/f	291	
287	Net general expenditure	(291)	
4			
291			
15,725	"New" ARS Lottery Fund/Grant/Transfer	1,241	
(14,484)	Less net (expenditure)/surplus	9,526	
			10,767
1,241			
£208,342			£230,988
=====			=====

## Biographical Details of Contributors

### **Paul A. Olver**

Dr. Paul Olver B.Sc., M.A, Ph.D., F.G.S. is a native of Grimsby, North Lincolnshire and took his first degree in Geology at the University of Birmingham. His subsequent doctoral research at Birmingham on the trace element geochemistry of acid volcanic rocks took him to both Italy and North Wales. After school teaching in Leamington Spa, he joined Surrey County Council as a tutor/organiser in their Adult Education Service in 1974. By 1992 his career had taken him to a Principal's post in Dorking, Leatherhead and Epsom. New senior posts in lifelong learning brought him to Herefordshire Council in 1999 as the County's Development Officer. After leaving Herefordshire Council in 2006, he now works part-time on European education projects involving both school children and young adults. Throughout his career he has tutored day and evening courses in geology and astronomy and this has continued with his current work for the local WEA and the Field Studies Council. He was instrumental, along with other members of the Club's Central Committee, in launching the current Geology Section which now has a flourishing membership of fifty. Paul was President of the Club in 2004 and 2005.

His current interests, besides geology and astronomy, include the Late Neolithic to Bronze Age megalithic cultures as well as a lifelong interest in railways both full scale and OO scale.

### **John C. Eisel**

Dr. John C. Eisel M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., F.S.A. was educated at Hereford Cathedral School and took his first degree at King's College, London. After training as a teacher, he lectured in mathematics, first at Dudley Technical College and latterly as head of mathematics at Herefordshire College of Technology until he took early retirement in 1994. Among his research interests are the history of change ringing and the development of bell frames, and he has published widely. He is deeply interested in the history of his adopted county, in particular the development of Hereford itself, on which he has written a number of papers. He is also an expert on the history of the local pubs! For many years a member of the Club committee, he is now (2006–7) serving his third term as President.

### **Rita Wood**

Rita Wood is a fieldworker for the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* and has published a number of articles on Romanesque sculpture in England, chiefly in Yorkshire. The study of the Fownhope tympanum was taken up because of its references to the theme of Christ's Ascension—a minor detail, as it turns out, in the paper presented in this issue of the *Transactions*.

### **Leslie King**

Mrs. King received a war degree from Oxford on the basis of two years' Honours course in French at St. Hilda's College, plus six years' war service in the W.A.A.F. as a plotter, then a cypher officer. After the war, she qualified as a speech therapist but retired from practice after marrying and having a family. She took up the hobby of archaeological field-walking around Kinver and Wolverley, but changed to historical research after moving to Ledbury.

**Peter Guest**

Dr. Peter Guest F.S.A. is Lecturer in Roman Archaeology at Cardiff University. He was born in Birmingham and studied archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, where he also undertook his doctorate. The archaeology of Roman Britain is his main area of research, particularly the role and use of Roman coinage, the impact of Roman ideas and practices on native British society, and the cultural changes that occurred at the end of the Roman period. His recent publications include *The Late Roman Gold and Silver Coins from the Hoxne Treasure* and *Iron Age & Roman Coins from Wales*.

**Mike Luke**

Mike Luke completed his archaeology degree at the University of Cardiff in 1986. Since then he has worked on a range of archaeological sites for a variety of different organisations across Britain. He is now a Project Manager with Albion Archaeology in Bedford where he has worked for the past 15 years. He has worked independently in Bulgaria, West Sussex and Herefordshire. Since working at Lyonshall, near Kington, he has regularly returned to Herefordshire for walking weekends and to enjoy one of his other passions—river swimming. He particularly enjoys swimming in the Arrow, the Lud and the Wye near Hay.

## Presidential Address, 2005

### The Tale of the Trilobite

By PAUL A. OLVER

**A** joint meeting of the Woolhope Club with members of the Cotteswold and Worcestershire Clubs took place at the invitation of the Malvern Club on 12 September 1866.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grindrod's fossil collection was examined for three hours by the members and the following comment recorded: '...no one could fail to be struck by the remarkable display of Trilobites, the perfection of the several specimens, or the graceful elegance of their forms...' Dr. Grindrod was one of the many amateur collectors who not only collected trilobites from Herefordshire's Silurian strata but also made useful observations on the older Cambrian strata of the South Malverns, and their more enigmatic organic traces. In this Presidential address I would like to bring the story of the Herefordshire's trilobites up-to-date, and to show that the Woolhope Club was indeed at the forefront of geological investigation in the late 19th century. Today, the newly formed Geology Section of the Club would hope to continue that proud tradition.

Trilobites have always held a certain fascination for me. It was trilobites that first drew me to Herefordshire as a teenager just about to embark on his 'A' Levels. A bicycle was the chosen method of transport and, with a school colleague, the hills of the Welsh Marches were attacked one by one—a very different experience geologically and physically from the flatlands of our native Lincolnshire. Names such as the Onny River, the Mortimer Forest and the Woolhope Dome became a reality rather than a barely legible label on a Victorian museum specimen.

Trilobites, along with echinoids and ammonites, are the most attractive of fossils. Finding perfect complete specimens is unusual as most occur as fragments. This is largely due to the fact that when the animal died, or moulted during growth, the calcite exoskeleton separated into pieces as the articulation weakened. Later trilobites, including those of the Silurian strata of Herefordshire, had developed the ability to roll up in a similar way to a modern wood louse. Some, much-prized specimens are found in this enrolled state and presumably died of fright as a predator, perhaps a giant eurypterid, approached!

The name 'trilobite' was first coined by the German naturalist Johann Walch, in 1771, and derives from the division of the exoskeleton along its length into three lobes. Trilobites are also divided crosswise into three main parts: the head or cephalon, a central thorax made of variable number of segments and a tail or pygidium (Fig. 1).

The first-ever reference to the finding of fossil trilobites is in 1698 by Dr. Edward Lhwyd, in a paper presented to the Royal Society. He wrote 'The 15<sup>th</sup> (August) whereof we found great plenty must doubtless be referred to the sceleton of some flat fish' (Fig. 2). Although at that time fossils were not considered to have ever been living organisms, Lhwyd in the same year published the first ever catalogue of fossils in which includes the first known illustrations of trilobites. No localities are given in this Latin treatise, but the great accuracy of the drawings suggests visits to both Builth Wells and Llandeilo.

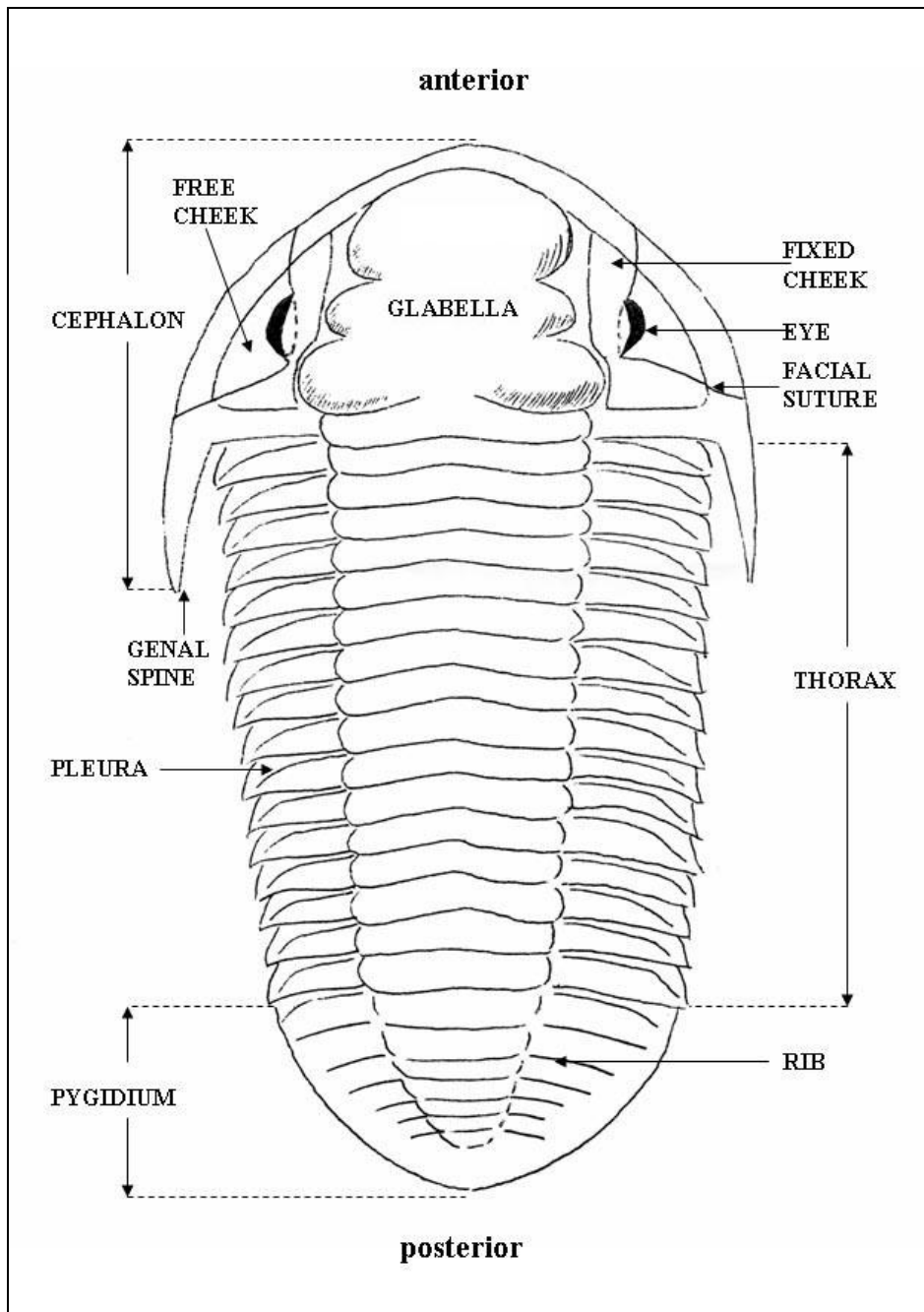


Figure 1. Trilobite morphology. The trilobite in the drawing is of no particular genus (drawing P. Olver)

However, it was left to the French naturalist Alexandre Brongniart, to attempt the first classification of trilobites in 1822, a work that would have been consulted by both Adam Sedgwick and by Sir Roderick Murchison as they began their investigations in the 1830s of the north and south Wales respectively. Murchison's *Silurian System* (1839) contains six plates devoted to trilobites and refers to many of the now famous trilobite localities in the Welsh Borders. Murchison was eventually to become Director General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, and it was one of its employees, John William Salter, who is best remembered for his pioneer work on trilobites.

Trained under Sedgwick at Cambridge, Salter eventually succeeded to the post of Survey Palaeontologist in 1854 and produced a series of specialist publications detailing trilobite specimens found in both Wales and the Welsh Marches. Amongst them was *Paradoxides davidis*, a giant Cambrian trilobite, found near St. Davids in Pembrokeshire, named not after the town but after David Homfray, an amateur fossil collector from Porthmadog who accompanied Salter in the field. Europe too was also making its contribution and Salter was full of praise for the work of French palaeontologist Joachim Barrande who worked in the Prague area of the present Czech Republic and published an impressive monograph on Silurian trilobites in 1846.

Trilobites were the prized acquisitions of early Woolhope Club members and their extraction from the fossiliferous Silurian strata of north Herefordshire, the Ledbury Hills and of course the Woolhope Dome itself represented an important activity during the field meetings of the 1850s and 1860s.

Further trilobite collecting possibilities for Club members included various scattered Cambrian exposures in the English Midlands and Welsh Borders, with the south Malverns being the nearest outcrop although exposures have always been poor in this area. As for Ordovician examples, key sites were a little beyond the county's borders but Llandrindod Wells to the west and the Onny River of south Shropshire would have been additional targets for their collecting expeditions. Herefordshire's trilobites of both Cambrian and Silurian age represent important

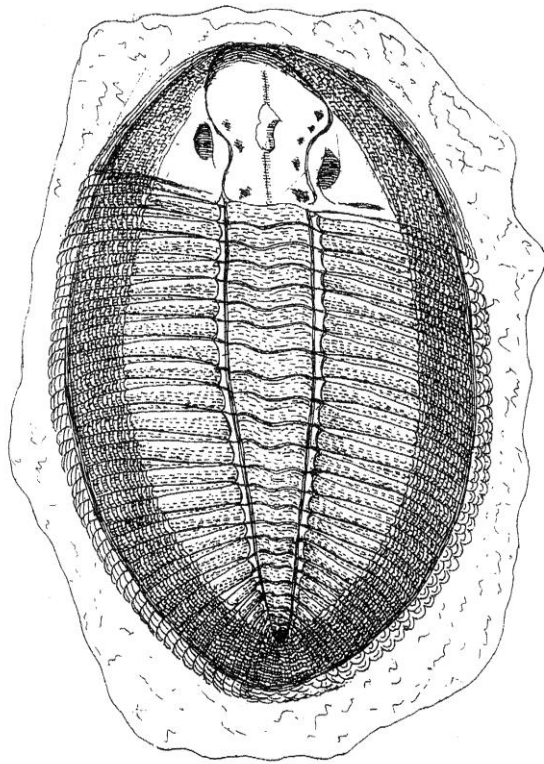


Figure 2. The 'flatfish' figured in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society by Dr. Lhwyd (1699). Note embellishment of fossil drawing to show something resembling a marginal fin. Today, this fossil is known as trilobite *Ogygiocarella debuchii* from the Ordovician (Llandeilo) strata of South Wales





An important factor in our story is the evidence of a late Precambrian ice age which affected most continental masses and, unlike our familiar Quaternary ice age, extended down to much lower latitudes. The intercalation of dolomites with tillites within the Islay exposures in Western Scotland is witness to the extreme climate fluctuations and the associated lowered sea levels on this so-called 'Snowball Earth.'<sup>2</sup>

This climatic catastrophe virtually eliminated the older Riphean microflora and, spurred on by the appearance of a whole range of empty ecological niches, a major evolutionary radiation of the soft-bodied metazoans took place with the retreat of the last lowland glaciers. This 'Charnia' fauna (Fig. 3), first identified by schoolboy Roger Mason in the Woodhouse Beds of Charnwood Forest, north-west of Leicester, is rare but increasingly worldwide in its extent. The possible sea-pen, *Charnia masoni*, named after the discoverer of the first indisputably Precambrian animal remains, together with disc-shaped *Cyclomedusa sp.*, possible arthropod *Pseudovendia sp.* together with worm burrows such as *Planolites* are the key faunal elements.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison with other lower Vendian faunas from the Baltic States, and a K – Ar date of  $684 \pm 29$  Ma. derived from underlying Charnian intrusives, places the 'Charnia' fauna as older than the well-known 'Ediacaran' fauna of South Australia. In both cases the assemblages of solely soft-bodied animals, perhaps living in a world lacking in predators and scavengers, disappeared from the fossil record at about 550 Ma. In the English Midlands, the 'Charnian' fauna is abruptly overlain by the Caldecote Volcanics of Nuneaton (Fig. 3), a series of waterlain tuffs and substantial crystal tuffs intruded by basaltic and dioritic dykes dated at about  $540 \pm 58$  Ma. These island arc volcanics, indicating active plate subduction, are part of the larger story involving the break-up of the Precambrian supercontinent and the eventual initiation of the Iapetus Ocean lying between the North American, Baltic and Gondwanaland continental masses. These events gave rise to an important rise in sea levels worldwide due to increased mid-ocean ridge activity and the displacement of oceanic waters onto the neighbouring continental edges.<sup>4</sup>

Following an extensive period of regression, progressive flooding of continental shelves occurred at the beginning of the Cambrian. This seems to have been pulsatory in nature and it is at the base of each mini-transgression that the first shelly fossil assemblages are found (Fig. 3). Diminutive remains of phosphatic and calcareous tubes (*Hyolithellus sp.*), hyoliths with rounded cross-sections such as *Turcateutheca sp.*, phosphatic scales of unknown affinities and inarticulate brachiopods all feature at this level. In the Midlands, therefore, the middle of the Hartshill Formation at Nuneaton represents a major change in the fossil record with the appearance of these skeletal remains and of extensive trace fossils representing the continued development of soft-bodied faunas alongside their mineralised counterparts.

At the top of the Hartshill Formation, abundant tubular Hyolitha are joined by large monoplacophorans, gastropods, brachiopods and bivalves indicating an explosive increase in diversity and representative phyla. With the next major transgression occurs the widespread appearance of mineralised arthropod skeletons mostly of trilobites and ostracods. These first olenellid trilobites had a long gestation period in evolutionary terms and almost certainly have soft-bodied ancestors as indicated by the famous Middle Cambrian *Lagerstätte* of the Burgess Shale in the Canadian Rockies. Here, we find the enigmatic trilobite genus *Naraoia sp.* with its unmineralised skeleton and bivalved structure together with the soft-bodied, trilobite-like *Marrella sp.* and related arthropods *Canadaspis sp.* and *Burgessia sp.*<sup>5</sup> The Burgess Shale represents a typical mid-Cambrian fauna with both soft-bodied and skeletised organisms—its

unusual presentation therefore allows us a unique window on the early evolution of the trilobites and their related arthropods. Continual diversification of these early trilobite stocks occurs within the Purley Shales (Nuneaton) and within the Comley Limestone (Shropshire) with the appearance of the first planktonic eodiscid trilobites followed by the first protolenid trilobites which adopted a vagrant benthic lifestyle within the shallow shelf seas.<sup>6</sup>

The succeeding transgressive Upper Comley Sandstones in Shropshire represent a period of new opportunities and unfilled ecological niches (Fig.3). A new assemblage of trilobites, important for Cambrian biostratigraphy, are seen at this level with ptychopariid *Paradoxides* sp. and the possibly pelagic agnostids making their first appearance. With the exception of the agnostids, Cambrian trilobites are characterized by a low relief exoskeleton with large cephalons and small pygidia. There are variable numbers of pleurae, holochroal eyes made up of densely packed cylinders of calcite and, at this early stage in their evolution, an inability to roll-up (such as a modern wood louse) when threatened by a predator.

With their paired biramous appendages (both legs and gills), these Cambrian trilobites are ideally adapted for a bottom dwelling existence where the organism essentially 'rowed' through the sediment. Most genera also show genal spines as extensions to the cephalon (Fig. 1). Within the olenids some genera show genal spines occupying a position just below the legs and gills when viewed from the side whereas other olenids found in the English Midlands (eg *Sphaerophthalmus humilis*) show genal spines that point almost vertically downwards which would certainly hinder any movement close to the sea-bed. *Leptoplastus crassicorne* represents an even more extreme case with long genal spines which curve outwards round the body. In life, these spines would have curved sharply downwards and then run horizontally below the thorax. Such a modification and that of *Sphaerophthalmus* mentioned above would perhaps raise the body above a generally anoxic sea bed or maybe raised it into a more nutrient-rich zone when feeding.<sup>7</sup>

During Cambrian times, the Iapetus Ocean was an active spreading ocean and reached its greatest geographical extent. The distant separation of the two continental shelves is strongly supported by the unique trilobite faunas of north-west Scotland and of the English Midlands which at that time lay on either side of this ocean. The bottom dwelling trilobite genera of *Olenellus* sp. (north-west Scotland) and *Callavia* sp. (English Midlands) were never destined to meet due to this oceanic separation. The development of plate tectonics in the 1960s therefore provides an explanation for the mutual exclusivity of the two faunal assemblages.

The Tremadoc Series, once of late Cambrian age and now placed in the Lower Ordovician, provides the final flowering of our early trilobite designs. *Angelina sedgwickii*, the zone fossil for the highest Tremadocian, was known only from the distorted specimens in North Wales slates and as such was named and figured by John Salter in Murchison's *Siluria* of 1859. Fortunately, in the Welsh Borders, undistorted specimens found more recently in the Shelf Inlier of West Shropshire have allowed a more accurate reconstruction of its true form.<sup>8</sup>

During Ordovician times the number of trilobite genera reached its peak and it is during this period that the greatest variety of shapes and surface relief is seen. A few Cambrian forms lingered on, such as olenids and agnostids, but new vibrant stocks of illaenids, trinucleids and phacopids were rapidly evolving in the transgressive early Ordovician seas and filling newly available ecological niches.

Trilobites had well-developed compound eyes (Fig. 1) made of calcite whose crystal orientation only allowed light approaching at right angles to the lens surface to form an image. Extensive research in this field has revealed an accurate picture of what our Palaeozoic

trilobites could actually see. Some phacopid trilobites have biconvex lenses and internal mechanisms to correct for spherical aberration (Fig. 4). A minority of trilobites were blind either in response to a deep water environment or to a burrowing mode of existence. Whereas Cambrian trilobites generally have compound holochroal eyes as described earlier, the new Ordovician stocks had separate lenses composed of two interlocking crystals (schizochroal condition).

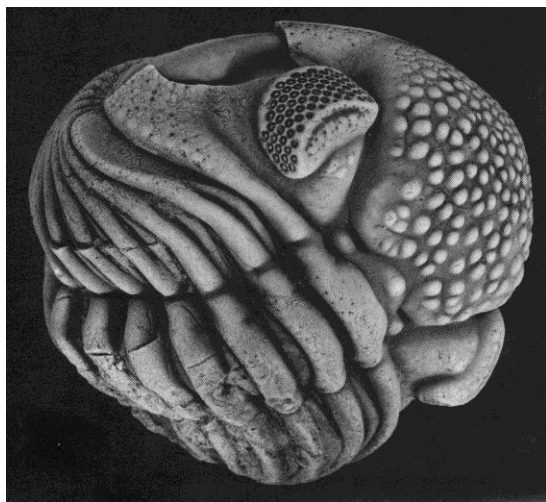


Figure 4. A lateral view of a *Phacops* sp. from the Devonian strata of Morocco which illustrates a trilobite in its enrolled state and the perfect preservation of its compound eyes. Photo reproduced with permission from Prof. Richard Fortey F.R.S.

The orientation of the various lenses in any particular trilobite genus confirms what they actually 'saw'. Most bottom dwelling species had a view sideways and a little forwards over the sediment of the seafloor. For the bulbous-eyed cyclopygids, found in the black Ordovician mudstones of Wales, sets of lenses are directed forwards, upwards and downwards suggesting a pelagic mode of life in the early Ordovician seas. The cyclopygid thorax is laterally reduced while the axis, which embodies the muscles necessary for swimming, is exceptionally wide. This morphological analysis again confirms an active nektonic rather than planktonic existence, probably at the edge of the continental shelves where rising currents would bring nutrients close to the surface.

Our local cyclopygids of Wales and the Welsh Borders can therefore be used to define the continental edges of the early Ordovician. Cyclopygid occurrences in the Western Baltica (Sweden) and in Southern Avalonia (Wales and the Marches) confirm the existence of the Tornquist Sea, an arm of the Iapetus Ocean, between the two continental masses. Their absence from northern France, by way of contrast, supports their preference for the continental edges.<sup>9</sup>

The abundance of trilobites at many Ordovician localities in Wales and the Marches has also allowed enough specimens of key species to be collected to assess the effects of evolution, if any, on the Ordovician trilobite stocks. In the Builth Inlier, black marine Llandeilo Shales have yielded abundant, trilobite fragments including large numbers of disarticulated pygidia. At Builth the environment was relatively stable, low energy and displayed low oxygen levels. The benthic trilobites were well-adapted to this quiet basinal setting with water depths of several hundred metres. Despite this stability, an evolutionary sequence was detected with the number of pygidial ribs (Fig. 1) in the 15,000 trilobites examined increasing with time in the several genera selected. Further work has suggested that it is precisely these stable conditions that lead to small but significant changes and support a gradualistic model of evolution.<sup>10</sup> In comparison, late Pliocene molluscs, reef corals and planktonic foraminifera have changed little over the past two million years despite the large environmental changes of the Quaternary ice age. We have, therefore, an evolutionary model of punctuated equilibrium where change occurs in concentrated bursts but at times when conditions are stable. A disruptive environment

encourages stasis and a lack of evolutionary change.<sup>11</sup> Our Welsh trilobites have again provided important clues to support modern evolutionary studies.

Despite the overall success of the Ordovician trilobites, many distinct groups including the Family Trinucleidae became extinct at the end of the Ordovician. The trilobite faunas of the Silurian continue to be dominated by surviving Ordovician families such as the phacopids and calymenids which successfully colonised the shallow warm waters of the West Midlands. Calcareous mudstones, bedded limestones and lenses or hemispherical masses of unstratified limestones representing patch reefs of corals, stromatoporoids and bryozoa characterise the familiar horizons of the Wenlockian and early Ludlovian stages. A greater abundance of trilobites, bryozoa and crinoids is found in the Much Wenlock Limestone of Staffordshire and the West Midlands compared to Wenlock Edge in Shropshire and the Woolhope Dome in Herefordshire both of which lay nearer the edge of the continental shelf. At Dudley, the commonest trilobite, *Calymene blumenbachii*, popularly known as the ‘Dudley Locust’ and found in the local limestone quarries, appears on the town’s coat-of-arms. Trilobites *Dalmanites caudatus*, and *Encrinurus punctatus* with its raised, tubercled glabella and stalked eyes, are also common forms at this level.

The trilobite-rich faunas (Fig. 5) of the Silurian in Herefordshire were the prime targets for early Woolhope Club members and, indeed, the name of the Club itself derives from the first field meeting held on 18 May 1852.

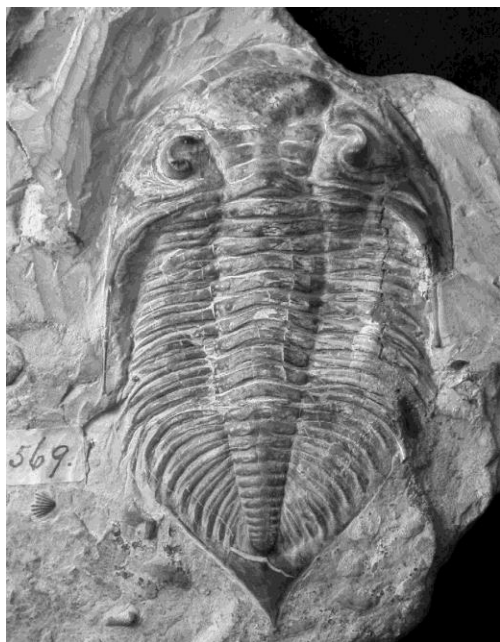


Figure 5. Trilobite *Dalmanites* sp. with its characteristic tail is typical of middle Silurian (Wenlockian) forms and is commonly found in Herefordshire. Photo reproduced with the permission of Jon Chatworthy, Curator of the Lapworth Museum, University of Birmingham

This first meeting, chaired by the Rev. W. S. Symonds in the absence of the President Mr. R. M. Lingwood, was initially addressed by the Hon. Secretary Mr. M. J. Scobie on the structure of the Woolhope Dome and its fossiliferous Silurian horizons. Despite thunder, lightning and heavy rain Mr. Scobie led members from Stoke Edith House to the Wenlock Limestone of Dormington Wood and then onto the older Woolhope Limestone outcrops in Scutwardine Quarry.<sup>12</sup>

After the riches of the Silurian, the succeeding Devonian in Herefordshire with its relative monotony of red marls and red sandstones proved somewhat of a disappointment to the early Woolhope collectors. The Old Red Sandstone continental facies yielded armoured fish and occasional plant remains but the marine facies containing stromatoporoid-coral reefs together with some trilobites and abundant brachiopods was only to be found in South Devon around Newton Abbot, Torbay and Plymouth.

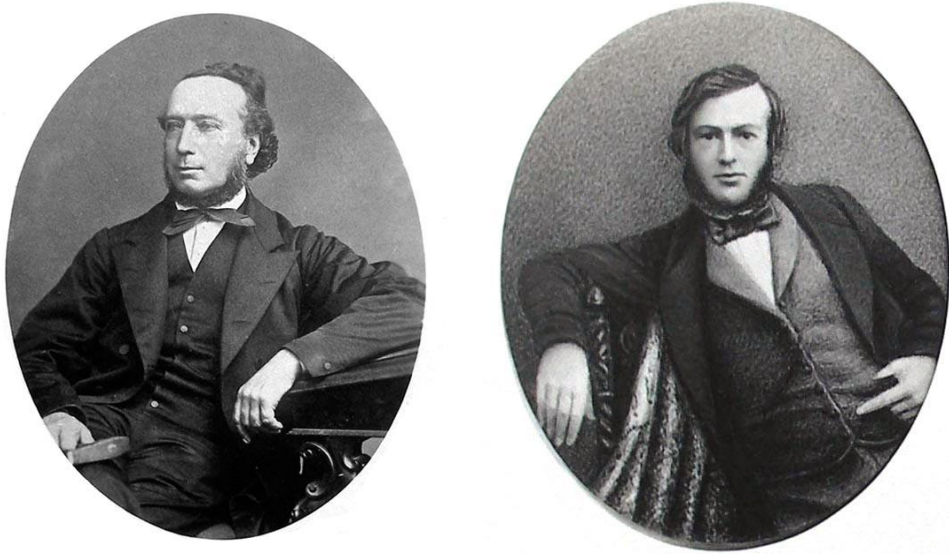


Figure 6. Rev. W. S. Symonds (President) and Mr. M. J. Scobie (Hon. Secretary) who addressed the Club at the first field meeting on 18 May 1852. (Woolhope Club archives)

Devonian trilobites were greatly reduced in numbers and variety in a series of pulsatory extinction events culminating in a major disappearance of families at the end of the Devonian. Only one family, the proetids, which had appeared first in the Ordovician, survived into the Carboniferous and ultimately into the Permian. Lower Carboniferous limestones outcropping in southernmost Herefordshire occasionally yield *Phillipsia sp.*, the last in a long line of successful arthropods.

Wales and the Marches, including the county of Herefordshire, have therefore played an important role in our understanding of these extinct arthropods. Woolhope Club members in the 19th century laid the foundations through their avid collecting and astute observation. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison constructed the Silurian System using much of their hard work and expertise and, indeed, was instrumental in setting up the Woolhope Club in the winter months of 1851.

Trilobites collected in Herefordshire and in the neighbouring counties of Shropshire and Powys still continue to provide groundbreaking insights into past environments and even to evolutionary theory itself. Trilobites are fascinating fossils and the tale of the trilobite is still continuing.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would particularly like to thank Prof. Richard Fortey F.R.S. from the British Museum (Natural History) and Jon Clatworthy, Curator of the Lapworth Museum at the University of Birmingham for kindly allowing me to reproduce the photographs of trilobites in Figures 4 and 5. I am also very grateful to Prof. Peter Doyle, Editor of *Geology Today*, for permission to reproduce the stratigraphic diagram covering the Precambrian – Cambrian boundary.

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# Notes on the former Hereford Market Hall and the Tolsey

By JOHN C. EISEL

**A**t the centre of High Town formerly stood a fine three-storeyed Market Hall. The ground floor was open, except for the twenty-seven pillars supporting the upper floors, and here the markets were held. The first floor was the Shire Hall, where the magistrates for the county met, and this was accessed by a staircase on the south side of the building. The second floor was divided into a number of rooms, and the fourteen trade guilds each had a room, for which they paid an annual rent. The building was referred to at various times as the Market Hall, the Market House, or the Town Hall, although many of the civic functions, including the meetings of the Common Council, were held elsewhere. In this paper new evidence for dating the building is considered, and this establishes conclusively the date of construction of the building and many of the various alterations to it, although it is not possible to state exactly what those alterations were. New evidence about the location of the Tolsey or Guildhall in the late 18th century is also discussed.

## THE MARKET HALL

Once a myth has become accepted, it is often reproduced indefinitely and uncritically. Thus how often does one hear the myth of the use of old ships' timbers to account for any second-hand timber used in an old building many miles from the sea? And, of course, there is the myth of apprentices being fed on a surfeit of salmon, a myth amusingly exploded in these *Transactions* by the late I. Cohen.<sup>1</sup>

On a par with this is the incorrect date, published in error and subsequently reproduced uncritically by later writers. Also, dates are published as a *terminus pre quem*, but are taken as firm dates by the uncritical reader. Examples of both these errors are found in writings about the former Market Hall.

## DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

Firstly, the evidence for the date of construction should be considered. The granite slab formerly inset in the pavement of High Town, removed during the recent refurbishment, states that the Market Hall was built in the late 16th century. This seems to have been taken from the researches of the late F. C. Morgan, who found a reference to the 'New M[ar]ket Hall' in a document of 1602,<sup>2</sup> which infers that it was already in existence by that time.<sup>3</sup> He also records a reference to a market house in 1596, and although there is nothing specific about a new building, it has been assumed that the Market Hall was already in existence in 1596.<sup>4,5</sup> While this is not disputed, it is not the complete picture. Had the chamberlains' accounts for the period survived there would have been no difficulty in finding the exact date of construction. However, there are later documents that have been compiled from contemporary records that are no longer in existence, and these enable the full story to be told.





Figure 1. The location of the Market Hall, taken from Isaac Taylor's map of 1757

In 1706, because of an increase in the corn trade after the Wye Navigation Act of 1695, the Mayor and Common Council decided to move the market for wheat from the north-east corner of the Market House to the west side where there was more space. As a result of this a bag of wheat and a bag of oats were distrained upon, accusations of trespass and assault were made, various legal opinions were sought about the legality of this action, and depositions made.<sup>6</sup> In one opinion, given by Mr. Serjeant Birch, the preamble reciting the facts states:

‘That about 130 yeares since upon the West Ground in the High Street of the s<sup>d</sup>. City was a new m[ar]ket house built w<sup>ch</sup>. is constantly repaired by the Corporacon’

Here the word ‘constantly’ is used in an older sense of ‘regularly’ rather than in the sense in which it is commonly used today, and implies that the building was maintained by the Corporation. The emphasis upon the waste ground was because the corporation claimed ownership of all waste within the city.

The notes at the end of the opinion give the background and these state that the Market House was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that it was always called the New Market House (not quite true, as will be seen), that the old Market House was formerly at St. Peter’s Cross, and that at that time (1706) there were still old people living who could remember at least part of this building. The opinion also includes the following:



'Note in the 13<sup>th</sup> Eliz in James Warnecombes Mayors Bagg there is a page upon the file of an agreem<sup>t</sup>. of the Mayo<sup>r</sup> & his Brethren & 3 Inquests sworne y<sup>t</sup> Widem[ar]sh Money be appointed to build a new M[ar]kethouse

That Roger Exton did offer to give 100 or a 150 Tun of Timber towards the Building thereof

Note - 24<sup>th</sup> October 17<sup>th</sup> Eliz tempore Ric<sup>d</sup> Warnecombe Mayo<sup>r</sup> there is a p[re]sentm[en]<sup>t</sup> at the Law Day y<sup>t</sup> the Mkett house might be made up as the Plott drawne or the Citizens money be restored'<sup>7</sup>

All this is quite consistent as James Warnecombe became Mayor in 1571 and Richard Warnecombe became Mayor in 1575. Although it does not prove that the new Market Hall was completed in 1576, it shows that in 1706 this date was accepted, also that contemporary sources had been consulted. But another of the opinions, in its very similar preliminary notes, quotes some extra evidence about the construction of the 'Markett' House/Hall in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

'That that very M[ar]kett House was built in her Reign in a New Place from the Old as appears upon the Hall Doore 1574/1575/1576'<sup>8</sup>

The underlined text has been added in a different, but contemporary, hand. This states that there was evidence about the construction of the New Market Hall on a different site on the Hall door, presumably in the form of an inscription, still visible at that time. It could be interpreted that the three dates were also incised on the door, or that the Market House was built in the period 1574-6. Also, jotted in the margin adjacent to the statement that the former market hall was in existence until within living memory, at least in part, were several names, seemingly of persons who could be called on to testify to that effect.

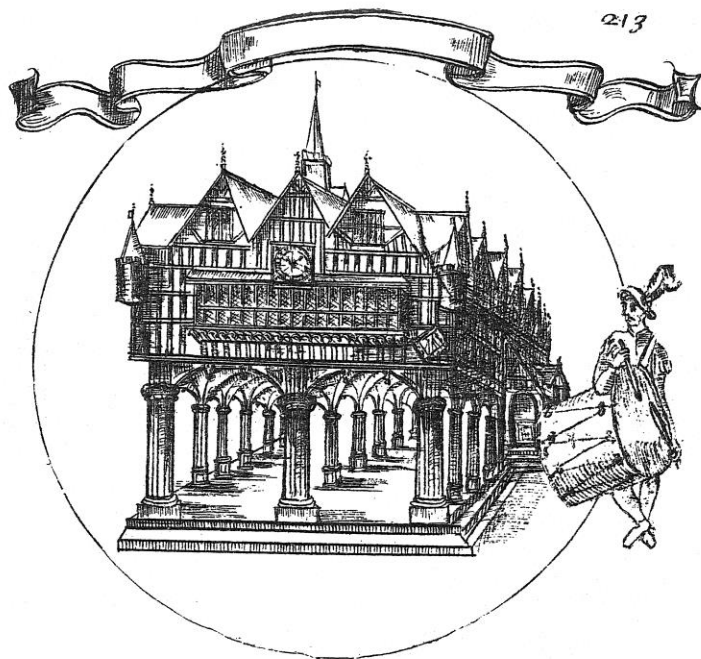
The date 1576 for the construction continued to be common knowledge until the 19th century, knowledge supported by another inscription. On 31 January 1828 the Common Council ordered that the cupola on the top of the Market Hall should be taken down, a new one erected, and that the old clock be disposed of, the proceeds to be used towards a new clock.<sup>9</sup> This took some while, and it was not until the issue of 28 November 1828 that the *Hereford Journal* reported:

'Preparations are now making for the reception of the new clock in our Town Hall, by removing the old one, and other arrangements. Round the top of the bell belonging to the old clock is the following inscription; - "JONAS MEREDITH CHAMBERLINE, ANO D. 1623," being about 46 years after the Town Hall was erected.'

Thus at that time a construction date of about 1576 or 1577 was known. How this date was known is easily explained. On June 1837 a meeting of the Town Council (the Common Council had been reformed under the Municipal Reform Act of 1835) decided to spend a sum not exceeding £200 on repairs, alterations and additions to the Town Hall.<sup>10</sup> This also proceeded slowly, as it was not until 29 August 1838 that the *Hereford Journal* reported:

'Our old Town Hall is now undergoing intensive repair and improvement by direction of the Corporation, and the date of the Building carved upon a portion of the woodwork has been laid open by the removal of the plaster. It was erected in 1576 - which makes it 262 years old.'

This report implies that the date of construction was not then known, while ten years before the reverse implication was true.



This is a fair Timber Structure supported by Columns of wood.  
 Here sit the Judges of Law over the Piazza or Walk. In the uppermost  
 part of this building are Chambers for the several Corporations of this city  
 with their Arms and...  
 These proper Verses of scripture and Devices over their Doors.  
 The SKINNERS have the representation in painting of Adam & Eve.  
 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God  
 make coats of Skins and clothed them. Gen. ch. 3. ver. 21.  
 The TANNERS. They send therefore to Iorppa and call to their Simon whose  
 surname is Peter he is lodged in the house of one Symon a Tanner; by &c. Acts 10. v. 32.  
 BUTCHERS. the Motto. Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus oves & boves  
 Psal. 8. v. 6. & 7.  
 GLOVERS. They wandered about in Sheepskins and Goatskins, being destitute &c. Heb. c. 11. v. 37.

Figure 2. The earliest known representation of the Market Hall, taken from Thomas Dingley's manuscript of c.1680

CCXVIII.

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**BAYERS.** Give us day by day Our Daily Bread. Luke II. vers. 3<sup>d</sup>  
**CLOATHIERS** or Cloath-workers whose Arms are sable a River  
 or myne in chief two Rabbits argent in base a bezel, or with supporters  
 first have this Motto MY TRUST IS IN GOD ALONE, besides about  
 their Chamber these verses. (I suppose set up by one JOHN LEWIS once  
 master of the company here) in old English Character, such as it is.  
 Cloathing doth other trades exceed as farr  
 As spendid Sol outshines the dullest Starr  
 By it the poor do gain the lively hood  
 Who otherwise might starve for want of food.  
 Farmers by it make money and do pay,  
 Their Landlords duly on the very day  
 The Cottagers they grow rich Shopkeepers thrive  
 The Winters warmed and man kept alive  
 From of the Staple Trade with skill and Art  
 The Fleece of Gold will satisfy your heart  
 Enter that the Weavers may go on  
 John LEWIS Swears by Jove it shall be done.  
 The Skinners were incorporated in the first year of E.D. III. & made a perfect fraternity  
 in the 18 of Rich. 2<sup>d</sup> by their Arms they bear Ermine on a Red Gules 3 Ducall crowns  
 or. And of the first their Motto is the same with that of the Goldsmiths.  
 TO GOD ONLEY BE ALL GLORY  
 The MERCERS here for their arms have Gules, a Mayden head flesh & blood colour,  
 in proper crowned or, a Waist or body coat, Purpure, issuing out of Clouds proper,  
 within a Azure nebule or.

Figure 3. The rest of the text about the city guilds, taken from the Dingley manuscript

In 1911 William Collins reported that part of one of the beams of the Old Town Hall was in the possession of Henry Richard 'Hatherley', whom he described as the grandson of the person who demolished the building, and that it had the date 1576 cut into it, clearly the timber referred to above.<sup>11</sup> A rubbing of the date is now in Hereford reference library in a notebook compiled by James Lloyd of Kington but which later came into the possession of Walter Pilley, where a manuscript note states (correctly) that the owner of the beam was Henry Richard Hathway, the grandson of a former rector of Stretton Sugwas.<sup>12</sup> The lettering is consistent with the date, and it is difficult to see why such a date had been incised on the timber unless it was the date of construction, particularly as it fits in so well with the evidence quoted above.<sup>13</sup> This date for the construction of the Market Hall was quoted by W. H. Howse in his article that was published in the Club centenary volume in 1954, although without any supporting evidence.<sup>14</sup> Accepting that this is the date of construction—and this is the best interpretation of all the known facts—it finally lays to rest the myth that the Market Hall was designed and built by John Abel. However, it also raises the tantalising question: who did draw the 'Plott' from which the building was constructed?

The evidence quoted above also helps to explain why the New Market Hall continued to be called that until at least the early part of the 18th century. The former Market Hall must have been in existence until at least the middle of the 17th century, so that the two market halls would have to be distinguished in some way, and once the New Market Hall had been called that for three-quarters of a century, it was likely to continue. The evidence of overlap also explains another fact that has appeared in these pages. In 1580 John Yayden was nominated as mayor of the city, but did not attend on the formal election day. He refused to pay a fine of £20 that was consequently imposed, and a compromise was reached during the following year in which a reduced sum of £6 13s. 4d. was paid to the chamberlain, part of which was for the repair of the market hall and the remainder to the poor.<sup>15</sup> It seems unlikely that there was a need for substantial repairs to the New Market Hall just four years after it was built and it is much more likely that this money was spent on repairs to the former Market Hall.

There is another reference to the Market House in 1582, which is printed in full in these pages.<sup>16</sup> In that year a petition was sent to the Mayor which stated that

‘The High Cawsey aboute the Market Howse ys so thrustred Impestered and combered upon the market dayes with all kynde of marketes there heaped on an others necke, That yt ys somtymes very hard to passe and repasse.’

The petition goes on to request that the fruit and iron markets should be moved from the ‘Hyghe Cawsey’

‘And to place and appoynte them at Saynte Peters Crosse Where ys a fayre streate and Rome Inough to put up theyr standynges’

Now the High ‘Cause[wa]y’ was marked on Speed’s map of 1610 as being in what is now High Town, so this clearly relates to the Market House there, which was erected in 1576. Speed’s map also depicts St. Peter’s Cross, but there is nothing that could be interpreted as the Old Market House.<sup>17</sup> This also suggests the possibility that St. Peter’s Cross was the original market cross for the city, rather than the High Cross, which was at the west end of High Town and which was removed in 1776. In this context it should be remembered that St. Peter’s was the civic church.

## ALTERATIONS TO THE MARKET HALL

It is well known that the Market Hall was reduced in height and ‘Georgianised’ in the 18th century, and various dates have been given for this. Howse first suggested that it took place in the 1750s,<sup>18</sup> and then altered this to 1793,<sup>19</sup> a date previously given by Collins in his book *Outlines of Old and New Hereford Part I*<sup>20</sup> and in his *Historical Landmarks of the City of Hereford*.<sup>21</sup> Pevsner stated categorically that the upper storey was removed in 1792.<sup>22</sup> However, in *James Wathen’s Herefordshire*, published in 1994, Whitehead and Shoesmith quote the date of 1770 for the removal of the upper floor and the ‘Georgianisation’ of the structure.<sup>23</sup> While this is correct for the removal of the upper floor, the process was rather more complicated than this simple statement implies, and the surviving evidence for the different phases of the alterations to the building is discussed below.

A series of alterations, as opposed to repairs, to the Market Hall were carried out in the middle of the eighteenth century. The chamberlains’ accounts show that major work was carried out to the Market Hall in 1749, when a total of £220 2s. 11d. was spent, the largest payment being one of £71 4s. 6d. to Mr. Griffiths, a glazier and plumber, who had evidently done much work. The vignette of the Market Hall on Taylor’s map of 1757 shows that the fine

oriel windows on the west elevation, drawn by Dingley in 1684 (Fig. 2),<sup>24</sup> had been changed to sash windows (Fig. 4), and we may reasonably conclude that Mr. Griffiths was responsible.<sup>25</sup> The vignette shows that the reduction of height in the Market Hall had not then taken place.

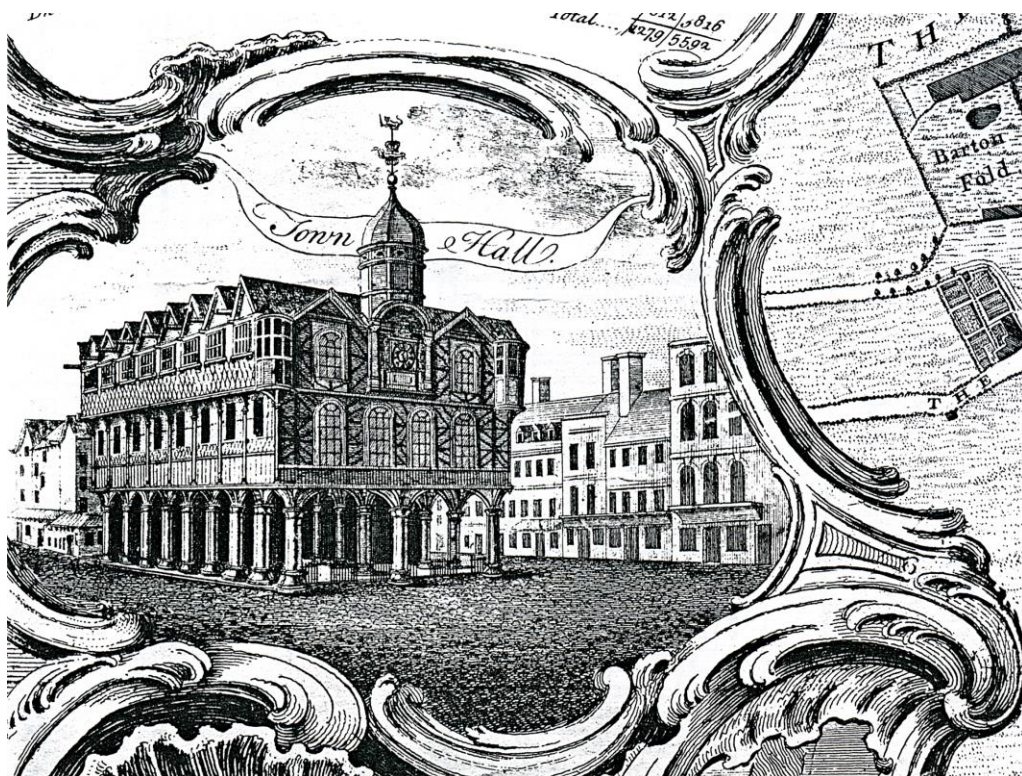


Figure 4. The Market Hall, as represented in a vignette on Isaac Taylor's map

Over the next few years other relatively minor repairs were recorded in the accounts. However, the weight of the upper stages evidently caused problems, and the situation gradually deteriorated to such an extent that major work was needed. This began with an estimate and supporting paperwork being submitted to the 1770 Easter Quarter Sessions by Francis Thomas, a local carpenter.<sup>26</sup> The justices for the county agreed to pay half of the cost of £260, subject to articles being drawn up, and a meeting of the Common Council on 11 May 1770 approved the plan and estimate, appointed a committee to oversee the work, and gave the committee authority to call on the assistance of 'any Surveyor or Principal Workman' for his opinion and directions.<sup>27</sup>

Thereafter things moved quickly. The articles of agreement for alterations to the 'Shire Hall or Markett House' between the mayor, aldermen and citizens of Hereford and Francis Thomas of Hereford, carpenter, were drawn up and signed the next day, Francis Thomas agreeing to perform the work for £260 and such of the material as was unused 'except as much of the best of the old wainscott as shall be sufficient for wainscoting round the Nisi Prius Court.' Drawings of both end and side elevations were provided (Figs. 5 & 6).

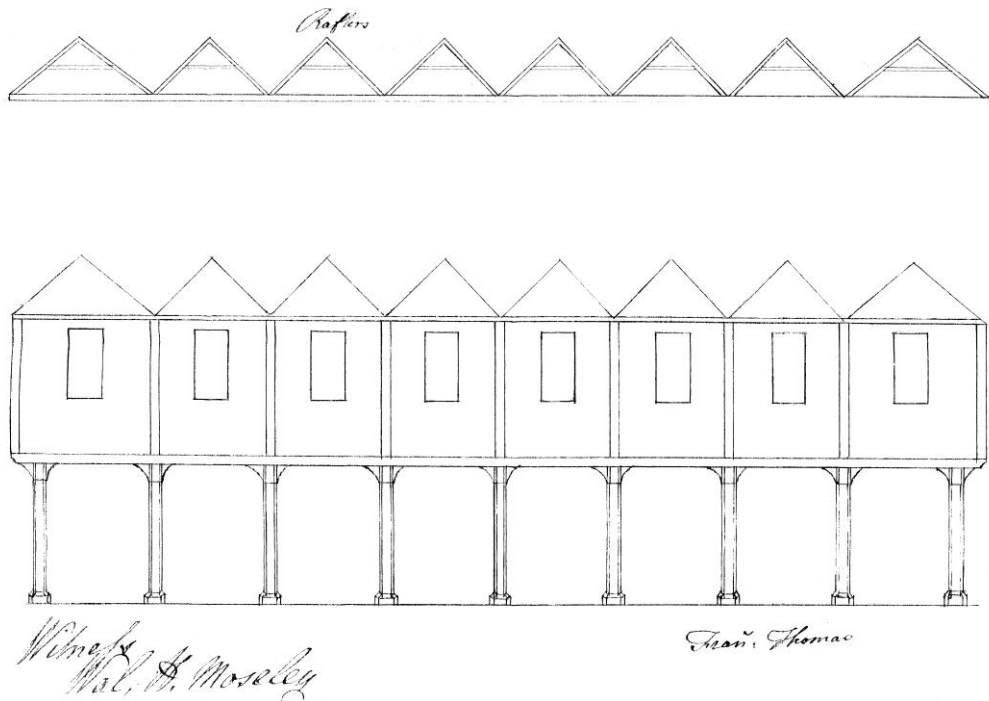


Figure 5. The proposed side elevation of the Market Hall, taken from Francis Thomas's submission

The architect Thomas Farnolls Pritchard was summoned from Shrewsbury to give his opinion which he submitted in writing in a letter dated 19 May 1770. Francis Thomas contracted to remove the roof, take off the upper floor and build a new roof, together with other repairs. He prepared a detailed specification as follows:

Account of work necessary to be done to putting the Town Hall in Substantial Repair

Taking the Roof off

Taking the side and end walls down to the floor

Putting a new Roof on, the Gutter plate to be fixed on the floor

Lowering the cupola and Making a Room for the Clock to work in

Putting 3 new Beams in upper floor

Making good that part of the ceiling

Taking the front timber, ~~and~~ sashes, out and putting it straight

Raising the Pillars that are sunk<sup>28</sup>

Cramping the Cross Beams in Lower floor to keep the Building from spreading any farther

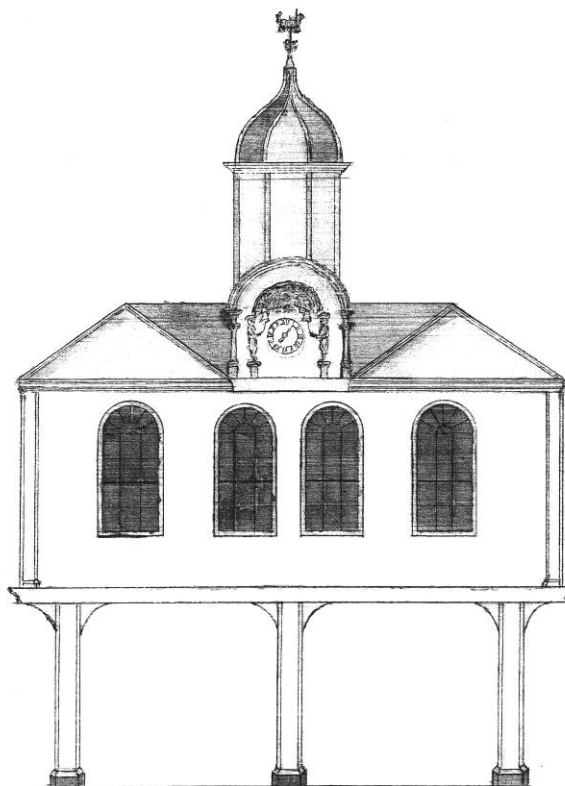
Making a new Room over Part of the old Stairs ~~and a doorway out of the Hall into it~~

Making one new flight of stairs

Clearing of the Rubage &c

The work then went ahead, the Chamberlains' accounts for the financial year Michaelmas 1769

to Michaelmas 1770 recording a payment of £130 to 'M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Carpenter', the city's share of the cost.<sup>29</sup>



*Witness  
Wm. A. Moseley*

*Francis Thomas*

Figure 6. The end elevation of the Market Hall, as proposed by Francis Thomas

This was not the end of the expense, however. At a meeting of the Common Council, held at the White Lyon on 17 May 1771, it was resolved

'That an Estimate be made by M<sup>r</sup>. Fra<sup>s</sup>. Thomas of the further expense of repairing painting and Ornamenting the Shire Hall and Marketthouse And that on the same being approved by Mr. Mayor, Mr. Sandford, & the Chamberlains, or any other Gent. who will attend & on the Gentlemen of the County contributing half this House will direct the Payment of the other half of the expence theirow.<sup>30</sup>

The agreement of the 'Gentlemen of the County' was evidently forthcoming, the repairs were made, and the chamberlains' accounts for the year Michaelmas 1770 to Michaelmas 1771 record a payment of £26 8s. as the city's share of the bill. However, this was still not the end of repairs to the market hall, and the chamberlains' accounts for the year 1774–75 record payments of £22 10s. to a glazier, £2 6s. 3d. to a carpenter (James Garbutt, not Francis Thomas), £4 11s. to a mason and 16s. 6d. to an ironmonger as a moiety of his bill.<sup>31</sup>

About twenty years later the internal arrangements of the Town Hall were altered. On 26 November 1794 the Common Council decided that the room in the Market House, used by the Trustees (presumably of the City Charities), was small and incommodious, and ordered that it should be enlarged. A plan and estimate had been produced by 'Mr. Lane the Joiner', the estimate being £24 9s. 10d., and the Common Council ordered that this work should take place, Lane to complete the work in a good an workmanlike manner within two months, under the inspection of a surveyor.<sup>32</sup> Either Lane took longer than had been agreed or there were problems with the work that were unrecorded in the minutes of the Common Council, or the chamberlains were slow in paying their bills, as a payment to Lane of £38 19s. 6d. for this work did not appear in the chamberlains' accounts until those for the year Michaelmas 1795 to Michaelmas 1796.<sup>33</sup> This may have been the Old Council Room under the Market House, that a meeting on 21 November 1809 decided to be let by auction.<sup>34</sup>

Although no chamberlains' accounts survive for the period, repairs continued to be carried out, to which the county magistrates contributed. A set of accounts, drawn up by the county treasurer and published in the *Hereford Journal* of 14 February 1810 records £12 6s. 8d. 'Paid for Repairs at the Shire-Hall.'

It is evident that the Shire Hall on the first floor of the building was not in good condition and a meeting of the Grand Jury, held before the Assizes on 8 October 1814, presented this poor condition and the general unsuitability of the building, initiating a move to provide a new Shire Hall. The *Hereford Journal* of 24 August 1814 reported that a County meeting about the erection of a new Shire Hall would take place on 19 October, and also carried a long advertisement to that effect. There seems to have been some undercurrent that was not reported in the *Hereford Journal*, as on 3 October 1814 the Common Council decided

'That a Committee be appointed in order to draw up a proper remonstrance to the Magistrates of the County respecting their claim to the present Market House or Shire Hall, this House being of the opinion that the said Market House belongs to the City.'<sup>35</sup>

The county meeting duly took place on 19 October and was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 26 October. There was no mention of a claim on the Town Hall, and a series of resolutions were passed, itemised in an advertisement, directed towards the provision of a new Shire Hall. An Act was duly applied for, and received the Royal Assent on 23 March 1815, and in 1817 the assizes and other functions were transferred there from the old Shire Hall. Major alterations were then carried out to the old building. On 13 November 1817 the Common Council ordered

'that the Stair Case of the Old Shirehall with the Rooms adjoining and the old Fish Market be taken down for the purpose of widening the street there.'

These alterations were described by J. P. Wright in 1819:

'In this hall were (till March, 1817), held the assizes, quarter sessions, city and county meetings, &c. It is intended to be in future more appropriated to the public purposes more immediately connected with the city, a new County Hall and Courts of Justice having been erected. Under it are held the hop and corn markets. The old staircase on the south



side of the building was removed in 1818, and a new one formed on it's [*sic*] west end, an improvement which reflects great credit on it's [*sic*] projectors; detracting nothing from the character of the pile, and adding greatly to cleanliness and utility. On the west side of this staircase, is the watch and ward room, and over it an antiquated clock.'<sup>36</sup>

It is at least possible that the original door of the Market Hall, with its intriguing inscription, was removed at this time. However, a search through the *Hereford Journal* for the year 1818 did not find any news report about the alterations which might have shed light on the inscription.

Repairs were carried out in 1828 and 1838, as described above, and then on 22 December 1856 a proposal to erect a new corn market was made by Thomas Frederick Wall, an ironmonger, tinman and brazier in High Town. This involved demolishing the Old Town Hall, building a portico across the front of what is now the entrance to the market hall and an adjoining building, roofing over the market, and developing the Guildhall, at that time to the west of the market area. The adjoining building was, of course, owned by Mr. Wall and no doubt he was hoping to gain financially from the proposal.<sup>37</sup> However, this particular proposal came to nothing although the Butter Market was built and roofed over in 1860,<sup>38</sup> and the Old Town Hall subsequently demolished.

## DATE OF DEMOLITION

The date of the final demolition has also been a source of confusion. In 1916 the date of demolition was stated to be 1861–2,<sup>39</sup> but on 25 June 1942 F. C. Morgan read a paper to the Club in which he gave the date as 1861.<sup>40</sup> Later in 1942 Herbert Skyrme addressed the Club on the subject of timber-framed buildings when the date of demolition was stated to be 1862.<sup>41</sup> In 1947 W. H. Howse, in his booklet called *Historic Hereford*, stated that the date of demolition was 1861,<sup>42</sup> although Norman Drinkwater, when he lectured the Club on the subject of the Old Market Hall on 27 January 1949, gave the date as 1862.<sup>43</sup> Pevsner stated that it was demolished in 1862 and called it 'a memorable piece of municipal vandalism.'<sup>44</sup> The later date was used on the granite slab, formerly set into the pavement of High Town, which commemorated the site of the old market hall.

Examination of the facts shows that F. C. Morgan and W. H. Howse were correct, and that the date of demolition was 1861. Indeed, Drinkwater almost persuaded himself of this, for he quoted an entry in the minute book of Hereford Corporation, dated 5 February 1861, that on 22 January 1861 the Mayor had sold the materials of the Old Town Hall to Mr. William Davies for the sum of £200. It was also stated that although the materials had been advertised for sale by tender the city authorities had not received any adequate offer and so they were sold to Mr. Davies by private contract.<sup>45</sup> Evidence that this demolition took place immediately is found in the *Hereford Times* of 16 March 1861, where a report states:

'The whole of the materials of our old Town-hall have now been removed from the square; and the resolution of the Town Council for the widening of the pavement will, we understand, be shortly carried out.'

The report goes on to say that five tons of lead was removed, and that 'The oak pillars were eagerly sought after, and realised fair prices.' The locations of a number of these pillars have subsequently been recorded. The source of the problems over the years was revealed with the clearance of the site, as the report concluded:

‘A quantity of excellent stone, well dressed, was obtained from a well, but the foundation yielded very little stone; indeed, it is a matter of conjecture how the building stood with comparatively no foundation.’

## SUMMARY

The evidence now indicates quite conclusively that the market hall was completed in 1576. The remodelling of the market hall had begun by 1749 and it was reduced in height and re-roofed in 1770, although the work was not completed until the following year. There were later modifications both inside and outside the market hall. The market hall was demolished in 1861.

This reassessment shows that the granite slab formerly in High Town was incorrect in two important respects.

## THE TOLSEY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

While discussing the alterations to the market hall in the 18th century, it is appropriate to consider the arrangements for the Guildhall, where the Common Council normally met. This was not above the Market Hall, as might be assumed, but was on the first floor of the Tolsey, which was to the east of Market Hall and to the north of the Old House. The meeting on 17 May 1771, referred to above, took place at the White Lyon because the Tolsey, like the Market Hall, was in a poor state, and on 28 June 1768 the Common Council:

‘Ordered that whereas the Guildhall is dangerous for the members of this House, future meetings be held at Mr. Newton’s, of the White Lyon Inn, in Bye Street, being the nearest public house to that spot.’<sup>46</sup>

The next meeting of the Common Council, for the election of the Mayor, took place in the Guildhall, but later meetings were held at the White Lyon, sometimes adjourned to the more congenial surroundings there from the porch of the Tolsey.<sup>47</sup> It was decided to demolish the Tolsey<sup>48</sup> and this was done at the same time that the Market Hall was being repaired, the final act being when the Common Council agreed on 24 September 1771 to have the site of the Old Tolsey pitched, although it took a second resolution in the meeting on 21 July 1772 before this took place. At a meeting on 20 March 1775 the meeting ordered:

‘That Mr. Fra<sup>s</sup>. Woodhouse senior have a lease of the scite of the old Tolsey for 21 years from Lady Day next at 2<sup>li</sup> 2s p An for the Purpose of erecting Standings for the use of the Country Butchers, keeping the Pitching in good repair always swept & cleansed...’

Meanwhile, on 20 May 1771 the Common Council decided that, at the following Michaelmas when the lease of a property in Widemarsh Street, which was owned by the city charities, lapsed, it would be taken in hand, repaired, and used as the New Tolsey. This was duly done, and the first meeting of the Common Council there was held on 19 November 1771.<sup>49</sup> The property was later described as the New Tolsey or Guildhall and the annual rent of £13 was normally paid to the underchamberlain at Midsummer. The accounts for 1784–85 record that the rent was paid for the ‘Council House’ while the following year the accounts state that the rent was for the ‘Mansion House’,<sup>50</sup> which clearly identifies the property, which was part of the endowments of the Brydges Charity.<sup>51</sup>

A few years later, it was decided to sell these endowments, which consisted of the Mansion House, the bowling green and messuage, and an adjoining piece of garden ground, the reason being that the Mansion House needed too much money spending on it. On 9 October

1793 the Common Council ordered that this property be sold by auction to the best bidder at the New Tolsey on 4 November 1793.<sup>52</sup> An advertisement for the auction appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 16 October 1793 and succeeding weeks. Although no report of the auction appeared in the *Hereford Journal*—no such reports were published at that period—it is evident that the auction took place and the property sold. However, it is also clear that there was a legal problem and on 5 February 1794 the Common Council

‘Ordered that an application be made to Parliament to enable this body and other proper parties, to make a title to the Mansion House, the Bowling Green Garden, lately sold by public auction to the respective purchasers thereof, according to the conditions of sale.’<sup>53</sup>

An Act was duly applied for and granted in 1795,<sup>54</sup> the Act specifying that the estate should not be sold for less than £1,400, and from the proceeds the cost of obtaining the Act should be recovered, not exceeding £380, together with the sum of £61 19s. 8d., paid by the chamberlains for repairs to the premises. On 3 August 1795 the Common Council

‘Ordered that the Mansion House premises be again advertised for sale on Monday, the 21st day of September next, and that the same be advertised in two London papers and the “Hereford Journal”.’<sup>55</sup>

The advertisement for the auction appeared in the *Hereford Journal* of 2 September 1795 and in subsequent issues, stating that it was to take place ‘under the powers of the Act passed in the last Sessions of Parliament.’ The auction was to take place at the Mansion House itself, which was the first lot. In the advertisement the house was described in detail, and one of the selling points was that it had ‘a large Garden, walled in, well planted, with a handsome Terrace and Summer House overlooking the Bowling Green.’ Also up for sale was the Bowling-Green Coffee House,<sup>56</sup> with the Bowling Green Garden, and a third lot was a piece of garden ground in Bewell Street. This was the total endowment of the Brydges Charity. At the auction the whole estate was bought for £1,400 by Mr. William Watkins, acting as agent for John Sherburne the Younger. When Sherburne tried to pay the whole £1,400 to Abraham Newland Esq., cashier of the Bank of England, this was refused. He had to lay out £1,028 1s. 8d. in purchasing £1,514 13s. Consolidated 3 per cent annuities in the names of the Mayor, Deputy Steward and Town Clerk of Hereford, and the balance was paid to the use of the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of Hereford. All this took time, and the deed of transfer was dated 15 February 1796. This was enrolled at the Court of the King’s Bench in Westminster on 17 March 1796.<sup>57</sup>

As a consequence of the sale of the Mansion House, the Common Council needed a place to meet, and on 17 November 1795 it decided that ‘that Mr. Mayor and Mr. Gwillim be desired to treat with Mr. Thos. Morgan of the City Hotel for the use of a room for the purposes of the Corpn. assembling in, to hold their Meetings.’ Mr. Thomas Morgan was the landlord of the recently rebuilt City Arms Hotel.<sup>58,59</sup> An agreement was evidently made, as the next meeting of the Common Council took place at the City Arms on 4 January 1796.<sup>60</sup> The chamberlains’ accounts show that Mr. Morgan charged £7 7s. for the hire of his room for a year, but the next year this went up to £8 8s.<sup>61</sup> The Common Council continued to meet at the City Arms until 1809, when arrangements were put in place for a new Guildhall. The last meeting at the City Arms took place on 2 October 1809 and the next meeting, a week later, was held in the New Inn in Widemarsh Street, in premises that were subsequently adapted to form a new Guildhall.<sup>62</sup>

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The material on which this paper is based is located in Hereford Reference Library and in Herefordshire Record Office, and I should like to thank the staff in both places for much help over many visits. Thanks also to Derek Foxton for help with the illustrations.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club (TWNFC hereafter)*, XXXV (1955), pp.9–18.

<sup>2</sup> *TWNFC*, (1945), p.cvii.

<sup>3</sup> It was still officially called the New Market Hall in the early 18th century as an undated fragment of a minute book of the Common Council of the city records that the Common Council ordered 'That there be a New clock at the New Markett Hall at the Citys charge.' Herefordshire Record Office (HRO hereafter) HLC/A/2. The quarter bells, which were used with this clock are preserved in the Old House, and are dated 1710, implying a date for the clock.

<sup>4</sup> HRO, Hereford Corporation MSS 9 ii vii.

<sup>5</sup> One modern interpretation states that this is the earliest archive date for the construction of the market hall and guildhall. While it is correct in that it does refer to the market hall, the guildhall was in a separate building, the evidence for which is discussed later in the paper. Graham Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford* (2002), 215.

<sup>6</sup> Hereford Reference Library (HRL hereafter), PC 100–114.

<sup>7</sup> HRL, PC 101.

<sup>8</sup> HRL, PC 109. These dates are also quoted in the MSS collections of the Rev. Charles Bird, Vol. II f.93 (in HRL). Bird copied manuscript notes made by John Allen in his personal copy of Duncumb's *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, where he stated with respect to the Market Hall: 'In Taylor's Sheet Plan of the city 1757, is a view of it in its ancient state. The upper story was taken down from an idea that the weight was too great for the pillars to support. My grandfather M<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>s</sup> Thomas, Builder, was the person employed to take down the Upper Story & prop the Pillars...In altering the old Town Hall the dates 1574, 1575, 1576 were discovered.'

<sup>9</sup> William Collins, *Modern Hereford* Part II (1911), p.26.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p.31.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp.99–100.

<sup>12</sup> HRL, PC 2317. The rector of Stretton Sugwas from 1810 until 1846 was Robert Hathway. See A. T. Bannister, *Institutions etc. 1539–1900* (1923). In 1819 the Rev. Robert Hathway was chaplain to the Corporation of Hereford. J. P. Wright, *A Walk through Hereford* (1819), p.73.

<sup>13</sup> The accompanying letter is quoted in full in William Collins, *Historical Landmarks of Hereford* (1915), p.93.

<sup>14</sup> Herefordshire. Its Natural History, Archaeology and History. Chapters written to celebrate the centenary of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (1954), p.197.

<sup>15</sup> I. M. Slocombe, 'The Government of Hereford in the 16th Century', *TWNFC*, XL (1970), pp.360–1.

<sup>16</sup> *TWNFC* (1936), pp.13–4.

<sup>17</sup> St. Peter's Cross was demolished in the middle of the 17th century, as the record of a Law Day held in 1661 shows: 'Item we doe present a pound erected where lately St Peter's Crosse Stood being an Ancient market place stode for butter & cheese and also a shope annexed to it which it is now wanting wherby the ward of St Owens hath layeth under a penalty ever since...' HRO Transcripts of Law Days vol. I, p.19. The 'shope' may well have been the remains of the Market Hall, and would have been within living memory in 1706.

<sup>18</sup> W. H. Howse, *Historic Hereford*, Second edition (1947), p.23.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 14, p.201.

<sup>20</sup> Published in 1911, p.101.

<sup>21</sup> Published in 1915.

<sup>22</sup> N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Herefordshire* (1963), p.180.

<sup>23</sup> D. A. Whitehead and R. Shoesmith, *James Wathen's Herefordshire* (1994), unpaginated.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, printed for the Camden Society 1867, p.ccxvii.

<sup>25</sup> HRO, BG11/24/2. This volume covers the period 1732–1769. At the end is a draft of the accounts for the expenses for repairing the Market Hall, and in this draft his first name is given as William, whereas in the accounts themselves it is given as Edward (in abbreviated form).

<sup>26</sup> HRO, GH 2/53. The documentation survives in the Guildhall papers in Hereford Record Office and is quoted without further reference. The Guildhall papers were formerly in Hereford Reference Library, and those relating to the Market Hall have been known to local historians for a number of years.

<sup>27</sup> HRO, HLC/A/3.

<sup>28</sup> The weight supported by the 27 supporting pillars had caused problems with the foundations over many years, not too surprising since the offer of up to 150 tons of timber towards the construction gives an indication of the weight without the tiles and lead on the roof. On 28 April 1704 the Common Council 'Ordered that M<sup>r</sup>. Andrews and the Chamberlains view and repaire the fourth pillar and the foundation of the Markett house and likewise the pitching ab<sup>t</sup> the Markett:house.' HRO, HLC/A/1.

<sup>29</sup> HRO, BG11/24/3. This account book covers the period 1769–1798. With the removal of the upper storey the city guilds lost the rooms for which they paid rent to the City corporation.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 29.

<sup>32</sup> HRO, HLC/A/4.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 27.

<sup>34</sup> HRO, HLC/A/7. However, a search of the advertisements in the *Hereford Journal* for six months after this date did not locate any relevant advertisement, and no chamberlains' accounts for the period survive. Nor was there any other reference until a meeting of the Common Council on 22 May 1815 when it was ordered that 'Mr. Timothy Webb have leave to occupy the Room under the Shirehall (late Council Room) until Michaelmas next, upon his undertaking to quit at that time without further Notice.'

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> J. P. Wright *A Walk through Hereford* (1819), pp.3–4. The staircase on the south side of the Market Hall was exterior to the building, as can be seen on Dingley's sketch, but this description makes it clear that the new staircase was underneath the building, rather like the staircase in Ledbury Market Hall today. This watch- and ward-room was established after the 1816 Act for the amendment of the 1774 Paving Act. A report of a meeting of citizens that took place in the Guildhall was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 16 November 1814, where a resolution was passed supporting the establishment of a nightly watch was passed, to consist of up to eight officers if the money could be found. The first station was to be under the Town Hall, and the second at or near to the Gate leading from the Cathedral into Castle Street. Provision for this nightly watch was included in the 1816 Act, which included in the preamble:

'And whereas it would greatly tend to the Security and Comfort of the Inhabitants of the said City and Suburbs if the Commissioners were empowered to establish and regulate a Nightly Watch therein:...

Clearly the night watch was set up after the Act was implemented. A plan of Hereford City, showing the various stations of the nightwatchmen at this period, survives in the map collection in the Hereford Reference Library. It has been suggested that this map dates from the late 18th century, but it must postdate the establishment of the night watch. See Brian Smith, *Herefordshire Maps 1577 to 1800* (2004), 181.

<sup>37</sup> HRO, BG11/14/8/4. As the building on the west side of the entrance to the market from High Town was occupied by Mr. T. A. Court, stated to be a grocer in Cassey's *Directory* of 1858, Mr. Wall's premises were thus on the east side of the entrance. For an illustration of the entrance to the market at this period, before the present clock tower was erected, see Ron Shoesmith and John Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004), p.39.

<sup>38</sup> Plaque in the entrance lobby to the Butter Market.

<sup>39</sup> *TWNFC*, (1916), p.79.

<sup>40</sup> *TWNFC*, (1942), p.42.

<sup>41</sup> *TWNFC*, (1942), p.79.

<sup>42</sup> Second edition (1947), p.23.

<sup>43</sup> His talk was published as an illustrated article in *TWNFC*, XXXIII (1949), pp.1–13.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 22.

<sup>45</sup> *TWNFC*, XXXIII (1949), pp.4–5.

<sup>46</sup> The Tolsey had been rebuilt in 1660 or soon after. In 1660 the dismantling of Hereford Castle was begun (HRO, P/73), and an abstract of facts about the castle, from internal evidence dating from 1670 or soon after, states that stone from the castle had been disposed of '...some to the City of Hereford to build the Tolsey.' (HRL, PC2326). Other facts in this abstract have been verified from other sources. The location of the Tolsey is marked on Taylor's map of 1757 and this was outside a building later used as the Judge's Lodging. This latter building was demolished in 1935–7 to make way for the Odeon cinema. In 1935, when workmen were digging in the street outside this building to make a connection to the sewer, the lower part of a wall, running parallel to the Judge's Lodging, was exposed. This would appear to be the remains of the Tolsey, although this was not claimed at the time. See *TWNFC*, (1935), pp.153–64.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 27.

<sup>48</sup> The Tolsey had a tenement attached on either side, and one of these was demolished in 1760–1, the chamberlains' accounts showing that £10 10s. was received 'for the materials of the House pulled down at the end of the Tolsey.' *Op. cit.* in note 25. The materials of the Tolsey itself were sold by auction at the Redstreak Tree Inn on 2 July 1771. See *Hereford Journal*, 27 June 1771.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 27.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 29. This house was built by Dr. William Brewster on a site that he had acquired in 1697. After his death in 1715 he left it to his wife Susan for her life, and afterwards to William Brydges. It remained in the possession of William Brydges until 1763, when it, together with the Bowling Green, Bowling Green Tavern, and an adjoining garden, was conveyed to the City Corporation in trust under the name of the Brydges Charity, the income to be used to provide funds for a minister of the Church of England to attend the prisoners in the gaol. It was no doubt the use for civic purposes that caused it to become referred to as the Mansion House. *TWNFC*, XXXVII (1963), p.250.

<sup>51</sup> The location of the New Tolsey at this period was unknown to F. C. Morgan. See *TWNFC*, (1942), p.41.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 32.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* Also *op. cit.* in note 9, p.10.

<sup>54</sup> An Act for Sale of an Estate in the City of Hereford, given by William Brydges, Esquire, for certain Charitable Purposes; and for applying the Money arising by such sale, to the like Purposes. 25 Geo. III. In *HRL*, Bound volume of Acts of Parliament.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 32.

<sup>56</sup> Although described as a coffee house, it was actually licensed premises.

<sup>57</sup> *HRO*, AE45/7.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 32.

<sup>59</sup> For a history of the City Arms see Ron Shoesmith and John Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004), pp.58–66.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 32. See also F.C. Morgan *TWNFC*, (1942), p.41, where there appears to be an error in dates.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 29.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 34. For details of the history of the New Inn see *op. cit.* in note 59, pp.164–8.

Paper received February 2005.

# The Ledbury Scandal of 1606

By LESLIE KING

*The vicar of Ledbury from 1576 until 1612 was William Davies. He was a careful man, and recorded meticulously the income due to him from all manner of charges in the Tithe and Easter Book. Unfortunately he became embroiled in an unsavoury scandal which reached the courts. The information from the court depositions and the tithe book has been drawn together to shed light on this storm in a local teacup.*

In 1606, tongues must have wagged furiously throughout the Ledbury Borough and Foreign. Ledbury was then, as until recent times, a small market town in the midst of a large rural parish. The Borough consisted of a few streets around the present town centre, and probably had separate manorial courts from the Foreign (the rest of the manor).<sup>1</sup>

William Davies had been vicar of Ledbury for thirty years when he was accused in the Court of Star Chamber of a series of offences. According to him, his prosecution was instigated by Ambrose Elton, a gentleman who owned the small manor of the Hasel in Ledbury (now Hazle Farm).<sup>2,3</sup> Sylvia Robinson referred to this briefly in her booklet on Elizabethan Ledbury.<sup>4</sup> Other documents also throw light on the lives of those involved, particularly the Tithe and Easter Book in which Davies recorded his income from his living.<sup>5</sup>

## THE TITHE AND EASTER BOOK

Tithes were a render to the incumbent of a parish, usually in kind but sometimes compounded to cash. At Ledbury, most great tithes (mainly corn) went to two portioners who were joint lay rectors. The vicar had most small tithes, on livestock and miscellaneous produce: these were also called 'privy' (*i.e.* personal). There were, however, various complications that need not be explained here.<sup>6</sup>

The Ledbury Easter & Tithe Book is a large leatherbound volume, measuring 40cm. by 30cm. Not all the pages survive, some having been cut out before 1703, but the remaining pages are now numbered up to 395; even so, the book covers only the years 1595 to 1607. It is noteworthy for the level of detail recorded, as all the different charges and tithes e.g. onions, flax, honey and fruit were recorded separately, and the rate at which the tithe was charged. Davies was obviously concerned that no-one should evade his or her obligations, and the pages make clear the burdensome nature of this tax on the poorer householders. However, sometimes he did not collect his dues from the poorest people.

Using the information in the Tithe Book, it would be possible to re-construct the economy and population of the parish at this time. Even servants, apprentices and maidens had to make small payments if they had wages; only children were excluded from the obligations.





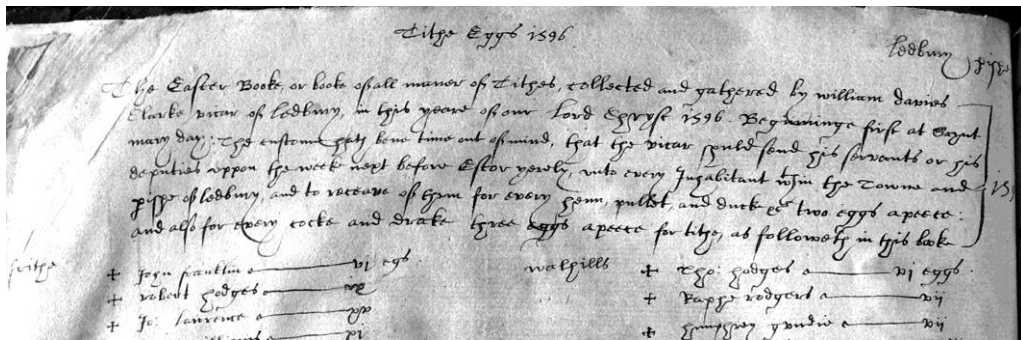


Figure 2. Description of the collection of tithe eggs Easter 1596

Davies set out the rules for collecting tithes on many items: for example, above he records the number of eggs collected at Easter 1596:

'The Easter Booke or booke of all manner of Tithes, collected and gathered by William Davies Clarke vicar of Ledbury in this yeare of our Lord Chryst 1596. Beginninge first at Saynte Mary day: The custome hath bene time out of mind, that the vicar shuld send his servants or his deputies uppon the week next before Estor yerely, unto every Inhabitant within the Towne and p[ar]ishe of Ledbury, and to receave of them for every henn, pullet, and duck &c two eggs apeece: and also for every cocke and drake three eggs apeece for tithe, as followeth in this booke.'

There then follows a list of all parishioners, most with the numbers of eggs that poultry-owners had to pay. Few owed less than six, some more than two dozen. People liable for 'tithe geese' were listed on another page, and a relatively small number had to pay their tithe goose in September. No increase in produce during the year was overlooked: one assessment concerns those parishioners who 'did take or sell Bees' in 1596. This included the sale of honey or wax and possibly even the means of production: 'Henry Collas sold iij stalls for xij<sup>s</sup>.' Parishioners who duly paid were signified in the Tithe Book with a cross like a + sign.

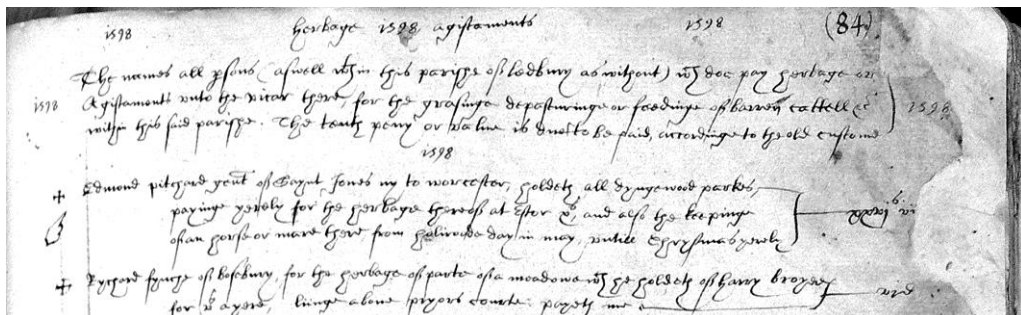


Figure 3. Assessment of tithes for herbage and agistments 1598 (part)

Names of outdwellers who owned land in the parish are recorded in the assessment of tithes for herbage and agistments, and details of the letting of lands for grazing etc. The names of various fields and their location are sometimes given. The richer inhabitants agreed a lump sum that

they should pay Davies, and some of the names of those involved in the court case appear on this list.

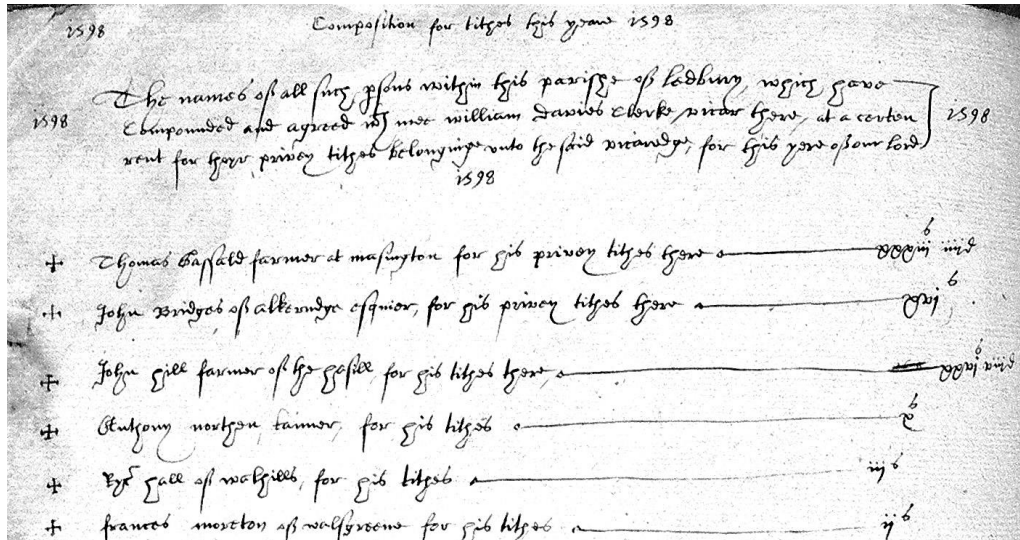


Figure 4. Compositions for tithes in 1598

Every person had to pay an Easter offering of 2d. A husband paid 4d, that is for himself and his wife, but those receiving their first communion only paid ½d.

Most people paid tithes: 1d. for a garden, 1d. for a cow, and up to 6d. for wages (if they had any), while employers often paid on the number of the 'hands' they employed or on their trade and gains. Those with land or livestock had, of course, to pay tithes on them, and details of these are also given. The main industries of the town were the production of cloth and leather. In 1606, there were nine clothiers, employing at least 150 hands, and another six independent weavers employed twelve hands. Twelve cordwainers (*i.e.* shoemakers) employed fifty-eight hands and nine tanners had seventy.<sup>7</sup>

## THE LEDBURY SCANDAL

The 1606 charges were that Davies had accepted a £20 bribe to interfere with the prosecution in a case of burglary two years before, and also that he had recently spread a libellous rhyme. The documents for this consist of: the attorney-general's bill (claim); Davies's answer; a commission to three local men to take evidence; the interrogatories for them to use, and Davies's depositions in response. Davies asserted that the accusations were untrue, and were instigated by Elton because he and Davies were in dispute about the payment of tithes. As with many Star Chamber proceedings, the result is not known, but there is little reason to disbelieve Davies's account of events.<sup>8</sup>

William Davies had been inducted as vicar of Ledbury in 1576.<sup>9</sup> At that time, Ambrose Elton's father Anthony was a recusant, but ten years later he was reconciled to the Church of England, presumably together with his sons William and Anthony, but perhaps there was some ill will towards Davies over this.<sup>10</sup> Recusancy evidently continued in the parish, as the tithe

book records excommunications in the 1600s.<sup>11</sup> The inquisition *post mortem* on Anthony senior's death shows that he owned Hasel, the Hallhouse (now Hall House Farm), and some land at Woodfields.<sup>12</sup> Ambrose inherited the estate in 1593 on the death of his elder brother William.<sup>13</sup> The dispute over the small tithes due to Davies had lasted some time. From 1597 Ambrose Elton paid only his Easter Offering. In 1599 and 1600 he was living at the Hallhouse at Dunbridge, and John Hill lived at the Hasel until 1601, paying small tithes of 26s. 8d.

By 1602, Hill had moved to Haffield and Elton was back at the Hasel. Davies then attempted to collect tithes, as he jotted against Elton's name under 'composition for privy tithes' 13s. 4d. for Hallhouse, 6s. 8d. for Woodfields, but left the Hasel and the total blank. If paid, he would (as elsewhere) have formally entered the sums received in Roman numerals, and marked the entry with a cross. From 1603, Elton did pay 46s. 8d. with a stern condition of payment 'upon 20 days or forfeit.'

The Hallhouse tithe was reduced to 6s. 8d. (like Woodfields), but the Hasel rose to 33s. 4d. No arrears were paid, so that £20 was owing in 1606. This seems to consist of 33s. 4d. for the Hasel for six years (1593-6 and 1601-2), with 13s. 4d. for Hallhouse and 6s. 8d. for Woodfields, both for ten years, but the figures cannot easily be reconciled.<sup>14</sup>

Davies noted that Elton and he appeared in spring or early summer 1605 before the bishop of Hereford, and agreed the 'arrerages of small tithes passed till the 4 July 1605.'<sup>15</sup> Almost a year later, Elton had still not paid, and Davies was suing him in the Court of Common Pleas.<sup>16</sup> This evidently prompted the Star Chamber case. The bill described how, in 1604, William Jenkins junior had broken into the 'house or mill' of Thomas Bideawhile in the Homend (the northern part of the main street of Ledbury) and had stolen twenty yards of cloth worth twenty marks (£13 13s. 4d.).

Bideawhile was called a 'fuller' in the bill, but a 'dyer' in the tithe book; he had a horse mill. He pursued Jenkins and caught him with the cloth, though Davies said that 'Bideawhile or his servants' found the cloth in his possession. Jenkins was taken before Dr. Charles Langford, who was dean of Hereford, master of St. Katherine's Hospital, and a J.P. He was committed to prison, and Bideawhile was bound over to prosecute him at the next assizes, which were held on 23 July 1604. There, Bideawhile's evidence failed to convince the jury. Bideawhile's servants, Francis Wilshire and Richard Hunt, left Hereford without giving evidence, and Jenkins was acquitted. According to Davies, Bideawhile could not prove that Jenkins took the cloth, only that he was in possession of the stolen goods.<sup>17</sup> Bideawhile died on 30 December 1604, his death perhaps hastened by worry as to the consequences of his failed prosecution.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1606 Star Chamber case, Davies (whose wife and Bideawhile's wife were sisters) was charged with accepting a bribe of £20 from Jenkins's mother Sibill to persuade Bideawhile that the 'matter might be faintly prosecuted.' He was also charged with persuading two essential witnesses not to testify, and with publishing a rhyme which would ruin the reputations of three respectable persons named in it.

Davies denied all the charges, asserting they were due to Elton's 'uniuste malice' over the tithe suit. A commission was issued on 29 May 1606 for three local gentlemen (including John Buckenhill, a churchwarden in 1603) to examine Davies on eight interrogatories.<sup>19</sup> They took his deposition on 12 June. He said that Jenkins's mother offered his wife ten shillings 'towards his paynes to frend [friend *i.e.* reconcile]...Jenkins with...Bideawhile touching the said matter,' but he refused this or any other reward.

It had also been alleged that he had allowed Jenkins to pay off £3 10s. that Davies owed to Edward Skinner, one of the leading Ledbury clothiers, but Davies asserted that the whole

debt was still due.<sup>20</sup> It may seem surprising that the vicar, whose living was worth 'at least 200 marks'<sup>21</sup> should have had debts that he had still not repaid after three or four years, not only the £3 10s. but also another of 30s.<sup>22</sup> However, it is clear from the tithe book that his tithes were reduced during the famine years of the late 1590s.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 5. Two views of Abbots Lodge, formerly the Vicarage House. This is indicated by the Glebe Terrier of 1607<sup>24</sup>

The libel was another matter. Davies recounted how (while in Gloucester shortly before Christmas 1605) he had seen some people laughing over a paper pasted up on a wall or post near St. Nicholas's Church there. He examined it and thought it referred to persons known to him. He decided to tell them and took the paper 'or its effect.' The rhyme was quoted in the bill:

'It greaues me daylie to see the poor baylie goe with mourninge of the chine [the morning chime]  
 Nan Cave hath him forsaken and another hath taken and careth not for him nor his wyne  
 Mr Morgan hath plaied on her organ and tickeled her nether key  
 Baston and B with another two or three hath carried her quite awaie  
 Poore Kate is nowe lighted [slighted?] though crewellie frighted, yet taketh it as well as she can  
 I cannot decide it but needes must devide it between Richard Harte and his man.'<sup>25</sup>

Davies believed this to refer to William Nurthen (bailiff of Ledbury), Captain (or Thomas) Morgan, and Anne Cave. He therefore revealed the rhyme to three or four persons, 'familiar friends to William Northen and Thomas Morgan' that they might take notice (from the friends) what was being imputed to them and might refrain 'if not for the fear of God yet for shame of the world.' Davies considered this his duty and function, they being his parishioners and friends. The result was that they were 'less frequently in the companie of...Anne Cave and she thereby left the said town.'<sup>26</sup> Something may be learned of the many people involved in this

case from other sources, but a few remain obscure, including Richard Hart. ‘Baston’ may have been Humphrey Baston of Forthampton near Tewkesbury, aged about twenty in 1608.<sup>27</sup> ‘Poore Kate’ was presumably someone’s deserted wife.

Thomas Bideawhile was a householder living in the Homend, having married Ann Hunt (a widow) in 1594. He had a ‘horsemill or maultmill’, for which tithes were never paid. Richard Hunt was probably his stepson, and had taken his first communion in 1599. In the following four years, he still had no wages, but ‘cutler’ is jotted against his name, suggesting that he was apprenticed to James Tegee (cutler). In 1604, Richard was listed in both High Street and the Homend, but he did not pay his Easter due in either place. By 1607, he had left Ledbury.



Figure 6. The Seven Stars, where Bideawhile is believed to have lived (from burgage plot evidence)<sup>28</sup>

Francis Wilshire, the other witness, was probably Bideawhile’s apprentice, being listed among ‘Homend youth without wages’ in 1603. His apprenticeship seems to have expired at about the time of Bideawhile’s death, as he paid 4d. tithe on his wages in 1605, this being annotated ‘Bidewy’ and ‘did not rec. com. puto’ [did not receive communion, I think]. By 1606, he had taken over Bideawhile’s business, and was a married householder and a dyer, with the mill and paying tithe for a garden, a piglet, and 18d. for hay in Skinner’s Meadow.<sup>29</sup>

Bideawhile had the horse (or rather mare) to work his mill, perhaps quite an old one (as no tithe was paid for any colts). Sometimes Bideawhile grew hay in Skinner’s meadow, but in 1602 to 1604 it was grazed. After his death, his widow turned the mare loose or at least failed

to keep her in, as John Skippe (of Upper Hall) was fined 6d. for illegally impounding her, which should have been the bailiff's job. In 1606, Francis Wilshire was again growing hay for her in Skinner's Meadow.<sup>30</sup>

The Jenkins family were small farmers. They had a messuage and virgate called Byshoppe in Fairtree (just west of the town) at least in 1553.<sup>31</sup> In 1589, William Jenkins (the father of the man who was tried for theft) inherited the family property from his father Roger. This was a customary (*i.e.* copyhold) messuage and virgate for which he paid 30s. per year with other services.<sup>32</sup> In 1596, the elder William and his wife Sibill settled the property (now named as Bispes) on their son William and his wife Matilda, retaining a life interest in half.<sup>33</sup>

The two couples lived together and farmed on a modest scale: they had two or three cows, a few hens, geese and sheep, also a mare (as tithe was paid for a colt in 1603).<sup>34</sup> From 1596 to 1602, the court rolls record a series of transactions by which the Jenkins family disposed of much of their land. The transactions total 36 acres with various other selions and butts, and one and a half acres of pasture, but some of these were within the family, including some in favour of Richard Jenkins, a younger son.<sup>35</sup> They probably imply poverty due to bad harvests in the disastrous years of 1596–98.<sup>36</sup> In four cases, the parents retained their life interest, and in one case the younger William sold seven acres on his own.<sup>37</sup>

According to the Star Chamber evidence, he had sold some land to Edward Skinner in 1604, but had not yet been paid for it in full. This was allegedly used by Jenkins to pay off the vicar's debt to Skinner, but this seems improbable as the only sale to Skinner recorded in the manor rolls was in 1600.<sup>38</sup> After disposing of so much of his property, William Jenkins was probably desperate enough for money to steal a valuable cloth worth the considerable sum of 20 marks (more than a year's wages for some skilled workmen).<sup>39</sup> Even if he could not sell this in Ledbury, he could no doubt have sold it in a neighbouring town such as Worcester or Gloucester, both of which were important in the cloth trade.<sup>40</sup> William junior also failed to take communion at Easter in 1605, for the tithe book records his Easter offering as 'offerings 4d. rec[eived] 2d.', the payment no doubt being his wife Matilda's. An illegible (erased) note against this may be 'exco[mmunicated]'. He paid his 4d. in 1606, but not in 1607 when he was definitely excommunicated.<sup>41</sup>

Davies took the 'poore baylie' of the rhyme to be William Nurthen gentleman, the bailiff of Ledbury. To do him justice, the rhyme implies that he had a genuine attachment to her, though perhaps he could hardly have been in Gloucester daily while serving as bailiff of Ledbury. He was unmarried and shared a house in New Street with his father William.<sup>42</sup> They paid no tithes, not even for the garden; that perhaps went with the house next door, occupied by William's brother (a well-to-do farmer).<sup>43</sup>

In 1606, the vicar not only described Nurthen as his parishioner, but also Captain Thomas Morgan. However, Morgan does not appear in the Tithe Book, but was 'late of Newent' according to the Star Chamber bill. His identity is not clear, but he may have been 'Thomas Morgan gentleman of Alleson' [Allaston, north of Lydney], described as about 40 and tall in 1608, and having a manservant. Alternatively, he may have been Thomas son of Richard Morgan of 'Clowerwall' [Clearwell] in the hundred of St. Briavels.<sup>44</sup>

Nan Cave, with whom they were both supposed to have consorted, was identified by all concerned as Ann Cave of Gloucester, who was the widow of Edward Cave of London. She lived near St. Nicholas's Church in Gloucester, but had previously lived in Ledbury.<sup>45</sup> In the bill, she (and William Nurthen and Thomas Morgan) were all said to 'have from their infancy lived in good name and fame reputation and credit amongst their neighbours in Ledburie

Gloucester and other places where theie have lived amongst [others of the king's] subjects of great accompt without anie touche of infamy adulterie deceipt or breache of [the king's] laws, statutes and ordinances.' This libel would make William Nurthen, Anne Cave and Thomas Morgan 'odyous and infamous to all people and hinder...Ann Cave from her preferment in marriage.'<sup>46</sup> Davies's response was that Ann was 'known and notoriouslye and generally holden to be of a very ymodeste and incontinent life and so had lived for many years then past', just as the rhyme suggested.<sup>47</sup> She apparently left Gloucester between April and June 1606.

The 1590s and 1600s happen to be quite well documented in Ledbury; the subsequent period rather less so. Although the result of the Star Chamber case is unknown, Davies was probably successful. He retained his living until his death in 1612.<sup>48</sup> The further fortunes of the Jenkins family have not been pursued, but a William Jenkins died in 1621, still living at Fairtree:<sup>49</sup> people with the surname continue to occur in the parish down to the present day, though they are not necessarily relatives. Ambrose Elton continued to live at the Hasel and paid his dues punctually. He died in 1659 at the great age of 88. The Elton family remained at the Hasel until 1720, when it was sold to Jacob Tonson of London.<sup>50</sup>

All this has provided a brief glimpse into the lives of various minor characters in Ledbury, and even that of Bideawhile's horse. The chief object of this article has been to explore the context of an unseemly dispute, involving allegations of meddling with justice and a rhyme that even the promoters of the Star Chamber claim considered 'not meete to be expressed.'<sup>51</sup> This was apparently set up as a counterclaim to a genuine argument between a vicar and one of his leading parishioners over liability to tithes. Although not of any great historical significance, it serves to show how the use of a variety of historical sources, preserved for quite different reasons, can be brought together to build up a bigger picture of events long ago which would otherwise remain obscure.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my son Dr P. W. King for much help and advice with this article and to my husband J. W. King for advice and for the use of his abstracts of documents in Herefordshire Record Office. Any mistakes are entirely my own responsibility. All photographs of houses in Ledbury are by Dr. King, the others by Roz Lowe.

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<sup>1</sup> Ledbury manor court rolls survive for the Foreign from 1587 to 1607, but not for the Borough: The National Archives [hereafter TNA], LR 3/21/5 [hereafter LMCR].

<sup>2</sup> TNA, Star Chamber proceedings, STAC 8/3/18 [hereafter STAC 8/3/18].

<sup>3</sup> For the Elton family, see M. Elton, *Annals of the Elton family* (Stroud 1994), pp. 3-5, Herefordshire Record Office [hereafter HRO], G2, box 1551, no.274.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, S. F. G., *The Parish of Ledbury, Herefordshire under Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Lilian Saunders, (published privately, Ledbury 1995), p. 37. Her citation of the case is misprinted.

<sup>5</sup> Ledbury Easter & Tithe Book, HRO, A61/1 [hereafter ETB].

<sup>6</sup> HRO, Ledbury tithe award and map.

<sup>7</sup> ETB & Ledbury Parish Register, HRO BO/923 [hereafter Parish Register].

<sup>8</sup> STAC 8/3/18.

<sup>9</sup> Parish register.

<sup>10</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1581-1596*, p. 325.

<sup>11</sup> ETB: some householders who failed to pay their Easter offering are marked 'exco'.

<sup>12</sup> C. H. Mayo, *Genealogical account of the Mayo-Elton family*, (1881).

- <sup>13</sup> J. Hillaby, *Ledbury: a Medieval Borough*, (Almeley, 1997), p. 81; M. Elton, *op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 3–4; Parish Register.
- <sup>14</sup> The amounts payable by Elton and his tenants varied slightly from one year to another and it is conceivable that the 30 marks (£20) claimed included 5 marks that the vicar was charging both to Elton and one of his tenants.
- <sup>15</sup> ETB, note added under 1605, Fairtree.
- <sup>16</sup> STAC 8/3/18, answer.
- <sup>17</sup> STAC 8/3/18, *cf.* ETB. The modern practice would be to lay alternative counts of theft and receiving stolen goods (a less serious charge), and he was guilty of the latter. For Langford, see ETB, Easter 1597; Morgan, F. C. (ed.), 'The Accounts of St Katherines Hospital, Ledbury 1584-1595' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXIV (1952), p.127; G. Aylmer, *et al.* (comp.), 'Office Holders at Hereford Cathedral since 1300' in G. Aylmer, and J. Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral: a history*, (2000), p. 637.
- <sup>18</sup> Parish Register.
- <sup>19</sup> STAC 8/3/18; Parish Register.
- <sup>20</sup> STAC 8/3/18; for Skinner see J. W. King, 'Edward Skynner of Ledbury, Clothier and The New House', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld Club* XLIX (1997), pp.101-110.
- <sup>21</sup> STAC 8/3/18, bill
- <sup>22</sup> STAC 8/3/18, interrogatory 5
- <sup>23</sup> For this famine, see Hoskins, W. G., 'Harvest fluctuations and economic history 1480-1619', *Agric. Hist. Rev.* XII (1964), p.32; B. A. Holderness, *Pre-industrial England* (1976), p.8.
- <sup>24</sup> HRO, Glebe Terrier 1/41.
- <sup>25</sup> STAC 8/3/18.
- <sup>26</sup> STAC 8/3/18, answer.
- <sup>27</sup> John Smith, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608*, (1908).
- <sup>28</sup> It is interesting that during recent re-building of the Seven Stars the remains of three tanning pits and two wells were found, showing that water was available for Bideawhile's business.
- <sup>29</sup> ETB.
- <sup>30</sup> LMCR, 17 Apr. 3 James [1605]; ETB.
- <sup>31</sup> HRO, AM33/4.
- <sup>32</sup> LMCR, 5 Apr. 31 Eliz. [1589].
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 Sep. 38 Eliz. [1596].
- <sup>34</sup> ETB.
- <sup>35</sup> LMCR 27 Aug./23 Mar. 44 Eliz.
- <sup>36</sup> See note 23.
- <sup>37</sup> LMCR, 9 Apr. 41 Eliz.
- <sup>38</sup> LMCR, 15 Apr. 42 Eliz. [1600].
- <sup>39</sup> Carpenters and thatchers were paid about 8d. per day for building work at St Katherines Hospital in about 1593, while masons were sometimes paid slightly more. F. C. Morgan, (ed.), 'Accounts' *op. cit.* in note 17, pp.122-6.
- <sup>40</sup> A. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the 16th century*, (Leicester 1973), chapters 8 and 9; G. S. Blakeway, *The City of Gloucester: its royal charters of liberties and varying fortunes*, (Gloucester 1924), pp.70-4.
- <sup>41</sup> ETB.
- <sup>42</sup> ETB — their names are bracketed together as paying 4d.
- <sup>43</sup> ETB.
- <sup>44</sup> John Smith, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608*, (1908).
- <sup>45</sup> STAC 8/3/18, bill and deposition 7.
- <sup>46</sup> STAC 8/3/18, bill.
- <sup>47</sup> STAC 8/3/18, answer.
- <sup>48</sup> Parish Register.
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- <sup>50</sup> Elton, *op. cit.* in note 3, p.5.
- <sup>51</sup> STAC 8/3/18 bill.



# The Romanesque Tympanum at Fownhope, Herefordshire and the functioning of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture

By RITA WOOD

*The tympanum reset inside the church of St. Mary, Fownhope, is a work of the Herefordshire School, or School of the Welsh Marches. It was almost certainly part of the 12th-century church of which the central tower remains in situ. The carving can be understood as a vision of heaven and alludes to several important themes: the Throne of Wisdom, the Tree of Life, the Water of Life, and the Trinity. As a consequence of the intellectual complexity of the content, a search for its clerical author leads to the suggestion that Augustinians or Victorines were involved in designing for the Herefordshire School. Comparisons are made with sculpture at Kilpeck, at St. Nicholas's church, Gloucester and at Elkstone (Gloucestershire), also at Rock (Worcestershire).*

## The tympanum in the context of the 12th-century church at Fownhope

The tympanum at Fownhope was among those choice works of art selected for the authoritative exhibition of English Romanesque Art in 1984.<sup>1</sup> It is a well-preserved and very impressive piece with, at its centre, a powerful image of the Virgin and Child flanked by two creatures and extensive foliage (Fig. 1). A practical factor enabling the tympanum to be exhibited in London was that it was already detached from its original context, having been mounted inside the church beneath the west window of the nave some years earlier. Before discussing the iconography in detail, it is useful to outline the original physical context of the tympanum, using information derived from the historical record and from contemporary remains of the church in which it is found.

At some time before 1071, William fitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, had given Fownhope church to his abbey of St. Mary at Lyre, in Normandy.<sup>2</sup> In 1087, the Domesday survey states that 'Hugo tenet Hope', and that there were two priests and a church having half a hide of land. The circumstances are sufficient to suggest that Fownhope's church ranked as a minster, that is, one ministering to more than its immediate settlement, as had been the custom pre-Conquest. However, the criteria for assuming this are not as fully satisfied as they might be and Fownhope seems to have been a much less important centre than, for example, Leominster which had six priests. John Blair notes that, after the Conquest, 'minster churches were often faced with loss of lands and decay of parochial rights.'<sup>3</sup> The Domesday account of the lordship of Hugo Asinus, or Hugh Lasne, seems to suggest that it included the church as well as the manor.<sup>4</sup> The text runs them together: 'On the demesne are three ploughs, and (there are) 14 villeins and 10 bordars and 2 priests with a church that has half a hide of land.'<sup>5</sup> Then immediately follows this mention of three workmen: '*Ibi prepositus et faber et carpentarius*', that is, there was an overseer, a builder or smith and a carpenter. This might lead to speculation that the church at Fownhope in 1087 was largely wooden, and under construction.<sup>6</sup> But that would be a digression: the church recorded by the Domesday inquisitors in the 1080s has disappeared. Subsequently, the actual day-to-day ties of the church to the abbey do not seem to

have been close, although there are a few records in the thirteenth century of the abbey taking its dues and contesting ownership of property in the area, and of sending a priest in 1267.<sup>7</sup>

The 12th-century Romanesque church at Fownhope was built in stone about 1140, probably by a successor of Hugh at his own expense.<sup>8</sup> Indications of this are that the sculpture of the tympanum clearly belongs to the Herefordshire School and that no features survive that suggest the direct influence of an abbey in Normandy: the dedication to St. Mary is far too common to be indicative of that connection. Remains of the building are the central tower, those parts of the chancel and nave immediately to east and west of the tower, and the tympanum. A similar ground plan in which the nave has two further cells aligned to the east of it recurs at such well-known English parish churches as those at Elkstone, Iffley, Steetley, Birkin and, only ten miles away, at Kilpeck. These churches are relatively richly-decorated and often associated with private patrons as, indeed, are many of Herefordshire's Romanesque parish churches. However, the area of the nave is more like that of a minster church than of the former group, which Eileen Hamer defines as seigneurial churches. The building and its remaining sculpture do not make clear who had the controlling hand, but it is likely to have been built as the result of a local initiative.

The tympanum which is the subject of this paper was presumably made for the main doorway to the mid 12th-century church, but exactly where that entrance was is uncertain because alterations have affected all three walls of the nave. A south aisle was built, then rebuilt, and in the 14th century the nave was extended westwards and a north entrance was added or moved. The church is now entered through the 14th-century north doorway, but a west entrance would have been equally logical in relation to the layout of the village. West doorways are not common in village churches in the English Romanesque, south doorways being preferred, but west doorways of the period survive locally at Ledbury, Castle Frome and Letton. In the early 19th century some loose capitals and bases of a doorway were recorded 'under the singing gallery', a wooden structure which was usually at the west end of the nave.<sup>9</sup> It is a subjective reaction, but the size of the tympanum, and the formality and dignity of the sculpture itself seem to require a grand architectural setting, that is, a west entrance symmetrical with the axis of the church. If the entrance had been from the west, it was the 14th-century extension of the nave and provision of a large west window which disturbed the tympanum. The carving is first recorded outside, in the west wall below the new window. Perhaps it was the ostensible subject of the carving, the Virgin and Child, which saved it from being used as rubble in the rebuilding. We may surmise that the tympanum avoided defacement and decay in the following centuries because it was under a coat of plaster.<sup>10</sup>

A plate of the carving was included by Charles Keyser in both editions of his book, and the piece is seen in soft natural light outside. More detail remained than now, for example in the cable moulding at the bottom.<sup>11</sup> Even in 1927 however, Keyser noticed its 'being unduly exposed to the eccentricities of the English climate.'<sup>12</sup> Similar concerns were voiced by members of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society on a site visit in 1934.<sup>13</sup> Some time after this, probably before the outbreak of war in 1939, the tympanum was taken inside, for which we must be very grateful. In comparison with much Romanesque sculpture at the present time, this piece is well preserved from both breakage and atmospheric decay. On the other hand, lighting conditions below the large west window are seldom ideal, and modern photographs often lack subtlety because they are usually taken under electric light.



Figure 1. Fownhope: general view of tympanum in 2002 (all figures, the author)

The tympanum is made of a single slab of a fine textured stone which is grey-green with a scattering of micaceous specks: this is likely to be the Downton Castle sandstone, which outcrops immediately uphill of the village.<sup>14</sup> The measurements, allowing for the small loss at the corners, are given in the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition as c.1.9m. x 0.76m., that is, 5ft. 10ins. x 2ft. 6ins. With such a wide field of sculpture, the effect of the original doorway would have been unusually impressive and in accord with the postulated minster status of the church. The sandstone provided a slab of well above average span and enabled the doorhead to be made without a separate lintel. The fine cable moulding along the bottom may be compared with that on the reset tympanum at Stretton Sugwas, which is considered to be of related workmanship.<sup>15</sup> It is unlikely that there was ever a separate lintel, despite the less-than-semicircular proportion of the slab. Many local tympana, including the series showing Christ enthroned, bridge the gap across the doorway themselves and do not have a structural lintel.<sup>16</sup> The corbels supporting the tympanum are modern but their patterns look authentic. They might be copies of the capitals which were noted at the vicarage in 1849, themselves probably the capitals reported loose under the singing gallery some decades earlier.

Commentators have considered the tympanum with regard to its formal relationships to other sculpture in the region: works at Shobdon and Kilpeck as well as at Stretton Sugwas, for example, have been linked to the same workman by Professor Zarnecki.<sup>17</sup> One of the sculptors of Shobdon had been on the pilgrimage to Compostella and had seen sculpture in France and Spain.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, he, his co-workers and their individual patrons in the Welsh Marches demonstrate great confidence in what they provided. In particular, the firm outlines and the finely finished surface of this work at Fownhope are very different from the routine or naive treatment of a few conventional signs. The form is powerful: so what of the content? Most writers have concentrated on seeking out the art-historical sources of the forms, but few can

omit pondering, to a greater or lesser extent, the content of the carving. The masculinity of the large central figure has been asserted by several writers, following T. S. R. Boase. He suggested this might represent God the Father, but gave up the puzzle inconclusively, ascribing the incomprehensibility to confusion or misconceptions in the mind of the workman.<sup>19</sup> George Zarnecki saw the subject as the Virgin and Child, but also notes that 'the iconography is rather eccentric.'<sup>20</sup> Eileen Hamer expands on Boase's suggestion that the central figure might be God the Father, an identification which it will be shown is not possible.<sup>21</sup> Malcolm Thurlby suggests the Fownhope tympanum is 'an ingenious combination of Virgin and Child and Trinitarian imagery' from which an essential motif, one to represent the Holy Spirit, is probably lost.<sup>22</sup> In short, it seems obvious to all commentators that there must be some meaning intended but what this might be is not so readily defined. The first instincts of these observers were right, and the depth of content implied by the clarity of form is confirmed when the search for the ideas behind the imagery is persisted in. It will be suggested that the tympanum shows a vision of heaven with several co-existing themes, each enriching the others. The central sections of this paper deal with these themes in turn.

### The Throne of Wisdom

It has already been recognised by George Zarnecki that the Virgin is represented here in her character as the Throne of Wisdom and that this type of image was likely to have been seen by the party from Shobdon on its pilgrimage through France.<sup>23</sup> The Throne is a heightened image of the Virgin particularly developed in the Eastern Church after the third ecumenical council, the Council of Ephesus, which had defined Mary as Theotokos or God-Bearer.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, for example, John of Damascus associated her with Isaiah's vision in the temple (Isa. 6:1) and addressed her with 'Hail, throne lifted up on high in glory, living throne, representing in thyself the throne of God.'<sup>25</sup> The carving at Fownhope is therefore not an image which would necessarily have been associated with those affective devotions to the Virgin as intercessor that were becoming popular in the West and may have encouraged the preservation of this tympanum in the 14th century: it is in the tradition of the Eastern church which sees her as a willing instrument of the purposes of God, in heaven as on earth.

Anselm calls the Virgin 'Queen of angels' and says 'nothing but God is greater than Mary.'<sup>26</sup> She is often shown attended by angels, and this is not just to give her the court and honours of a queen, but is consistent with her being absorbed into the community of angels and above them all in rank.<sup>27</sup> In the Eastern church, Mary may be described as the chief of the angelic order of Thrones, also known as Wheels. The appearance of the throne of God is described in Ezekiel 1:4-28. Deriving from attempts to illustrate the prophet's vision, the deity and the throne are shown as being transported by variously-formed angels, for example, by four living creatures, by winged angelic heads, or by flaming or spoked wheels.<sup>28</sup> Mary as the Throne of Wisdom is an exalted spiritual image, she is the throne in herself, with lesser beings transporting both her and God.

Two carvings that demonstrate that there was 12th-century interest in this imagery in the West are on a capital at Autun and a derivative of it at Saulieu (Fig. 2, left and right respectively).<sup>29</sup> The Flight into Egypt is depicted in both carvings in what at first sight appears to be a realistic manner. The Virgin clasping the Child is seated side-saddle on a donkey which is led by an anxious and weary St. Joseph. The circular motifs along the bottom of both capitals have been explained as replicating the wheels fitted on a medieval processional image.<sup>30</sup>

Certainly, at Saulieu the sculptor carved conventional spoked wheels under the feet of the donkey, but, in what is assumed to be the primary carving at Autun the circular motifs do not resemble actual wheels, they follow the biblical description of the angelic Wheels, that is, they have a wheel within a wheel and eyes all round (Ezek. 1:16, 18). At both Autun and Saulieu, therefore, the fugitives are assisted in their flight by these angels, and the viewer is to understand that the Virgin is depicted as the Throne of God and the Child as the Wisdom of God. The capitals present a striking contrast between the appearance of earthly vulnerability and the reality of heavenly protection.

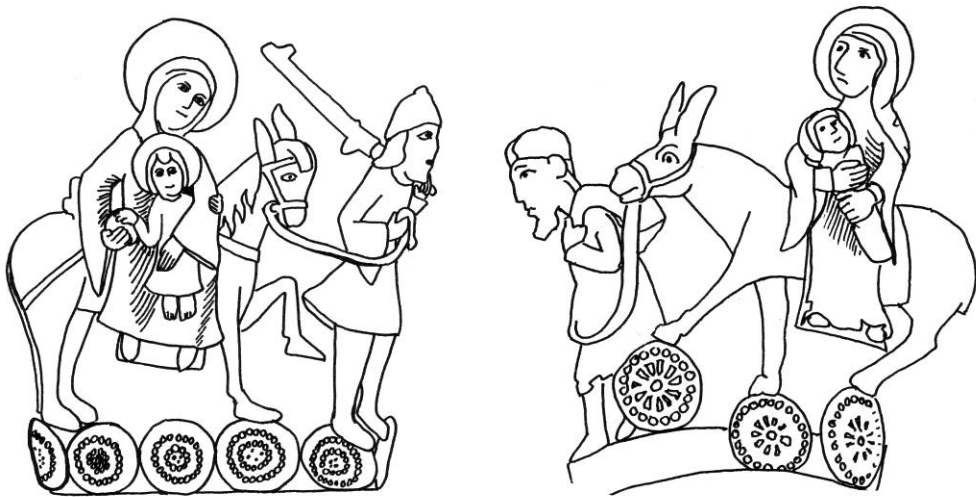


Figure 2. Autun (left) and Saulieu, Burgundy (right): capitals

The outline for an enthroned figure similar to that used at Fownhope is seen again at the several sites of the School of the Welsh Marches where Christ enthroned (in the normal manner) is the subject of a tympanum.<sup>31</sup> George Zarnecki has noted that the outline for the Virgin very closely resembles a Spanish drawing of Christ enthroned in the *Codex Vigilanus*.<sup>32</sup> A similar drawing in the Gerona *Beatus* is not quite so close in style to the sculpture, but here the small circular object held up by Christ is named as 'mundus'. He holds the world in his hand to signify his rule.<sup>33</sup> Carolingian theologians had ascribed to Mary the character of a sovereign, allowing her to be shown with the royal insignia, the throne and orb.<sup>34</sup> The Virgin in the tympanum at Fownhope therefore most probably holds up the orb of the world as a tiny ball between the finger and thumb of her right hand, and in this instance she clearly holds it on behalf of her Child, rather than in her own right. The Virgin also has a cross-halo, just as the Archangel Michael occasionally has one,<sup>35</sup> or as he, rather than Christ, in one case performs the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>36</sup> Such depictions are not erroneous or the result of slack thinking: in them the highest-ranking human and angelic beings are being thought of as functionaries of Christ, as instruments devoted to God's purposes. On the capital of the Flight into Egypt at Autun (Fig. 2, left), the orb is pictured in an engaging and paradoxical manner, as if it were a ball played with by the Child as much as if he and his mother shared the care of the world: Gothic image-makers would transform the orb into a fruit, allowing other parallels and new romantic

allusions to be suggested, but also foregoing the breathtaking scale and otherworldliness of the imagery at Fownhope.

‘There is a certain ambiguity about the mandorla-like form behind her’, and George Zarnecki considered that this form is more likely to represent the back of her throne than that the Virgin would be shown with her hair worn loose.<sup>37</sup> The drawing of Christ cited from the *Codex Vigilanus* includes a narrow curved shape parallel to the shoulders. This is coloured as if clothing, perhaps it is a cloak: it cannot be the back of an actual throne in that instance because Christ is seated on a cosmic circle. The mandorla-like form is unlikely to be the Virgin’s hair because a respectable mother in this period would have bound her hair and covered her head: but it could represent a veil or head-dress, as has been suggested by Keyser and Boase.

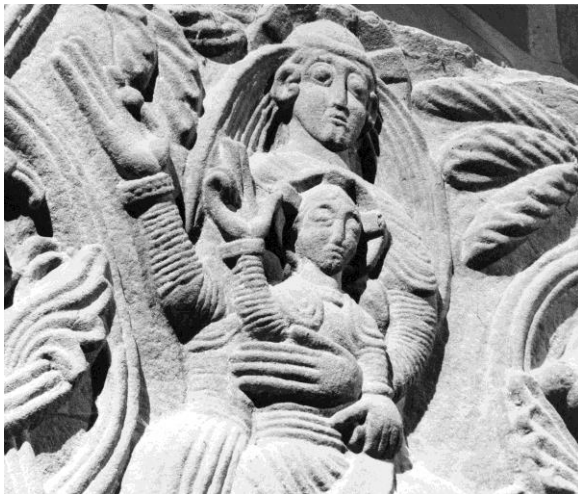


Figure 3. Fownhope: side view of the head of the Virgin

Looking at the carving from the side, it can be seen that the mandorla-like form not only lies in front of the Virgin's halo, but it comes out from under the close-fitting cap (Fig. 3). Several figures illustrated by Forsyth show Mary wearing a close-fitting cap or band-like crown with a veil coming from beneath it, and in an example from Dijon the veil is finely pleated.<sup>38</sup> The wooden Virgin and Child from Autun now in the Cloisters Museum, New York, wears such a veil. In England, when the heads of ordinary women are carved, they wear a variety of head-dresses.

A corbel at North Grimston, Yorkshire, and another on the doorway at Kirtling, Cambridgeshire, depict women wearing caps with a shoulder-length veil hanging in vertical pleats, these are everyday versions of the veil worn at Fownhope. The identification of the mandorla-like form as a woman’s veil makes obsolete earlier suggestions that this dominant figure could be God the Father.

It comes as something of a surprise to realise that, since the mandorla-like form is not a chair-back but a veil, and because neither the legs, posts nor cushion of a conventional throne are visible, there is really nothing more than Mary herself to support the child. Both the billowing veil and the widely-set legs and feet have been deliberately placed in order to suggest the transformation of the Virgin into the rigid impersonal fabric of a throne. This Mary at Fownhope is emphatically functional: once that is appreciated it seems inappropriate any longer to call this a tympanum with a ‘Virgin and Child’. The treatment is highly distinctive because other examples of Mary as the Throne of Wisdom almost always include a conventional throne, or some other support like the donkeys in Figure 2. There are very few which clearly employ such a literal interpretation. Forsyth remarks on a figure at Walcourt, Belgium, that it is ‘unusual in that a throne for Mary is not evident’, and yet even in this instance the drapery at the side of the seated figure falls as if covering an actual chair-arm. A

window of c.1180 in Vendôme cathedral shows the mother and child within a very narrow mandorla, with no parts of a chair visible, although there could be a foot-stool. The window is described by Westlake as 'quiet in tone, and very Greek in colour and character.'<sup>39</sup> George Zarnecki remarks on the 'position of the Virgin's feet, so wide apart' being like the wooden images in central France known as *sedes Sapientiae*. It is not hard to imagine how human legs and feet might be transformed into the legs and feet of a throne: the mutation of the head-dress into a chair-back is not so obvious. Ivories of 6th-century date from Alexandria show an arched chair-back behind seated enthroned figures of Christ and of the Virgin: the curve of the arched back runs behind the top of the head, and might be mistaken for a veil. Such an ambiguous model may have been known to our sculptor.<sup>40</sup>

The idea of Mary as a Throne resonates in work of this period: she often sits very straight and without motherly gestures. A good example of this is in another carving of the Flight into Egypt, that on the wooden doors preserved in St. Maria im Kapitol, Cologne. The carving at Fownhope may also be compared to the Throne with Child in mosaic in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. There, but in permanent colour, are the same large eyes that are said to be such an odd feature of the Fownhope carving; there the Virgin gives the blessing and the Child holds the small ball. Beyond that, at Sant' Apollinare we are enveloped in what might be termed 'a Byzantine otherness.'<sup>41</sup> For Antonio Paolucci, the rhythm of the processions on the side walls and the pervasive gold background produce 'such a deliberate departure from reality that it can only be explained as a different way of seeing things.' That is to say, the strangeness of the presentation lifts us into another world. On a smaller scale, that is also the effect of the composition at Fownhope even in its present monochrome. In addition to the cosmic scale of the central motif, we see attending the 'masculine' Virgin and her 'unusually large' Child<sup>42</sup> a bird and a lion with wings, and all are surrounded by such bold stems and active leaves that even mere greenery demands our attention.

### The Tree of Life and the Water of Life

The sensitive, finger-like leaves together with the all-embracing stems give the tympanum an immediately friendly feel which even the sharp teeth of the winged lion cannot dispel. The foliage accommodates two differently-sized creatures, the bird and the lion, yet overall it maintains a surprisingly high degree of symmetry. Closer consideration will note how gracefully the scrolling foliage expands into any space, and eventually see that both corners of the tympanum were marked by a bunch of grapes, as a serif finishes a well-cut initial. This then is not just any decorative foliage, it is a vine, or rather, two vines, for the stems arise from separate nodes beside the feet of the Throne. By these means the foliage represents 'the tree of life' which is said to be 'on either side of the river' flowing out of the throne in heaven (Rev. 22:1, 2).<sup>43</sup> This text refers back to Ezekiel 47:12, and also to the Creation narrative in Genesis 2:9, etc. The paradise envisioned in Ezekiel's Hebrew text pictured many trees growing by a river, but the Latin Vulgate of the Revelation has '*et ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitae.*' This wording with its implication of two or more trees must have presented difficulties when visualising the single Tree of Life in Revelation 2:7, which was equated with the heavenly reward and with Christ himself.

A comparison for the scrolling foliage of a dual Tree of Life is in the apse mosaic in the upper church of San Clemente, Rome, datable to c.1127 but thought to reproduce an earlier work using classical models.<sup>44</sup> The mosaic has a mystic Crucifixion in the centre: Christ is, as it

were, eternally enthroned on the Cross. Two thick acanthus shoots spring up out of a wide basin at the foot of the Cross and spread to fill the remainder of the semi-dome. Below the basin, the four streams into which the river or fountain divides (Gen. 2:11-14) are being drunk by conventional animals of paradise arranged round the circumference of the apse. The foliage scrolls also are accompanied by many motifs and symbols used by the early church to depict the life of heaven. Most of these are symmetrically repeated, but the human elements are slightly varied, Oakeshott describing them as 'Fathers of the Latin church and...other groups, sometimes symbolic, representing the laity'. They are the blessed in paradise, and the individualisation would enable the viewer to empathise with them and to imagine himself or others in heaven. Another comparison for the two trees at Fownhope is with a wall-painting at Civate, Como, Italy dating from 'the very end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th.' Here the heavenly Jerusalem is illustrated in the style of a delicate classical painting.<sup>45</sup> As if in an atrium, Christ sits enthroned within the square-walled heavenly city. On either side of him grows a naturalistic tree, while at his feet is the Lamb and the flowing river dividing into four streams as it leaves the city.



Figure 4. Elkstone (Gloucs): diagram of the tympanum

In contrast to these Italian examples, about two dozen English Romanesque tympana, many of them in the south-west midlands, depict a single tree. About a third of the tympana add an animal on either side, these animals are sometimes shown feeding. From an example of this latter type at Dinton, (Bucks.), which has an inscription, it can be deduced that the tree is being equated with the heavenly reward, it is the Tree of Life (Rev. 2:7). Almost all trees in these tympana divide symmetrically and several of them have a forked root, however it is very uncommon for two entirely separate trees to be shown in any 12th-century English tympanum. At Knook (Wilts.), two trees rise from separate nodes similar to those at Fownhope, but the trunks are bound together at the first opportunity, and it is likely that design is simply following the style of a manuscript model.<sup>46</sup> At Elkstone, Gloucestershire, (Fig. 4), the



tympanum has two sources of foliage stems. One source is the staff carried by the Agnus Dei on the upper left, this is indicated by the leaves on either side of the staff lying in opposite directions. The second source is from the mouth of a grotesque mask on the lower right, this is a common motif which represents Life out of Death.<sup>47</sup> The sources of these stems are not so obvious as is the border of foliage that grows from them, in which green foliage symbolises the resurrection of Christ and of man.<sup>48</sup> Only one tympanum other than Fownhope's, that at St. Nicholas's church, Gloucester, shows two distinct trees (Fig. 5).<sup>49</sup> Under an arch in the centre is the Agnus Dei holding a book or curled sheet of parchment on which stands a leafing cross-staff; there is a tree with small clusters of berries or grapes scrolling up at either side from a rootstock in the corners of the tympanum.<sup>50</sup>

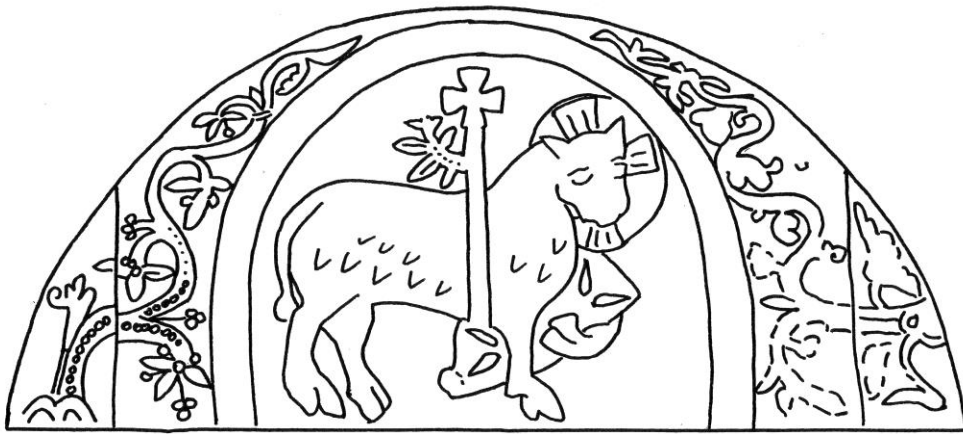


Figure 5. St. Nicholas's, Westgate, Gloucester: diagram of the tympanum

It is rare for a tympanum to have two distinct trees, that is, for the awkward text in the Vulgate (Rev. 22: 1, 2) to be so clearly evoked as it is at Fownhope and in Gloucester. The composition at Fownhope with two distinct trees need not necessarily have followed from the occupation of the centre of the tympanum by the Throne but, for example, a general environment of foliage could have been contrived unobtrusively, as at Elkstone. The prominent placing of the separate trees is deliberate, and is likely to be intended to bring to mind the objects mentioned in the text quoted above, that is, the river and the throne. This leads the reader of the carving to expect some depiction of flowing water, yet there is none and, as explained in the opening section of this paper, there almost certainly never was a separate lintel on which it might have been carved. Much the same is true of the tympanum at Gloucester: in both cases we see two trees represented but no actual river. As will be discussed shortly, the 'river of water of life' was equated with the Word of God, who is depicted by the Child with the scroll on the Throne at Fownhope and at Gloucester by the Agnus Dei with the book. First, however, a digression on sculpture at Kilpeck, where there is the only tympanum in England which depicts the Tree and the River in a quasi-naturalistic form.

Similarities in having a three-cell plan and in sculptural style between Kilpeck and Fownhope have already been noted. The wide range of sculpture that survives at Kilpeck

suggests the extent of what may have been lost at Fownhope and, as Malcolm Thurlby has noted, motifs still to be seen at the top of the tower at Fownhope are related to corbels at Kilpeck in their general form.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the tympana share some theological themes and concerns. Kilpeck's tympanum (Fig. 6) includes an evocation of the river 'bright as crystal' (Rev. 22:1). The brightness of the river is suggested by the chevron pattern, an optically-shifting pattern recognised in the period as particularly suitable to represent divine Light. At Kilham in Yorkshire there is an example of the use of vertical chevrons to signify the descent of spiritual power, in that case related to the enlightenment of baptism.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 6. Kilpeck: the tympanum over the south doorway

At first sight, the patterned band at Kilpeck seems to occupy a structural lintel; however, the joint is not there but higher up, across the Tree.<sup>53</sup> The chevron mouldings therefore can blend smoothly into the background with a delicacy which emphasises the logical connection of river and tree. The root of Kilpeck's tree is forked, but the trunk is united for some distance before it branches into three flowering and fruiting clusters; the stems are beaded, as if jewelled and shining like the water. The Tree of Life with the Water of Life flowing from it is the only subject in this tympanum, and the message of the doorway is therefore centred on Christ as the life-giving Word. Hamer senses that the Tree 'whose blossoms bend and face the visitor who passes below into the church' expresses benevolence and Paradise. Beyond the tympanum, however, this peace does not extend. Boase noticed that 'there is a curious sense of continuous movement around the frame of the door, in striking contrast to the firm, balanced repose of the design on the tympanum.'<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the general effect of the imagery elsewhere in the doorway and in the corbels is unsettled and unsettling, contrasting again with the interior, where the stability of the haloed figures at the first arch tells of sanctity and order.<sup>55</sup>

What meaning may be contained in every one of the various carvings on the exterior work is difficult to define precisely, and certainly too lengthy to be entered into here, but a general outline within which individual interpretations should fit can perhaps be determined. The clue to the tone of the whole exterior scheme is the angel messenger with a scroll, in the

first order of the arch, immediately above the Tree and below one of the two corbels with a carving of the *Agnus Dei*.<sup>56</sup> This angel is likely to be the 'angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people: [who] saith with a great voice, Fear God, and give him glory; for the hour of his judgement is come: and worship him that made the heaven and the earth and sea and fountains of waters.' (Rev. 14: 6, 7). The whole assemblage of exterior sculpture beyond the tympanum can be understood as dependent on this text.

The corbels at Kilpeck are striking because they are unusually close to the viewer and so energetically formed: the motifs themselves are not unusual but occur elsewhere in England and also, for example, as Thurlby points out, in south-west France. Like a series of 50 corbels at a church in the East Riding examined by the author,<sup>57</sup> this display can be understood as commenting on the coming of the Lord in Judgement. Out of a total of 74 fully-legible corbels at Kilpeck, there are 24 with men's heads looking out or watching for the Coming, they have expressions varying from concentration to amazement and perhaps shock. There are 26 bestial masks, beakheads or grotesques, most of which look apprehensive, and eight of which have human beings in their jaws. There are 16 corbels with realistic animals which may have good or evil natures attributed to them according to the source consulted. Thus the stags and birds are commonly symbols of the redeemed, and so here are the serpents too, since they appear in symmetrical patterns and their habit of casting off the old skin could be taken as a figure of resurrection. Similarly, as Hamer suggests, the pair of fish swimming upwards are likely to represent souls moving to heaven.<sup>58</sup> The regularly-patterned corbels and those with the *Agnus Dei* would clearly refer to life in heaven. The motifs in the arches and the jambs of the doorway continue the mixture of warning and encouragement. The two men on the left column are contrasted: the man at the top holds up a short cross-staff (from which the left arm has broken away) and clutches the top shoot of foliage. He is a believer and so is shown free to move but the lower man, who holds a sword in one hand even as he raises the other in greeting, is restrained by the stems of the plant.<sup>59</sup> The capitals depict, on the right, the Life which comes out of Death, and left, the faithful rejoicing in their resurrection bodies which, as is commonly the case, take the forms of a serpent or wyvern and a lion.<sup>60</sup> The tympanum with the Tree and River at the focus of the exterior work suggests the potentially peaceful resolution of earthly struggle, and it also marks the transition to the ordered, heaven-like, interior of the church.

It is suggested that the River is represented at Fownhope also, but in a less obvious way than at Kilpeck. The prophecy in Ezekiel 47 describes the river that waters the trees of the earthly paradise as coming out from under a closed door; the Song of Songs speaks of a closed (or, enclosed) garden (4:12), and of a sealed fountain (4:12, 15), all of which passages were seen as referring to the Virgin. If the door, garden or basin was the Virgin, 'the river of water of life' issuing from the Theotokos was Christ. It is suggested that the mother and child between the two trees embody these further references, and that the central motif of the tympanum represents Christ given to the world as the Water of Life. Whereas Christ the Tree is the future reward awaiting the believer, Christ the Water of Life is mediated to the present world through the four streams into which the river of Paradise divides, which have long been interpreted primarily as the four gospels.<sup>61</sup> Both Water and Tree being represented, the believer is assured of sustenance in this world and the next. The fresco at Civate already mentioned, with Christ, the Lamb, two trees and the four rivers, retains its accompanying inscriptions, and from these it is clear that the fresco represents the era of the present Church rather than 'the new heaven

after the destruction of the world.' Yves Christe summarises Romanesque monumental cycles generally as ecclesiological rather than eschatological.<sup>62</sup> That is, Romanesque tympana picture those passages in Revelation which describe visions of heaven rather than those passages which prophesy the end of the world and Judgment. This is the case at Kilpeck, where the Judgment theme stems from the voussoir with the angel, and not from the tympanum. Professor Christe also sees the *Majestas Domini*, that is, Christ and the four Living Creatures, as 'an image of a present and actualised Christ in all his divinity, not an image of the Second Coming.'<sup>63</sup> While at many churches the corbels may refer to the actual event of the Second Coming, this theme was located at the roof-line because those carvings are the ones nearest heaven and, up there, they cannot be the primary focus of attention. In the knowledge that the important sculpture has a message about the present life rather than the future one, the tympanum in Gloucester (Fig. 5) may now be interpreted more precisely: the book or scroll held by the Lamb is the gospel, the narrative of the Incarnation and the promise of new life for the believer. It is not the book with seven seals mentioned in Revelation because neither the Lamb nor the book are in the correct form; nor is it likely to be the book of life, for that is part of the imagery of Judgement. The small lens-shaped motifs cut in the surface are comparable to leaflets on the two vines at the sides of the tympanum, and so refer to resurrection life. The tympanum at Elkstone (Fig. 4) transmits much the same message: the centre of the design, Christ and the evangelists under the blessing hand of God, suggests the work of the Church in this world, and because the foliage border is of secondary importance, the resurrection life is read as the sequel.

There may once have been a text painted on the scroll held by the Child at Fownhope. Throughout the Bible there are references to God as life-giving water, and of these some derivative of John 4:13-14, the words of Christ to the Samaritan woman at the well, or from John 7:37-38, spoken at the feast of Tabernacles, would be particularly suitable. It is quite possible that a connection would have been made between Revelation 21:3 and the Hebrew feast, a harvest celebration with additional themes of water and light (John 7:2-44).<sup>64</sup> This would in turn enable allusions to the ingathering of souls, and the heavenly reward awaiting them. But it is such a tiny scroll, perhaps a contraction of 'I am *alpha* and *omega*' (Rev. 21:6) would have been enough, especially as the verse continues 'I will give to him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.' It is the symbols A and Ω which are on the book held by Christ in the tympanum at Elkstone. With the Wye in its wide flood plain running close to the village, water would have been a very appropriate symbol to elaborate on at Fownhope. St. Nicholas's church in Gloucester is thought to have been associated with a nearby bridge over the Severn, and again, the proximity of a great river and its active place in local life might have brought that symbol to mind when the tympanum was conceived. Another phrase that would have been appropriate is *Ego sum Verbum*, or a contraction of it, and for several reasons. The concept or title 'Word' (Latin *Verbum*, Greek *Logos*) is sometimes interpreted as Wisdom, which would accord with the aspect of the Virgin as Throne. Ernst Kitzinger states that the incarnate Logos is usually represented as a young boy, and the use of that convention would explain the 'markedly unchildlike appearance' of the Child sensed by several commentators.<sup>65</sup> The title 'Word of God' on the scroll would again bring in the idea of rivers, because the Word is the source of the four gospels.

### The Trinity: the child, the bird and the winged lion

Having established that the central figures and the background foliage have august prototypes and lofty resonances, the nature of the remaining motifs can now be discussed in the expectation that they are not the result of misunderstandings by patron or sculptor. It has been suggested that the bird and the lion might represent two of the four evangelists, that is, St. John and St. Mark, but they do not hold a scroll or book to make that clear (Figs. 7, 8).



Figure 7. Fownhope: the bird



Figure 8. Fownhope: the winged lion

The gospels of Mark and John are hardly more relevant to a scene in heaven than Matthew or Luke, and if two of the four evangelists or Living Creatures are represented, why not all four when there is ample space for them? If, as suggested above, the Fownhope design is drawn from texts from St. John's gospel and from Revelation (traditionally ascribed to the same author) this would have been an ideal opportunity for the supposed symbol of St. John, the bird, to hold a scroll with an inscription, to enlarge the area covered by the motif and thus to achieve a properly balanced composition. Symmetry was important to depictions of heaven and has been achieved in the arrangement of the foliage stems and leaves, but for some reason imbalance has been allowed to persist in the size of the bird and the lion. The fact that the bird and lion are of such unequal size is itself a valid objection to the idea that they represent St. Mark and St. John, for, almost invariably, four animal symbols representing the four evangelists are made up to an equal bulk regardless of the relative natural proportions of the creatures. There is a local example of this on the Castle Frome font, where all four symbols are used round the bowl and the eagle is as big as the lion.<sup>66</sup>

The bird on the tympanum is about one quarter of the bulk of the winged lion, and about half the bulk of the child, so that the three are shown at something like a natural scale relative to each other. A close comparison for the bird at Fownhope (Fig. 7) is with the dove of the Holy Spirit in the scene of the Baptism of Christ on the Castle Frome font (Fig. 9). The dove here is small when compared with the figures of John the Baptist and the youthful Jesus.<sup>67</sup> Notice also that it has a beak with equal mandibles, whereas the symbol of the evangelist on the other side of the font has a beak with the characteristic heavy upper mandible of an eagle (Fig. 10). The bird at Fownhope has more equal mandibles, like the dove of the Holy Spirit.



Figure 9. Castle Frome: the Baptism of Christ (the bird's head has been damaged)



Figure 10. Castle Frome: the Lion of St. Mark and the Eagle of St. John

The winged lion on the tympanum at Fownhope (Fig. 8) does not resemble the evangelist symbol of St. Mark on the font (Fig. 10), the two lions exhibit very different characters. At Castle Frome, the lion of St. Mark is a mild, toothless creature, but as to the winged lion at Fownhope, its head and shoulders are powerful, its teeth are bared and sharp, and the face is lined with the muscular power of the jaws. This lion is more like the lion on the Stretton Sugwas tympanum, a beast so fearsome that only a hero like Samson could have killed it.<sup>68</sup> And why should the lion of St. Mark, or any lion, reach out and touch the skirt of the Throne? This contact extends for a length of nearly two inches (5 cm). It is unlikely that such a sure-handed craftsman positioned the claws like that by accident. Even though the raised fore-paw is a standard Romanesque posture for lions, the contact made in this particular tympanum demands some rational explanation.

In many 12th-century carvings animals have sharp claws and teeth, just as the winged lion here, and commentators readily assume that such animals are aggressive. These assumptions do not always help to make sense of the carving: it would be more reasonable to suppose that the claws and teeth are there as no more than an indication that the animal is very powerful. Whether that power is operating for good or ill is made plain by the wider context. At Stretton Sugwas, the power of the lion is used against Samson, a man given strength by God. At Fownhope the winged lion makes soft contact with the skirt by the back of its paw, the claws are relaxed, and turned down and away from the Throne. Furthermore, the winged lion is in heaven, it is a powerful spiritual being beside the enthroned Christ.

With these distinctions in mind, it is now suggested that the bird represents God the Holy Spirit and the winged lion represents God the Father. The whole scene can then be understood as showing us a vision of the eternal Trinity in its heavenly surroundings. The three Persons of the Trinity (which, of course, excludes the Throne) are well-balanced, with the Child rising very slightly above the outer two in accord with the artistic demands of the arched field (Fig. 11). In a manner of speaking this is a 'family portrait' in the tradition of late Anglo-Saxon drawings, though one using a typically Romanesque animal symbolism. The group calls to mind, for example, the 'Quintinity' drawing, in which Mary holds the Child and listens attentively while the Father and Son hold 'a sprightly conversation.'<sup>69</sup> Similar poetic tensions exist within this sculptured quaternity. The family group at Fownhope is distanced from us because of the cosmic scale and the formality of its human constituents, but close relationships

within the group are made recognisable and sympathetic by the anthropomorphic gestures of the two animals. These gestures are discussed in the course of the next section.



Figure 11. Fownhope: diagram of the tympanum to show the Trinity

### The Trinity: the God-Man

The Crucifixion, the Resurrection and Harrowing of Hell completed the purpose for which the Child had been born; Christ ascended and returned to his heavenly throne. In Anglo-Saxon poetry and in the liturgy, Christ's reception in heaven was spoken of as if a formal Roman triumph, but it could also be pictured more intimately as the home-coming of a hero. After all, at the Last Supper, Jesus had told his disciples he was going on a journey (John 14:2, 17:11, 13). Several details at Fownhope allude to these diverse aspects of acclamation and homecoming.

The first two details have been mentioned already, they are the throne and the orb, the signs of kingship. These objects evoke the liturgy of Ascensiontide which celebrates Christ as King, and they picture the credal statement that, following his victory over Death and Hell, Christ ascended and 'sat down' in the place of sovereign power. This is his eternal state, put aside at the Incarnation but resumed after the Resurrection. The scene in the tympanum is almost entirely static, so evoking eternity, but the odd gesture of the winged lion suggests it is the arrival in heaven, the homecoming, that is depicted. Touching the Throne with the front right paw could serve to show that the Son is invited to be seated 'at the right hand' of the Father (Ephesians 1:20, etc). The gesture makes sense if read as an invitation to the victorious Son be seated.

Another feature referring to the Ascension and arrival of the Son in heaven is that the Father and the Spirit are represented by animal symbols, whereas Christ is shown in his human aspect. There are contemporary depictions of the Three-in-One as three animal symbols, and as three men, and these suggest unity in eternity better than the present combination of forms. Important texts for the feast of the Ascension insist that Christ ascended 'taking our humanity with him' into heaven, where the God-Man intercedes for mankind (Rom. 8:34; Heb. 2:9–12, 17–18).

Lastly, as has been mentioned, late Anglo-Saxon drawings show the Trinity engaging in the naturalistic postures of sympathetic human interaction. The gesture of the winged lion is of that kind. The liturgy for Ascensiontide described the wonder of the angels and the joy of the

redeemed, and surely the Father and the Spirit must have been imagined as leading the rejoicing in heaven. All that jubilation is expressed at Fownhope by a second easily-overlooked gesture. The raised left foot of the bird, conventional though it is, may, in this instance, be intended as a greeting from the Spirit to the Son. Thus, two Persons of the Trinity are pictured welcoming the third on his return to heaven. Although there are these several references to the temporal aspect of the Ascension, they are unobtrusive and do not destroy the mystical presence of the scene and its sense of everlastingness.

### Consequences for the perceived rôle of the patron

This particular work, of all the tympana of the Herefordshire school, has the hallmarks of a monastic mind. Its imagery is many-layered, and reading it is necessarily slow but delicately-flavoured. With its several references to biblical texts which were attributed at the time to the apostle John, a collection of Johannine quotations or meditations may lie behind the design. It is not a tympanum with a straightforward, single message as some others in the School appear to be, but weaves in a number of consistent themes. Perhaps, like the presence of two priests and their endowment of land, this superior content might reflect the seniority and local importance of the church itself. On the other hand, the topics are all central to Christian belief and each could provide a simple exposition for village folk. It is a picture of eternity, something intangible made tangible, appealing to literates and illiterates. With exceptional economy, the tympanum at Fownhope combines a few deceptively simple forms to represent as a seamless whole several major themes: the Throne of Wisdom, the Tree of Life, the Water of Life and the Trinity. We must conclude that behind the distinguished sculptor stood an educated designer, the man who decided what the sculpture should teach, and who obtained and organised the necessary visual material. The designer and the sculptor together achieved an effect which is still satisfying at many levels.

The sources used in composing this tympanum are diverse, as is acknowledged to be the case in the works of the School in general. Though the model for Mary as the Throne might have been introduced to the region from France, following the pilgrimage undertaken by Oliver de Merlimond, various features at Fownhope have been mentioned which suggest influences from Byzantium or the East. Interest in the Eastern church was greater before the Conquest than under the Normans, and sources may have been to hand in long-established religious centres locally. The design suggests a rich treasury and library were accessible: Hereford is less than seven miles away, Gloucester has the other tympanum with two separate trees.

Many similarities have been illustrated by earlier writers between work in the Gloucester field of influence (which includes Elkstone), with Kilpeck and allied sites in Herefordshire.<sup>70</sup> These links are of basic constructional forms (mouldings, patterns such as chevrons) and the repetitive so-called 'decoration' (foliage patterns, masks). The combination of these features on the larger buildings and their appearance at various lesser sites elsewhere can be taken to indicate the dispersal of workmen, the formation of teams larger or smaller for further works, their apprentice works and mature productions, sometimes for the same abbey, sometimes for another patron. The bewildering appearance of similar details at widely-separated places is to be attributed to the movements of many men with retentive memories for form and outline, and no doubt with rudimentary means of recording them, though little of this kind survives until the 13th century. One senses that the highly-skilled Herefordshire School craftsmen had learned the proper placements of the various patterns, and had acquired enough corbel models (or



could invent variations within the conventional themes), to be able to complete much standard sculpture correctly.<sup>71</sup> The similarities highlighted by the present study between the content of the three tympana at Fownhope, Kilpeck and St. Nicholas's, Gloucester, are of a rather different nature and suggest an active clerical interest in teaching by means of individual compositions in sculpture.

Due to the loss of so much of the building at Fownhope and of any relevant documentation, it is not possible to be certain, but it seems likely that Lyre Abbey had little hand in the building or its sculpture: the abbey's interest in Fownhope seems to focus on income rather than expenditure.<sup>72</sup> This in turn implies that the tympanum was designed in this region and, considering the existence of the whole-church programme at Kilpeck, it looks as though the Herefordshire School sculptors had available a learned man, inevitably a cleric, who would give instructions and models for anything more than routine. It was this combination, together with the clergy of the supposed minster and the local lord of the manor who together produced the new building whose remnants are the tower and the tympanum.

The wishes of the patron—a character in the forefront of current scholarly interest—would have achieved little without craftsmen being available, just as they could not produce their best work without good stone and the co-operation of a designer.<sup>73</sup> However, since even apparently simple displays such as those discussed in this paper are theologically intricate, it becomes clear that a secular patron was no better equipped to choose the subjects to be carved than was the craftsman. Norman lords at their worst were usually obliged eventually to satisfy the demands of God and the Church,<sup>74</sup> and while in settled times a lord would pay for the best building he could afford, he would surely defer to a cleric on matters such as the content of its sculpture. Specialisation in these rôles was at the soft end of the contemporary process of adjusting the balance of local power away from the lay patron and in favour of the church authorities. A legal process was developing that would restrict the excess powers of lords who had built their own churches and who then expected to control the priest and the income: the reform was largely in place by the end of the century.<sup>75</sup> The patron's right of advowson (presentation of a priest to a benefice), was to be followed—but now not inevitably—by the priest's admission and institution by the bishop and his induction by the archdeacon.

Eileen Hamer sets out to look for meaning in the works of the Herefordshire School, finds it convincingly though intermittently, but ends her stimulating work wondering 'how the patron and sculptor planned and developed the imagery to be carved at each church, or... how the images were found and kept.'<sup>76</sup> Of course, patron and sculptor could contribute something in their own ways, but they were limited in knowledge and resources: the theology and visual conventions of the Church must have controlled the content of the carving. A clerical designer, as the agent of these conventions, was usually much more than an adviser polishing ideas chosen by the patron:<sup>77</sup> it was his rôle to decide both form and content, though he usually selected particular imagery to suit his audience, just as a good preacher would. To organise a perfect whole such as the tympanum at Fownhope or the church at Kilpeck needed a specialist.

### An Augustinian presence in the Herefordshire School?

Malcolm Thurlby organises his description of the Herefordshire School as a function of various groups of patrons and their family connections. John Hunt searches for common factors linking the known or likely lay patrons of the Herefordshire School, but finds no consistent affiliation or secular leadership is suggested by the historical record.<sup>78</sup> This brings him to suggest that the

School might have been encouraged by the bishop of Hereford, whose cathedral was being built and rebuilt in the first part of the century. Robert de Béthune as bishop was certainly in a position to provide leadership for potential patrons and, moreover, he had been present and active throughout the period when Hunt surmises the first steps must have been taken towards forming what would become the Herefordshire School, that is, c.1120-40.<sup>79</sup> Before being made bishop of Hereford in 1131, Robert de Béthune had been a canon and then prior of Llanthony, one of the earliest Augustinian houses in England and a strong one at this time, supporting some forty canons in the 1130s.<sup>80</sup>

The foundation of Shobdon priory as a Victorine house in 1131/5 would have been of personal interest to Robert de Béthune. Probably in the first decade of the century he was studying in Paris under William of Champeaux, who in 1113 had gone on to found the school of St. Victor, a secular school attached to a regular community. The Victorines soon became organised as an independent order of Augustinians, and their most famous scholar in the early years, Hugh of St. Victor, may even have been known to Robert.<sup>81</sup> It is likely that Oliver de Merlimond would have made his pilgrimage accompanied by a chaplain or priest, and perhaps this was an Austin canon from Llanthony: the sight of a black and white habit in the party would explain the unexpected invitation to lodge at St. Victor.<sup>82</sup> The connection of Shobdon with the famous centre of learning in Paris continued strong, for about 1148 Andrew of St. Victor, a pupil of Hugh and a noted scholar in his own right, was called to be prior.<sup>83</sup>

The Augustinian and/or Victorine communities may well be the mechanism to have motivated the Herefordshire School, or at least the oil that eased its running. To the extent that features of the School can be certainly dated before the foundation of Shobdon, then Llanthony might have been involved. It is likely that the two Llanthonys and Shobdon would have worked well together, and they had a common friend, as well as superior authority, in bishop Robert. The Augustinian rule combined communal life with pastoral work, and in the early 12th century priories were established to serve troubled areas like eastern Yorkshire and the diocese of Carlisle: conditions in Herefordshire were similarly disturbed.

The designer of the Fownhope tympanum could have been an Austin canon, yet the content at Fownhope and Kilpeck is very different from the Augustinian programmes encountered in Yorkshire and Derbyshire in the second quarter of the 12th century, which are packed full of precise references to the works of St. Augustine.<sup>84</sup> In Herefordshire such developments are not evident. For example, the teaching content outlined above for Kilpeck is clearly stated, logical and orthodox, but it does not appear to be inventive to anything like the same degree as the work in the north. Rather, the sculpture of the Herefordshire School tends to repetition, for example, there are five tympana showing Christ enthroned (though surrounding motifs might indicate variations on the theme); foliage patterns are lavishly used, and a few motifs tend to be used over and over again, such as the birds with upturned wings.<sup>85</sup> Subjects identified by Hamer at Kilpeck, that is, condemnations of carnal sin and of violence, are certainly found on corbels at many churches carved under Augustinian influence in the East Riding, but at Kilpeck the forms are usually those found elsewhere in the Christian West. These motifs embody basic themes and should be expected, but they were frequently elaborated by Augustinians on corbels in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The uniformity of the work of the School gives the impression that, to a degree not common elsewhere in England, the craftsmen were well organised as a professional team and might have been capable of producing a church with appropriate sculpture independently of clerical direction. Malcolm

Thurlby has identified a number of great churches in Gloucestershire and around where the sculptors may have practised and prepared themselves to work in this way.

The two areas, Herefordshire and Yorkshire/Derbyshire, therefore seem to have little in common in their degree of dependence on a specialist designer, but there are two organisational characteristics of the northern area which are likely to have recurred in Herefordshire. The first is that in the north of England Austin canons provided sculptural schemes not only for churches that belonged to their own priories, such as Kirkburn, but also for churches with lay patrons, such as Liverton and Everingham: in modern jargon, they 'networked' in secular society. They typically went out from their priory to work for periods in parishes and, later certainly, some were chaplains to secular lords. This sort of involvement might be guessed at in the dedication of the Gloucester church with the Tree tympanum: 'St Nicholas' is a favourite dedication in the East Riding where the Augustinians were numerous, and by the time the tympanum was carved—from its refinement, probably somewhat later than the Herefordshire School works mentioned here—Llanthony Secunda would have been settled in a suburb of the city, but the connection is pure speculation. The second characteristic of the northern area is the active involvement of the bishop, that is, the archbishop of York, Thurstan. Bishops generally had authority over Augustinian canons since they were priests engaged in pastoral work and not monks; Thurstan is recorded as having encouraged laymen to make donations to the order, and in the case of Everingham he could have been the intermediary introducing the designer to the lord of the manor, resulting in programme for the font.

If sculptural evidence exists for the influence of Augustinians in the Welsh Marches, it is inconspicuous. Might the unidentified birds with uplifted wings be cranes, as on the chancel arch at Melbourne and at Hampnett, Gloucestershire?<sup>86</sup> Cranes are a favourite motif in the north where they represent believers and, on occasion, Austin canons, who receive their reward in heaven. One reason, among many no doubt, for the paucity of inventive symbolism in the work of the School might be that the community in which the designer was based was not especially interested in allegory. For example, we know that Andrew of St. Victor, like his master Hugh, was a biblical scholar concentrating on the literal sense, and that it was Andrew specifically that the Shobdon community sought as their prior in 1148—but again, they may have wanted him because he is said to have been English. Clerical training normally concentrated on the other senses—allegorical and tropological—in which biblical texts were considered. An interest in preaching might be suggested by the authors of the few 12th-century texts surviving from the libraries of the two houses: at Llanthony these authors are Gregory (the Great), Isidore and Cicero; at Wigmore, Isidore again, and Augustine.<sup>87</sup>

This paper will conclude by an examination of one site that has not so far been mentioned, that is, the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rock, Worcestershire, then in the diocese of Hereford.<sup>88</sup> This will be useful to indicate the quality of the small evidence for the presence of an Augustinian designer that may exist. Hamer lists Rock as one of the four most complete churches of the Herefordshire School: the north side of the nave and chancel, including a doorway to the nave, survive, also the chancel arch and font. The workmanship has been linked to Aston, Stottesdon, Shobdon and Ribbesford; features at Rowlestone and Kilpeck are also brought into the comparisons by Thurlby. Though Rock does not appear in documents until the thirteenth century, Hamer thinks that this was the site of a former minster church; it had a larger nave than Fownhope.<sup>89</sup> The manor (of Aston) and its church had been given to the abbey of St. Evroul in Normandy shortly after the Conquest, but, as with Fownhope and Lyre, there is

no evidence in document or sculpture for the Norman monastery being active in building the Romanesque church. Records are inadequate, but that does not affect the present discussion.

The surviving doorway is fully-carved with patterns; the heads on one pair of capitals are very worn but appear to be a common type, they are emitting foliage. In this instance the foliage is from the nostrils, so that the heads must be human rather than monstrous and the breath of heavenly life is symbolised. The few corbels remaining on the north walls of nave and chancel are not typical work of the School but most are elementary. However, both Rock and Kilpeck have corbels in which human beings take on animal features, which may be as subtle as pointed ears, or the total physicality of a sheela or a pig. These transformations are also found in the East Riding – but such things may be universal.<sup>90</sup> Inside the church, the font has patterns, while a large chancel arch has chevron arches to the nave, a highly-worked soffit with chip-carving and a row of chevrons seen from the chancel side too, which is not common. There is a variety of subjects on the capitals but only those that suggest the work of an Augustinian designer will be discussed here.



Figure 12. Rock (Wores): the 'exhibitionist'

The capital on the extreme right of the arch as seen from the nave (Fig. 12) has been described by Hamer and Thurlby as an exhibitionist; however, the content cannot be quite so simple, for the man is accompanied by serpents and foliage. The serpent is used at Melbourne, Bridlington and Liverton to represent the new body that man will have in the resurrection life; foliage commonly refers to heavenly life, as mentioned above at the doorway. The man squats, opens his legs and grips them just below the knee, with the feet flat on the ring of the capital; body, thigh and arms are pierced in a conventional manner by the beaded or striated bodies of two serpents—all this in a symmetrical arrangement.<sup>91</sup> Making allowance for the difference in style, this pose of arms and straddled legs woven in with trails is very comparable to a carving at Melbourne, Derbyshire, which

the present author has interpreted as showing a man who has practised self-denial on earth now in Paradise, or, more correctly perhaps, a man who is practising self-restraint approaching Paradise.<sup>92</sup> This kind of pose is uncommon in England, though known on the continent. To the left and right of the man at Rock the serpents can be thought of as whispering in his ears rather than biting them, this activity also is noted on the continent and occurs on the chancel arch at Bugthorpe in the East Riding. The carving at Rock thus depicts an earthly man exercising self-control and being encouraged by thoughts of heavenly life. The man's face is expressionless, unlike those of exhibitionists, and around the top of his head there may be a halo. His biceps bulge to show the effort he is making. It is unusual for the man in this type of motif to have his genitalia exposed, there is usually some modest vegetation around, but this carving was for the

folk in the nave and man's problem with his animal nature was made explicit. While 'the lust of the flesh' is easily illustrated, greed and pride ('the lust of the eyes and the vainglory of life') are equally condemned in a favourite text of Augustine, 1 John 2:16.



Figure 13. Rock: a priest and his mentor

The capital with the 'exhibitionist' and snakes should now be compared with the capital diagonally opposite, on the north side of the arch and seen from the chancel (Fig. 13). This was carved in lower relief and is poorly-lit now the fenestration is changed. Again there is a head on the corner, it is a large head having a complete though small body, thighs straddled close along the ring of the capital, hands grasping the legs just below the knee again but with the lower leg raised and the foot near the elbow. It is possible that the man is wearing knee-length underpants: his ribbed sleeves would be seen when clothed in a long tunic, but not the rest.<sup>93</sup> Flanking the intently-gazing face of this man<sup>94</sup> are two heads in profile.

All three men have haloes but the two outer haloes are bolder and complete. These men and the man on the previous capital possibly have haloes because they are enlightened in the sense of being baptised rather than in order to represent them all as perfected saints. Like the snakes' whisperings, the words of the two companions bring encouragement to the man fighting to control his earthly thoughts: one of these speakers would almost inevitably be St. Augustine of Hippo. Augustine, the author of *Confessions*, is himself represented at Kirkburn and Melbourne as a rôle-model for those liable to sin. The depiction on the capital in the chancel is realistic rather than symbolic as in the earlier example in the nave, but the format and message are the same. Here in the chancel, in the place reserved for priests, is another call to self-control, and priests do not escape such admonitions in Yorkshire.<sup>95</sup> This chancel version of the motif is made all the more forceful by the omission of any symbolism apart for the necessary pose. It would speak to a priest in plain Latin, not in the extended figurative language of a sermon for the unlearned. The motifs are neatly tailored to their audience, as they are so often in Yorkshire in Augustinian schemes.

The opposite capital in the chancel has, on the north face, a ship (Fig. 14).<sup>96</sup> The open boat fits the bell of the capital, a Cross rises like a mast in the centre of the face; both prow and stern have serpent figure-heads which turn in to face the Cross. In the boat and around the Cross are nine small men's heads, and where room allows they have arms and hands showing they are bowed in prayer. The image of the ship, that is, Noah's Ark, was used by Augustine: 'without doubt [the Ark] is a symbol of the City of God on pilgrimage in this world, of the

Church which is saved through the wood on which was suspended ‘the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.’



Figure 14. Rock: the Ark of the Church

This is probably too late for the text to have inspired the carving at Rock, but the idea was already current through the earlier writers.

Only occasionally, it may be supposed, would the postulated Augustinian designer have supplied something distinctive, as for the tympanum at Fownhope and these capitals. The small amount of evidence from Rock is not enough to show that Augustinians were routinely associated with the Herefordshire School, but an examination of other singular passages in the sculpture of the region for specific pastoral content would seem to be a promising line of enquiry.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The image was taken up by Hugh of St. Victor, *alter Augustinus*, who expanded it in *De Arca Noe Morali*.<sup>97</sup> Beryl Smalley quotes ‘a good metaphor’ from the prologue to the commentary on Ezekiel by Andrew of St. Victor, the Victorine who became abbot of Shobdon/Wigmore.<sup>98</sup> This appears to be a perfect match for the carving: ‘With God as leader, who makes ways in the sea, paths in the stormy water, we take our way unfearing, through unknown, pathless places, no end in sight.’ It is the same metaphor, but reworked by a man who had crossed the North Sea at least two, probably three, times. The commentary on Ezekiel was written in Paris in the period after Andrew’s first spell at Wigmore, that is, after c.1154.

photographs to assist in making Fig. 4, Elkstone, I am indebted once again to Michael Tisdall. The prints for several of the plates were made by the late John McElheran.

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- <sup>2</sup> E. R. Hamer, 'Patronage and Iconography in Romanesque England: the Herefordshire School in context', unpublished PhD. thesis, (Chicago 1992), p.50. Lyre is also spelt Lire or Lira (in Dugdale); S. F. Hockey, 'William fitz Osbern and his endowment of his Abbey of Lyre', *Trans. Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 3 (1980), pp. 96-105, 213-15.
- <sup>3</sup> V. H. Galbraith, J. Tait, eds., *Herefordshire Domesday* (1950), p.69; J. Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer, (London, 1985), pp.105-7, 123; Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 24-26.
- <sup>4</sup> Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 51.
- <sup>5</sup> *Victoria County History of Herefordshire*, I, p.324; Galbraith & Tait, *Herefordshire Domesday*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Soc., 25 (London 1950), p.69 and facing page.
- <sup>6</sup> Ian Wood has remarked on the presence of Scandinavian personal names in Herefordshire in this period, see 'Areas of Tension', *Art History* VIII (1985), p.231. See also, M. Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture*, (1999), p.24, figs. 7, 55; E. Chwojko, and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, CL (1997), pp.21-2; E. B. Hohler, *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture*, (1999) II, p.144, pls.59, 61 (Borgund); R. Gem, 'Staged Timber Spires in Carolingian North-East France and Anglo-Saxon England', *J. B. A. A.*, CXLVIII (1995), p.45, pls. VIIA, IX; N. Stratford, *op. cit.* in note 1, Zarnecki (1984), p.237; for contemporary description of a late 10th-century chapel at Wilton Abbey, see *British Archaeological Report*, British Series CCXVI, 7 (Goscelin's *Life of St. Edith*). See also J. Blair, in *The Early Church in Herefordshire*, ed. Malpas, A., Butler, J., *et al.*, (2001), p.11.
- <sup>7</sup> Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 51-2, 56-57.
- <sup>8</sup> Hamer suggests Fownhope church was built by Roger de Chandos some time after 1127. Roger's son Robert confirmed the gift of the church to Lyre Abbey. Such a gift functioned as a financial support for an abbey through its associated lands and dues: the interest of the monastics was not primarily in the building or maintenance of a distant parochial church. For Chandos, see D. Walker, 'William fitz Osbern and the Norman settlement in Herefordshire', *TWNFC* 39 (1969), p.411.
- <sup>9</sup> Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.144; *The Builder*, VII (1849), p.80. By 1849, two capitals were being 'used as flower pots at the Vicarage-house door.'
- <sup>10</sup> At Autun, the west tympanum was concealed for nearly a century under plaster and brick before being discovered in the mid-nineteenth century, see D. Grivot, and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun*, (1961), p.27.
- <sup>11</sup> C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels* (1904, 2nd ed., 1927), fig. 89.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. liv.
- <sup>13</sup> G. Marshall, 'Fownhope Church', *Trans. Bristol & Gloucs. Archaeol. Soc. for 1934*, LVI (1935), pp.39-40.
- <sup>14</sup> J. R. Earp and B. A. Hains, *British Regional Geology: the Welsh Borderland*, 3rd. edn., (1971). Downton sandstone is part of the Old Red Sandstone, hence the catalogue (*op. cit.* in note 1) describing the tympanum as of 'Red sandstone'.
- <sup>15</sup> G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210*, (1953), pp.12-13; fig. 32; Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.102, figs. 167-8.
- <sup>16</sup> Proportions vary greatly—compare Rowlestone and Ruardean, illus. in Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, figs. 178 and 208.
- <sup>17</sup> For George Zarnecki on the Herefordshire School, see *op. cit.* in note 15, pp.9-15 and 'Romanesque Sculpture of the Welsh Marches' in *Medieval art: recent perspectives: a memorial tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. G. Owen-Crocker and T. Graham, (1998), pp.61-88. Zarnecki latterly considered the term 'School of the Welsh Marches' more appropriate than 'Herefordshire School' since there are at least eight sites outside the county, see *op. cit.* this note, p.72 and map.
- <sup>18</sup> Zarnecki has consistently proposed the primacy of the Shobdon sculpture in the School, from his unpublished doctoral thesis of 1950 to a public lecture given at Birmingham in 1999, when he refuted J. F. King's paper, 'The parish church of Kilpeck reassessed' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Hereford* (B. A. A. Conf. Trans. XVI), (1995), pp.82-93. See also Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder,' in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture presented to Peter Lasko*, ed. D. Buckton and T. A. Heslop, (1994), pp.211-220.

<sup>19</sup> T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216*, (1953), p.83. It is interesting that Sir Stephen Glynne had earlier written that the 'curious sculpture... appears to represent the Holy Trinity – also the figures of a bird amidst twining foliage and dragons', see J. Leonard, *Herefordshire Churches through Victorian Eyes* (2006), p. 41. Presumably he assumed a Gothic form of Trinity in which the Father holds up Christ on the Cross.

<sup>20</sup> Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 17, pp. 75-6.

<sup>21</sup> Hamer, p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp.142-3.

<sup>23</sup> In his doctoral thesis of 1951, Zarnecki mentions the *Nikopoios* pose, but he later prefers the term *Throne of Wisdom*. See Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 1, p.178.

<sup>24</sup> In 431, see H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, (1963), p.65. 'Mother of God' is not a sufficiently close translation for 'Theotokos', though frequently used.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by I. H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, (1972), p.24.

<sup>26</sup> B. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Proslogion*, (1973), pp.115, 120.

<sup>27</sup> For example, the fourth-century hymn-writer Ephrem the Syrian as quoted in F. Rademacher, *Die Regina Angelorum in der Kunst der Frühen Mittelalters*, (1972), p.21.

<sup>28</sup> Compare, for example, Wheel-angels illustrated in Herrad of Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenburg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, ed. R. Green, M. Evans, et al., (1979), ii, fol. 253r.

<sup>29</sup> Grivot and Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 10, pls. 5, D10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.69-70.

<sup>31</sup> At Hereford, St. Giles; Rowlestone and Shobdon; at Romsley and Pedmore (Worcs).

<sup>32</sup> Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 17, pp.75, 76; figs. 39, 40.

<sup>33</sup> Gerona Apocalypse fol. 2., see W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes in der Altspanischen und Althristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (1931), pl. 5. Because of the close resemblance between the carving and these Spanish manuscripts, the suggestion made by T. A. Heslop that the object is already a fruit seems not to be viable here, see 'The Romanesque Seal of Worcester Cathedral', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (B. A. A. Conf. Trans.), I, (1978), pp.75-76.

<sup>34</sup> Forsyth, *op. cit.* in note 25, pp.6-7.

<sup>35</sup> At Pennington (Lancs); at Riccall (Yorks) St. Michael has a cross on his head.

<sup>36</sup> At Hallaton (Leics). The depiction of archangels is often modelled on the clothing and attributes of functionaries of a Byzantine court.

<sup>37</sup> Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 1, p.178.

<sup>38</sup> Forsyth, *op. cit.* in note 25, pp.129, 145; ill. 50, 51, 152-5.

<sup>39</sup> N. H. J. Westlake, *History of Design in Painted Glass* (1881) vol. 1, p.34.

<sup>40</sup> D. T. Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (1963), pp.17-18, fig. 7; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantiken und des Frühen Mittelalters* (1952), pl. 39.

<sup>41</sup> A. Paolucci, *Ravenna*, (1971) pp.20-21, 59. The mosaic described is not all of the same date. Large eyes, and a small mouth, are features exaggerated by Byzantine artists to represent the silent gaze of spiritual figures and worshippers.

<sup>42</sup> Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.141; Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 1, p.178; Boase describes the Child as 'markedly unchildlike'. These reactions to the Child are echoed by William Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome from the third to the fourteenth centuries* (1967), p. 258, in his remarks regarding a 12th-century mosaic of the Virgin and Child: '...the Child...holds a tiny scroll in his left hand and extends his right in blessing...a curiously adult figure, as so many Byzantine artists imagined him.' The matter is raised again later in this paper.

<sup>43</sup> RSV; translations vary. See R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (1977), pp.386-7; J. Sweet, *Revelation* (1979), p. 311.

<sup>44</sup> Oakeshott, *op. cit.* in note 42, pp. 247-8.

<sup>45</sup> C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200* (1993), p.182, fig. 171. In Sant Apollinare in Classe is an early tomb with wreath, cross and two trees sprouting from the foot of the cross.

<sup>46</sup> G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England in the Eleventh Century', *Proc. Battle Conf. on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 1, ed. R. Allen Brown, (1979), p.183; R. Wood, 'The Two Lions at Milborne Port', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, CXLI (1998), p.2.

<sup>47</sup> See R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Memorial at Conisbrough', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 73, (2001), p.47; fig. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Keyser, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 117. This use of foliage is comparable to that in a tympanum at Girolles, Loiret, France, see O. Beigbeder, *Lexique des Symboles* (1969), pl. 17. See also Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, re Job 14:7.

<sup>49</sup> Keyser, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 103.



<sup>50</sup> St Nicholas's is first recorded c.1180, and is probably a royal foundation, see A. Pike, *St. Nicholas's Church, Gloucester* (1996), p.3.

<sup>51</sup> Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp.143-4, figs. 223-6, compare figs. 62; 68 or 86; 64. In the terms used below in the enumeration of the corbels at Kilpeck, the four Fownhope carvings are of a man watching, two masks and a pattern of serpents.

<sup>52</sup> For chevron patterns and Kilham, see R. Wood, 'Geometric Patterns in English Romanesque Sculpture', *J. B. A. A. CLIV*, (2001), pp.26-28.

<sup>53</sup> For lintels extended in this way, see Chwojko & Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.21. In a public lecture in 1999, Professor Thurlby called them 'winged' lintels.

<sup>54</sup> Boase, *op. cit.* in note 19, p. 81.

<sup>55</sup> It is difficult to believe that these figures would have been carved after the church had been given to Gloucester Abbey, as Hamer suggests. For so full and complex a programme, there was surely a designer present to organise the sculpture, and he would naturally see that the sanctity of the chancel was promoted in some way.

<sup>56</sup> See Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.47, fig. 60.

<sup>57</sup> R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', *East Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (2003), pp.14-25.

<sup>58</sup> Hamer, *op. cit.* p. 149. She finds order in the corbels, with the Agnus Dei positioned over the door and over the east window: the 'priests' (corbels on the west wall with men's heads emitting foliage and grapes) are a common motif and picture the general resurrection.

<sup>59</sup> Grasping foliage is a sign of faith, of holding onto the new life of Christ, as in R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Church at Melbourne', *Derbys. Archaeol. J.*, 126 (2006), p.135-6. However, the Herefordshire School also pictures figures entangled in stems, perhaps to signify the restraint which knowledge of the gospel should apply to sinful urges.

<sup>60</sup> Resurrection bodies are more fully discussed in R. Wood, 'The chancel arch at Liverton, North Riding', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 78 (2006), pp.121-26, 134-5.

<sup>61</sup> The association of the four rivers of Paradise with the four evangelists was made in the third century by Cyprian of Carthage. Augustine mentions it among other 'fours' in *De Civ. Dei*, XIII.21.

<sup>62</sup> Y. Christe, 'The Apocalypse in the Monumental Art of the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson, and B. McGinn, (1992), pp.236-244.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p.255.

<sup>64</sup> Sweet, *op. cit.* in note 43, p.311.

<sup>65</sup> E. Kitzinger, E., 'Interlace and icons: form and function in early Insular art' in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, ed. R. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, (1993), p.10. See also note 42.

<sup>66</sup> Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 1, pp.65, 178; Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp.120-1, figs. 188-193.

<sup>67</sup> For what would have been the beak in its original form, compare Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, p.120, fig. 190, right. The Baptism is the last scene in an infancy cycle. In early Christian representations of the Baptism of Christ he is shown as a young boy; from the ninth century as a youth, though perhaps beardless. See G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, pp.142-3; pls. 346-7, 349-53; J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England 700-1200*, (1974), item 10, p.28. The still-small Christ on the font has a moustache, so the early Christian form has been up-dated.

<sup>68</sup> N. Pevsner, Herefordshire (1963), pl. 10; Zarnecki, *op. cit.* in note 15, pl. 32.

<sup>69</sup> E. Kantorowicz, 'The Quinity of Winchester', *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), pp.73-85; E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066* (1976), ill. 245 (B. Lib. Cotton, Titus D. XXVII fol. 75v).

<sup>70</sup> Chwojko and Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp.17-26, pls. III-VIII; Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp. 9-32.

<sup>71</sup> Thurlby, *op. cit.*, in note 6, pp. 7-8.

<sup>72</sup> Hockey, *op. cit.* in note 2, states that the priory established at Livers Ocle was no more than a collecting station for the tithes and rents of Fownhope and other parishes given to Lyre. There is no expectation that the abbey would have built any of the 16 churches they held in the area covered by Livers Ocle.

<sup>73</sup> Ian Wood, *op. cit.* in note 6, p. 233, suggested 20 years ago that patronage was one aspect of the context of sculpture that could be investigated.

<sup>74</sup> Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 26, says 'Such proprietary churches were the property of the lord to do with as he pleased, and even when donated, as many were, to a monastery, continued to function as part of the lord's seigneurial identity [which was] embodied in the sculpture of the church.' This summary of the position is perhaps over-simplified. C. Harper-Bill, 'The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class', *Proc. Battle Conf. on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 1979, 2 (1980), pp. 63-77, 173-6; B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford 1991) pp. 24-5.

<sup>75</sup> B. R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the 12th century', *J. Ecclesiastical History*, 31/2 (1980), pp.146-7; B. R. Kemp, 'Towards admission and institution: English episcopal formulae for the appointment of

parochial incumbents in the twelfth century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 16 (1994), pp.157-9; P. M. Smith, 'The advowson: the history and development of a most peculiar property', *Ecclesiastical Law J.*, 5/26 (2000), pp. 320-325.

<sup>76</sup> Hamer, p.300.

<sup>77</sup> An exception to the rule, a doorway which seems to be driven by the theological viewpoint of a secular lord, though 'edited' by a cleric, is discussed in R. Wood 'The Romanesque Doorway at Healaugh Church', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report for the year 2005*, (2006), pp. 55-65.

<sup>78</sup> J. Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Antiq. J.* 84, (2004), pp. 185-222, especially pp. 211-215. Hamer also has a passage on this topic, pp. 139-143, but does not come to this conclusion, see Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 300.

<sup>79</sup> Hunt, *op. cit.* in note 78, pp. 211, 206.

<sup>80</sup> Founded 1108/1118. In the 1130s, Llanthony was overcome by the 'rudeness, poverty and barrenness of the neighbouring country and people', but not all the community fled to the protection of the bishop and, in 1136, to settle as Llanthony Secunda on a property in Gloucester. Thirteen canons stayed on in the Marches, a considerable community still, though later demoted to a cell of the main centre in Gloucester. The ruins of nave, chapter house etc., now to be seen at Llanthony Prima (Gwent, CADW), date from the 1180s and later.

<sup>81</sup> Hugh of St Victor was teaching from c.1125-1141. For a thirteenth-century illustration, see G. Zarnecki, *The Monastic Achievement*, (1972), p. 90.

<sup>82</sup> J. C. Dickinson and P. T. Ricketts, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', *TWNFC* 39 (1969), pp. 422, 423.

<sup>83</sup> On Andrew, see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1952), pp. 112-185; M. A. Signer, ed., *Andrae de Sancto Victore Opera VI, Expositionem in Ezechielem*, CCCM, vol. LIIIE (Turnhout 1991), ix-xiv. Andrew went back to Paris and another took his place, but he returned to be prior again, dying at Wigmore in 1175. He may have been English. For the Victorines, see Smalley's preceding chapter, pp. 83-111.

<sup>84</sup> Several such schemes have been identified, for example, at Liverton (Yorks.) and Melbourne (Derbys.), see notes 59 and 60. For a general account of the order, see J. C. Dickinson, *The origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England*, (London 1950).

<sup>85</sup> Readers should not take this as in any way a condemnation of the School, it is just a comment on the relative lack of invention.

<sup>86</sup> Wood, *op. cit.* in note 60, pp.124-5. The Fox and Crane fable is carved at Holt, Worcs.

<sup>87</sup> N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* (2nd ed. 1964), pp. 119-20, 198. If booklists or catalogues survive they might give further clues to the interests of these houses.

<sup>88</sup> Much additional detail is given in Hamer, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 65-71 and Thurlby, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp. 87, 90-95, 150. Many sites of the Herefordshire School, including Rock and Fownhope, can be found comprehensively-illustrated on the web-site [www.crsbi.ac.uk](http://www.crsbi.ac.uk).

<sup>89</sup> VCH Worcestershire, IV, p. 326.

<sup>90</sup> The Crane might once have existed as a corbel on the chancel at Rock, where there is now a headless bird.

<sup>91</sup> The mannerism of piercing is discussed in G. Zarnecki, 'Germanic animal motifs in Romanesque sculpture', *Artibus et Historiae* 22 (1990) pp. 189-203. It has no symbolic significance here.

<sup>92</sup> R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Church at Melbourne', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 126 (2006), pp.152-155, pl. 23. The capital is paired with one on which a tonsured priest is falling, to Hell presumably. Melbourne church was probably the short-lived base for a small community training canons for a preaching ministry.

<sup>93</sup> A clearly-carved example of such a garment is worn by a man restrained by serpents and his own efforts on a capital in the Domschatzkammer, Cologne. Date, c.1200.

<sup>94</sup> Photographs seem to record the stain of paint in the eyes.

<sup>95</sup> R. Wood, *op. cit.* in note 57, pp.20-21.

<sup>96</sup> Other 12th-century carvings, known to the author, of ships that symbolise the Church are at Long Marton, Westmorland, and Fishlake, Yorks. Both ships contain a human figure that is probably meant for St. Peter, but no Cross.

<sup>97</sup> Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XV.26; Hamer p. 68. The author hopes to publish a paper on the font from Everingham, Yorkshire, which uses *De Arca Noe Morali* as a framework for its teaching programme.

<sup>98</sup> Smalley, *op. cit.* in note 83, pp. 125, 380; Signer, *op. cit.* in note 83, Prologue, lines 10-13, p.1.

# Geophysical survey at the Chesters near Moorcourt Farm, Lyonshall: some observations on field-names with possible Roman connections

By PETER GUEST and MIKE LUKE

*In an important paper published in 1996 in these Transactions, Ruth Richardson identified the potential of field-names to indicate the presence of Romano-British remains in the modern Herefordshire landscape.<sup>1</sup> Although most of the 125,367 field-names from Herefordshire describe the quality of the soil, shape of the field, topography, vegetation or agricultural use, Richardson noted that a field's name might also commemorate an earlier, possibly otherwise forgotten, period of settlement at that place. Furthermore, it was suggested that fields with 'wall', 'stone', 'street', 'chester', 'wardine' and 'camp' (amongst others) in their names are prime candidates for the locations of prehistoric and Roman settlements. This short report presents the results of a geophysical survey undertaken on several fields collectively known as the Chesters that lie to the south-east of Lyonshall.*

The name 'chester', either on its own or in conjunction with other names, is derived from the Latin *castrum*, meaning a fort or military camp. Many English towns and villages sited on top of Roman (especially military) settlements include 'chester' in their modern names, and when included in a field-name it can usually be assumed that remains of Roman date (invariably of stone) are located close by.<sup>2</sup> However, 'chester' occurs in only eight parishes as a name for Herefordshire fields, much less often than other significant names such as 'stretton' or 'camp'; presumably a reflection of the fact that the county remained relatively untouched by the processes of cultural change that we know as Romanisation. In fact, Herefordshire has produced evidence for only a handful of Romanised civilian small towns and villages, while fewer than a dozen villa sites are known.<sup>3</sup>

One of the instances where 'chester' appears in the county's field-names is on the Lyonshall/Pembridge parish boundary, close to Upper Moorcourt (SO 350 553).<sup>4</sup> Here the tithe maps of 1840 and 1842 show four adjoining fields that incorporated the name 'chester'. These included Chesters (field 684) and Little Chesters (field 684a) in Lyonshall parish, with Big Chesters (field 1397) and Long Chesters (field 1396) on the Pembridge side of the boundary.<sup>5</sup> The long-established route from the direction of Holme Marsh in the west borders these fields to the north before the road twice turns at right angles, passing Upper Moorcourt on the way to Weston. The parish boundary between Lyonshall and Pembridge follows this road from the west before cutting through the Moorcourt Chesters fields (Fig. 1).

Parish boundaries often follow or connect features, including tracks and the remains of deserted settlements such as earthworks or buildings that were visible in the landscape when they were originally laid out in the eighth and ninth centuries. The coincidence of the 'chesters' field-names, the road with its apparently unnecessary deviation and the parish boundary at Moorcourt, suggests the presence of a lost settlement in this area, whose influence determined the physical and administrative layout of the countryside in the medieval period, and which is still visible today. Richardson, based on this circumstantial evidence and the association of two

other 'chester' field-names from Herefordshire with known Romano-British sites, proposed a Roman-period settlement in the vicinity of Upper Moorcourt.<sup>6</sup>

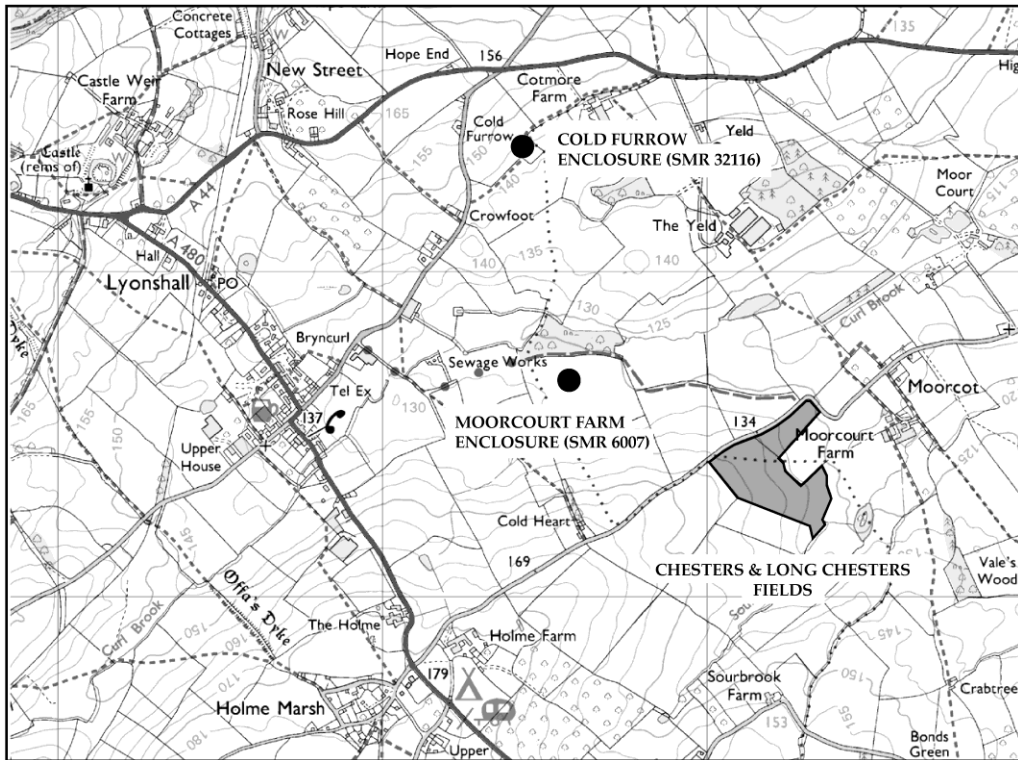


Figure 1. Upper Moorcourt and The Chesters: Location map

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In 2003 Cardiff University commissioned a geophysical survey (undertaken using a magnetic gradiometer) of the Moorcourt Chesters fields as part of a wider programme of archaeological work around Lyonshall.<sup>7</sup> The aim was to confirm the presence of any remains of an earlier settlement, to define the extent of these remains and to attempt to identify their character. This geophysical technique should detect areas of occupation and, in particular, any ditched enclosure. The technique might also detect stone structures, depending on local conditions, should there be sufficient contrast between the elevated magnetic susceptibility of associated occupation deposits and the lower magnetic susceptibility of the masonry. Therefore, the results presented here (Fig. 2) are a meaningful contribution to the discussion of ancient Lyonshall.<sup>8</sup>

The gradiometer survey did not identify any specific areas of occupation deposits. Several linear anomalies were found, but all appear to be associated with former post-medieval field boundaries rather than enclosures of more ancient origin, apart from a strong anomaly produced by a modern steel water pipe. Although gradiometer survey cannot exclude with certainty the presence of stone buildings, it is unlikely that a settlement site would have

completely evaded detection. In particular, despite the difficult survey conditions within Big Chesters, post-medieval land boundaries were located by the survey and the absence of evidence for earlier ditches is likely to be evidence for their absence. These negative results make it unlikely, although not certain, that substantial Roman buildings exist within the survey area. This suggests that not all fields with suggestive names should be assumed automatically to contain Roman archaeology. However, the results do not preclude the existence of a Roman site at Upper Moorcourt; the surveyed field may have been occupied in a manner not detectable by the survey or it is possible that the name is derived from features in an adjacent area.

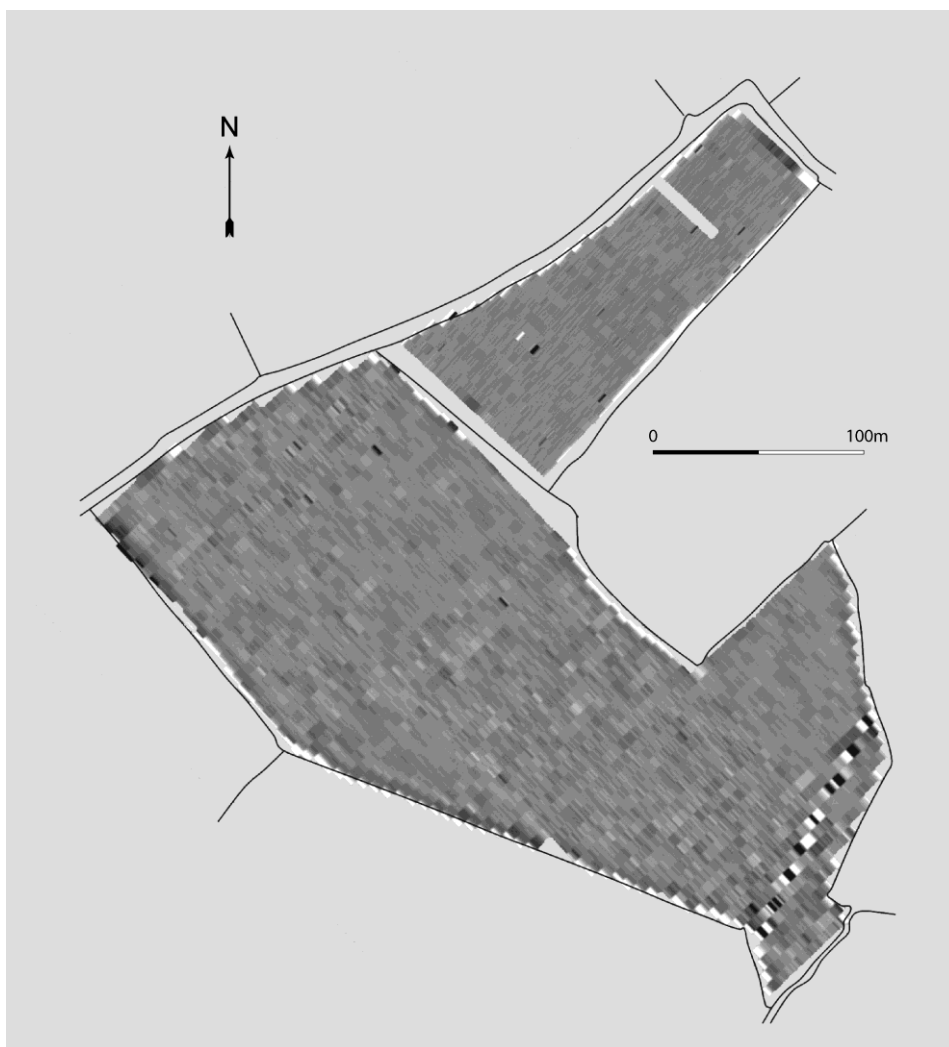


Figure 2. The Chesters: Gradiometer survey results

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The road from Holme Marsh to Weston appears either to avoid an obstacle or to follow an earlier junction, yet there is nothing in the topography of the surrounding land to indicate why the road deviates from the direct route to Weston beyond Moorcourt Farm. It may prove to be the case that the reason for the appearance here of 'chesters' field-names lies within one of the fields on the eastern side of the turn.

Some field-names in Herefordshire have moved over time as fields were sub-divided or passed to new owners, and this may be the explanation for the absence of evidence for settlement in the Moorcourt Chesters fields.<sup>9</sup> Alternatively, it may be that these field-names record the location of stone buildings whose (not necessarily substantial) foundations were subsequently ploughed out or perhaps robbed for reuse elsewhere. The excavations at Cold Furrow and Moorcourt Farm investigated two Romano-British sites where Roman building traditions had not been adopted before the settlements were abandoned in the 3rd century. Stone-built farm buildings did not appear in Herefordshire before the later Roman period and it may be that the unverified settlement at Moorcourt dates to the period after the Cold Furrow and Moorcourt Farm sites were deserted. Therefore, a putative later Roman settlement close to the Chesters fields at Moorcourt would be most significant and more work is needed in order to confirm or refute this possibility. Identifying ancient settlements and their landscapes is a necessary first stage towards understanding how the area covered by modern Herefordshire was affected by the arrival of Roman cultural practices, and it is hoped that the work reported here will not be the last at the Chesters in Lyonshall.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> R.E. Richardson, 'Field-Names with possible Roman Connections', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLVIII (1996), pp.453-69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p.455; M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984).

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 1, p.461.

<sup>4</sup> Upper Moorcourt is now called Moorcot on the latest OS map. Upper Moorcourt has been retained here in order to distinguish this site from the crop mark known as Moorcourt Farm (SMR No. 6007).

<sup>5</sup> Today Chesters, Big Chesters and Little Chesters have been amalgamated into a single large field known as Big Chesters, currently an apple orchard.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 1, pp.456-8. It is noteworthy that none of the known Roman forts in Herefordshire has a 'chester' name and this should be borne in mind when speculating about the nature of any Roman occupation, the presence of which remains unproved.

<sup>7</sup> Geophysical surveys were undertaken of the crop marks at Cold Furrow (SU 344563; SMR No. 31126) and Moorcourt Farm (SU 345556; SMR No. 6007), followed by extensive excavation of these two sites (P. Guest and M. Luke, *Iron Age and Roman Landscapes in the Marches: excavation of two ditched enclosures at Cold Furrow & Moorcourt Farm near Lyonshall, Herefordshire* (forthcoming)). The geophysical survey of the Chesters fields was funded by the Roman Research Trust and was undertaken by GeoArch (T. Young, *Geophysical evaluation of Big & Long Chesters fields, Moorcourt Farm, Herefordshire*. Unpublished GeoArch report, 2003/15 (2003)). We are grateful to Eric Price of Moorcourt Farm for his permission for the survey to take place.

<sup>8</sup> There are currently no detailed geological or soil maps for this part of Herefordshire. The only map available is the British Geological Survey (1990) 1:250,000 Solid Geology, on which the geology of this area is shown as Devonian Raglan mudstones. The mudstones are in fact siltstones with only 2 to 15 per cent clay, grains being quartz and mica, while layers of calcretes, conglomerates and sandstones are also present in the formation. Excavations on the site of the Moorcourt Farm enclosure indicated, however, that the geology in some low-lying parts of the area consists of gravels and degraded sandstone laid down by fluvio-glacial processes (probably during the most recent Devensian glaciation). At the time of the geophysical survey Big Chesters was in use as an orchard (the survey could not achieve complete coverage of the field because of the chicken wire around the bases of the newly-planted apple trees), while Long Chesters had been ploughed prior to arable cultivation.

<sup>9</sup> Richardson 1996, p.453.

# Reports of Sectional Recorders

## Archaeology, 2005

By R. SHOESMITH

In the following report each archaeological organisation is recorded separately and in each section all their main sites are recorded alphabetically; sites that have not produced any archaeological evidence are listed at the end of each section. The reports on some sites may be or have been included in a relatively large variety of national journals, but inclusion in the Woolhope Club's *Transactions* is the only simple and straightforward summary available for residents of Herefordshire and neighbouring counties. Duplication is regretted, but in some cases it is the only solution. In each section I have indexed every report by city, town or parish and site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. Many of the references are to internal unit publications, some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by the County Archaeological Service of the District Council. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed SAM. For convenience, the report of the County Archaeological Service is treated separately.

Once again I would like to offer my most grateful thanks on behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club to the staff of all the organizations who have willingly provided the information which has made this report a valuable source of material in the county during 2005.

### GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

#### HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

##### *The 1993 New Library Building excavation*

The work on this project is continuing at Worcester and Bradford. Bradford have now finished the straightforward recording of the human bone, but are considering the possibility of carrying out some DNA analysis in association with Derek Hurst, the project co-ordinator. Overall, they are about 6 months late, largely due to their decision to collect the maximum detail from the skeletal material. The animal, fish and bird bones have all been examined; there was nothing unexpected from the analysis. Further confirmation of the radiocarbon dating has been received; the material from the burial pits is now firmly positioned in the middle of the 14th century, corresponding with the major outbreak of the plague in England. It is hoped, at no further expense to the Dean and Chapter, to obtain further radio-carbon dates from other parts of the site, which will considerably help with the dating due to the loss of the pottery. It now looks as though the project will continue well into 2008.

##### *The Lady Chapel*

The final work to the Lady Chapel involves the Audley Chapel and a full report on the internal and external work that has been undertaken over the last five or six years should be prepared. It should incorporate sections from the various specialists involved in the project, and could be in the form of a small illustrated book for sale to the Friends of Hereford Cathedral and visitors. It

would describe the work done and the various research works that have taken place in and around the Lady Chapel together with the works in the Audley Chapel.

#### *Statue of Sir Edward Elgar*

The Elgar statue was unveiled on Sunday 25 September 2005. The archaeological work had been long completed and a comprehensive report produced by the contractors, Archenfield Archaeology. The site had been chosen well — there were no articulated burials and there were no features of any great archaeological significance encountered during the excavation. This may well have been due to the lie of the land, which slopes up to the path on the north side of the Close. The levelling down of the Close may not have been as comprehensive in this area as in areas immediately adjacent to the cathedral meaning that any burials in this area are either still quite deep or indeed never occurred.

#### *The Close Project*

A scheme to carry out improvements to the Close, which has had little or no maintenance work for many years, has been proposed. In August 2005 a Report — ‘Development Proposals for the Close—Archaeological Excavations and Watching Briefs 1981-2005’ was published. This was part of the information provided to a delegation from the Cathedrals Fabric Commission who visited on 15 September. In a later letter the Commission commended the Report to the Chapter as a valuable planning tool. The Report also contained recommendations about archaeology which were endorsed by the Commission. These included a further desk-based assessment and non-invasive survey work to inform the planning and design of the scheme, with provision for preliminary excavation and other archaeological work timetabled into the main project. The Commission observed that ‘The Chapter will need to factor adequate time and resources for this [work] into its overall programme and costings.’

#### *Tower Pinnacle Repairs*

The repairs to the pinnacles are going on well. The chief mason is keeping a regular photographic survey together with examples of the metal-work used to tie the various stones together. He has noted various different construction techniques used in the two pinnacles that have so far been taken down.

#### *West Face of the Cathedral*

Scaffolding was recently erected against the west face to allow the stonework to be cleaned of pigeon droppings and for netting to be erected to protect the more vulnerable ledges. This gave an opportunity to examine the face in detail and a brief descriptive report has been produced.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS LTD.

#### *BROCKHAMPTON, Brockhampton Court Nursing Home (SO 598 323)*

During the course of a watching brief, part of the remains of a recently-demolished 19th-century building and garden boundary wall with associated ground levels were located. A brick-built water storage tank, fed from the roof drains, was located by excavation, as were various services relating to the house. No archaeological finds or features pre-dating the 19th century were present within the excavated areas (Rouse, D. Hereford Archaeological Series, henceforth HAS, 676).



*HEREFORD, County Hospital (SO 515 401)*

St. Guthlac's Priory occupied the site of the County Hospital and adjacent 'bus station and car park between 1143 and 1539 A.D. Although the general position of the burial ground has been known for some time there has been little evidence for the priory buildings. Most archaeological work took place shortly after 1970 when burials were recorded during the construction of a walk-through duct. All the burials were thought to be monks of St. Guthlac's being described as males. They were aligned north-west/south-east instead of the more usual west/east.

Recent excavations have revealed the likely extent of the priory burial ground marked by a double ditch on its north-western side (Fig. 1). Although no ditches or walls were observed to the north and south-east, the sudden cessation of burials made it clear that the limit of the cemetery had been reached; it may be that truncation from later features could have removed evidence for any such boundaries. In addition, a large, undated ditch was located east of the edge of the burial ground, coinciding with the line of the parish boundary.

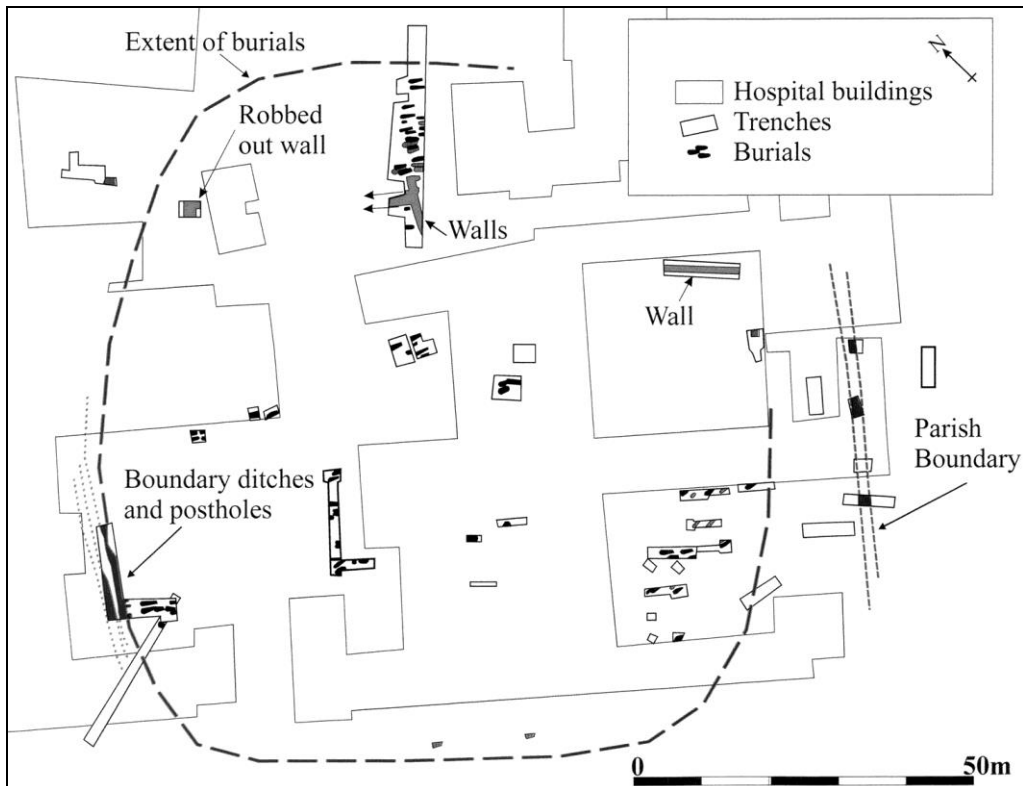


Figure 1. Plan of burials at Hereford County Hospital site

On the northern part of the site a substantial wall and a possible buttress were aligned with the burials and seem likely to have been part of the monastic church. However, the wall cut a number of burials so it must have been part of a later phase of construction. Less substantial

walls located to the south-east may also have been associated with the priory—their full nature and extent are yet to be established.

Two anomalous burial positions were recorded. One was contracted and was laid on one side whilst the other was face down. It was not clear whether the last was the result of accident or whether there were more sinister reasons. A number of different burial customs were recorded on the site, including burial in stone cists and a burial with stone ‘earmuffs’ supporting the head within a wooden coffin. Two individuals were buried on a bed of lime or mortar. Traces of a number of wooden coffins were also present, but the density of burial in the more ‘populous’ parts of the burial ground caused difficulties in identifying whether a particular individual was confined or not. One individual in the north-eastern area was buried with a mortuary chalice, suggesting priestly status.

It is possible that the more varied burial customs predate the latter part of the 13th century, after which a number of factors seem to have led to a greater standardisation of burial practice. However, the total number of individual interments examined was small, meaning that analysis of burial customs was limited.

Examination of the skeletons has revealed that women and children were buried in all parts of the cemetery so far examined, indicating that the burial ground served a wider community than the priory itself. It is likely that the parish in question was that of St. Peter, which maintained strong links with St. Guthlac’s from 1101 (when Hugh de Lacy granted the priory to St. Peter’s Abbey in Gloucester) until the Dissolution. Disputes with the cathedral over burial rights seem to have erupted shortly after de Lacy’s grant, with a deal made by Bishop Reinhelm (d. 1115) maintaining the cathedral’s burial rights, with Gloucester Abbey having complete control over St. Peter’s church. It seems likely that, apart from the one isolated burial, the part of the burial ground reserved for the monks has not been found. In light of the above work it must now be considered that many of the burials from earlier excavations considered to be ‘probably male’ or ‘with female characteristics’ may, in fact, have been those of women (Crooks, K. HAS forthcoming).

#### *HEREFORD, Sunbeam Corner, Friar Street (SO 506 401)*

A watching brief was undertaken during the excavation of foundation trenches at Sunbeam Corner, at the corner of Eign Street and Friars Street. Three pits, containing pottery dated to the 12th and 14th to 15th centuries suggested occupation in the vicinity during the medieval period (Crooks, K., HAS 672).

#### *HEREFORD, 39–40 Bewell Street (SO 508 400)*

An archaeological excavation at 39–40 Bewell Street was undertaken in advance of development of the site. In addition to the archaeological work, a watching brief was carried out during the excavation of a lift pit. An evaluation excavation carried out in 2004 had identified stratified remains dating from the Saxo-Norman period, sealed by deposits and features of later medieval and post-medieval date.

The earliest features, which dated to the Saxo-Norman period, appeared to be structures that fronted onto Bewell Street (Fig. 2.). The lift pit excavation also revealed further early features. The later periods included remains of three phases of metalworking, whilst the type and quantity of animal bones indicates that the site may have been associated with tanning during the post-medieval period (Crooks, K., HAS 683).



Figure 2. Features fronting onto Bewell Street

*HEREFORD, Castle Pool (SO 513 317)*

Archaeological studies were undertaken in advance of the de-silting of Castle Pool. Seven cores of sediment from the pool were assessed. The pollen results demonstrated changes in vegetation within the catchment of the pool during the period represented by the sediments. The assessment considers that the species identified in the earlier, basal deposits post-date the original parkland landscaping (probably from 1752 to 1822). The earliest deposits indicate a relatively open landscape with tree pollen increasing higher up the profile.

Probing for structures revealed a solid feature on the south side of the pool aligned with the excavated medieval roads established in the grounds of Castle House. It is thought that this may be the remains of a bridge abutment. A radar survey confirmed that the structure identified by probing is solid (Boucher, A., HAS 686).

*LEDBURY, Land Adjacent to Eastnor House (SO 712 377)*

During the course of a watching brief, the remains of a cobbled path were encountered in the topsoil. At the interface of natural deposits and overlying subsoil animal bone was found along with a single potsherd that dated from the 10th to 12th centuries (Rouse, D. HAS 663).

No features of archaeological significance were encountered during the following excavations and watching briefs:

*DINEDOR, Car Parks at Dinedor Camp (SO 523 346)* (Rouse, D., HAS 678)

*EARDISLEY, Eardisley Castle (SO 311 490)* (Ward, B., HAS 685)

*HEREFORD, Gas Main Renewal (SO 510 400)* (Crooks, K., HAS 655)

*HEREFORD, Land Adjacent to St. Guthlac Street (SO 515 404)* (Crooks, K., HAS 657)

*HEREFORD, 71 St. Owen's Street, Hereford (SO 514 397) (Crooks, K., HAS 660)*  
*HEREFORD, St. David's Pupil Referral Unit, Blackfriars (SO 512 404) (Ward, B., HAS 687)*  
*HEREFORD, King George's Playing Field (SO 509 395) (Ward, B., HAS 690)*  
*KING'S CAPLE, The Forge (SO 56 28) (Crooks, K., HAS 665)*  
*KINGSLAND, The Little Croase, North Road (SO 444 616) (Porter, S., HAS 662)*  
*LEOMINSTER, Nursery and Family Centre (SO 497 585) (Ward, B., HAS 668).*  
*LONGTOWN, Land adjacent to Longtown Primary School (SO 320 293) (Rouse, D., HAS 688)*  
*LYONSHALL, Land adjoining Littlebrook Cottage (SO 338 554) (Rouse, D., HAS 689)*  
*MONKLAND, Stretford Bridge Farm (SO 440 554) (Ward, B., HAS 684)*  
*MUCH MARCLE, Swan Cottage (HSM 390332) (Crooks, K., HAS 658)*  
*RUCKHALL, Dinas Cottage, Eaton Camp (Mayes, S., HAS 667)*

## ARCHENFIELD ARCHAEOLOGY

*CROFT, Croft Castle Estate, [HSM 32136]*

A landscape survey of surface features in sections of the woodland belonging to the Croft Estate and other nearby woodlands was undertaken. Croft woodland lies on the upland of the northern part of the Croft Castle Estate, the main part covering 245.6 hectares. Oaker and Bircher Coppices occupy the central and north-eastern edges of neighbouring Bircher Common, which is also part of the estate. Yeld's Hill lies nearly half a kilometre north of Bircher Coppice.

Most of the main Croft woodland and Bircher Coppice contain mature coniferous plantation. The westernmost section of Croft woodland and most of Oaker Coppice and Yeld's Hill is planted with young conifers. There are small areas of deciduous broad-leaved trees and coppices in all these woodlands, particularly in the south-eastern portion of the main woodland and on steep north-facing hillsides in Bircher Coppice and Yeld's Hill. Deciduous trees are also to be found along the boundaries and margins of all these woodlands as well as along the sides of some of the older tracks and roads.

The aim of the project was to locate surface features and to record them in more detail than in previous studies. Using data from these studies, it was possible to assess the condition of landscape features and determine if they are under threat or deteriorating due to forestry operations or pressure from visitors. The methodology used reflected the fact that the trees and vegetation on a monument such as a boundary are sometimes an integral part of it and where this was the case the plants were recorded as part of the archaeology or as features in their own right.

The clear and easily accessed information that was gathered will make it easier in the future to coordinate the conservation and presentation of the natural and historic woodland landscape with economic pressure and recreational activities, and will be applicable to other woodlands in the region (Feryok, M, Archenfield Archaeology, [henceforth AA] AA/05/77).

*HEREFORD, The Bishop's Palace (SO 351 240) [HSM 43273]*

Monitoring of groundworks associated with the extension of the car park in the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace was undertaken. The Bishop's Palace is located to the south-west of Hereford Cathedral on the left bank of the River Wye. The works included the reduction of the lawn size and the insertion of new drainage, tarmac and kerbstones. As the area is of historical

importance, it was considered that archaeological deposits could be present even at a shallow depth.

Work was interrupted by the discovery of a subterranean chamber made of stone and brick, and a series of stone culverts. The exact purpose of the chamber is uncertain; it could be an 18th or 19th-century ice house or simply an underground structure associated with drainage (Vaughan, N.; Shoesmith, R., AA/05/85).

*WEOBLEY, The Churchyard (SO 402 185) [SMR 42843]*

The Church of St. Peter and St. Paul lies within what is believed to be the centre of the early medieval settlement and is constructed of local sandstone. Much of the building dates from the 13th century, with some 12th-century elements. The church has been modified and repaired throughout history.

The area investigated for this project was to the north of the church, along sections of the churchyard wall, where the adjoining ground had been orchards until the end of the 19th century before becoming part of the cemetery. The original line of the churchyard is still preserved within it as a gentle lynchet.

The churchyard wall had suffered from the surrounding vegetation in recent years and because of this was in need of consolidation works. The archaeology uncovered during these works was minimal although a number of architectural stones and evidence of post-medieval earth-moving activities was revealed (Meadows, S., AA/05/78).

No features of archaeological significance were encountered during the following excavations and watching briefs:

*HEREFORD, Elgar Statue, Cathedral Close (SO 351 051) [HSM 239841]* (Vaughan, N, AA/05/80)

*SWAINSHILL, The Weir Gardens, New Weir (SO 435 421) [HSM 43272]* (Vaughan, N, AA/05/83)

## BIRMINGHAM ARCHAEOLOGY

*MORETON-ON-LUGG, Moreton Business Park (SO 505 483)*

An archaeological evaluation was carried out as a condition of planning consent for the development of the site, which was formerly part of a military base. In one trial trench at the west part of the site two parallel, shallow, linear ditches were recorded, one of which contained three abraded sherds of Romano-British pottery. In another trench, close to the northern limit of the site, a shallow linear ditch was recorded containing a partial semi-articulated horse skeleton. The size of the horse skeleton was consistent with an animal dating to the Iron Age or Romano-British periods. Close to the southern edge of this linear ditch was an undated feature, possibly a pit. The linear ditches were all on a similar alignment; all the features contained similar fills and were sealed by a similar depth of alluvium. This evidence suggested that all the features could date from the Romano-British period or perhaps earlier. The precise function of the features is unclear, although it seems possible that the ditches could be associated with drainage and/or agricultural activities. Similar features have been recorded in investigations to the north of the site and at the nearby Wellington Quarry (Duncan, M. & Jones, L., Birmingham Archaeology Report 1350).

## BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY

### *BRIERLEY, Brierley Court Farm (SO 487 561)*

In May-June 2004, excavations were undertaken on the site of a former hopyard located about 700m. west of Brierley Court Farm on behalf of S. & A. Produce, in order to expand upon results gathered during an evaluation in March 2004. A substantial concentration of Roman pottery indicative of settlement activity had been found in an adjoining field during a field-walking survey carried out by Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Unit in 1983. The project encompassed two open areas: Area A, 2300 sq. m. at the west of the evaluation site, and Area B, 150 sq. m. at the east of the evaluation site.

Within area A 41 features of archaeological significance were established including a penannular ditch of unspecified prehistoric date, seven boundary ditches, (one of prehistoric and five of Roman date, based on the pottery evidence) and a series of 23 pits and postholes, including 5 of the Iron Age and 3 of Roman date.

Within area B were 17 features of archaeological significance including two substantial Roman grain-drying ovens, a Roman enclosure ditch and a series of post-holes and linear features of uncertain date. A substantial pottery assemblage of Iron Age/Roman date was found on the site, including significant quantities of black-burnished ware and Severn valley ware.

It was concluded that the features and the quality of the pottery assemblage found during this excavation could represent a cluster of small domestic enclosures associated with a settlement or high status farmstead continuously occupied from the late Iron Age until about the 4th century A.D.

### *GOODRICH, (SO 571 199–571 191)*

In April 2005, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken on water pipeline groundworks carried out within the historic village of Goodrich, in close proximity to the medieval castle which is a Scheduled Ancient Monument. The programme of observation revealed no archaeologically significant deposits, features or finds.

### *HEREFORD, Bloor Homes, Bullingham Lane (SO 509 377)*

Border Archaeology undertook a watching brief of groundworks relating to a residential development at Bullingham Lane, Hereford, situated in close proximity to several prehistoric find spots and to the medieval settlement of Lower Bullingham. These site works comprised the excavation of foundation and sewage trenches located within the specific development area and associated drainage works in the lower field located to the north-east of the development. The watching brief, which took place between 8 November 2004 and 8 June 2005, revealed no deposits, finds or features of archaeological significance.

### *HEREFORD, 11 Kyrle Street (SO 514 402)*

In December 2005, Border Archaeology undertook an evaluation on land to the rear of No. 11 Kyrle Street, Hereford. The site is located just to the north-east of the medieval walled city, within the western boundary of the precinct of the Priory of St. Guthlac, a Saxon collegiate foundation which was re-founded in 1143 on a site to the south of Bye Street (Commercial Road).

The evaluation comprised two trenches, measuring 4m. by 1.5m. and 5m. by 1.5m. respectively. The concrete footings relating to an outbuilding to the rear of 11 Kyrle Street

were visible prior to excavation. No evidence relating to earlier occupation of the site was recorded, although a significant depth of topsoil and sub-soil was recorded suggesting that the area had been under cultivation as gardens for a considerable period of time.

The pit discovered in trench 2 contained late 20th century backfill, and probably relates to disposal activity prior to the establishment of the car park. Similar to trench 1, a considerable depth of topsoil and subsoil was recorded suggesting that the prolonged use of the site in a garden or agricultural context was not localised to trench 1.

The lack of evidence relating to the medieval period, including an absence of residual medieval finds, would appear to indicate that building activity relating to St. Guthlac's Priory was minimal in the evaluated area. By the mid-18th century, the site formed part of a series of narrow rectangular garden plots extending to the rear of a row of properties fronting onto the south side of Commercial Road (then known as Bye Street) and both trenches produced considerable depths of cultivation soils. It is unclear exactly when these garden plots were laid out (they may post-date the dissolution of the Priory) but the area appears to have remained under cultivation until the late 19th century.

#### *HEREFORD, Newtown Road (SO 351 241)*

In March 2005, a series of exploratory excavations were undertaken on land to the north-east of Nos. 1–13 Newtown Road, along the line of the disused Hereford and Gloucester Canal, in order to establish the extent and the remaining structural nature of the canal and to assess where possible its state of survival and the condition of the canal banks.

The excavations comprised four trenches and one test pit, inserted along the route of the canal. These revealed that this section of the canal had suffered from later drainage and sewerage trenching. The remains varied in width from 4 to 6 m. with the entirety of the north-east bank removed by the insertion of a substantial trench (probably relating to sewerage). A large concrete culvert had been inserted on the south-west side, but this did not seem to have significantly impacted upon the edge of the canal. No indication of any brick or masonry edging or revetment was revealed neither was there any evidence of a towpath, this having probably been removed either by the infilling of the canal after it finally closed in 1885 or by the construction of the modern sewage trench.

#### *LEDBURY, 58 The Homend, (SO 710 379)*

In June 2005, an archaeological evaluation of land at No. 58 The Homend took place in advance of proposed redevelopment of the site.

The evaluation consisted of a single trench measuring 1.8 m. wide by 12m. long north-east/south-west. It revealed a series of occupation deposits that appeared to be largely of post-medieval date. The earliest securely dated deposit found appeared to be of the 18th century. A layer exposed below it contained mortar flecking, burnt material and charcoal and is likely to have represented a further occupation surface. As no date could be obtained for this layer due to the small scope of the evaluation, it is impossible to say at what depth any potential medieval or earlier archaeological level may lie. The presence of residual medieval pottery in the fills may suggest that there is some medieval activity in the vicinity of the trench.

*PEMBRIDGE, Court House Farm Moated Site (SO 391 580)*

In September-October 2004, a limited-scale excavation was carried out under Scheduled Monument Consent at the Court House Moated Site on behalf of the Pembridge Amenity Trust.

The site comprised a large, irregular, D-shaped mound 40m. wide and 50m. long, surrounded by a moat about 15m. wide and 2.5m. deep. Little is known about the early history of the site; the earliest documentary reference occurring in a royal grant of 1222 where it is described as the 'castrum de Penebrug.' The buildings on the mound were probably enlarged in the late 13th or early 14th century, when it appears to have been a favored seat of the Mortimer family, and the site is described as a 'capital message' in a survey of 1336.

Excavations were carried out in the moat and on the summit of the mound. Evidence was found of early stone buildings on the mound probably dating from the late 11th/early 12th century. These structures were either destroyed or severely damaged by fire on two separate occasions during the medieval period. Following both of these destruction events, the moat was scoured and deepened, the upcast soil being deposited on top of the mound prior to a substantial rebuilding of the structures there.

It is unclear exactly when these phases of destruction and rebuilding occurred. However, the pottery evidence suggests that the first destruction occurred at an early point in the history of the site (probably in the 12th century) while the second event took place at a considerably later date (possibly in the early 15th century). Documentary evidence indicates that the buildings on the mound continued to be repaired until the 16th century. However, occupation had certainly ceased by 1655, when the antiquary Silas Taylor described 'the remains of a small keep or fortified castle' on the site.

*PEMBRIDGE, Weston Court Farm Barns (SO 365 564)*

In 2005, a standing building recording survey was undertaken of an extensive complex of 12 Grade II listed barns at Weston Court Farm, situated approximately 2km. south-west of Pembridge. The earliest building consists of a three-bay cruck barn of late 15th-century date, which is in a particularly good state of preservation. A dendrochronological survey previously carried out on this barn led to the dating of two timbers as having been felled between 1470 and 1501.

The other buildings within the complex appear to range in date from the 17th to the 19th centuries. A free-standing, two-storey building located in the south-east corner of the complex appears to have been a granary which was previously attached to a larger, L-shaped building. This is shown on the 1842 tithe map as a homestead, which was mostly demolished in the 1980s. The south-west range, which was built in the mid to late 19th century, has recently been demolished and garages erected on the site.

The results of the standing building recording revealed a remarkably extensive use of reused timbers and stonework in their construction. Some of these reused building materials could well be of medieval origin.

*HEREFORDSHIRE, Watching Briefs on DCWW (Welsh Water) Pipeline Schemes: Llancrwyn Woods Mains Renewal Scheme*

An archaeological watching brief on water pipe-line ground-works within the area covered by the Llancrwyn Woods mains renewals scheme was undertaken. The sites lie within and immediately around the villages of Ganarew, Llangrove and Llangarron, and in the vicinity of



Llanrothal Court and Pembridge Castle near Welsh Newton, all of which have been defined as locations of archaeological interest. The watching brief, which was undertaken between 6 December 2004 and 14 July 2005 revealed no archaeologically significant deposits, features or finds.

*SOLLERS DILWYN, Weobley-Dilwyn Phase 2 Mains Refurbishment Scheme  
(SO 420 560)*

In April 2005, an archaeological watching brief was undertaken on water pipeline ground-works carried out by Laing O'Rourke on behalf of Welsh Water in the hamlet of Sollers Dilwyn, a settlement of medieval origin and in close proximity to Pitch Farm, where evidence of prehistoric activity has been identified. No deposits, finds or features of archaeological significance were identified during this watching brief.

## MARCHES ARCHAEOLOGY

*AYMESTREY, The Church of St. John the Baptist & St. Alkmund (SO 426 651)*

The watching brief revealed significant archaeological remains associated with the church. For the most part these were the foundations of the standing building and are standard building practice. Two elements, however, were more unusual. The extent of the foundation for the north-west buttress to the tower is excessive and redundant. The other, more curious, feature was the oddly aligned hole in the foundation along the south aisle. As this was not fully emptied its depth remains unclear. However, it is either earlier than the south aisle or, possibly, contemporary with it (Wainwright, J., *Marches Archaeological Series*, henceforth MAS 371) [HSM 41536].

*BRIDSTOW, South-west Tower, north-west Tower & west Curtain Wall, Wilton Castle  
(SO 046 384)*

Marches Archaeology was commissioned by Stainburn Taylor Architects to undertake a programme of building recording and analysis on the south-west tower. The work was to take place during a programme of consolidation works, grant-aided by English Heritage and informed by an earlier assessment, also undertaken by Marches Archaeology, in 2003. The tower is D-shaped, and dates from the late 13th century with later alterations, being partially incorporated into a late 16th-century manor house and the current 18th/19th-century house. The tower contained a suite of high-status rooms, and may have formed part of a gatehouse structure, although further work is needed to clarify fully its original form (Fielding, S., MAS 383).

The north-west tower is octagonal, and dates to the late 13th/early 14th century with minor later repairs. The tower contained high-status accommodation with both rooms supplied with fireplaces and latrines. The west curtain wall is contemporary with the tower, and on the internal elevation, provides evidence for the location of the Hall (Fielding, S., MAS 409).

*DINMORE, The Manor House & Threshing Barn (SO 486 504)*

A watching brief and limited excavation revealed extensive medieval remains including the ground plans for two or possibly three buildings dating from the late 12th or early 13th century within the manor house itself, as well as other extensive early foundations around the 14th century chapel, most of which predated that building. At the house, parts of a later medieval

structure – probably a large hall belonging to a second phase – survived virtually to roof level. This building was subsequently re-timbered *c.*1605. The plans of the medieval structures, which appeared to have featured only very plain decoration, will be of importance to future research into the scant remains of Hospitaller Commanderies elsewhere.

There was no evidence to indicate that the existing large ‘grain’ barn was a classic medieval tithe barn. However, parts of a medieval building were found under the eastern end, but most of the western part of the barn appeared to be new build of 16th or 17th-century date (Tavener, N., MAS 404).

*DOWNTON, St. Giles’ Church (SO 438 743)*

A watching brief on remedial drainage works at St. Giles’s Church revealed no features or deposits of archaeological significance. It seems highly likely that, before the church was built in 1861, the site was utilised for purely agricultural purposes (Wainwright, J., MAS 370) [HSM 41531].

*HEREFORD, 6 Friars Street (SO 505 400)*

An evaluation excavation uncovered features and deposits dating from the medieval period, but it is possible that two features could date from the late Saxon period. Only about 4 sq. m. of the site was excavated so interpretation of features was difficult. However, the density of either medieval or earlier features excavated suggest that a high level of activity was taking place on the site at least during the medieval period. Cultivation or gardening activities from the medieval period onwards may have disturbed or truncated some of the earlier features (Wainwright, J., MAS 394) [HSM 42794].

*PEMBRIDGE, The Market Hall, (SO 390 581)*

A building survey was commissioned on the well-known Market Hall at Pembridge. It is a three-bay, rectangular structure located in the centre of the village and comprises an open ground floor of eight paired oak posts with a hipped roof of stone tiles. Dendrochronological dating has confirmed that the structure dates from the early 16th century—a date previously suggested on stylistic grounds. A further four phases of alteration or restoration have been identified, the two major phases consisting of the replacement of the roof structure, probably in the later 18th century, and a major programme of restoration work that took place in the 1920s (Fielding, S., MAS 361).

*SARNESFIELD, St. Mary’s Church (SO 374 509)*

Remedial drainage works included a programme of archaeological works, but no significant archaeological features or deposits were found. The foundations of the church were exposed in places and these were generally of rough hewn sandstone and cobbles set in the natural clays. Some of the foundations had been repaired in the late 19th or early 20th centuries when restoration works took place (Wainwright, J., MAS 401) [HSM 43038].

*SOLLERS HOPE, St. Michael’s Church (SO 613 331)*

A watching brief on a drainage trench revealed no features or deposits of archaeological significance (Wainwright, J., MAS 372) [HSM 41537].

*WEOBLEY, The Old Mill, Game's Yard (SO 402 575)*

A watching brief on land amounting to slightly less than 1 ha. along the north-west fringe of the outer defences of Weobley castle found no evidence for medieval activity or any sign of occupation. In all likelihood, much of the site formed an essential part of the 'kill-zone' that would have been kept clear of obstructions to give the archers the necessary field of fire to defend the castle effectively.

The entire area is underlain by fluvio-glacial till capped by fairly heavy, silty, clay soil. The available cartographic evidence indicates that the study area was used as small fields or orchards until the 19th century when the existing mill building was created. (Tavener, N, MAS 400) [HSM 37124].

## HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

Staff of the county archaeological service continued and completed a number of projects in 2005. These projects were in receipt of grant-aid from a number of partner organisations, including English Heritage, the National Trust, the Forestry Commission, DEFRA, and the Woodland Trust. The principal projects concerned were the excavations at The Weir, Kenchester, associated with the 'Big Roman Dig' for Channel 4, and the completion of two community projects: the People of Old Whitbourne Project and the Heritage Upton Bishop Project. Other projects, such as the Lugg Valley Landscape Change and Archaeology Project (part of the Herefordshire Rivers LEADER+ project), the Herefordshire Commons Project and a further community project focussing on Garway Common began in late 2005. As the majority of the fieldwork is due to take place in 2006, the results from these projects will be reported upon in a later volume.

*KENCHESTER, Old Weir (SO 442 413), [HSM 42635]*

In July 2005, the Roman road crossing of the river Wye at Kenchester, west of Hereford, was the subject of a field investigation by Herefordshire Archaeology in association with Wildfire TV (for Channel 4 television) and The National Trust. This was one of nine key sites nationwide featured in the week-long Time Team 'Big Roman Dig' broadcasts, and was the only site so featured in the West Midlands.

The Project Design had envisaged four trenches being opened. The first was to provide a section across the 'causeway' in the field immediately adjacent to the river. The aim was to discover information about the construction of both the causeway and the Roman road itself. The second trench would target the river crossing at the river bank. The intention was that it would throw light upon the nature of the crossing – in particular, was there any evidence of a bridge here? The third trench would be sited to examine the 'attached' causeway. This appeared from the earlier fieldwork to provide a raised area close to deeper silt perhaps representing a docking area close to the downstream bend of the river. Meanwhile the fourth trench was designed to examine the area of putative settlement close to the western side of the road.

In the event, the first trench immediately revealed the surface of the Roman road and its apparent narrow causeway. After much effort to choose a point where the causeway appeared to dip downwards towards the river, the second trench was opened to the south of the first. The third trench was opened but did not proceed far, for reasons explained below. It was decided

that before opening the fourth trench, a series of test pits would be opened at a distance of around 30m. westward from the road causeway, but still within the same field.

The Roman road section in the first trench revealed an 'upper' roadway on the eastern side and a 'lower' roadway on the west. The total width of the construction was 12m. At first, it was thought that these contrasting roadways represented successive builds, with a broad, shallow structure superseded by a narrower built-up road. However, when a slot was cut through the upper eastern roadway, it soon became evident that the lower surface ended where the higher one began, though they shared the same very thin foundation structure.

The second trench was expanded twice to take account of the breadth of road surfaces encountered beneath the alluvium. It was also decided to trace the rapidly dipping surfaces towards the former river bank, at least as far as was safe in respect of potential subsequent winter river scour. This revealed the former river bank, including the surprise finding that the river had only changed its course a little at the point of the crossing, before considerable alluviation had buried the former bank to a depth of over 2m. Much time was devoted to cleaning the surviving road surfaces and it eventually became apparent that river action or deliberate removal of stones had erased the latest road surfaces in all but the most northerly part of the trench. Sections excavated at two points across the cobbling revealed earlier road surfaces – successively upstream and westwards of the latest road. Associated with the earliest of these surfaces were two large and square (or oval) post-holes. An area of cobbling was found to be detached from any of the road surfaces close to the former 'low water' to the east of the later road. This formed either a cobbled area in front of a roadside building or a track leading to a riverside structure. This impression was reinforced by the finds from this area that included abraded domestic pottery and items such as a fragment of the bronze binding of a wooden box.

The third trench, across the 'attached' causeway, did not progress beyond the initial machine cut, because the bank was comprised entirely of alluvium. It was immediately evident from the results of the earlier geophysical survey that what we were seeing here was the headland along the northern edge of a series of medieval field furlongs. Closer re-examination of the intersection between the two 'causeways' in the light of these findings revealed that the headland did actually extend up onto the camber of the road 'causeway'.

The three test pits to the west of the road also revealed a simple alluviation sequence. Between 0.5m. and 0.6m. deep in all three trenches there was a discernible horizon featuring charcoal enrichment of the alluvium. In the northernmost of the test pits a small assemblage of Neolithic worked flints, mostly derived from the enriched horizon, was found. There was no trace of any Romano-British activity in any of the test pits.

After the test pits had been completed, a fourth trench was opened some 20m. north of the section (the first trench) across the Roman road. This trench confirmed that there was no Romano-British settlement on the western side of the road. The cut through the western limit of the road itself provided further evidence of how thin the road foundation was (less than 0.1m.). However, whatever the date of the road within the Roman period, it provided a clear horizon below which it was possible to define pre-Roman riverine alluviation. This extended down to and beyond the charcoal-enriched horizon from which the worked flints came. Encapsulated within this half-metre of alluvial deposit was therefore around 3,000 years of Wye valley prehistory (Hoverd, T. and Ray, K., forthcoming).

*LINGEN, Limebrook Priory (SO 374 660) [HSM 43480]*

A detailed earthwork survey and limited geophysical survey was undertaken on this site. The earthwork survey recorded features associated with the priory to the east of the scheduled area, suggesting that the complex was larger than previously thought. The geophysical survey failed to provide any new evidence concerning the layout of the priory buildings (Williams, D.N., forthcoming).

*MADLEY, Canon Bridge, Upper Hall Farm (SO 441 412), [HSM 22856]*

The Roman road crossing of the Wye at Kenchester is described above. The enclosure south of this former river crossing was well known from at least the 1960s and from Chris Musson's aerial photography. The site comprises an elongated oval bluff, formed by the action of the Wye in eroding ground to the south in a former backwater. While the northern edge of the bluff has been eroded by river action, the southern edge features a low earthen bank curving around the bluff just above the level of the backwater. The aerial photographs show this bank to have been fronted by a ditch, together creating an oval enclosure with a straight eastern side, pierced by a former entranceway. The whole of the site is traversed by furlongs from medieval open fields and the site has clearly remained as pasture since that time.

Trenches were cut across both the enclosure and the rectangular stone-founded structure to sample (and date) them. Two small trenches opened across apparent earthwork platforms at the western end of the bluff, but still within the enclosure revealed little, except small stones set edgewise and apparently packing a single post-hole.

The trench across the enclosure ditch was located close to the entrance on the eastern side and facing the Roman road leading southwards from the river towards Madley. The sequence of ditch cuts and the pottery retrieved indicate that settlement began in the Iron Age, and extended into the Roman period. A substantial assemblage of pottery and other finds were retrieved from this trench, which is interesting given that it was only 1m. wide. Among the more revealing finds were two iron keys to considerable doors, and it is hard to avoid surmising that at least one of these derived from the doorway leading into the enclosure itself.

The trench on the summit of the bluff revealed the foundations of a substantial and well-built (but not large) wall. This was associated with abraded Romano-British pottery and had clearly been subject to both erosion and partial robbing. An additional small trench further down the slope indicated that no further *in situ* remains survive on the slope facing the river unless buried at very considerable depth (Hoverd, T. and Ray, K., forthcoming).

*MARDEN, Ashgrove Farm (SO 537 496) [HSM 6544]*

There are various references documenting the recovery of human skeletal remains during the working of a small quarry in the 1930s and '40s. The site had been visited by a number of antiquarians including Kathleen Kenyon, who described seeing rows of burials with crossed hands but no grave goods. In 1999, the quarry face was exposed in three areas which were cleaned in an attempt to record and recover skeletal remains. As no material of archaeological significance was encountered it was thought at the time that this may have been due to recent tipping and erosion in the northern end of the quarry obscuring the true quarry face. However, later that year a reference to a 1951 student report on the cemetery came to light. The author of this report was tracked down and it was discovered that he had kept a selection of human bones from the excavations he had undertaken 48 years previously. These were taken for specialist

identification and a sample was submitted for radiocarbon dating. The sample provided a date from the mid-6th century A.D.

In April 2005 Herefordshire Archaeology, in partnership with post-graduate students from Sheffield University, opened a series of trenches in an attempt to establish the area covered by the cemetery and to recover additional material from *in situ* burials to confirm the mid-6th-century date. Unfortunately no *in situ* burials were encountered and only a small amount of disturbed skeletal material was recovered. The soil profile from the trenches suggested that the area surrounding the quarry had been landscaped with the area containing the burials being dug away and remodelled to form a more level area. This unfortunate action has prevented the use of modern techniques in excavating any remaining burials, and will facilitate future applications to enlarge the quarry (Hoverd, T., forthcoming).

*MOCCAS, Moccas Park (SO 347 427) [HSM 42927]*

In partnership with English Nature, Herefordshire Archaeology produced a report of a detailed survey of the surviving elements of a masonry sluice and culvert within Moccas Park. The purpose of the survey was to provide a better understanding of the structure's extent and condition prior to consolidation and restoration.

Vegetation was cleared from both within and around the built structures and a full photographic record made of all elevations and any other significant features and artefacts relating to the culvert or sluice construction. A plan was produced showing the extent of the structural remains and a record of damage and stone displacement due to tree root action etc. All elevations of the sluice were recorded and a cross-section was produced of the culvert.

The structural remains of the sluice comprise a pair of splayed walls, with a recess at their waist, (the narrowest point between the two walls) to hold a timber sluice gate. Each splayed wall is either side of a man-made drain or leat, which runs north from a naturally boggy area. This was traditionally used as fishponds during the medieval period and later as a pool or series of pools as an element of the picturesque parkland features which survive within the bounds of the present deer park to the west. Although no documentary evidence has been found, it is assumed that the sluice and its associated culvert were constructed during the late 18th century in order to maintain the water level in the pool to its south and to feed further water features over much of the Moccas Estate.

From the record made it is clear that both the sluice elevations and the culvert mouth are in need of conservation and consolidation if further collapse and erosion is to be avoided. Whilst the western elevation is in relatively good condition and appears to be relatively stable, the eastern elevation has been subjected to almost total displacement by massive tree root intrusion (Hoverd, T., HAR 196).

*TREVILLE, Whitfield Estate (SO 424 324) [HSM 42064]*

An archaeological reconnaissance survey was undertaken in partnership with DEFRA, within the woodland on the Whitfield Estate. The survey involved recording primarily earthwork features relating to woodland management, former industrial processes, park landscaping and previous land use, using global positioning by satellite (GPS) equipment for location recording.

The two principal findings of the survey were one possible and one probable length of deer park pale and a series of medieval and post-medieval woodland boundary banks, compartment boundaries and other features associated with woodland management processes.

Evidence for intensive charcoal production was also noted in several areas of woodland. Considerable amounts of quarrying and clay pitting have taken place for both construction purposes and the production of lime. A number of phases of woodland expansion, contraction and re-organisation were recorded (Hoverd, T., HAR 194).

*UPTON BISHOP, Landscape survey (SO 648 276) [HSM 43476]*

A series of farm surveys and rapid walk-over surveys using public rights of way was undertaken in order to record surviving earthwork features within the parish. Features noted included medieval woodland boundary banks, extensive areas of ridge and furrow, headlands and lynchets associated with medieval field systems, areas of small scale quarrying and clay pitting and the earthwork remains of a pair of field kilns. In addition to this, two large areas of woodland were surveyed and earthworks within them were recorded by GPS. Sites recorded included charcoal burning platforms, saw pits and other features relating to woodland management as well as evidence of former field systems and woodland expansion and contraction dating from the medieval period (Hoverd, T., and Ray, K., HAR 200).

*UPTON BISHOP, North of the church (SO 649 273) [HSM 43477]*

A series of six test pits were excavated immediately to the north of the churchyard. These identified an intensive area of iron smelting dating from the early post-medieval period. The metallised surfaces and other structures associated with these industrial process appear to have been constructed from building rubble originating from a substantial, high status, domestic building—possibly a manor house. The large quantity of glazed roof tile suggests a late 13th to 15th century date for the building, and pottery associated with the use of these surfaces can be dated to the 16th and early 17th centuries (Hoverd, T., and Ray, K., HAR 200).

*UPTON BISHOP, South-west and south-east of the church (SO 649 271; 651 272) [HSM 43478]*

Four small trenches were excavated in a field to the south-west of the church in an area suspected of being part of the medieval settlement of Upton Bishop. All produced pottery dating from the medieval period. One trench produced a loom weight which had been re-used in a light wall. Specialist analysis of the ceramic material from these trenches indicates that the loom weight dates from between the mid-7th and mid-10th centuries and was built into the wall during the late 12th or early 13th century. The presence of a loom weight of this date, the first such recorded in the county outside Hereford City, suggests that there was some form of Saxon settlement close to the site of the church and that the Saxon period in Herefordshire was virtually aceramic. The medieval pottery sequence suggests that the settlement had declined rapidly by the latter half of the 15th century.

Two trenches were excavated to the south-east of the church to investigate a subtle earthwork comprising a curving linear bank approximately 4m. wide and 0.25m. high. A trench was excavated across the bank in an attempt to establish its form and function, a second trench was excavated to the north of the bank in order to investigate a levelled area. The bank appears to have been part of a headland or field bank, which has been eroded and spread by post-medieval ploughing. The levelled area appears to be natural in origin and no finds or features were recorded from this trench (Hoverd, T., and Ray, K., HAR 200).

*WHITBOURNE, Rookhill Coppice (SO 724 577) [HSM 43308]*

As part of the landscape survey element of the People of Old Whitbourne Project a rapid walk-over survey of Rookhill Coppice was undertaken. Earthwork remains were recorded using GPS. In addition to woodland management features, a substantial boundary bank was recorded which appears to pre-date the woodland boundary banks and compartment boundaries. It is possible that this relates to the boundary for the land associated with the Bishop's Palace. Much evidence was recorded for previous land use in the form of both ridge and furrow and field lynchets, indicating that all but the eastern-facing scarp slope of Rookhill Coppice was under the plough in the medieval period (Hoverd, T., HAR 197).

*WHITBOURNE, Churchfield (SO 724 571) [HSM 43322]*

During the course of the landscape survey phase of the project a series of small, but well-defined, platforms were noted immediately to the north-east of the present settlement. These comprised a linear series of four, roughly diamond-shaped platforms, constructed one above the other and cut into a gentle east-facing slope. Detailed survey followed by limited excavation of these features revealed that they were the earthwork remains of a series of brick kilns dating from the early 18th and 19th centuries. The remains of bonfire-type clamps were found on the south-eastern corner of each platform. Immediately to the south of the series of kilns a trackway had been constructed using broken brick and some flat roof tile to service the kilns. To the east and south-east of the kilns was a series of clay pits, almost completely filled in today but present on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey Map. Specialist analysis of the ceramic material from this site has concluded that the flat roof tiles were produced in a sanded mould. The bricks, by contrast, were produced by a technique known as slop-moulding, in which the clay is mixed to a slurry and poured into a wooden mould where it dries out. The dimensions of the bricks from this site are comparable to bricks used in elements of several of the higher-status buildings within Old Whitbourne, for example extensions to the Old Rectory.

The series of field kilns utilised an earlier earthwork as a means of maximising their efficiency. It appears that they were cut into the southern edge of a lynchet which formed the south-western edge of the medieval, common arable field system. During the excavation of the kiln site a ditch relating to the field system was investigated. This comprised a steeply-cut, flat-bottomed ditch or drain running parallel to the lynchet approximately 0.6m. wide and 0.75m. deep. This feature had completely silted up and produced a single sherd of late 12th-century cooking pot from close to its base (Hoverd, T., HAR 197).

*WHITBOURNE, The Boat (SO 726 575) [HSM 43485]*

The site of a cottage, historically known as 'The Boat', located approximately 500m. to the north-east of Old Whitbourne and close to the River Teme, was examined both by field survey and excavation. Members of the People of Old Whitbourne Project had expressed an interest in ascertaining the use of this structure and if possible its origins. Documentary evidence suggested that it dated back to at least the early 19th century and had been used as the ferryman's cottage and a public house. It was demolished in the first half of the 20th century. Excavations revealed the partial remains of a cobbled floor or yard surface under which ran a drain that led to a D-shaped stone-lined cistern. Finds from these features support the documentary evidence and suggest that the site was first utilised in the early 19th century—no earlier pottery was recovered from the site.



During the field survey a mill-stone from a cider press was recorded, showing that cider was being produced on the premises. (Hoverd, T., HAR 197).

[Editorial Note: The public house is mentioned in *The Pubs of Bromyard, Leominster and East Herefordshire*, by J. Eisel and R. Shoesmith, 2003.]

*WHITBOURNE, Old Whitbourne Village (SO 724 569) [HSM 3951]*

The final element to the archaeological work consisted of the excavation of a series of test pits in some gardens of Old Whitbourne. It was hoped that this would provide information regarding the extent of the medieval core of the settlement and how the late medieval and post-medieval settlement developed. The earliest pottery is probably no earlier than the later 12th century and is in poor condition indicating that it could have been ploughed/gardened, whereas much of the later medieval material consisted of larger, fresher sherds. It has therefore been suggested that the village of Old Whitbourne was comprehensively re-planned in the 14th century. In addition, the majority of the test pits produced significantly large amounts of early to mid-18th-century pottery when compared with the late 17th-century pottery and later 18th-century assemblages. This would suggest that there was a sudden and fairly short lived burst of activity, including expansion in Whitbourne between c.1700 and 1750 (Hoverd, T., HAR 197).

*YARPOLE, Bircher Common, Bircher Common Archaeological Survey Project (SO 454 661; 466 671) [HSM 6354; 6360]*

The aim of this project is to improve the visibility of the series of earthwork features relating to past settlement on Bircher Common. These features vary from large earthwork enclosures probably dating from the Iron Age or Romano-British period, to smaller farmsteads and buildings that developed as part of a squatter settlement in the post-medieval period. The conservation work is linked to detailed survey work of these features in order to gain a better understanding of their survival and extent.

During the 2005 season two enclosures were cleared of light scrub, bracken and gorse. The westernmost enclosure has its entrance at its south-eastern corner approached by an earthen ramp running diagonally across the southern rampart. Within the enclosure a series of three lynchets or levelled areas are apparent suggesting a degree of internal sub-division. A small woodland boundary bank encloses an area within the enclosure and presumably relates to parkland planting in the 18th or 19th century.

Clearance of vegetation in and around the eastern enclosure revealed the location of the southern entrance and eight circular or sub-circular building stances (Hoverd, T., forthcoming).

# Buildings, 2005

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Group had talks on The Buildings of the Northern Hemisphere.

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.

## GARWAY

CHURCH HOUSE FARM, SO 455 254 R.C.H.M.2 Tithe No.402

This is a comparatively modern house on the site of a preceptory of the Knights Templars which was later a commandery of the Hospitallers. In the barn are what have been described as bee-boles; it is possible that they may have been ovens for the baking of unleavened bread for mass. In the yard is the well known dovecote dated 1326.

## GOODRICH

GEDDES, SO 568 204 R.C.H.M.7 Tithe No. 217

This house is situated in parkland just above the 200 ft. contour looking south-east over the river Wye and approached by an offshoot from a drive off the main Wilton-Whitchurch road which leads to Goodrich Court.

At first sight this looks as though it is a typical late 17th-century building of local sandstone with moulded string courses and a hipped, slate roof with gable stacks. The front and gables are of ashlar and the rear and wing of layered rubble. There are two storeys and attics and cellars.

On closer examination the northern block turns out to be of timber-framed construction plastered over. The R.C.H.M. suggested that this was of mid-16th-century construction, but the surviving cruck would almost certainly indicate an earlier date. It is of fairly poor quality, but seems to be *in situ*. Most full crucks are of 15th-century date; the earliest I can date securely is of the late 13th century, *c.*1280; this is at Stokesay Castle. Apart from that the crucks at Upper Limebrook date from about thirty years later; again this date is based on documentary evidence. Crucks continue into the 16th century, but almost always for outbuildings. Derivatives from them can be found even in the 20th century, but these are rare. This cruck whilst very probably 15th-century could be early 16th-century. The R.C.H.M. suggests the first floor was rebuilt in the later 17th century; perhaps the cruck was brought in then, but I think it is *in situ*.

The south wing seems to have been built just before the Civil War, probably between 1630 and 1640. The two rooms in this wing have fireplaces with hollow chamfers and Wern Hir stops which are typical of the late 16th century/early 17th century. The ceilings have three panels with moulded surrounds and the windows are of three lights with mullions and transoms. The windows are shuttered; all of these are reset, but even so some are original.

The stairs are later, probably 18th-century, as is the north wing.

The west front is of layered, sandstone rubble with a segmental-headed doorway at the north end, again probably an indication of later 17th-century or 18th-century work.

The single mullioned, single transomed windows are typical of the late 17th century/early 18th century probably between 1680 and 1720. This would probably be of the same period as the hipped roof.

The doorway to the south has a drip-mould and a 16th-century door. The north face of the south wing is of ashlar with moulded string courses. The doorway has moulded jambs.

The south side of the south wing is of ashlar construction with a moulded string course. The chimney stacks are diagonally set, usually a sign of late 16th-century/17th-century work. whereas the windows date from some time between 1680 and 1720.

Internally the central block shows its timber-framing with chamfered beams and joists. The west room has a plaster ceiling, cornice and overmantel all c.1630–40 with a similar ceiling in the room above and some exposed timber-framing. The roof above is of the queen-post type. The lintel of the parlour fireplace still shows the ripple effect caused by the skilful use of an adze. The beams are laid flat, normally a sign of earlier work, certainly pre-Civil War, more probably Elizabethan. The murals look quite early, perhaps late 16th-century and are very detailed and well executed.

Thus here is a house which shows signs of building and continuing change and development over a period of over 200 years from the mid-15th century and probably fairly wealthy owners for the whole of that time.

## WOOLHOPE

CROOSE FARM, SO 615 347 R.C.H.M.31 Tithe No. 908

This farm of about 180 acres lies just above the 300 ft. contour facing west on the road from Woolhope to Sollers Hope. The house is a H-plan of regular, square timber-framed construction with V-struts in the gables and with some refacing in brick and stone on the east wing and part of the hall block. The timbers are about eight inches wide, which is heavy even for the later part of the 16th century. Some of these panels have now been sub-divided. The cross-wings have shallow jetties.

The cross-passage was at the eastern end of the hall block and the stack is lateral in the rear north wall of the hall.

The timbers in the hall have a five inch slightly hollow chamfer with Wern Hir stops and carpenters' assembly marks about 3½ inches to 4 inches in length, while those in the parlour cross-wing have a 7-inch chamfer. One beam which is now cased had floral patterns painted on it. The parlour, probably of the third quarter of the 16th century, is approached up two steps.

The hall roof is of four bays with two sunk purlins on each side and a ridge purlin. The end truss has a tie and collar with two queen-posts, the other two have raking struts from the collar-beam to the principals.

Each wing roof has a central truss with trenched purlins and a collar-beam. The entrance is now from the west which has involved certain modifications in the layout on the service side of the house.

There was some 17th-century panelling recorded in 1932 when the condition of the house was stated to be 'poor' and some of this has now been made into a door.

Thus here we have a house which has been much altered over the years, but is still recognisable as a quite well-to-do house of that period.

## LUDLOW, SHROPSHIRE

### COTSWOLD SHOP, 15 KING STREET. SO 512 746

This shop facing north on the south side of King Street is a medieval building which has been much altered. Presumably the shopkeeper lived here above the shop and possibly some of his staff lived in the attics.

The owners are very fortunate to have had the building dated by dendrochronology to 1467 though it would have probably been dated as third quarter, certainly second half of the 15th century, by the carpentry and building methods.

The base of the post which has been very much repaired is tenoned into the cill and has pyramid stops which are normally found in the late medieval period and then after the 1480s disappear and do not get used again for another two centuries or so.

The fireplace now at the head of the stairs is of local limestone and the jambs and lintel have a plain chamfer, comparatively narrow. If it had been earlier it would have probably had a wider chamfer and quite probably moulded.

The roof truss by this chimney has a slightly cambered tie-beam below which the top tier of timber-framing in the wall has four panels with angled-braces in the end panels to the tie-beam from the posts. Above it is a collar-beam with V-struts above to the principals. The actual truss has two through sunk purlins on each side with curved wind-braces between the purlins in the bottom tier. The rafters are laid flat as is normal in a medieval building. There are five of these common rafters in each tier of each bay. There is a blocked four-light mullioned window in the south lateral wall and a modern skylight between the two side purlins about half way along the bay.

On the ground floor part of the corner post has been cut away. The beams are chamfered with diagonal stops—often a sign of Puritan thought. The other main beam on the ground floor has a double chamfer, i.e. a wide chamfer with a narrow groove along it and the joists above it are laid flat in typical medieval fashion.

The upper floor has had part of the floor above cut away revealing a mortice and tenon joint with three/four inch long carpenters' assembly marks, usually a sign of work carried out in the first generation or so of the 17th century.

Thus to sum up there is evidence here of a building of probably the third quarter, certainly the second half of the 15th century which was altered probably a century and a half later. It gives every indication of having been a wealthy merchant's house where no doubt he lived and carried on his profession perhaps with some workmen living on the premises.

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

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

The Archaeological Research Section of the Club visited both Geddes and Croose recently. There is a field visit report about Geddes in *Herefordshire Archaeological News* (HAN) 75, pp.5–13, and an article about Croose Farmhouse in HAN 76, pp.65–79.

# Herefordshire Field-Names, 2005

By BRIAN SMITH

The achievements of the Club's Field-Name Survey 1986-93, based upon the evidence of parish tithe maps and apportionments 1838-46, were recorded by Ruth Richardson in these *Transactions*, vol. XLVIII, pt.III (1996). Since the completion of that project, which won a British Archaeological Award in 1994, individual contributors have continued to submit details of field-names recorded in earlier sources to Graham Sprackling for publication in the *Transactions*. The last such contribution was published in the volume for 1999 and Graham Sprackling has since retired as Recorder. However, in view of the current research on Herefordshire place-names in progress by the English Place-Name Society the Committee decided to keep this section open for contributions.

The essential information is the name of the parish, the field-names, their location (preferably by cross-reference to the tithe map plot numbers but alternatively by Ordnance Survey grid reference) and the name and whereabouts of the source with its date. Pre-1840 maps are, of course, the obvious source. Surveys, terriers and rentals also frequently list field-names, though without their location; deeds and manorial court rolls provide rather more sporadic evidence. Examples of the use of all such sources will be found in the *Transactions* for 1995 and 1999. For further information and guidance, please contact either the Editor or Brian Smith (the Recorder).

## HEREFORDSHIRE FIELD-NAME SURVEY: PART 2: FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish name: ST. MARGARET'S: Contributed by Ruth E. Richardson.

These field-names are from the same source as those given for BACTON in the *Transactions*, vol. XLV, part III (1987), pp. 753-4. Three fields named *Cae Pwll*, *Cae Hendy* (which has the farmhouse on its west) and *Ralvon* lie north to south on the east side of the road in Bacton, with the road being the parish boundary. All the other fields lie east of the road and are in St. Margaret's parish.

The source is a map entitled 'A Survey of Tremorithick Estate in the parish of St. Margarets and Bacton in the County of Hereford belonging to Williams' Hospital in the City of Hereford by E. Moore, 1737.' The St. Margaret's 1844/1846 tithe map calls the farm Timorithig (Tremoritheg on the Bacton 1839/1842 tithe map). The area around Tremorithick was the core land of the family of Blanche Parry, the confidante of Queen Elizabeth I. The 1737 map is in the private ownership of the owner of the farm, Mrs. K. Golesworthy (formerly Smith) to whom thanks are due.

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
706	Hill vach	1737	As above
727	Hill vawr		
728 and 729	Cae Tranter		
730, 731, 732, and northern half of 733	Wern vawr		

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
southern half of 733, and 742, 743, 744, 745	Wern vach	1737	As above
734, 739, and west 735	Cae Quarrel		
735	Pein ar Cover		
736	The Meadow		
737	Cae Derwen		
738 and 740	Cae Derwen Goch		
741 and south-west 746	Wern vach		
746 no name but on list	Dole Bach		
747	Cae Bont		

## Note:

Some field boundaries have changed. The sixteen St. Margaret's fields of 1737 have become twenty-two fields by the 1844/46 tithe map, five being tiny fields on the bank of the Dulas Brook. The field-names *Cae Bont*, *Hill vawr* and *Wern vawr* have stayed the same while *The Meadow* has become *Barn Meadow* (perhaps indicating a construction date). *Cae Derwen Goch* has become *Cae Derwin*, *Dole Bach* has become *Dolly Meadow* (*bach* being directly translated) and *Cae Tranter* has become *Cae Tyanty*. *Cae Quarrel* was preserved in *Quarry field*. Only about half the fields acquired completely new names, and several of these were subdivisions of older fields. Interestingly one of the new tithe map names was *The Orles* (from alders) while another was *Old Hopyard*, suggesting the introduction of hops here after 1737.

In Bacton the three 1737 fields have become eleven on the Bacton tithe map, though three of them preserve *Cae Hendy* and the field with the pond which had no name was probably still called *Cae Pwll*. *Ralvon* had become *The Loons*.

It can be concluded that although changes did occur in just over a hundred years, partly due to the decline in Welsh-speaking in this area, there was nevertheless a remarkable continuity.

Parish name: LEDBURY: Contributed by Sylvia Pinches.

The following variation is recorded in a series of farm accounts of The Noad 1816-1819 (Herefordshire Record Office, D6/1/1, K72).

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
1555	Upper Birlea (Upper Bisley in tithe app.)	1816-9	As above
1557	Lower Birlea (Lower Bisley in tithe app.)		

## Natural History Section, 2005

By BERYL HARDING

*18 April.* A visit was made to *St. Peter's Church, Bromyard*, to record the plant diversity in the churchyard.

The church is fairly exposed as it stands on a slight rise. Unfortunately, the grass had been fly-mown the day before, making plant identification difficult, apart from the patches where snowdrops had been. The turf area was not herb-rich but moderate to poor overall with annual meadow grass being the predominant species. The boundaries consisted of drystone walling and grass; to the south side some of the wall is mortared. The gravestones are predominantly of sandstone and some of marble—most have been moved to the perimeter with only the large pedestal tombs still *in situ*. Lichen growth on all is poor. Twenty-nine species of herbaceous plants were recorded. There were nine English and six Irish yew trees with four lime trees all of which had been heavily pollarded.

It was a chilly rainy day (7°C) so there was little evidence of other life apart from a few birds singing. As it was so unpromising, the proposed visits to other nearby churchyards were abandoned for the time being.

*26 May.* We followed the *Queenswood and Bodenham Geology Trail*. We were led by Moira Jenkins who had designed the route and its features. A guide is published by the Hereford & Worcester Earth Heritage Trust. The trail commenced behind the Visitors' Centre at Queenswood where blocks of sandstone showed ripple marks, formed beneath the shallow waters of river channels in the Devonian period some 400 million years ago. Further along at the Viewpoint with its toposcope, the Malverns, the Woolhope Dome and the Skirrid with the long line of the Black Mountains to the right can be located. More dramatic was the nearer view across the wide flood plain of the Lugg. The river flows over the less resistant rock of the Raglan Mudstone Formation and prior to the last ice incursions the Lugg received the rivers Teme and Onny before they became blocked by glaciers and diverted east to join the Severn. This powerful river system cut the wide plain and incised the large meander looping around Dinmore and Bodenham. We also had a good overall view of some of the river terraces formed by past river flows, with the most obvious and highest at Sutton Walls

Near the Viewpoint an old quarry is still accessible, and several large sandstone blocks litter the floor containing glittering particles of mica. It is this mica with its easy cleavage that in turn allowed the sandstone also to be easily cleavable, and so quarried for roof-tiles. Hence the name of 'Tile Quarry' in the past.

We then made a fairly steep descent to the quarry where the Bishop's Frome limestone occurs—often incorrectly referred to as Psammosteus Limestone in the past. Unlike most limestones, formed by organisms in shallow marine deposits, the Bishop's Frome limestone had a non-marine origin. During the Old Red Sandstone times of the Devonian period the region was arid, and crossed by occasional rivers. As it was hot and dry, lime-rich ground waters were drawn up through the rocks to the surface and evaporated leaving calcium carbonate deposits in layers, or in nodules called 'calcretes.' Around Dinmore Hill the Bishop's Frome Limestone forms an almost continuous band, and has been quarried in the past for building or crushed for liming the fields. These limestones were also given the name of

'cornstones' due to their soil improving qualities. Below the layer of limestone are the more resistant rocks of the Raglan Mudstone Formation, so a series of springs emerge along the meeting edge. Most of these springs show tufa deposits.

At the quarry little limestone is exposed today, but lime-loving plants are found such as hart's tongue fern and wild clematis. Above the limestone, sandstones and mudstones of the St. Maughan's Formation occur and in the rocks the differing rhythms of deposition, or cyclothems were visible. After a storm, in the then-arid landscape, flash floods would sweep coarse material from the surrounding hills and mountains on to the existing surfaces, giving conglomerate deposits on the surface of the mudstone and calcretes. At the rock face we could see the undercuts where the softer layers had been worn away leaving bands of conglomerate interspersed with progressively finer layers of sandy material brought by the normal river flow. These finer layers also show cross-bedding when the flow was a little faster.

Returning to the Visitors' Centre we were able to appreciate clusters of flowers such as sanicle, early purple orchids and a very large stand of butterfly orchids in full flower. There were also some of the more unusual planted trees, especially the handkerchief tree (*Davidia*) abundantly in bloom with its two large white bracts cupping the tiny petal-less flowers.

After lunch, on the drive to Bodenham, we passed the roadside tufa stream which emerges from higher up the hill at the spring line. This deposition is accelerated by the growth of lime-loving mosses attached to the banks or to stones in the stream which trap debris and invertebrate remains, all of which eventually become petrified. The upper part of the mosses must therefore have a growth rate greater than the petrification if they are to survive. Much of the tufa deposited by streams around Dinmore was used to lime the fields and also as a local building stone as it is soft and easily worked when fresh, but hardens later to a light-weight porous stone useful in roof vaulting.

The gravels deposited in the Bodenham area are some 3.5–6.0 m. thick and were extracted in the gravel pits during the 1980s. The resultant pools are now part of a nature reserve. These gravels were carried by the Lugg in the rapid waters at the end of the Ice Age and subsequently covered by layers of silt deposited by the slower-flowing river. From the gravel pits we followed part of the Lugg to note the meanders and the undercutting of the banks on the outer or concave banks where the flow is faster and deeper, and with deposits of gravel or silt on the inner or convex bank where the flow is slower. Continuing across fields we were able to note the remains of some river terraces. Such terraces show a former flood plain level of a river, which subsequently meandered and cut into that floor making a new channel and leaving terraces each side. Terrace no. 3 at Kingsfield is visible from here and shows the flood plain level many thousands of years ago. After this the river became swollen with melt waters during the Ice Age, and as falling sea levels relative to the land added to the speed of the flow, cut down to form Terrace no. 2 visible at Moreton-on-Lugg. The formation of these has taken many thousands of years and only intermittent parts can be seen today. Terrace no. 1 occurs at Sutton Walls and was visible from the Viewpoint at Dinmore.

A return was made to Bodenham Church where blocks of tufa have been used in the chancel—a building stone often used by the Normans. Various houses in the village have been built of local sandstone blocks and roof tiles, some of which are very weathered.

*1 June.* In 2003 a *Green Lane Survey* was made in the parish of Sutton St. Nicholas, from grid references SO 537 446 to SO 538 435, taking the old lane leading westwards that should ultimately bring one out by the Lugg Bridge on the Worcester road. Its total length is over six



km. but we were only able to survey two km. as the remainder was overgrown and quite impassable. For the 2005 survey we took the easterly lane which makes a rectangle with the previous one and is flanked on the west side for a short time by part of the Sutton Rhea. This area of fairly still water was green with duckweed (*Lemna minor*) but also contained water mint, fool's watercress, bulrushes and the tiny water fern *Azolla*.

We surveyed both sides of the lane for every 100m. and then walked non-surveying the next stretch of 100m. This pattern was repeated for 1,000m. then the last stretch of c.300m. was only walked to see if any unrecorded species occurred—there were none. In total, forty-eight species of herbaceous plants, two of ferns (the *Azolla* and the male fern), eleven species of grasses and fourteen species of trees or shrubs were recorded.

The predominant flora consisted of curled dock, cow parsley, burdock, cleavers or goose grass, silver weed, ground ivy, plantain and dock, so it could not be termed herb-rich but the hedges were a feature. These were continuous and tree-high on both sides having not been trimmed or laid for many years. They consisted predominantly of hawthorn with some very large ash, some of which had been pollarded in the past. The left north side had an abundance of bullace or wild *prunus*. One enormous mature (or even veteran) tree, a crack willow, had tears in the bark which had allowed several hawthorn seedlings to take root and grow to some height and thickness. These would not have been parasitising the tree but were obtaining their water through run-off along the bark.

The lane itself was of level gradient and open at each end, consisting of impacted stone with no flanking banks or ditches (apart from the section of the Rhea). It narrowed from 5m. to a very narrow footpath after the bridge. The lane now ranks as a public footpath and bridleway. Its past status of an Unclassified Road (UCR) or Byways Open to all Traffic (BOAT) has been lost with the damaged bridge which had been built across the old canal route. This is now unsafe so a narrow path has been made along the edge of a field. Both sides of the lane were flanked by arable land and consequently used for farm access. The lane finally ended in the main farm track.

The song of chiffchaffs accompanied us most of the way combined with that of wren and robin. Few invertebrates were seen except frog-hopper larva, speckled wood butterflies and two species of bumble bee.

*13 July.* A summer churchyard survey was carried out at three churchyards at a time when both the grasses and flowers are in bloom, so different from those of spring surveys.

*St. Margaret's Church* in the parish of the same name is situated amid rolling pastoral countryside in a remote hamlet to the west of the county and next door to a farm. Re-roofing with stone tiles was being carried out. Famous for its beautiful and well-preserved rood screen of c.1520 it is deemed by Pevsner to be 'one of the wonders of Herefordshire.'

The southern and eastern boundaries consist of mixed hedge while that to the north is a mixture of drystone wall and mixed hedge with three English yews nearby. The western boundary, flanking a farmhouse garden and yard, also consists of a drystone wall and mixed hedge. Part of the wall had a good growth of rusty-backed ferns which had unfortunately dried out completely due to the hot dry weather; however, their root systems will survive and re-growth will occur with sufficient moisture. The gravestones are still *in situ* and mostly of sandstone, so also is the remaining shaft of a preaching cross, all with a moderately abundant lichen cover. The main paths and those amid the gravestones are of mown grass but the

overwhelming sight was of the golden hue of the uncut sweet vernal grass interspersed with patches of bright blue betony. All the areas of unmown grass looked like a wildflower meadow and were species-rich. Altogether eight species of grasses were identified, forty-one species of wild flowers, including the seldom seen dyer's greenweed, two of fern and thirteen species of trees, including the hedgerow bushes, with three English yews, and a large one near the east end of the church being extensively lopped at the time.

Being a hot, sunny day numerous meadow browns were about, also gatekeepers, skippers and peacock butterflies and bumble bees. In addition a leaf-cutter bee was seen busy cutting pieces of leaf to carry back for its nest building. The nests of yellow ants were fairly abundant. The adjacent farm and its large pond provided sufficient aerial insect life to feed the swifts, swallows and house martins that were skimming around. House sparrows, a yellowhammer and goldfinches were also heard. Altogether the beauty of the churchyard at this time of the year matched that of the church.

*Newton Church* is dedicated to St. John the Baptist and is situated in the same type of countryside nearby but is a small 19th-century building.

These gravestones are also still *in situ* and mostly of sandstone with some of black marble which have no lichen cover. The pathways are of overgrown tarmac with fly-mown turf and consequently not herb-rich. Nevertheless, thirty-eight species of wild flowers were counted—many of which were in the bases of the hedgerow and of the less exciting types such as nettles, docks and plantain. Six species of grass were found and two of fern, one being mostly bracken. The boundaries are of mixed hedges with the northern one closely trimmed. A feature of the small churchyard is the number of large English yews (six altogether) which had been cut back and three totally pollarded.

*Bacton Church* is dedicated to St. Faith and is also in sheltered pastoral upland within a hamlet. Its boundaries are irregular being neither circular nor rectangular. Those to the east and north are of drystone walling; to the south is a cemented wall by a house and to the west a mixed hedge, almost a thicket. Again the gravestones are *in situ* composed of various stone types with poor lichen cover overall. The wide, well-kept paths are of tarmac probably as the church is frequently visited because of the Blanche Parry tomb.

The turf is mostly strimmed with the cuttings left, so cannot be called herb-rich. It consists of four species of grass, forty-seven of wild flower, one of fern (the hart's tongue) and six species of tree including a large copper beech, ornamental maple and a sycamore. There are two English yews - one being a feature with its huge girth which measured 7.6m. thus putting it into the class of veteran trees.

As elsewhere that day, meadow brown butterflies were about and goldfinch, greenfinch, house sparrow, wren were heard and a young robin. A pied flycatcher was seen. Our attention was drawn to a nest over the doorway of the adjacent house in which a spotted flycatcher had young. Despite workmen going in and out below, the parents remained unconcerned and had carried on feeding their family.

Of the 200+ churchyards in the county some ninety-one have been surveyed so far—there is obviously still a long way to go before completion!

There was no field trip during August, and in September there was going to be a fungus foray at Queenswood Country Park. This was cancelled and we merged with the Herefordshire Festival of Fungi during October, when we mounted Woolhope Club displays at the Left Bank and Bodenham village hall where there were also fungi cooking demonstrations. In addition there was an exhibition at the Museum and fungus walks in various parts of the county. The event was successful and very much enjoyed by everyone.

During the winter there are no field meetings, but several members have been very involved in two projects during this summer until the end of the year. The first was the 'Veteran Tree Survey' which was carried out from June-December 2005 (and is still ongoing) within the Herefordshire part of the Wye Valley A.O.N.B. The survey parties included other volunteers organised by the Hereford Nature Trust, as this is a large area of 154 sq. km..

Veteran trees are obviously of venerable age, still living, gnarled and knotted with crevices and dead wood providing food, shelter and breeding niches for invertebrates and birds. To qualify as 'veteran' such trees must measure at least 3.7m. in girth at chest height.

The survey now has over 700 such trees in its database plus a further 200 that will qualify in a few years. The most notable veteran recorded is a wych elm at Walford measuring 7m. in girth - a national elm record and recognised by the Natural History Museum. This was only exceeded in size by an eight-metre oak at Sollers Hope.

The second project started when the Earth Heritage Trust invited members of the Section to record the plants and animals in Whitman's Quarry in Storridge, near Malvern, during 2005. This survey included the quarry, its ponds and the surrounding woodland..

Quarrying ceased in 1988 and in 1999 the site was designated a R.I.G.S (Regionally Important Geological and Geomorphological Site) because of its educational value, its interesting Silurian rock formations and the abundant fossils from the subtropical reef, formed 420 million years ago when the area was south of the equator. It will now become an educational and research resource for visiting groups.

The surrounding woodland is an 'ancient' woodland, as is evident by the presence of many yews, spindle and service trees—all indicators of such. It was coppiced for many years in the past. There is archaeological evidence of hollow ways, house-building platforms, areas of ridge and furrow, field lynchets and charcoal burning platforms in this and other woodlands along the same ridge.

This survey will continue during 2006 and both bird nest boxes and dormouse boxes will be erected during the coming spring.

# Ornithology, 2005

By BERYL HARDING

Daytime temperatures in January were the mildest since 1990, although the nights could be cold. Only 2.5 mm. rain fell in the south of the county giving the driest winter since 1883.

With the latter part of November 2004 being the coldest for ten years, most berries, hips and haws had been cleared by the birds before Christmas. Fortunately there had been widespread high yields of many woodland and hedgerow fruits, acorns, cob nuts and beech mast (the best crop since 2000) as well as prolific conifer seed yields. Europe was even colder causing an irruption of Bohemian Waxwings to reach many parts of Britain. The invasion must be one of the largest since records began, with huge numbers recorded in Scotland during the early winter—a flock in Moray is thought to have contained 1,500 birds. Usually most remain in Scotland and northern Britain with a few reaching Hereford. Dr. Bull recorded such an irruption in 1856, but 2004/5 has been an absolute record year. Over ninety firm reports of sightings had reached the Hereford Ornithological Club (H.O.C.) with flocks of up to 170 birds. On 12 January three flocks were counted on the same day - 110 in Hereford, 26 in Leominster and 130 in Ross, totalling 266 birds with some bearing coloured leg rings.

Flocks of Fieldfare were seen during February with a maximum of 1,600 in the Ivington area in mid-January. A Little Egret was seen on the Wye during January and February, and a group of 90 Mute Swans remained on the Wye until April. Also in mid-January flocks of 50–70 Yellowhammers were sighted at Wellington Gravel Pits.

Early February had a shift to warmer weather with winds from the south and vegetation began developing two to three weeks early. This led to some nineteen bird species reported countrywide to the British Trust for Ornithology (B.T.O.) as having active nesting, which was drastically curtailed with the later north-easterly airflow from Siberia. Despite this cold snap the winter of 2004/2005 continued with an increase of westerly winds so that January and February were 1.7°C warmer than fifty years ago, and thus contributing to many unseasonal nesting attempts.

There is a large Starling winter roost at Portway with as many as 40,000 birds using the roost and up to 100,000 in mid-winter, swelled by extra numbers of winter visitors from Europe. Birds from 65 sq. km. around come to join this roost and their aerial manoeuvres are breathe-taking as they flow and swirl in the sky with clusters falling to the trees and shrubs only to rise again. Two H.O.C. bird-watchers watched in February and noted the different behaviour patterns of the multitude to two different avian predators. When nearly settled, panic ensued and they ‘crashed upwards’ to gain height—a Sparrowhawk then emerged from behind a hedge, its ambush thwarted and was seen off by a large group. Fifteen minutes later panic set in again and this time the birds came ‘crashing into cover’ amid trees, shrubs, anything. This time it was a Peregrine Falcon. The safety in numbers of small family groups all together is obvious but the flock knew (perhaps from the experience of the older birds) to get above the hawk so ruining the element of surprise but also in the case of the Peregrine, an open country bird, to get to cover at once.

In February DEFRA announced that Starlings and House Sparrows would be taken off the general licences previously allowing numbers of these to be killed if causing damage to crops. Now special licences will only be issued where there is evidence of this damage. This is

helpful as both species have declined drastically and are on the Red List of birds of conservation concern. Over a thirty-year period in the U.K. the ratio of six out of ten Sparrows have been lost with that loss greater in urban areas and Starlings have declined by 50% between 1964 and 2000 in both urban areas and the wider countryside.

March temperatures were much as expected but increased mid-month with southerly winds. On 30 March Hereford was the wettest place in Europe with 3.5 mm. of rain overnight. Chiffchaffs were heard calling by the Hereford Wye on 1 March—were they early migrants or some of those over-wintering here? Though quite a few Chiffchaffs do remain to over-winter the spring arrival can be very marked: generally, they are slow to arrive in early March but then there is a sudden burst of activity by the middle of the month.

April continued mostly cool, dry and breezy with a few warm days. The 2005 spring did come early but many migrating swallows died from starvation as a result of the cold weather in Spain during April and May. Those that survived found a lack of insect food on arrival here with it being unseasonably cold and dry and with only 10 mm. of rain. Temperatures continued to see-saw sharply in a cool changeable May, with June warm and sunny with one week of really hot weather and little rainfall. Most of the rain fell in one stormy downpour. The drought continued during July.

The drought continued in July apart from a timely rescue at the end of the month of 75 mm. rain. A freak day on the 27th turned out to be the coldest July day for twenty-five years! By mid-July a pair of Bee-eaters had arrived and made a nest burrow in the banks of the Wye at Hampton Bishop. They are abundant summer visitors throughout the Mediterranean regions where thousands were killed in the past for the table. They were, and still are, hated by bee-keepers owing to their ravages on beehives. The guarded nest site of 'our pair' was visited by hundreds of people who, from a distance, were delighted by their colourful plumage: a yellow throat, blue 'undercarriage', red and yellow back, long projecting central tail feathers and a long slightly decurved bill. Sadly, the brood were destroyed before they could fly—it is believed by a fox.

The Garden Bird Watch records of the B.T.O., which has run for many years, have shown definite seasonal patterns with different species e.g. there is a spring peak of Goldfinches visiting gardens and an autumn low for Blackbirds. This relates to food availability, with little seed left in the countryside by spring and an abundance of fruits and seeds for the Blackbirds to forage for in the countryside.

The arrival of spring can prompt people to cease putting out food for garden birds but we now know that they can benefit from supplementary food all year round. The B.T.O. Garden Bird Watch records show that many finches return to gardens to top up their reserves immediately prior to breeding when there is a shortage of seeds. People often stop in spring believing that the nestlings may choke on peanuts. However, if the peanuts are in wire containers only very small pieces are taken and anyway most parents avail themselves of these foods so gaining more time to search out suitable insect food for the nestlings. Again in summer, feeding should continue so helping both harassed parents and the young to now learn where to forage for all food types. All-year-round feeding encourages more birds to visit the garden which can also add to our enjoyment of them. Great care is needed to keep the containers and water bowls clean to reduce the transmission of the diseases to which they can be prone.

The bumper crops of berries, nuts and beech mast last autumn led to an abundance of small mammals. This in turn provided quantities of food for Barn Owls prompting egg-laying in early April, over two weeks earlier than usual. Most managed to raise all their owlets and for some even to embark upon a second brood. It has been estimated that a pair of Barn Owls needs to find about 4,000 small rodents (each weighing around 20 gm.) in order to successfully raise a brood of young. In addition, the recent mild winters benefit Barn Owls so this year has been the fifth consecutive successful breeding season.

The Nest Box results from the Herefordshire Nature Trust are as follows:

**RESULTS FOR 2005 & the last six years.** (No recording in 2001 due to F.& M. disease)

	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998
Sites recorded	27	29	23	16	—	24	28	28
Boxes available	825	766	824	567	—	842	833	954
Boxes used	510	467	431	282	—	423	475	591
Percentage used	61.8	60.9	52.3	49.7	—	50.2	57.0	61.9

**Success rate in fledging:**

	2005	2004	2003
Pied Flycatcher	62.3% on 14 sites	71.4% on 14 sites	53.1% on 14 sites
Blue Tit	57.8% on 27 sites	78.4% on 24 sites	62.5% on 23 sites
Great Tit	66% on 27 sites	68.7% on 21 sites	64.6% on 22 sites
Marsh Tit	92.8% on 2 sites	100% on 1 site	85.4% on 6 sites
Coal Tit	92.8% on 3 sites	100% on 1 site	28.2% on 1 site
Wren	84.2% on 4 sites	78% on 3 sites	22.32% on 2 sites
Nuthatch	80.8% on 6 sites	78.7% on 6 sites	64% on 4 sites
Redstart	100% on 2 sites	None	Unknown on 1 site

**Pied Flycatcher Only Results**

<b>2000</b>	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
<b>2002</b>	13 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
<b>2003</b>	14 sites	209 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
<b>2004</b>	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
<b>2005</b>	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success

Reports varied from the nest-box recorders with some considering it an excellent season generally for the tits and with little predation; however, some recorded the death of well-developed hatchlings due to chilling or lack of food. There seems to be a continuing scarcity of warblers. Some Redstarts used boxes again and also Nuthatches though many more were reported nesting elsewhere in the woods. It was a poor year for Pied Flycatchers at some sites, or just holding on in others with only three out of five fledging successfully. Certainly there were markedly fewer nests than two years ago maybe due to conditions at their winter sites in Africa. However, one re-trapped again this year bore a ring from 1999 making it at least seven years old as it would have been a year old when ringed.

August and September continued dry with less than 25 mm. of rain for each month and the trees were beginning to shed their leaves earlier than usual. Mild and wetter conditions

prevailed after mid-October and many Fieldfares and Redwing had returned with flocks of up to 500 Fieldfares and 400 Redwing feeding on berries and in orchards. The more unusual sightings reported by H.O.C. were an Egyptian Goose on Bodenham Lake during September, a Grey Phalarope in October at Wellington Gravel Pits and a Rose-ringed Parakeet at Aylton—also in October, presumably an escapee. A great Northern Diver remained at Brockall Gravel Pits during November and December. Winter continued with a cold November and December but no really severe weather and no snow in the Hereford area.

Gravel extraction is expected to continue at Wellington Gravel Pits for a further twenty-five years leading to changes in some lake sizes. In future, Bodenham Lake could possibly become a nature reserve only. The recently formed lakes at Brockhall Gravel Pits, Stretton Sugwas, are still causing concern as the water-table continues to fall despite the forethought that went into their design. The islands to be used for nesting birds are no longer islands once winter rainfall comes to an end.

The H.O.C. Dipper Team has now surveyed more than 120 bridges in Herefordshire for Dipper nests and nest sites as part of a continuing study within the Dipper Project. One hundred Dipper nest-boxes have been made (paid for by the Environment Agency) and erected where suitable—some have been covered with artificial stone for camouflage. Some also have had tunnels incorporated to provide safe nesting sites on bridges over prime fast-running Dipper streams where no suitable cavities or ledges exist at present.

## Weather Statistics, 2005

<i>Month</i>	<i>Max. temp. shade °C</i>	<i>Min. temp. shade °C</i>	<i>Nights frost air/ground</i>	<i>Rainfall mm.</i>	<i>Max. rainfall in one day mm.</i>	<i>Days with rainfall</i>
January	11.0	-2.0	1	18.1	4.6 (7th)	13
February	11.0	-2.0	7	31.8	13.2 (5th)	13
March	17.0	-1.0	4/4	67.0	26.0 (27th)	11
April	21.0	0.5		45.4	10.0 (25th)	18
May	27.5	2.0		28.2	15.5 (21st)	10
June	32.0	7.0		55.3	14.0 (23rd)	11
July	31.0	11.0		71.0	40.0 (24th)	12
August	29.0	8.0		22.0	8.0 (13th)	9
September	28.5	4.5		39.0	14.0 (10th)	11
October	21.0	5.0	/1	142.1	30.0 (12th)	20
November	17.0	-4.0	3	70.8	18.0 (8th)	16
December	11.0	-5.5	2	65.5	29.0 (1st)	12
Total			17/5	656.2		156

Highest day temperature: 31.0°C 13th, 14th July  
 Lowest night temperature: -5.5°C 28th December

Wettest day: 24th July  
 Wettest month: October  
 Driest month: January

Recorded by E. H. Ward at Woodpeckers, Much Marcle.



## Rules of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, (Herefordshire)

I. — That the Society be known as the “WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)” for the practical study in all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the district immediately adjacent.

II. — That the Club shall consist of ordinary members (ladies and gentlemen) and such honorary members as may from time to time be admitted; from whom a president, four vice-presidents, honorary treasurer, honorary secretary, field secretary and editor shall be appointed at the annual winter meeting to be held in Hereford in the latter part of each year, and they shall hold office for one year beginning at the next annual spring meeting. The club may also accept for affiliation as approved such societies or groups as exist for the furtherance of similar purposes to those of the club. Each group shall be entitled to have one representative at all meetings of the club, to receive copies of the *Transactions* and generally be treated as one ordinary member.

The Club shall admit junior members between the ages of 14 and 18. Such junior members may become full members at the latter age, but those who are bona-fide full-time students may remain junior members until the age of 21. Nobody of the age of 18 or over may be elected a junior member.

III. — The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said nine officers *ex-officio* and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or reelection en bloc shall be accepted. In the event of ties the president or the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote. Casual vacancies may be filled at any general meeting and any member then elected shall hold office until the date when the term of office of the member whom he or she succeeds would have expired. The central committee shall be empowered to appoint an assistant secretary; its duties shall include making all arrangements for the meetings of the year. Seven shall form a quorum.

IV. — The members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V. — That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £13.00 payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such

member to a copy of the Transactions, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of £1 a meeting in respect of each visitor.

VI. — That the president be requested to favour the club with an address at the annual spring meeting on the proceedings of the year, together with such observations as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the club, and the promotion of its objects.

VII. — Every candidate for membership of the club shall be proposed and seconded by members. The central committee shall elect or reject the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.

VIII. That members finding rare or interesting specimens or observing any remarkable phenomenon relating to any branch of natural history, or making or becoming acquainted with any archaeological discovery in the district, shall immediately forward a statement thereof to the honorary secretary or to the appropriate sectional editor.

IX. — That the club undertake the formation and publication of correct lists of the various natural productions and antiquities of the county of Hereford with such observations as their respective authors may deem necessary.

X. — That any member whose annual subscription is twelve months in arrear shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privilege of membership, and that any member whose annual subscription is two years in arrear may be removed from the membership of the club by the central committee.

XI. — That the assistant secretary send out circulars ten days at least before the annual spring meeting to all members who have not paid their subscriptions and draw their particular attention to Rule X.

XII. — That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or alteration at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.

XIII. — That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting or has been approved by the central committee.

XIV. — That these rules be published in each volume of the Transactions.

## List of Presidents

- 1851 Club formed in the winter months
- 1852 LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.
- 1853 LEWIS, Rev. T. T.
- 1854 SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.
- 1855 CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.
- 1856 WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt
- 1857 LINGEN, Mr. Charles
- 1858 BEVAN, G. P., M.D.
- 1859 BEVAN, G. P., M.D.
- 1860 BANKS, Mr. R. W.
- 1861 LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert
- 1862 HOSKYNs, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1863 HOSKYNs, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1864 CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.
- 1865 STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.
- 1866 BULL, H. G., M.D.
- 1867 HOSKYNs, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1868 McCULLOGH, D. M., M.D.
- 1869 RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.
- 1870 COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.
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- 1872 STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.
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