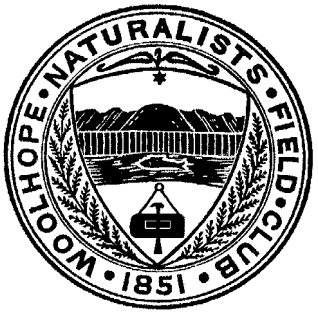
TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"  "HOPE EVER"

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Proceedings, 2012

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 14 January 2012: Dr J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Dr Robin Jackson described the archaeological discoveries that have been made at Wellington Quarry during the last 25 years. He has been responsible for the excavations during much of this time.

Wellington Quarry occupies a 37-hectare site beside the river Lugg, just north of Moreton-on-Lugg. The research has revealed important information about both the changing course of the Lugg, landscape evolution and human occupation over a 10,000 year period. In addition pollen analysis and studies of both invertebrates and insects have provided information about the landscape beyond the Lugg Valley and insights into changing climatic conditions in the British Isles.

Late Upper Palaeolithic (14,400 – 11,700 BC): The earliest record provided by the investigation is of a late glacial landscape when the climate was significantly colder than today. Pollen studies suggest a rich grassland which was grazed by herbivores such as reindeer. There is no sign of human occupation at this period.

Early Neolithic: Clusters of shallow pits suggest a mobile community, which used the site on a seasonal basis, probably early spring or autumn. Finds associated with the pits indicate that hunting and gathering was the dominant life style with burnt cereal, nuts and berries (Neolithic muesli!) being recovered. Artefacts include a flint knife with a serrated edge. Micro-wear analysis of flint implements indicates that they were used for working leather, cutting reeds and slicing meat. Lipid analysis on pottery fragments indicate that they contained milk and pig fat. Animal teeth from the site are from both cattle and pigs.

Middle Neolithic: A range of archaeological discoveries were found from this era.

Pottery fragments indicate a more sophisticated style with more decoration. The lipid analysis suggests a greater use of pig fat. Artefacts include a large stone hammer head (with a perfect circular hole drilled through it) and an arrow head

The most precious find was a pot used as a beaker burial dated to 2750 – 2500BC which contained the remains of human ashes and implements for use in the after life. A green stain within the pot suggests that this would have included a copper knife. This was one of the richest Neolithic burial sites in the Midlands.

Additional evidence of the Neolithic community is provided by a pit/post circle which Dr Jackson suggested may have been a place for worship. ‘Not a cathedral but more like the parish church’. Finally we were given a glimpse of a 48-hour period in the Neolithic community with the discovery of the remains of a fire. Not only was ash present but the pattern of logs where the fire had been lit. He suggested that the fire had been extinguished and then re-lit at a later stage.

Bronze Age: The Wellington Quarry site also provides evidence of Bronze Age burials. This is partly from large circular structures revealed during excavation and partly from crop marks on the west side of the river Lugg. Carbon dating indicates a Bronze Age cremation cemetery dated at 1380–1120BC.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the site was permanently settled towards the end of the Bronze Age. The age of farming had arrived.

Middle/Late Iron Age: Here we have a glimpse of religious ceremony. The way in which human bodies have been buried together with signs of feasting suggests there could perhaps have been some ceremonies involving human sacrifice taking place.
Roman settlement: There is evidence of a Roman villa on the site which includes the base of a substantial stone wall and associated plaster. Also the remains of a surfaced road. The villa dates from the 3rd or 4th centuries. Pollen studies suggest that farming continued after the Roman occupation ended.
Saxon era: One of the most exciting discoveries at Wellington Quarry was the timber foundation of a Saxon mill. Experts have suggested that it was probably designed so that the mill stone was orientated vertically. Fragments of the millstone survive and the source may have been Derbyshire. The mill suggests a site with prestige and it is thought that this may have belonged to a Mercian King. Sutton was probably the place of residence.
Early Medieval:
An early medieval mill has been dated to 825AD. However, the mill channel was not maintained after 900AD suggesting that the site may have lost its importance.
Late Medieval: Evidence of farming is provided by ridge and furrow.
A book on Wellington Quarry by Dr Jackson and Darren Miller is now available and is reviewed later in this volume.

Richard Edwards

SECOND MEETING: 2 February 2012: Dr J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.
Mr David Lovelace, a Club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'The application of digital techniques and aerial photography to the study of landscape history'.

He shared his experiences as a professional landscape ecologist with the Club and demonstrated how modern digital techniques had revolutionised the recording and evaluation of the countryside. He commenced by explaining how simple it was to use a digital camera as a recording device for the measurement of veteran trees. All that was required, in addition to the camera, was a surveying pole for calibration. The Geographic Information System (GIS) on the camera ensured that an accurate location was recorded and calculations made at home using the surveying pole, appears to provide more accurate estimations of the height and girth of the tree than the traditional method employing a tape measure. With an additional piece of software, the location can fixed on a modern OS map which, in turn can be reconciled with air photographs and antiquarian maps. With regard to woodlands, tithe maps can be used with other mapping sources to give a clear indication of the presence of ancient woodlands. Much can also be learnt by overlapping maps and air photographs, which, for example, can be exploited to reveal the dramatic changes in Hereford's streetscape, especially the loss of trees in recent years. Here Google-Earth was the key source for the exercise.

As an aside, Mr. Lovelace explained how easy it was to copy and save the extensive collections of air photographs at the NMR in Swindon. Similarly, a day in the National Archives at Kew with a digital camera can devour a huge corpus of documents, for later viewing in the comfort of your home. His recent discovery was LIDAR. Scanning the landscape by aircraft to discover, among other objectives, areas liable to flooding, has produced detailed photographs of contours and land-surfaces, which, with some specialist software, can be manipulated into elevational models showing the smallest modulations in the land surface. For example, areas of earlier orchards have been revealed at Eaton Bishop, and the extent of the bishop's park at Colwall, which had been ploughed-out in the Second World

War. At Leominster, notwithstanding the presence of buildings, the island site of the minster could be recreated. Around Hereford many of the river meadows, e.g. at Bartonsham were shown to be covered with ridge and furrow from earlier field systems. A significant advantage of LIDAR is its facility to penetrate woodland, e.g. at Colwall, and reveal earlier boundaries and features.

There were many questions, which enabled the speaker to add significantly to his presentation. In answer to a question about the ownership of land in the 20th century, he suggested that Lloyd George's 1909 survey and the agricultural census of the Second World War were very useful tools and readily available at the Land Registry. Again, the digital camera was essential to harvest the material.

THIRD MEETING: 3 March 2012: Dr J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Mr Martin Smith and Mr Richard Tillett, members of the Streatham and Brixton Chess Club, gave an illustrated talk on 'Thomas Leeming and the chess gents of Hereford: a bicentenary'.

Our speakers pointed out that, not only was 2012 the 200th anniversary of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, but it was also the bicentenary of the foundation of the Hereford Chess Club, one of the earliest in Britain. Three years later a local artist, Thomas Leeming, painted the *Chess Gents of Hereford* and this picture is still to be found in the collection of the Hereford Art Gallery. On its back are the names of the chess players, written in the artist's own hand. Early pictures of chess players are very unusual but at least three other variations of this picture are known. Apart from the Hereford version (1815), Christies sold another copy, painted in a different setting, in 2010 and the art historian Mario Praz illustrated his *Illustrated History of Interior Decoration* with yet another version, which apparently originally belonged to the artist's friend, John Buckson. It contains different chess players.

Mr Tillett proceeded to examine the Hereford picture and identify the players depicted, who all came from a very similar socio-economic group. They were Theophilius Lane, a solicitor; Charles Biss, a merchant from Bridstow; Samuel Beavan, another solicitor; Francis Lewis Bodenham, solicitor and one time mayor of Hereford; Edwin Goode Wright, printer and editor of the *Hereford Journal;* John Allen Junr., bibliophile and radical and Thomas Leeming, the artist. Leeming, it seems, had been born in Lancashire in 1788/9 and first appears as a professional artist in Oxford in 1810. Sometime after this he arrived in Hereford and married Mary Link, the daughter of a wine merchant, in 1817. He was well known among the local gentry and painted portraits of Edward Harley, 5th earl of Oxford and John Matthews of Belmont among others. A list of his portraits exhibited at the Royal Academy was circulated among members of the Club for identification, as most of them were unrecorded elsewhere.

Mr. Smith explored in greater depth Leeming's career as an artist, which included landscapes and informal sketches, as well as portraits. According to his obituary in the *Hereford Journal* on 29 May 1822, he was also a copyist 'perhaps excelled by few in England' and in 1816 he copied a picture of Christ carrying the Cross, from an original by the Spanish painter, Ribalta, for the Dean and Chapter of Hereford who used it as an altar piece. He was paid £52 10s. It was part of the ensemble illustrated with contempt by A. W. N. Pugin in *Contrasts* (1841). Returning to the *Chess Gents*, the speaker examined the setting of the painting, which was a small neo-classical room, perhaps in a local county house. On the walls of the room were two paintings; a view of Castle Green with Nelson's column and the martyrdom of St Sebastian. The latter suggested a Catholic household, perhaps the home of the

Bodenham family at Rotherwas. Finally the chess game itself was analysed. It showed that the two players were evenly matched and both were in a good position to win the game. Clearly, the artist was being very fair to his sitters. The speakers finished by urging their audience to provide any further scraps of information, which might illuminate their search; some of which duly appeared during question time.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 24 March 2012: Dr J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.
The membership secretary reported that the Club now had 645 ordinary members and 41 institutional members.

The president reviewed the activities of the Club during the year and thanked the officers and committee for their support, especially the librarians, the field secretary, the secretaries and the lanternists.

He gave his address 'Aspects of the Wye Navigation' which is printed in these *Transactions*.

He installed Dr Janet Cooper as president for 2012-13.

FIELD MEETINGS
FIRST MEETING: 14 June 2012: Field Meeting to Berkeley led by Dr and Mrs J. C. Eisel.
Because of difficulties in arranging suitable field meetings, the season did not start until 14 June, when 30 members spent a day in the Berkeley area. After picking up at Ledbury on the way, the first stop, for coffee, was at Frampton, where there is the largest village green in England. A couple of members decided to forgo their coffee to in order explore at least part of this. Then, after coffee, most members were energetic enough to walk down to the 17th-century tithe barn with cattle byre at the south end of the village, where we were allowed to inspect the interior and see the restoration work done in recent years. There was enough time to visit the church, and one or two also walked down the road to a swing bridge on the Sharpness canal, which passes close to this end of the village and indeed skirts the churchyard. The canal was built under an Act of 1793, but was only completed in 1827. Sharpness docks were developed in the 1870s to enable vessels which were too large to navigate the canal to Gloucester to unload their cargoes.

The main object of the meeting was to spend a long afternoon in Berkeley. This has its origins in the 11th century, and is still in the hands of the same family which built it. After the Tower of London and Windsor Castle it is the oldest continuously-occupied mediaeval castle in Britain and is notorious as the scene of the mysterious death of Edward II in 1327. Damaged in the Civil Wars in the middle of the 17th century, an engraving by Jan Kip, published in 1712, shows the breach in the wall of the shell keep and also formal gardens to the south and east of the castle, now much altered and the formal effect reduced.

On arrival at Berkeley the weather was warm, but threatening rain, which held off, and a picnic lunch could be taken outside. Members then dispersed to see some of the attractions, including the butterfly house, with butterflies of huge size evidently flourishing in the warm, humid, atmosphere. One visitor, not of our party, was attractive to them and several settled on him. All assembled promptly for the guided tour of the castle at 2.15, and the two parties of 15 each were small enough so that everyone could hear the detailed explanations of our guides, including the complicated history of the Berkeley family, which much enhanced the visit.

Members found the nearby church to hold much of interest, and the conservators working on the large assemblage of table tombs in the churchyard, many of which were listed

in their own right, were happy to talk about their work. The Jenner museum is on the opposite side of the church to the castle, but not many yards away, and this had a charm of its own—if one did not look too closely at the illustrations of the effects of smallpox! This small museum is struggling, and trying to raise finance for necessary repairs to what is a very stylish building.

There was much to see in close proximity; the terraced gardens around the castle itself were extensive, although they would have shown to better effect in sunnier weather. Nonetheless they were enjoyed, and the rain only came just before the coach departed—slightly early, because everyone was present—so did not spoil what had been a very enjoyable visit.

John Eisel

SECOND MEETING: 5 July 2012: Field meeting to Harewood End area led by David Whitehead.

The President and the Hon. Secretary led a group of fifty-two members on a tour of south-west Herefordshire in search of Renaissance gardens. The group gathered for coffee at the Pengethley Hotel on a bright clear morning, where David Whitehead outlined the objectives of the day. He also pointed out the key features of the Pengethley landscape park as the antithesis of the gardens to be considered that day. The National Trust had recently recovered part of the original parkland, which had been converted to arable, and replanted following a plan provided by the speaker.

The party proceeded to Harewood where representatives of the Duchy of Cornwall welcomed the Club and their archaeologist, Martin, guided members around the recently excavated terrace gardens, which were sited beneath the mansion, demolished in 1959. The terraces, held in place by substantial stone walls, reminiscent of Powys Castle, had reached their zenith in the late 17th century, when they overlooked a formal canal, fed from a copious spring at its southern extremity. During the early 18th century this water source was captured in an elaborate cold bath, with an inner and outer chamber. The excavations had revealed that it was still standing in a very complete state. With the advent of the English landscape movement in the mid 18th century, the terraces quickly went out of fashion and the ground between the house and the ‘canal’ was re-graded—with much heavy work—into a steep slope. The ‘canal’ was preserved in a less formal guise and its water fed a picturesque cascade, created where the water disappeared under the track to the chapel. When the Woolhope Club visited the park to admire the trees in 1867, all memory of the elaborate gardens had, it seems, faded.

After lunch in Ross, the party travelled to Perrystone Court, where from the public bridle path, the putative water-garden was described, which seems to have existed in a small valley to the south of the present house. This had been revealed on a LIDAR survey, provided by another Club member, David Lovelace, and appears to have pre-dated the existing landscape park. The surroundings may have been formalised in the manner of Harewood.

Tea was taken at How Caple Court where the church was visited and some members investigated the well-preserved garden terraces to be found here, noticing that, from the evidence of earthworks in the adjoining orchard, that they were once more extensive. This was a very suitable introduction to Wessington Court, an estate purchased by Sir William Gregory of How Caple in 1641. Here he erected a double pile brick mansion, which still exists beneath the embellishments provided by the architect William Chick *c.*1875. Below the house, to the south, Gregory laid out a series of terraces leading down to a small deer park. The present owner, Mrs. Georgina Children, generously allowed members to explore her fine modern

garden, which utilised the top two terraces of Gregory's original scheme. Two further terraces were to be found fossilised in the park, now grazed by a herd of longhorn cattle. The day had revealed that, where the topography allowed, many of the gentry estates of south Herefordshire, in the early modern period, had extensive Renaissance gardens, which had been eradicated by the 'reign of Nature' in the 18th century.

David Whitehead

THIRD MEETING: 7 August 2012: Field meeting to Eastnor led by the president, Dr Janet Cooper.

We started the day with coffee and home-made biscuits at the Wellington Inn in Colwall, there being no pubs or cafés in Eastnor itself. Fortified, we drove to Eastnor church. Although the whole of the existing church, apart from the tower, was built by Sir George Gilbert Scott for Earl Somers of Eastnor Castle in 1851 and 1852, it stands on the foundations of the earlier church which dated from the mid 12th century. In the course of the rebuilding a Norman font was discovered, and is now in the church. The church also contains numerous memorials to members of the Somers Cocks family, ancestors of the present owner of Eastnor Castle.

From the church we walked the short distance to Eastnor Farm, the home farm of the Eastnor Estate. The farmhouse stands on or near the site of the Domesday manor which belonged to the bishop of Hereford. The house was refronted in the 19th century, but late 16th- or early 17th-century timber-framing is still visible in the back wall: it belongs to a house built by one of the tenants who rented the manor from the bishop. The fine brick farm buildings were erected by the Eastnor estate in the mid 19th century.

We had hoped to take the coach to Clencher's Mill, but our driver was advised that he would not be able to turn round, so we had a 10-minute walk down the narrow Clencher's Mill Lane; this enabled us to admire the earthworks of the half-mile-long mill leet which runs beside the lane for part of its course. The Eastnor estate had opened the mill for us, so we were able to see the surviving machinery, which once powered two pairs of millstones, and the large wheel, dated 1820. The mill building itself is timber-framed, but encased in early 19th-century brick and weather boarding.

We had our picnic lunch at the bottom of Midsummer Hill, and after lunch climbed to the top to view the earthworks of the Iron-Age hill fort; some people took the most direct and steepest route, others had a longer but gentler climb via an estate road. We were fortunate that the estate workers were in the process of cutting back the bracken, which made it easier to see the ramparts. The fort is unusual in that its ramparts enclose two hills, Midsummer and Hollybush, with the valley and stream between them, providing the fort with a water supply.

Our next stop was at the site of Bronsil Castle, built about 1460 by Richard de Beauchamp of Powick (Worcs.). All that now remains is the broad moat (home to vast numbers of ducks), a fragment of a gate tower and the bottom of a spiral staircase. Bronsil was built as a grand country house rather than as a stronghold; nevertheless, it was attacked in the Civil War and never again occupied.

We finished the day at Eastnor Castle itself, the Georgian Norman/Gothic edifice designed by Robert Smirke for John Somers Cocks, first Earl Somers. The castle, which was built between 1812 and 1820, replaced the house called Castleditch where the Cocks family had lived since 1605. Its interior decoration dates from the time of the second and third earls in the 1850s and 1860s. We were able to wander round the castle in our own time, admiring the pictures and the furniture as well as the architecture, until it closed at 4.30 leaving us just time

for tea in the tea room before boarding the coach at 5 p.m. The weather forecast had been poor, but the rain held off until we were safely in the castle!

Janet Cooper

FOURTH MEETING: 18 September 2012: Castles and moated sites led by Duncan James.
There are more than 150 castle and moated sites in Herefordshire. The plan for the day was to visit nine of the less well-known examples in the northern part of the county. A party of thirty set off by coach from Hereford to the first stop at Bredwardine to view the castle site, which overlooks the river Wye at what was, in the past, an important river crossing. Not only has the castle itself vanished from the motte but so too the 17th-century house that replaced it, leaving the earthworks as home to horses quietly grazing on this year's particularly lush grass.

Next, to Eardisley, where the castle motte still stands along with significant sections of the moat that once encompassed the inner bailey. Within this is a fine brick mansion of early 18th-century date alongside what is a rare example of a detached kitchen block, since replaced by a 19th-century kitchen built onto the back of the house.

Morning coffee was taken at The Strand in Eardisley before we headed for Almeley, there to walk over the castle site alongside the church. Although the steep-sided motte was thickly covered in vegetation one or two intrepid Woolhopians struggled to the top, the rest of us settling for the lower slopes and inspection of the two clearly-delineated fishponds. This is one of the two castle sites in the village, the other, Oldcastle Twt, is in a heavily wooded area on the west side.

Our next stop was Eardisland where the party was issued with firm instructions not to upset the timing of the day by visiting the church, which stands adjacent to the superb moated motte that is now engulfed somewhat incongruously by a sea of neat, modern houses.

And so to Pembridge for a quick look at the moated mound to the south of the church before a picnic lunch seated beneath the market house surrounded by picturesque timber-framed houses. Thence to Staunton on Arrow which, in common with many of the smaller settlements, can only be approached along narrow roads, barely wide enough for the coach that carried us there. The steep castle mound, recently cleared of vegetation and all but a few trees, is in a dramatic location immediately east of the church, the bailey now grazed by sheep. There was much discussion concerning the difficulties of creating such a precipitous motte and speculation about the stability of any structure built on the top.

More narrow roads were skilfully negotiated by our driver and we reached Byton without difficulty. Here the motte, in common with the majority of sites, stands close to the church, and has a commanding outlook along the valley towards Presteigne. Of considerable interest was the late 11th-century tympanum carved with an *agnus dei* reset in the side of the church.

Afternoon tea was taken at Mistletoe House, which proved to be a popular choice as the service was brisk and friendly and the cakes were delicious. Thus fortified we pressed on to Lingen where the motte, again adjacent to the church, overlooks a bailey and possible deserted village site complete with hollow ways and house platforms. The latter were guarded by cohort of quietly grazing cattle until they were stirred up by a few brave souls venturing into the field.

Our last stop was Stapleton Castle, where the ruins of an 18th-century house stand atop a high, natural outcrop on the site of the former castle. Here we were guided around the ruins by the owner, Trevor Griffiths, during which a brief downpour, the first in what had been a sunny day, brought proceedings to a close.

Duncan James

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 6 October 2012: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair.

Dr Philip Riden spoke on 'Duncumb, the Victoria County History and the idea of county history'. This was a joint meeting with the Trust for the Victoria County History of Herefordshire.

Dr Riden had recently produced a new edition of John Duncumb's *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Herefordshire*, volumes 1 & 2 (1996-7), published by the Merton Priory Press. He described the travails Duncumb endured in getting his history into print and how the project had already folded by the time of his death in 1839. He felt that Duncumb was not a great historian but was a typical product of the revival of antiquarianism in the Romantic era.

He proceeded to describe how the county history movement began in the 16th century with works, for example, by William Lambarde for Kent and William Dugdale for Warwickshire. Usually they were single volumes based upon extracts from public and manorial records. There was generally a description of the county, followed by a gazetteer. Initially, the local gentry wrote the histories, which were also purchased by their fellow gentry. Blount's collections for Herefordshire were a good example, who, he felt, brought some discipline and order to his planned history. In the early 18th century clerics began writing county histories and brought new interests such as fieldwork and archaeology—and druids. They also illustrated their books with sketches and plans. One of the best histories for the period was John Nichols's *Leicestershire* (1795-1815) as the author was a printer and publisher, and exploited earlier material, as well as his useful correspondence with other antiquarians.

Growing romanticism also broadened the horizons of writers to include topography and natural history. By the mid 19th century there were few counties without a county history and this period saw a revival of Duncumb's project for Herefordshire, with mixed success. Local churchmen were also writing monographs and Dr Riden cited the Rev. C. J. Robinson's *Castles* and *Mansions* of Herefordshire as particularly good examples. Gradually a new project to write standard academic histories of every parish in England was developed and this emerged as the Victoria County History, which was launched in 1899 but only produced one general volume for Herefordshire in 1908. Dr Riden completed his talk by congratulating the newly established VCH Trust for Herefordshire, which had been established in 1995 and had just produced two books on the history of Ledbury, edited by Dr. Sylvia Pinches.

SECOND MEETING: 20 October 2012, The F. C. Morgan Lecture: Dr. Janet Cooper, president in the chair. Mr Alan Brooks gave an illustrated talk on 'Pevsner: Herefordshire revisited'.

Mr Brooks began his talk by explaining how the 'Buildings of England' series has changed since Pevsner's time and what it was now trying to achieve. Herefordshire was the 25th volume in the series when it was first published in 1963. The new edition is also midway through the revisions, planned since Pevsner's death.

A brief summary was provided of Pevsner's early life as an art historian in Germany on the eve of World War II and his early belief that architecture expressed something of a country's personality. When he came to England as a political refugee in the 1930s he began researching modern design at Birmingham University but eventually lectured on art history at Birkbeck College. He met the publisher Allen Lane and the *Pioneers of Modern Design* (1949) followed. He also edited the King Penguin series and after the war he was asked by Lane what

he would like to do. *The Buildings of England* was one of his ideas. A similar series existed in Germany, which, Pevsner stressed, was devoted to architectural facts and not opinions.

Mr Brooks described Pevsner's routine when on the road with the series. Itineraries were worked out before-hand but early rising was *de rigueur* and then 'scribble, scribble, scribble' in a cold hotel room ended the day. His poor handwriting often caused mistakes in interpretation by his hard-pressed secretaries. Vicars were often sent questionnaires about their churches but the response was very poor. Driving was also a bone of contention with Pevsner. He did Middlesex on buses but usually his wife Lola did the driving and, after her death, a series of research assistants took over.

For Allen Lane the series was a financial disaster and even Yale find it difficult to make money out of it. Ironically, Mr Brooks had been told that Pevsner's were the books most commonly stolen from bookshops. Moreover, estate agents were totally addicted to them and their clients felt that if a country house was not in Pevsner, it was not worth having. Our speaker felt that the foreword to the original Hereford volume was still worth reading as a reflective essay by Pevsner, who always felt that the first edition was just a start, and files were opened from the very beginning for the revised 2nd edition. The research for the first edition was generally rather rudimentary, no primary sources were seen, but what makes them supremely readable are Pevsner's personal touches.

Today material is still being collected for further editions but blatant mistakes—a whole village was missed in the Black Country—can be rectified when reprinting takes place. Establishing which new buildings to include is a constant headache and Pevsner ended Herefordshire with Brockhampton Church (by Ross) built in 1902. Mr. Brooks said that finding worthwhile modern buildings in Herefordshire was still difficult but he had included a few from the city of Hereford. Vernacular architecture was a growing area of investigation, which required greater representation, but it required special skills and knowledge. Mr Brooks own specialism was 19th-century church-glass, which, he hoped, was well represented in the new volume. He felt that in general, 19th-century schools and chapels were still poorly covered in the new volumes; some of the best were vulnerable to ugly conversions. It was anticipated by the publisher Yale that all the old editions of Pevsner will have been revised by *c*.2020.

THIRD MEETING: 10 November 2012: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair. Christine Jones spoke on 'Disability in Herefordshire 1851-1911'.

She drew our attention to the census enumerators' books for 1851-1901 where, in the last column for each individual, there is an opportunity to indicate disability—usually being blind, deaf or dumb. Enumerators also put in their own observations and began to notice mental disability in 1871, although it was often confused with physical disabilities. The percentage of the population recorded as having disabilities was small, generally 0·006-7%. Hiding your mad relations in the attic was apparently rare, since people seem to have been keen to declare lunacy, albeit children are under-recorded.

The government thought that levels of disability in Herefordshire between 1851 and 1861 were higher than the national average. However, our speaker thought this was probably due to over-zealous recording. In the event, questionnaires were sent out to all the parish clergymen of the county and they provided details of the causes and how it was dealt with. One hundred and thirty one people were blind, mostly from 'disease' and less commonly, from accident. Many infants appear in the returns and, as they got older, were often sent to institutions in Bristol and London for special education. Others pursued special trades, such a

net-making, playing the organ etc. Even so, nearly 50% of blind people were in receipt of parish relief, whilst about 15% were looked after by family members. In Herefordshire, 167 people were declared to be deaf and/or dumb. Most were born deaf and 'distress during pregnancy' was put down as a cause. Some had deaf and dumb relatives. In general, however, deaf and dumb people were often employed, married and had children without the problem.

The census material suggests that Herefordshire retained a higher proportion of blind people throughout the late 19th century and there was increasing registration of people with a loss of mental ability. The speaker analysed in detail the evidence of the 1881 census where 376 disabled people were recorded. Most were married but a large proportion was living with parents or another relative. She was able to compare data with the 1861 census and provide six case histories. For example, John Webb of Upton Bishop first appears as a blind child in the 1851 census, because of an accident. He was sent to an asylum in Bristol where he trained as an organist. For the rest of his life he seems to have resided in Ross-on-Wye and in 1901 was described simply as a musician. He died in 1914 and our speaker was keen to discover where he played the organ. John and Edward Miles were brothers and both blind. They lived with different relations until at least 1891, by which time John was married. John Hayward of Hentland was deaf in 1851 but lived until his early 60s, working as a carpenter. Elizabeth Jones of Kingsland was a 'cripple in both legs' in 1861 but appears to have recovered by 1871. Our speaker suggested that it was probably because her relations did not bother to record her infirmity.

Christine Jones ended by making a plea for more research, linking the information found in the census with school records and parish records etc to find more about those who suffered from disability in late 19th century Herefordshire.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 24 November 2012: Dr Janet Cooper, president, in the chair. Mr David Ross addressed the Club on 'Loyalty unconquered? Hereford's experience of the Civil War'.

When Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham in August 1642 Hereford was already royalist because the country gentry—'the worthies'—had taken over the city. From here they organised a petition of loyalty; a commission of array was issued to raise forces for the king; a magazine had been taken over at St Owen's Gate and the city trainbands were summoned to defend the city from a potential Parliamentarian attack. The citizens were taken completely by surprise and were pushed into an anti-Parliamentarian stance.

The shallowness of this royalist support was demonstrated when the Earl of Stamford arrived with a parliamentary force, and in the absence of the worthies, the city followed its own leaders, Alderman Lane and Mayor Price, and surrendered. Mr. Ross believed that the city was basically neutral and, unlike cities in Germany during the Thirty Years War, there was no ideological divide. When Stamford left, the royalist worthies returned and the waverers were punished. History repeated itself when Waller captured the city in the following year (1643) for, albeit there were notable royalists in the city, including Viscount Scudamore, the citizens handed them over without a fight. But again Waller left no garrison in Hereford and it was quickly annexed by the county royalists e.g. Sir Henry Lingen and Barnabas Scudamore. Many of the citizens remained uncooperative, especially when the city was put into a state of siege, and houses were demolished and forced loans were raised. Joyce Jeffreys, for one, a resident in Widemarsh Street, did everything she could to defend her property.

By July 1645 Charles was in retreat and got a poor reception when he passed through Hereford. When the Scots arrived, the city resisted because it did not want to be pillaged. Fortunately, the Scottish army were already disenchanted with Parliament; they had no siege equipment and were reluctant to damage a royalist city when they were about to open negotiations with Charles. The siege was half-hearted and they were soon gone. Charles returned and rewarded the city but his cause was in decline. Hereford was full of refugees, the magistrates' power was weak and the 'roaring boys'—dissolute cavaliers—took over the city.

When Col. Birch arrived in December 1645, support for Parliament, and its defence of legal authority was growing. Scudamore escaped but was soon in prison and Lingen tried to rally the royalists but failed. In conclusion, Mr. Ross felt that the parliamentary supporters in Hereford were too timid and they over-estimated royalist support. Generally, the city favoured neutrality although it was prepared to defend itself against a foreign enemy. It was royalist but....

WOOLHOPE NATURALIST'S FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
for the year ended 31st December

2011				2012	
		RECEIPTS			
22		Interest on investments	Subs Reserve	22	
2			GW Smith Reserve	3	
1369			Charity Bond	1487	
174			National Savings	334	
3			Worcs C.C	3	
33			War Stock	33	
	1603				1882
7192		General Subscriptions		7851	
200		Sale of Publications		212	
4274		Sale of Tonkin Essays		178	
		Sale of Herefordshire Maps supplement		698	
		Grants, Donations & Legacies			
1024		Gift Aid Tax Reclaim (Net)		1403	
30		Insurance Refund		30	10372
		Sundries			
305		Archaeological Research	Net Surplus	205	
149		Geology Section	Net Surplus	125	
		Field Meetings	Net Surplus	234	
	13174				564
	14777				12818
		PAYMENTS			
928		Insurance		1012	
8143		Stationery, Printing & Binding		11282	
100		Meeting Expenses		193	
965		Postage & Telephone		3900	
257		Subscriptions & Donations		235	
113		Repairs & Renewals		34	
200		Honoraria		200	
		Laptop computer		369	
		Website		164	
37		Miscellaneous		270	17659
45		Natural History Section	Net Deficit	14	
313		Field Meetings	Net Deficit	0	
					14
	11101				17673
Surplus	3676		Deficit	4855	
				240072	

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER

2011			2012	
		ASSETS		
1040		Herefordshire County Loan		1040
58073		National Savings Investments		58408
118000		Charity Bond		118000
		Bank accounts:		
1575		General	835	
4776		Subscriptions	664	
2524		GW Smith Account	4014	
43289		Subscriptions Reserve	40911	
5000		GW Smith Reserve	5000	
49		Natural History Section	35	
2755		Archaeological Research Section	2960	
952		Field Meetings	1186	
2039		Geology Section	2164	
	62959			57769
	240072	Sub Total		235217
	240072			235217

Note that the following assets of fluctuation or indeterminate value are not included in this balance sheet:
£933 3.5% War Loan current value approximately £855
The contents of the library and stock of publications
Photographic and computer equipment etc.

		CAPITAL		
		General Funds		
236396		Balance brought forward	240072	
3676	240072	Add surplus in year		
		Deduct deficit in year	4855	235217
	240072			235217

Biographical Details of Contributors

Details of John Eisel, Paul Olver and David Whitehead have appeared in previous issues of the Club's *Transactions.*

Peter Klein is a local historian now living in Pembridge, with a particular interest in mediaeval churches and church affairs. He took an Honours degree in Mediaeval and Modern History at Birmingham University. He is the author of a biography of Robert Foulkes, the 17th-century Shropshire vicar and murderer, and also co-author with the late Dr David Lloyd of an historical anthology of the town of Ludlow. He has also written a number of guides and papers on Shropshire parish churches and related topics, and in 1976 was a founding member of the Ludlow Historical Research Group.

Timothy Morgan is a self-employed illustrator and archaeologist presently contracted to CADW working on major guardianship monuments in north and mid Wales. Previous work has included projects for Natural England and English Heritage, RSPB, Natural Resources Wales and Menter Môn. His art school education gradually evolved into archaeological excavation, firstly as a volunteer and then field work in the UK, including in-service training at Oxford and a role as field warden. Published work has primarily consisted of finds drawings for a number of clients, especially Chester and West Cheshire Archaeology, as well as reconstruction drawings and reports on the conservation of historic buildings throughout Wales and the Marches.

Presidential Address:
Aspects of the Wye Navigation

By JOHN C. EISEL

In view of the peaceful river Wye today, it is difficult to imagine that two hundred years ago there were, at times, literally hundreds of men employed in transporting goods up and down the river, as well as an unknown number who depended on the Wye Tour for their income. The Wye is tidal from Chepstow up to Brockweir, and larger vessels which could reach this far up the river had to by unloaded and the goods trans-shipped into smaller barges to be taken upstream. For the Wye, the word 'trow' tends to indicate the larger vessels, and the word 'barge' the smaller vessels, but these were sometimes used interchangeably. The barges were built using a combination of carvel technique—the planks butted against one another—and clinker-built, where the planks overlapped. In some records the same barge can be called both carvel-built and clinker-built at different times, reflecting the fact that construction was of a composite form.

Most places in the Wye valley either had a quay or somewhere where goods or coal could be unloaded—the coal mainly from Lydbrook—and where exports could be loaded for the journey downstream. Clearly most of the imports were destined for Hereford, the main centre of population. To facilitate the unloading and storage of goods, there were a number of wharfs and warehouses along the river, both below and above the Wye bridge, on both sides of the river, as well as the Castle Wharf. On occasion barges went much higher up the river, and there was a major obstacle at Monnington Falls, where a windlass was used to haul the barges upriver past the falls. The normal upper limit of navigation was just below Hay, where the Dulas brook enters the river, but when the river was in flood it was navigable somewhat higher.[1]

THE NAVIGATION

In order to understand the trade on the river, it is first necessary to outline the history of improvements to the navigation of the river Wye, which has been used for river transport since the earliest days. Indeed, there is what is thought to be a Roman quay at the Weir, in the parish of Bishopstone.[2] However, the Wye has a comparatively steep fall and runs shallow and wide in many places, and for much of the year there was not enough water in the river for the navigation to be used. Moreover, over the years a number of weirs had been built across the river so that the flow of water could be used to drive various mills etc., causing obstruction to river traffic. Thus it is not surprising that a number of attempts were made to improve the river so that it could be used for a greater part of the year.

One of the major obstructions in the sixteenth century, and no doubt before, was the weir at Hereford, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter and was used to drive fulling mills and corn mills. This was not below Hereford bridge, as has been suggested, but about half a mile downstream. There was some controversy over this weir, and a weir with mills at [Stretton] Sugwas, which it was suggested might be demolished. On 1 September 1535 a letter was written on behalf of Henry VIII stating that the mills be left standing for the moment, and requiring that certain county notables enquire whether the mills were hurtful to the county or

not. Enquiries were duly made, and the committee responded by letter on 24 September 1535 in the following terms:

> ‘24 September, 1535.
> Owre dewties remembred we recommend us unto your mastership syngnyfying unto you that we receved your honorable lettres beryng date at Bromham the fust day of this present monethe of September, whereby we perceved the Kynge's pleasure was that we shuld suffre 2 millnes, the one thereof called Herefordes mille and the other Suggewas mille, to stande unto such tyme as we shuld have further knowlege off his gracyous pleasure in that behalf, and also by your said lettres ye requyred us in the meane season to enquere by all the weyes and meanes whether the said millnes byn hurtefull to the Commyn Welthe of that contrey or no, and under what maner it myght be best reformed to the entent we shuld advertyse your mastership thereof with convenyent spede so that uppon further knowlege of the Kinge’s pleasure therein ye moght advertyse us thereof as the case shuld requyre. Sir accordyng to your honourable lettres, we called before us not only the meire of the citie of Hereford and his bretherne with dyverse of the commynnaltie of the same citie but also the inhabytauntes of the towneshippe of Eton Busshop Were Kenchestre Brugg Canon Brugg Solers Credebhill Breynton Busshoppeston Bonsyll and Tuppyrley next adjoynaunte to the seid millnes, and declared unto them the Kynge's pleasure in that behalf, accordyng to the tenour of your seid honorable lettres, who aunswered us, uppon the feithe and trouthe that they bere unto his grace that yef the same millnes were prostrated and pulled downe, it were the ondoyng of all the hote contrey in that parties as Jhesu knoweth, who ever preserve you. Wreten the xxiiii*ti* day of this present monethe of September. Yours to their lytell powers.
>
> E. CROFT, knight.
> JAMYS BASKERVYLE, knight.
> JOHN SCUDAMORE.
> THOMAS BODENHAM.
> THOMAS MONYNGTON
> WILLIAM CLYNTON.
> RICHARD PALMER.
>
> [Endorsed]. To the right honorable Master Thomas Cromwell, esquyer, Cheffe Secretary to the Kynge Highnes’[3]

Despite this response the Hereford mills—and probably the Sugwas mills—were demolished, with a consequent effect on the trade of the county. To overcome this, in 1555 a petition was made to Parliament by the Dean and Chapter, stating the adverse effect on trade that the demolition of the mills and weir at Hereford had had, and asking for leave to rebuild them. An Act of Parliament was granted, one condition of the consent being that the weir and mills should be rebuilt within eight years. A substantial weir was built, the strongest on the river, and the deadline was evidently met. Curiously enough, the Act states that the mills were demolished in 19 Henry VIII i.e. 1527/8, an error in the information supplied, since the evidence above indicates that the mills were still there in 1535.[4]

From time to time a Commission of Sewers was set up, normally by the Crown, which was concerned with drainage and prevention of floods rather than navigation. One such in 1588-9 was instructed to remove the barriers on the river Wye, with the intention of removing the weir at Monmouth. This weir continued to cause problems, another Commission of Sewers was authorised in 1622, and an attempt was made to remove it. Evidence was taken, which

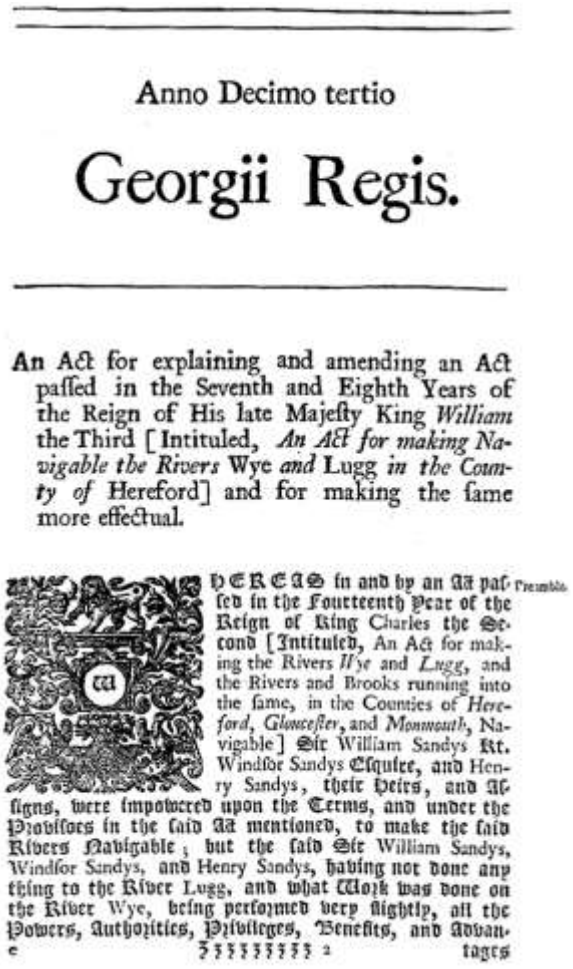
showed that the weir was built in the time of Queen Mary, that goods were brought up the river to Monmouth, and then carried overland to Hereford. Also, goods from Bristol were brought on the tide up to Brockweir, then hauled by barge up to Monmouth. There were also boats that brought down iron from Lydbrook to Monmouth bridge. Now while this Commission was instructed to remove barriers on the Wye, some weir-owners resisted, and were over-ruled, but the commission was instructed not to interfere with weirs held by the king, of which Monmouth was one, so nothing appears to have been done. The counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Monmouth petitioned that the Commission should be allowed to carry out its work, but the petition was not heard, and the Commission ceased its work.[5] However, in an attempt to improve matters, a Bill to make the river navigable was first read in Parliament on 25 March 1624 and sent to committee on 3 April 1624. This reported back on 15 May 1624, and the Bill was then sent back to the committee. On 26 May Sir Robert Harley reported on the Bill, and the amendments were read twice, and the Bill was ordered to be ingrossed. But that is the last which is heard of it, and nothing further seems to have happened.[6] As part of the discussion a broadsheet was issued at this time.[7]

In 1653/4 a petition was sent to the Lord Protector, seeking to have the weirs on the rivers Wye and Lugg removed, these having caused flooding and loss of hay crops from the riverside meadows. The petition pointed out that these weirs had been ordered to be demolished in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James 1, but remained, and it was suspected that this was due to dishonourable dealings in high places! It was suggested the absence of these weirs would make the rivers more navigable.[8] On the proposal of Thomas Harrison, the Major General who then ruled Herefordshire, Parliament ordered that the Wye be made navigable and a committee be appointed to bring in an Act. Money to a total of £1300 was advanced or covenanted on the security of the lands of the dean and chapter of Hereford, and under a deed of 7 February 1654(/5) Thomas Harrison covenanted to pass the money on to a small committee dealing with the matter.[9] However, nothing further seems to have been done and no Act became law until after the restoration of Charles II.

On 16 May 1662 the Rivers Wye and Lugg Navigation Act passed into law, in which Sir William Sandys, Windsor Sandys and Henry Sandys undertook to make the rivers navigable. Under the Act, power was granted to them to make a path four feet wide on either side of the river for hauling boats. Also, they were empowered to collect tolls, with the exception of where previous rights of persons to use barges and carry passengers had existed for time out of mind. Part of the difficulty of the navigation was that a number of weirs had been re-built along the river, including a very large one at New Weir which was owned by the earl of Kent, and the scheme was that flash locks should be installed to overcome these weirs. In exchange for carrying out the work, the Sandys were to have the monopoly to use boats on the river, but the work had to be carried out within three years. Traditionally it has been said that little was carried out under the Act, but this may well not be the case as just over two years later it was far enough advanced for the Sandys' rights under the 1662 Act to be transferred to a group of local gentlemen to be held in trust 'to the said profit of the said county of Hereford.' The rights were immediately leased back to Windsor Sandys, but he seems to have been a bad tenant, as the records of the Quarter Session show that in 1669 he was in arrears of his rent, and there were disputes with him over the next few years.[10]

A report in the Quarter Sessions in 1675 commented on the cost of maintaining the river, and proposed 'that it should become an Open and Comon river', and the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions in the same year proposed building eight barges, six of ten tons burthen and two of

eight tons burthen. The idea was that these should be used to supply Hereford with coal from Lydbrook, of which it is estimated that 3,650 tons would be needed. To do this it was proposed to maintain a stock of 200 tons of coal at Lydbrook. It is unlikely that this ever came about, as the following year it was recommended that the river be leased out for six years to anyone who would provide eight boats to bring coal to Hereford.[11]



Anno Decimo tertio

Georgii Regis.

An Act for explaining and amending an Act paſſed in the Seventh and Eighth Years of the Reign of His late Majeſty King *William* the Third [Intituled, *An Act for making Navigable the Rivers* Wye *and* Lugg *in the County of* Hereford] and for making the ſame more effectual.

WHEREAS in and by an Act paſſed in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second [Intituled, An Act for making the Rivers *Wye* and *Lugg*, and the Rivers and Brooks running into the ſame, in the Counties of *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, and *Monmouth*, Navigable] Sir William Sandys Kt. Windſor Sandys Eſquire, and Henry Sandys, their Heirs, and Aſſigns, were impowered upon the Terms, and under the Proviſoes in the ſaid Act mentioned, to make the ſaid Rivers Navigable; but the ſaid Sir William Sandys, Windſor Sandys, and Henry Sandys, having not done any thing to the River Lugg, and what Work was done on the River Wye, being performed very ſlightly, all the Powers, Authorities, Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages

Preamble

Figure 1. The preamble to the 1727 Act, which refers to the Acts of 1662 and 1695/6

The next Act of Parliament relating to the navigation of the Wye and Lugg was passed in 1695/6, although there had been two previous Bills which had failed. The preamble to the 1695 Act commented on the work carried out by Sir William Sandys and Windsor Sandys, and stated that it 'did in a very few years fall utterly to decay and ruin...', and that the various weirs were a hindrance both to the passage of boats and of fish. It was therefore enacted that the Wye and Lugg become free and common rivers for all to use. Also, under the Act, powers were given for the commissioners appointed under the Act to purchase and demolish the various weirs, with the exception of New Weir, where the Earl of Kent had to make a lock at his own expense. Various petitions both for and against the Act were received between 30 December 1695 and 25 January 1696, including one from Monmouth which feared that it would damage Monmouth market as boats carrying corn would pass through Monmouth without stopping.

It was also alleged that 'The Mayor and City of Hereford had clandestinely prevailed upon William Williams, a poor Boatman, and several other poor men of the Town of Monmouth to subscribe a paper, purporting their approbation of making the Rivers Wye and Lugg navigable.' Two broadsheets were issued, one supporting the Bill, the other against.[12] Despite this, the bill was taken to the House of Lords on 20 February 1696; after hearing the various petitions, the Lords signified their agreement, and it received the royal assent the same day.

Naturally the landowners who owned weirs on the river had made sure that their interests were taken care of, and under the Act the owners of weirs that were purchased and demolished were to be compensated, at 16 times the annual value of the weirs, a substantial sum, the only weir to be left standing being that of New Weir. To do this a survey was necessary, and this was carried out by Daniel Dennell, of Gloucester, who was experienced in this sort of work. He travelled up both the river Wye and the river Lugg, listing the various weirs, describing how they were made, estimating how much they were worth, and what needed to be done to make the river navigable.[13] He also commented on the locks installed by the Sandys, all of which were stated to be 'decayed'. The work was then put into effect. Two sets of accounts survive, one dealing with the practical side of making breaks in weirs, etc. and the other mainly dealing with the larger sums, including compensation, to a total of over £18,000. A few extracts from the first set of accounts are instructive.[14] There was some funny business at New Weir, and 1s. 6d. was paid to 'a Messing^{r} to forbid Mr White to raise New Wear by Mr. James Morgan's order'.[15] The banks of the river were also cleared:

p^{d} 11 men for 7 days work in cutting downe
y^{e} trees and Bushes on the River side from ffownhope
to Ross & Lidbrook 05: 09: 03

There is also the name of a bargeman:

pd Tho Agar bargemen for his advice to make
the breakes in the severall Wears above Heref^{d} = 05 =

Part of the work was not only demolishing the weirs, but also dredging the gravel from the shallows, not doubt with a detrimental effect on the various fords over the river. This involved considerable work with a barge:

pd for y^{e} nett & pole the London^{rs} had to
take up the gravell out of ye foords = 07: 06
ffor ye use of y^{e} bardge for carrying 180 tuns
of gravell at 3d y^{e} tun 02: 05 =

As for the other set of accounts, the trustees for the navigation had some queries, and it is not clear whether they were ever satisfactorily resolved. From them we learn that the materials of the Hereford mills were sold for £65 and those from Bridge Sollars mills for £10. There was a payment of £50 to William Williams, bargeman, but the reason is not stated. It may, of course, be only coincidence that this is the name of the Monmouth bargeman who supported the proposal for an Act—but then it may not. Compensation for the weirs demolished is also given in the accounts, and these make it clear that all the weirs on both the Wye and Lugg, with the exception of New Weir, were demolished. For the demolition of the weir at Fownhope Sandys Lechmere, esq. received £400.[16]

It is difficult to estimate the effect of the 1696 Act, but there are definite indications that there were beneficial effects. The trade in corn increased; because of this in 1706 the Mayor and Common Council of Hereford 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, depositions made, and it is this paperwork that survives as evidence of the increased trade.[17] Also, in the following year two bargemen, William Welch and Luke Hughes, paid £10 and £4 respectively for their freedom of the city of Hereford, the first known record of the names of any of the river-men becoming freemen.[18]

Figure 2. A coracle at New Weir[19]

Curiously enough, we know something of a Luke Hughes, a river-man, who was probably the same person. Gilpin mentions the story of the adventurous fellow 'who for a wager, once navigated a coricle as far as Lundy isle, at the mouth of the Bristol channel. A full fortnight or more he spent in this dangerous voyage;...When he returned to the New-Weir, report says, the account of this expedition was received like a voyage around the world.'[20] In local parlance a coracle was known as a truckle, and Charles Heath, writing in 1799, stated that the adventurer's name was Luke Hughes, that he lived at Wilton, and that he was the first proprietor of any barge on the river at Wilton. This expedition probably took place in the 1730s. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, James Hughes, grandson of Luke Hughes, kept the Bear public house at Wilton, now the King's Head. Not surprisingly, this is down by the river and formerly had a wharf.[21]

Supporting evidence about an increase in river trade can be deduced from the fact that in 1725 the site of the barbican of Hereford Castle was leased out and a wharf built, a site that had been suggested as suitable by Daniel Dennell nearly 30 years previously. There must have been enough trade to justify this; moreover, a petition about this was presented to the Easter Quarter Sessions in 1725:

> 'Upon a representation made unto this Court by Philip Symonds of y^{e}. City of Hereford Mercer Robt. Ravenhill of the same City Mercer Charles Mayo of y^{e}. same City Goldsmith, Thomas ffoord of y^{e}. same City Innholder and Joseph Trumper of y^{e}. same City Glover of a Confederacy among y^{e}. Bargemen to Enhance y^{e}. Prizes of e Coals brought up y^{e}. River Wye to y^{e}. City of Hereford and of great ffrauds in y^{e}. weight of Coals, and y^{t} for preventing y^{e}. same and other abuses they y^{e}. s^{d}. Philip Symonds Rob^{t}. Ravenhill Charles Mayo Tho: ffoord & Joseph Trumper Have taken a Lease of ye. Scite of y^{e}. Barbican said Symonds and others have taken a Lease of the scite of the Barbican and waste ground thereab^{ts}. within y^{e}. limits of y^{e}. s^{d}. City from y^{e}. May^{r}. Aldermen & Citizens of Hereford and are now upon building a Wharf upon y^{e}. river Extending from y^{e}. Colledge Orchard Eastward along y^{e}. Waterside And for as much as y^{e}. boundaries of y^{e}. City ground where the s^{d} Wharf is to be built lye Contiguous with y^{t}. of y^{e}. County Now for y^{e}. obviating any Dispute y^{t} may hereafter Arise Concerning y^{e}. same and for Encouraging so Publick and useful an undertaking, This Court Doth as much as in it lies Consent to y^{e}. building y^{e}. said Wharf saving y^{e}. right of y^{e}. County to y^{e}. wast ground or Lands adjoyning.'[22]

Soon after, in 1727. the next Act relating to the river was obtained, the preamble of which stated that it was an Act for explaining and amending the previous Act (Fig. 1). Amend it, it certainly did, as it empowered the trustees to erect new weirs in places where they thought fit, directly contrary to the previous Act, as removing the weirs had produced shallows in new places. It also provided that boat and barge masters were answerable for all damage done by boat or crew to weirs, locks etc. Almost certainly very little was done under this Act, and when Isaac Taylor, the well-known Herefordshire surveyor and map-maker, published his map of the county in 1754 he only marked three weirs in the county, the one at New Weir, another at Mordiford and one just below Bartonsham, near where the sewage works now is.[23] In 1763 Taylor produced a scheme for improving the navigation by erecting twenty-two weirs at suitable places, each high enough to pound the water as far back as the weir above, at an estimated cost of £20,900. Provision would be made for the passage of salmon, and the locks that he proposed would be large enough to take such river traffic as there was. He stated that the common barges then in use carried from 18 to 20 tons burden, were 50 feet long and 11 wide. He did not seem to have contemplated the use of horses, and thought that his proposals would enable five or six men could draw barges carrying 30 or 40 tons against the flow of water. Taylor also commented on the difficulty of barges passing through the lock at New Weir, and stated that every barge owner kept a large cable rope there, which cost £5 to £8, to help with this, and that additional men were needed to manage the capstan.[24] At this period the trustees of the navigation seem to have been ineffective; nothing came of Taylor's proposals.[25]

There was clearly much anger among those who used the navigation, and a petition was submitted to the Bishop of Hereford, the mayors of Hereford and Monmouth, the Bailiff of Leominster, and the surviving Trustees of the navigation:

> 'THAT thro' length of time, since the navigation was first opened, many alterations have been made in the channel of the river Wye, occasioned by floods, the coming down of large quantities of ice, and various other causes.
>
> That the navigation is by such means in many places so dangerous, particularly those under-mentioned, as to make it impracticable for the most skilful barge-masters to pass and repass with their boats in safety: Namely at Hadnocks and Martin's Stream, New Wear, Lidbrook, Wear-End, Ingleston, Hancock's Mill and Hereford Wear, with divers other places between Monmouth and Hereford, as well as the greatest part of the River between Hereford and The Hay.
>
> That frequent delays and disappointments arise to the barge-owners and others from the insufficiency of water in the said river, chiefly owing to the badness of the passage in the places before-mentioned.
>
> That the proprietors of the barges, being obliged at their own risque to be answerable for damages sustained on the said river, are from these and many other inconveniences discouraged in prosecuting the business of the said navigation.
>
> That the navigation of the river Lug, notwithstanding a considerable sum has been expended upon it, is more difficult and dangerous than it was thirty years ago so far from being amended and made compleat, that a loaded barge cannot, at any one state of water, pass and repass up and down the same.
>
> THE said barge-owners and others, whose names are hereunto subscribed, therefore pray, that the Trustees will take the matter represented to them into consideration, and pursue such measures for their relief, and for the common good of the country (either by calling a general meeting and electing new Trustees in the places of those deceased, that a sufficient number of Gentlemen within a convenient distance of

> each other may be qualified to act for the respective rivers, or by such other ways and means) as shall appear fittest to them, and best calculated, to promote the desired end, and to remove all annoyances and obstructions to the said navigation.'

This petition was signed by Thomas Prosser, William Parry, Eliz. Llewellin, Wm. Llewellin, John Hughes, Luke Phillips, John Vaughan, John Greenway, John Crompton, Thomas Pearce, John Seaborne, John Powles, Joseph Perrin and Richard Bethell. While it is undated, the names and other circumstances suggest that it was written in 1772, as in August of that year the remaining trustees of the navigation met in Hereford to elect suitable gentlemen to fill the vacancies that existed.[26] This was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 3 September 1772:

> 'On Wednesday the 19th of last month, the major part of the remaining Trustees of the Navigation of the River Wye had a meeting at the Swan-and-Falcon, and, agreeable to the direction of the act of Parliament, elected several Gentlemen (the list consisting chiefly of the representatives of the families originally named by the act of the 13th of George I.) to be joined with them in the execution of that trust: After which, they directed the Clerk to make out each of the Trustees, by letter, acquainted with the nomination and appointment. – The time and place of the first general meeting of the Trustees will be advertised in this Paper.'

A fortnight later notice was given for this meeting to take place on 21 October 1772 at the Swan-and-Falcon in Hereford, a notice repeated in subsequent weeks, the object being

> 'to take into consideration the complaints of the Barge-Owners, and to carry into force the powers of the act of Parliament enabling them to remove the annoyances and obstructions which impede, or affect the safety of, the said Navigation.'

At that meeting it was resolved

> 'That the gentlemen of the county be desired to meet at the Swan and Falcon aforesaid, on Monday the 2d of November next, at eleven in the forenoon, to consider of an application to parliament for an act to explain and make more effectual the several acts now in being relating to the navigation of the rivers Wye and Lugg.'[27]

Nothing further was reported, and sloth overtook the trustees once more! It was not until 18 April 1776 that another meeting of the trustees of the navigation was held at the New Tolsey 'for taking into account the complaint of the barge owners.'[28] This was followed by another meeting 'to receive the report of the Gentlemen who have undertaken to inspect the state of the navigation, at New Wear; and it is proposed at the same meeting to take into consideration the expediency of an application to parliament for a new act.' The meeting took place on 17 July 1776 and was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 18 July:

> 'On Tuesday, at a meeting of trustees, and other gentlemen, for the navigation of the river Wye, it was agreed that an able engineer be employed, by a committee employed for that, and other purposes, to survey the said river, and to make an estimate of the expence necessary to improve the navigation, when a liberal subscription for the same was begun by the gentlemen present.'

The following week an advert asked for subscriptions to be sent to the Mayor of Hereford. In the issue of the *Hereford Journal* of 15 August 1776 there was a notice of a meeting of the committee appointed by the trustees to contract with an able engineer. What happened was not reported, and it was not until a year later that the issue of the *Hereford Journal* of 7 August 1777 reported that a subscription opened for expence of a survey of a canal between Stourport and Wye near Hereford and the improvement of navigation of the Wye to Bristol. Things clearly moved on, as although nothing more was reported until 17 September 1778, an advert stated that Mr Whitworth had made a very satisfactory report of the practicability of a Canal Navigation, and a meeting was called, to be held at the New Tolsey on 6 October 'to take this public concern into further consideration, and also to consult upon the most proper means of improving the Navigation of the River Wye.' This meeting was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 8 October 1778, and it was stated that a Committee had been appointed to enquire about rent, papers etc. re wears, mills, etc. purchased under the various Acts. Another Committee had been appointed to consider about a canal or navigable act. The opinion of meeting was that Mr. Whitworth should be directed to examine the present state of the river 'together with a plan and estimate for improving such navigation, to the next meeting, with an account of his charges and expenses incurred and to be incurred.'

Although nothing further was reported in the *Hereford Journal*, we know that in 1779 a survey of the river Wye was carried out by Robert Whitworth, a former assistant to James Brindley, who had previously produced a scheme for a canal. This survey covered the section of the river from the city of Hereford to Tintern Weir, a little below Brockweir, and he made proposals for improving the navigation by making 'cuts'.[29] Things then slipped again, and it was not until 14 July 1785 that the *Hereford Journal* advertised a meeting of the trustees of the navigation to take place at the Swan-and-Falcon in Hereford 'to consider the most effectual means to remove the obstructions in the River Wye.' The result of the meeting appeared in a large advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 18 July 1785, stating the defects on the navigation, resolving that a new Act should be applied for, and that a subscription should be raised to cover the expence. An adjourned meeting about the navigation of the Wye took place on 18 August, reported in the *Hereford Journal* the next day, and an advert listed a large number of notables, any five or more of whom were to form a committee for carrying the plan for improving the river into execution. They were also empowered to deal with Mr Whitworth or some other able engineer. The committee met immediately, and the *Hereford Journal* of 25 August 1785 carried a report of its deliberations. It was decided that the plan proposed by Mr. Whitworth was much too expensive, and it was decided to make an application to Mr. Whitworth to deliver another plan and estimate on a less expensive scale.

Nothing further was reported until 1790 when, on 6 January the *Hereford Journal* announced a meeting of the Committee for improving the Wye Navigation to take place on the 13 January 'to take into consideration Mr. Whitworth's last plan and estimate.' His plans were estimated at £48,000 and £28,000 respectively. At a meeting at the Swan-and-Falcon on 30 January 1790 it was resolved 'That this committee recommend it to the two Committees appointed to conduct the intended Ledbury and Leominster Canals, to meet here the 19th of next March, for the purpose of taking into consideration, whether it will be most for the benefit of the county, to improve the Navigation of the River Wye, or to make one or both of the intended Canals.' A meeting of the trustees was reported in the issue of 19 May 1790, when it was decided for a petition to be presented for leave to bring in a new Bill. Also the solicitor, Mr. Bird, was to write to Mr. Whitworth so see if he could re-survey the river in the course of

that present summer. A couple of letters on the subject appeared in the pages of the *Hereford Journal*, and then the topic of the navigation disappears, and nothing seems to have become of Whitworth's proposals. The matter of the navigation arose again in the *Hereford Journal* of 29 April 1795, which reported:

> 'We are glad to find, that a Committee of Gentlemen, appointed to enquire into the reported grievances respecting the navigation, and fishery, have so far proceeded in their mission, as to have prepared a Report, which will be submitted for inspection, at a Meeting to be held for that purpose on Friday next.'

When the subject of the navigation of the river appeared again, it was in a slightly different form. In January 1802 a meeting was held in the City Arms Hotel in Hereford about the possibility of improving the supply of coal by building a horse towing path. In consequence a meeting was held at the Town Hall on 12 February 1802. Thereafter the matter proceeded slowly, and the *Hereford Journal* of 29 August 1804 announced that the survey of the river would start the following day, with the ultimate object of lowering the shallows and establishing a horse towing path: the surveyor was not stated but was Henry Price, a local man.[30] In August 1805 a report was received from Mr Jessop on the improvement of the navigation of the Wye, and this was considered at meetings in Hereford and Ross. Naturally it recommended that the construction of a horse towing path would be of economic benefit! Mr. Jessop estimated that at that time some 14,650 tons of goods, mostly coal from Lydbrook, were brought up the river, and that some 25,650 tons taken down river, somewhat less than other figures that had been quoted.[31] However, there were various false starts, although Henry Price did produce a printed map of the river in 1808, which was used in the application for a bill in 1809.[32] An Act of Parliament was granted to incorporate a company to make a towing path between Hereford and Lydbrook, the toll not to exceed 6d. per mile for each horse. However, the hauling of boats by men as had previously been the custom was not to be hindered, and in such cases no tolls were to be levied. The opening of the towing path was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of Wednesday 23 January 1811:

> 'On Thursday last two barges belonging to Mr. Crompton, of this city, completed their voyage from Lidbrook by means of the newly made Towing-path on the Banks of the Wye. The whole voyage was performed with facility and expedition, with the aid of two horses to each barge. – Their arrival was announced by the ringing of bells, a band of music, &c.; but the general rejoicings are deferred until, by this or some other mode, the price of coal shall be brought within some *reasonable* limits.'

One of the practical difficulties of hauling barges by horses was that because of physical constraints the towing path was not always on the same side of the river. It was then necessary to transfer the horses from one bank to the other, technically called roving. To do this, the Act empowered the company to keep ferry-boats at Putson Watering Place, Bullingham Road, and at or near Hoarwithy Passage and How Caple.

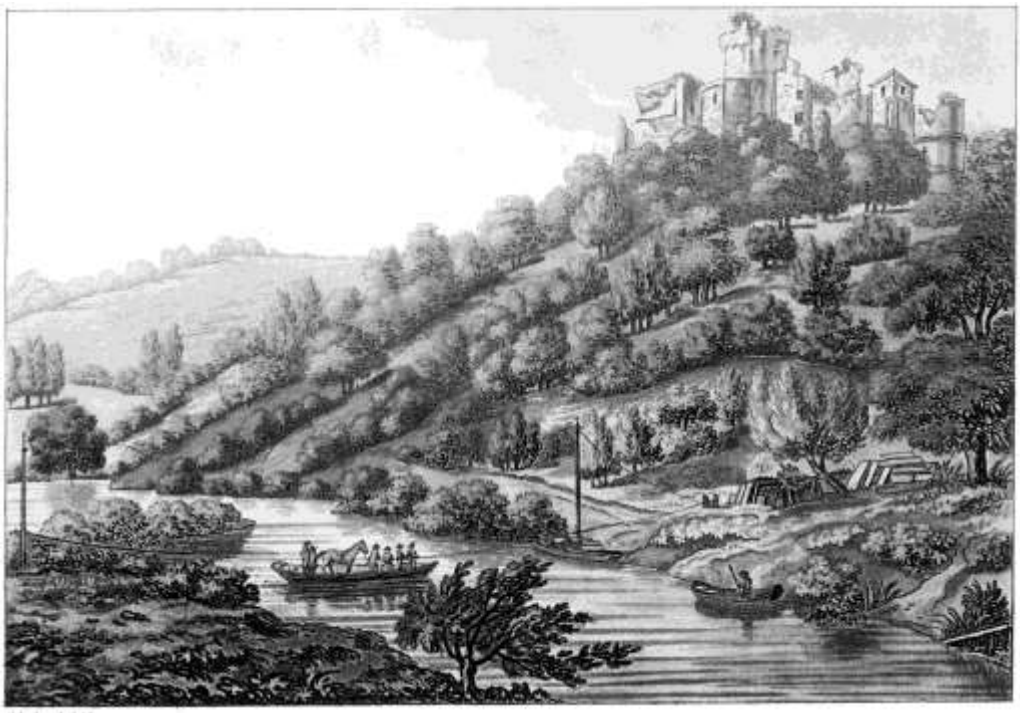


Figure 3. A view of the ferry at Goodrich castle, an aquatint published for Samuel Ireland in 1797. A similar arrangement to ferry horses would be made at a roving point

The other difficulty on the river was that New Weir, with its lock, was still in existence. A description of passing through the lock was published in 1799:

> 'The Barges, in passing through the Lock, afford some amusement to the minds of those who are not in the habit of witnessing such scenes. On opening the gates, after the vessel is lowered to the level of the river, the current sets into the lock, in opposition to the stream. In order therefore to bring her into the tide, some force is necessary. No sooner is the signal made for assistance, than young and old, boys and girls, fly to the rope, and, with a zeal the most hearty, soon deliver the vessel from her otherwise stationary situation, to the active current of the river. The Boatmen reward their labours by giving a few of them halfpenny a-piece. Their services, it should be said, are wanted by each barge for a few minutes only; but having in Spring week "many customers," they find their time as well paid for, as such transitory service might reasonably expect.'

After the horse towing path was established, there would perhaps be no need for such assistance. Lloyd in his papers on the navigation of the river Wye states that New Weir was damaged by frost in 1814 and the remains of the weir, lock, and adjoining forge buildings were demolished soon afterwards. However, it survived somewhat longer than that, being partly blown up by gunpowder in 1820, and then mostly demolished in 1826, a story too long to be told here.[33]

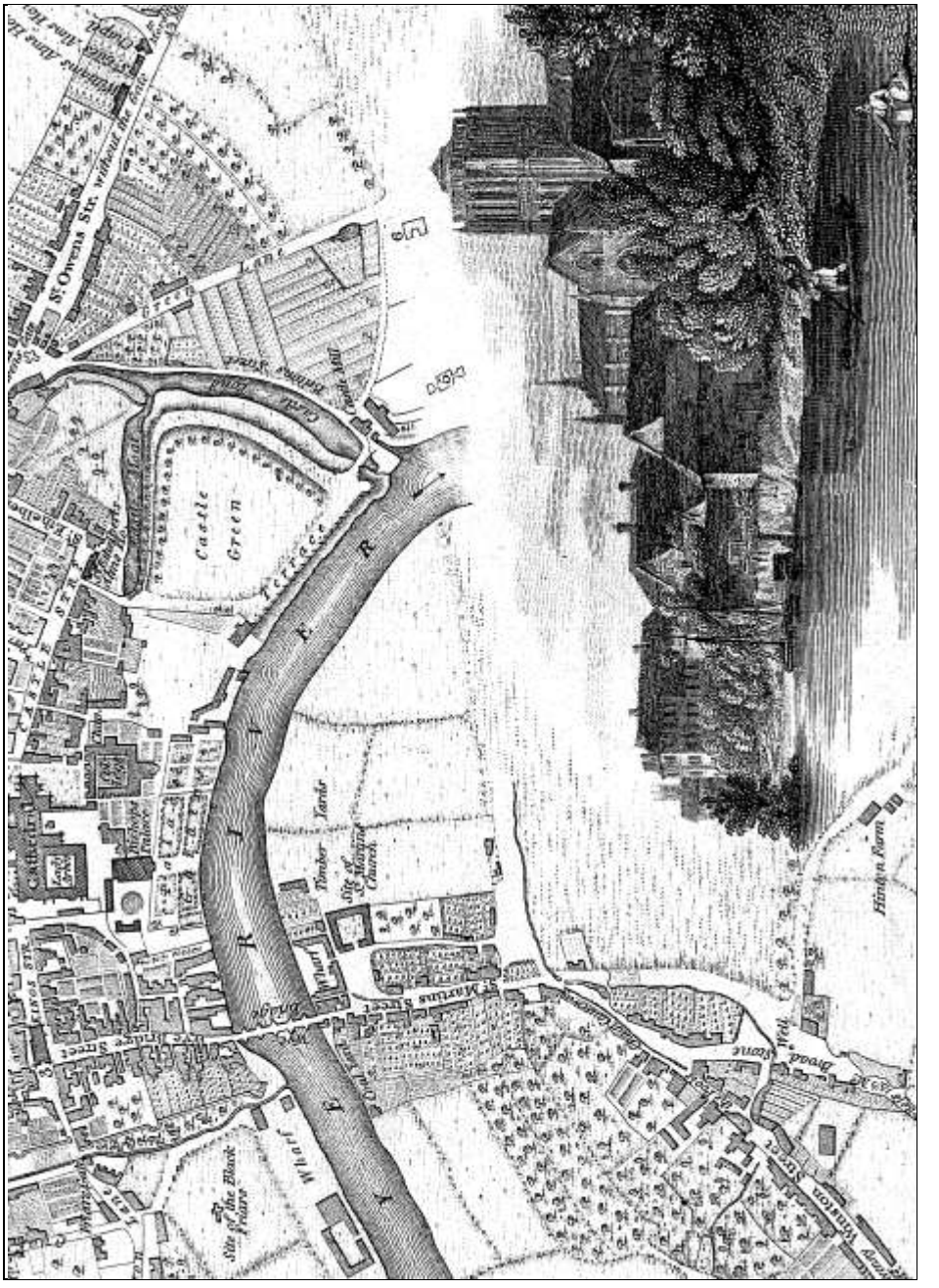


Figure 4. The waterfront at Hereford in 1806. Part of a map, drawn by G. Cole and engraved by J. Roper, published 1 April 1806. This map was produced to accompany the relevant volume of Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*

BARGES

The barges used on the river have been little studied, mainly because there is scant information available apart from the Chepstow Port Books and various adverts and news items that appeared in the *Hereford Journal*. In 1786 an Act of Parliament came into force which called for the registration of British ships, an Act which covered vessels 'having a Deck, or being of the Burthen of fifteen Tons, or upwards.' There were amending Acts in 1824, 1836 and 1855. Under the Act registers were to be kept of ships etc. trading from their home port, in the case of the Wye this being Chepstow. It did not cover barges that traded solely on the river, and so the registers cannot by any means give a complete picture of the river trade. This might have been obtained from lists compiled under an Act of 1795, which required that all river barges over 13 tons burthen should be registered with the local Clerk of the Peace, a measure enacted in anticipation of a possible French invasion. However, the list for Herefordshire does not survive and may have been a casualty of a fire which is said to have occurred in the office of a Clerk of the Peace and which destroyed many of the records.

With this unfortunate background, the registers compiled under the 1786 and later Acts are all that survive in the way of central records, and give details of such of the barges that were registered for use through the port of Chepstow.[34] The registers do not cover ships built on the Wye that were designed for trade elsewhere. A ship built on the Wye for, say, Liverpool owners, and destined to trade out of Liverpool would be registered at Liverpool.

Essentially the Act, like too many others, was an aid to raising revenue, based on the tonnage of goods that could be carried—the 'burthen' of the ships covered. For this the notional volume of the vessel was calculated, based on the length, breadth and depth, all dimensions recorded in the register. Remarkably, a custom had grown up whereby in calculating the tonnage the depth of the boat was assumed to be half the beam (width), which grossly overestimated the carrying capacity of a barge, which was wide and shallow, the depth usually being about a quarter of the beam. This can be illustrated from examples. The barge *Sally*, built at Rhydspence in about 1780, appears in the port register once, being registered in August 1805, probably as she had been bought by Thomas Hughes sen. of Monmouth, a trow owner. Her proportions were typical of barges used on the river, length 56 ft. 8ins, breadth 12ft. 6 ins, and depth 3ft. 2ins., and she was of 40 tons register. She was re-registered at Gloucester in 1828, and lengthened in 1839. Because of a change in the way tonnage was measured, she was then said to have been of 25 tons register! She ended her career in about 1875, when she was sunk to form a breakwater on the Severn.

Another case is that of the *Valiant*, a barge built in Hereford in 1790, which was of 43 tons register. Of course, it was the actual carrying capacity that was of interest to potential owners, and when she was advertised for sale in 1795 the burthen was stated to be 28 tons. That sale did not take place, and she was advertised again to be sold by auction in July 1798, when she was described in the following terms:

> 'THE BARGE VALIANT, of Hereford, measures 50 feet on the spear, and 13 feet on the beam; carries 30 tons, at 2 feet 9 inches of water.'

This is evidence of the draught of the barge, not the same as the depth as given in the registers, and there is supporting evidence in Jessop's report of 1805, which states that:

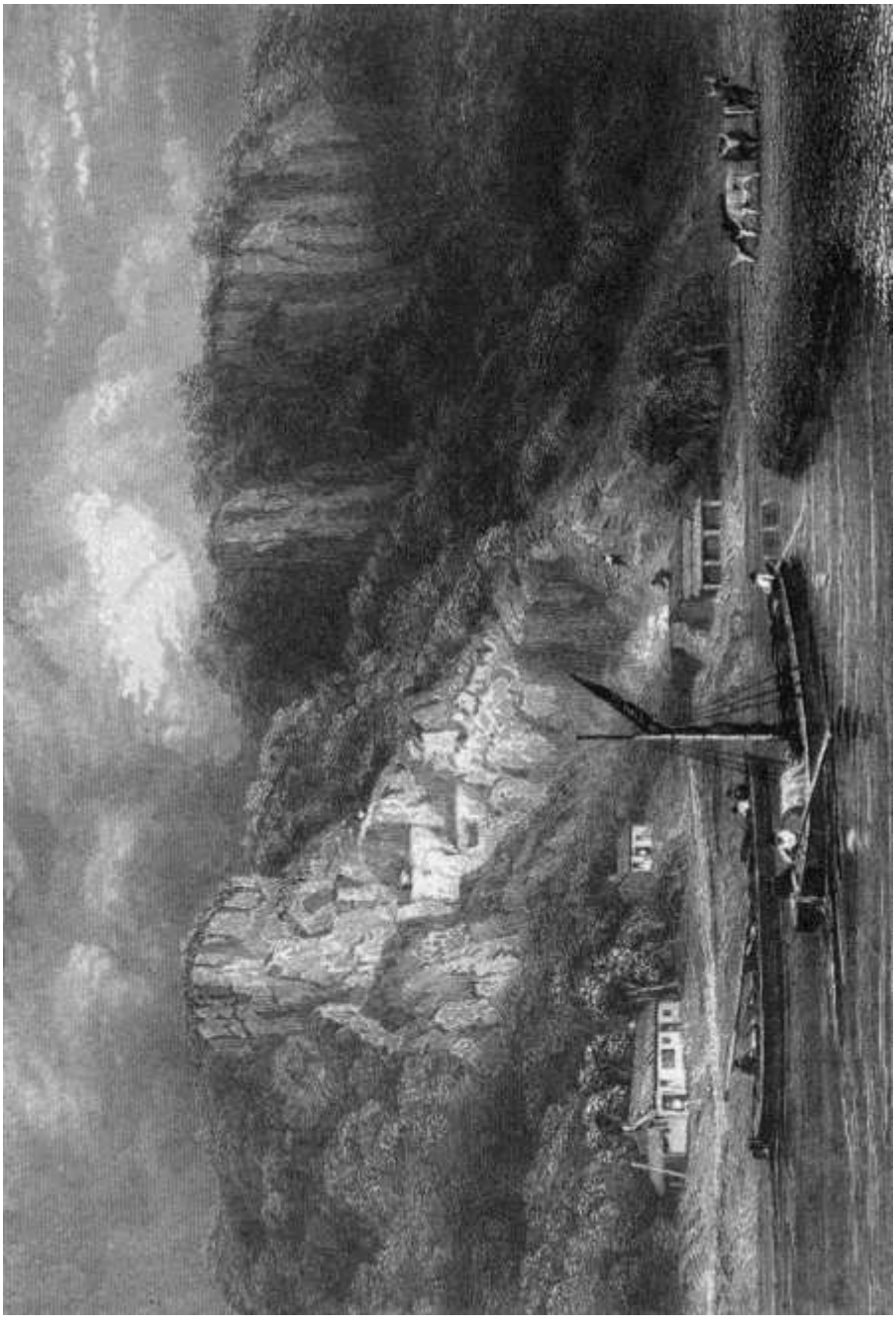


Figure 5. Barges below Coldwell Rocks under Symonds Yat rock by William Havell *c.*1840, engraved by William Backshall. Note the limestone workings and lime kilns

> 'I am informed that Barges employed on the River, are of such size as are capable of carrying from 20 to 30 Tons; and that, at 20 inches draft of Water, they will carry from 13 to 16 Tons.'

In June 1808 a barge of the name *Valiant*, probably the same vessel as that mentioned before, was advertised to be sold by auction, and on that occasion was stated to be of 32 tons burthen and 'well worth the attention of Timber Merchants, being capable of taking in heavy Timber'. In December 1810 she was once again advertised for sale, this time by private contract, and described in the following terms:

.

> 'THE VALIANT, a well-built BARGE, of good dimensions, in good Repair, with all her STORES, now lying at CHEPSTOW. – She is well calculated for Trading on the Rivers Wye and Severn, and will carry about Thirty Tons.'

From all this it seems that the burthen was a matter of opinion, although it did not agree with the official tonnage in the register!

While there is some evidence about the dimensions of barges, there is little about the cost. One clue occurs in an advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* of 29 January 1800, where a two-year-old barge of 25 tons burden was offered for sale at a price of £100. This was the property of William Crompton, of Hereford, who was stated to be going into another line of business. Particulars could also be obtained from J. Crompton, Monmouth, no doubt another member of this prolific family of river-men.[35]

Another clue about cost is also buried in a newspaper advertisement. In the autumn of 1826, Trehern and Stevens, timber merchants, of Hereford, became bankrupt, and the timber in their yards at Quaker's Lane [Friar Street], Hereford, and The Friars, Hereford was sold by auction. Two barges that belonged to the business were advertised to be sold by auction at the Bell, in Pipe Lane, Hereford, on 4 December 1826. The first lot was described in the following terms:

> 'ALL that capital NEW BARGE, known by the name of THE HEART OF OAK, built within the last twelve months of the very best Materials, carrying about thirty-five Tons, with her Masts and Sails, two Side Tarpaulings [*sic*], three Covering ditto, three Oars, one Yard, one Hawser, one Kedger, three Luff Tackle and Blocks, and one Jerse to raise the Sails, cost in building upwards of 300*l*. the Property of the Assignees of Messers. Trehern and Stevens, bankrupts.'

The registers indicate that the *Heart of Oak* was built in 1826 at a place given as 'Gliss' by 'Stephens and Trehearne', and that the registered tonnage was 53, rather more than the actual burthen given above.[36] This sale seems to have been unsuccessful, and the *Heart of Oak* was advertised for sale by private contract in the *Hereford Journal* of 3 January 1827. Perhaps there was no interest, and the *Hereford Journal* of 28 February 1827 announced that she was to be sold by auction at the Bell Inn, Pipe Lane, on 5 March 1827. This was presumably successful, as she was registered at Chepstow on 30 August 1827, having been bought by Jeremiah Luff, of Trelleck Grange, and re-registered at Bristol on 24 September 1830.

While most of the ships (a term which includes barges) which were registered at Chepstow were actually built at Chepstow or nearby, a number of barges were built further up the Wye, even in the upper reaches above Hereford. I have already mentioned the barge *Sally*, built at Rhydspence about the year 1780, and slightly further upstream, Thomas Thomas built

the barge *Penelope*, of 39 tons register, at Hay in 1807, while James Prout built the barge *Liberty* (32 tons register) at the same place in 1824.

It comes as no surprise that a number of barges were constructed at Hereford, including the *Valiant* in 1790. In the case of the *Valiant* the shipwright is not known, but may have been Richard Lewis, who built (or had built for him) at least two barges at Hereford, the *William* (43 tons register, in 1787) and *Molly* (44 tons register, in 1795). A few years later Thomas Maund was active in Hereford, building the *William* (42 tons register) in 1799, and *Kitty* (38 tons register) in 1801. Slightly later still, in 1812 George Crompton built the barge *George* (32 tons register), the name suggesting that it might be for himself, while in 1814 Joseph Thomas built another barge called the *Molly* (31 tons register). This seems to have passed into the ownership of Richard Lewis, mentioned above. In 1814 the older *Molly* was registered at Chepstow, and the new owners were then three ironmasters from Abbey [Tintern] and Redbrook. However, when Richard Lewis died in 1818 he still owned two barges, called *The Molly* and *The Liberty*, the former presumably being the second of that name, and their sale by auction was advertised in the issues of the *Hereford Journal* of 18 and 25 March 1818. Their later career has not so far been traced.

Joseph Thomas also built the barge *Martha* (32 tons register) at Holme Lacy in 1824, and we can trace the history of this barge. It seems to have been the barge of that name which was among the assets of Richard Crompton of Hereford which were advertised for sale on 25 July 1832. In March 1834 it was registered in the name of William Radford (of whom more below), the master being George Pearce. Twelve months later it was sold to T., H. and B. Swift, of Monmouth, and registered in their names on 29 August 1836, the same day that it was sold to George Pearce, the master of the barge, and two days later it was registered in his name. At that time it was remeasured and the register was then given as 15 tons! This is quite surprising, as the barge was sold by George's widow, and advertised for sale in the *Hereford Journal* of 23 March 1842 following terms:

> 'The Martha Barge, about 26 Tons Burthen, with mast, sail and rigging complete, Celling and Bark Boards, Oars &c, &. For view apply to Mrs. Pearce. at the Friars' Timber Yard.'

No later reference to the barge has so far been found.

Another barge built by Joseph Thomas was the *Mary and Elizabeth* (48 tons register), constructed at Bullingham in 1828. There was also a barge called *Rival* of 17 tons register, built at Wilton in 1804 by John Thomas, presumably a member of the same family.

Other builders of barges in Herefordshire include Thomas Mann (*Thomas and Mary*, built at Hereford in 1814, 41 tons register), and Philip Woore (*Rhoda* built at Hereford in 1815, 39 tons register, and *Happy Return* at New 'Wear' in 1816, 35 tons register). Then there was a trow called *Bee* (18 tons register), built at Hereford in 1837 by Thomas Swift, owned jointly by Thomas Swift and Benjamin Swift (brothers?), merchants, of Monmouth. Then there were members of the Wheatstone family working at Fownhope, Richard Wheatstone, who built, or had built for him, the *William* (40 tons register) in 1815, a barge that was sold to William Wheatstone, the master of the barge, in June 1832. William Wheatstone himself was responsible for the trow *Ann and Peggy*, of 13 tons burthen, built at Fownhope in 1854 but registered in Bristol, and the *Lady Alma*, another trow, of 12 tons register, built at Fownhope in 1855. The form of the river barges can be seen in the scenes near Hereford bridge recorded by Dayes in 1793 (Plates 1.1 and 1.2) and also in Fig. 5.

While it has been customary in modern literature to use the terms trow and barge interchangeably, a blurring of boundaries which had started in the middle of the 19th century and is illustrated above by the *Bee*, the *Ann and Peggy* and the *Lady Alma*, in the late 18th and early nineteenth there was a definite classification of boat, barge, and trow, in increasing order of burthen, which seem to have shaded one into the other, without exact boundaries.

At this earlier period the use of the term trow implied not only that the vessel was larger, but was fit for carrying goods in tidal waters, for instance to Bristol. In March 1783 Joseph Williams, an owner of Landogo, advertised two craft for sale, one described as a trow or vessel of burthen of 70 tons or more, and a barge, of 20 tons burthen.[37] More specific was an advertisement which appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 20 July 1791. Edward Phillips, of Monmouth, had become bankrupt, and his assignees had put up his craft for sale by auction. These included a trow of 80 tons burthen, stated to have been designed for the Bristol trade, another of 60 tons burthen, designed for the Severn trade, and barges of 28, 24, and 20 tons burthen respectively, together with a boat of 3 tons burthen. It was stated 'The Barges and Boat for the Wye trade.' The trows could be seen by application at Brockweir and the barges at Monmouth.

My theme has been barges, but I must mention in passing both the largest vessels constructed in Hereford and the steam vessels built there, although the former do not affect the trade on the river.[38] The major phase started with the *Hereford*, a sloop of 54 tons register, built in 1822 at John Easton's timber yard, directly opposite the college, in an area now known as Bishop's Meadow. Although the report in the *Hereford Journal* of 13 February 1822 states that it was built by John Easton, the port register records that the actual shipwright was Evan Hopkins, who also built the next ship, a snow[39] called *Pomona*, of 108 tons register, launched at the end of January 1823. The next ship, a snow of 122 tons register, has Easton's name in the register as builder, and was launched in November 1823. The press report includes the interesting information that the ship took seven months to build – not that it was complete as, like all these large ships, it had to be taken down-river to be rigged. By December 1825 seven of these relatively large ships had been built in Hereford, not all of which were registered in Chepstow. In 1827 the *Paul Pry*, a steam vessel of 31 tons register was built in John Easton's timber yard. Although the register gives William Radford the credit, the actual shipwright was James Kelley, of Liverpool. *Paul Pry*, Master George Pearce, was intended to provide the motive power for the Wye Steam Boat Company but despite successful trials there were no suitable barges and she was sent down-river to Gloucester in January 1828, fitted out, and sent to Liverpool the following year. This was apparently not the first steam vessel to be constructed in Herefordshire, the *Hereford Journal* of 23 December 1818 carrying the following news item:

> 'We understand a Steam Barge intended to carry Coal, and to navigate the Wye to this city, is now building at Ross, and nearly completed. The inventor is the spirited proprietor of the Lidbrook and Deep Level Colliery, in the forest of Dean, with the very superior coal of which level we are given to understand, we may expect shortly to be supplied at reduced prices.'

However, there was no other subsequent report in the *Hereford Journal*, and nothing was recorded in the port register.

The final phase of ship-building at Hereford came a few years later. On 5 March 1832 the *Hereford Journal* reported that a schooner called *Collinoque*, of 14 tons burthen, had been launched from Mr. Easton's yard, and that it was the eighth vessel of large dimensions that had been built there. She was rigged at Chepstow, but not registered there so her later career is not at present known.

Finally, the last vessel to be commented on was the steam vessel *Water Witch*, built by William Radford at a site above Wye bridge, and launched on 30 April 1834 in front of a large crowd. The report of the launch that was published in the *Hereford Journal* of 7 May 1834 stated that she was 'built upon a partly new construction so as to ensure a light draught of water.' Designed for plying her trade on one of the English rivers, she was sent downriver on 21 July to be fitted out at Chepstow and then sent on to Liverpool, where it was hoped a buyer would be found. It is therefore not surprising that she was not registered at Chepstow. Captain William Radford had just established the Hereford Iron Foundry in Quakers' Lane [Friar Street], suggesting that the 'partly new construction' of the *Water Witch* may have been of iron sheeting. Indeed, when the Hereford Foundry was being converted into a public company four years later, the prospectus stated that 'The demand for wrought iron boats is daily increasing...' and made a great point of the fact that such a boat needed much less depth of water, a boat carrying 25 tons needing only fourteen inches of water. However, there is no record of any such boats being made subsequently in Hereford.[40]

It is just worth mentioning that the timber yard used for the large boats, which seems to have been established about the year 1800 and which was held for a number of years by John Easton, was on ground that was partly owned by Thomas Bird, a local solicitor, and partly leased by him from the Custos and Vicars Choral of the Cathedral, and then let out. After Bird's death in 1836 his property was offered for sale by auction, and this part seems to have disposed of by auction on 20 September 1837, or soon after. At the time of the auction it was in the occupation of a Mr. Swift, probably Hezekiah Swift, the boatbuilder from Brockweir, who took over the boatbuilding business from John Easton. The timber yard was acquired by the church authorities, and the result was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 10 July 1839:

> 'We notice with pleasure the striking improvement our Bishop has effected in the appearance of the banks of the Wye below the bridge, and also in the prospect of the Castle Green; the unsightly timber yard opposite the palace no longer exists, and the alteration manifests not only excellent taste, but great liberality of expenditure in effecting the desirable alteration.'

THE RIVER-MEN

There is little doubt that the life of the masters and crews of barges was very hard and dangerous, and there are regular reports of casualties on the river, usually by drowning. This not helped by the fact that the barges worked when there was plenty of water in the river, and so any fall into the river was potentially serious. On 16 April 1772 one Thomas Jones fell out of a barge at Wilton, and his body was found almost three weeks later at Wear-End, near Goodrich. The inquest, reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 7 May 1772, recorded the usual verdict of accidental death. Another accident ten years later, was reported on 10 January 1782 by the *Hereford Journal* in a very matter-of-fact way, with no comment:

> 'Yesterday a man fell over a barge, near Bredwardine-bridge, and was drowned.'

Occasionally there is a full report of a casualty, as in the *Hereford Journal* of 25 January 1804:

> 'Sunday se'nnight, about eleven o'clock at night, as John Whittingham was taking a barge down the river Wye from Ross, she was driven by the rapidity of the current towards the bank, near Wilton-bridge; when in endeavouring to leap on the shore, the ground gave way, he fell backwards into the stream and was drowned. – He has left a wife and four children to lament his loss.'

The body of John Whittingham was eventually taken out of the water at Goodrich.

We may suspect that, like sailors, the river-men did not learn to swim, but there is little evidence about this. The only reference known to me is a report in the *Hereford Journal* of 13 April 1808:

> 'Wednesday last as a barge belonging to the Commissioners of the Monmouth Turn pike-roads, was descending the Wye with a load of stone, she struck against Bays Rock, in the middle of the river, and sunk immediately. There were four men on board, one only who could swim, who displayed great coolness and presence of mind on this trying occasion: when compelled to leave the vessel, he requested two of his companions to take hold of his jacket, and by that means he brought them safe to shore; but the fourth sunk before assistance could be given.'

Truly an act of courage – would that we knew the name of this hero of the navigation!

The area near Fownhope seems to have caused some difficulties, and on 12 February 1817 it was reported that a barge belonging to Mr. Pearce, of the coal wharf, Hereford, had sunk near 'Capley', and a man had been drowned. A worse accident happened in 1819, when a barge with 25 tons of coal on board sank near Fownhope, reported on 19 March 1819:

> *'Melancholy Accidents*. - On Friday last a barge was sunk near Fownhope, in this county, by which five men, part of the crew, lost their lives; and on Saturday, a man of the name of Terry, his wife, three children, some say a niece, whilst returning in a boat from seeing the spot where the men perished, at no great distance from the place, the boat upset, and of the whole party the man only escaped. None of the bodies were found yesterday.'

On this occasion there were more than five in the crew, the number depending on the size of the barge. In Jessop's report of 1805 he states that barges which navigated from Brockweir to Hereford, carrying ten tons, had a master and four men, and this is the number given in a report of a sinking of a barge in the *Hereford Journal* of Wednesday 8 March 1809:

> 'Same day [Monday last i.e. 27 February], a barge, belonging to Owner Crompton, of this city, laden with cider, for Bristol, sunk in the River Wye, (from what cause is not known), about five miles from Ross. Very providentially another barge was so near as to enable them to save the crew, five in number, from a watery grave.'

A smaller crew is inferred in a report in the *Hereford Journal* of 11 April 1838, where the loss of a crew member was reported. John Jordan, who resided in Pipe Lane, Hereford, was employed with his brother and another man to take a barge up to Hay. Some distance from that town, he complained of illness and his companions went to get provisions. When they returned

he was not there and it was concluded that he had fallen overboard and drowned. The paper commented 'The poor man has left a wife and family to deplore his loss.' This report also shows that barges were being taken up to Hay at this late date, and there is some evidence that barges went up to Hay as late as the 1860s. In a book, written by P. Bonthron and published in 1916, he recalls talking to a local boatman in Hereford who could remember the last barge navigated from Hay about half a century previously.[41] The boatman may well have been one of the Jordan family.

Timber was one of the main exports down the Wye, and could either be taken down the river loaded in a barge, as indicated in the sale advertisements for barges, or could be floated down the river. A float indicates that a number of lengths of timber were taken down the river, secured together, and reports seem to indicate that the bargemen rode the float. This was clearly a dangerous procedure, and a number of casualties were reported. On 15 December 1806 a float of timber went wrong near Ross, and the result was reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 24 December:

> 'On Monday last, as five men were conducting a float of timber down the Wye, near Ross, in attempting to pass through Wilton Bridge, by some accident (the water being extremely high) they ran against one of the Piers, when three of them were instantly washed off and drowned.'

The report went on to say that another man had been carried off by force of the current, but had clung to an oar and so floated and was saved by Mr. Pearce and two others a mile and a half downstream of the bridge. The same issue also reported the sinking of a barge at Monmouth, when three river-men were drowned.

An accident happened on a float of timber at Monmouth in February 1839, when a man was drowned on a float across the river, while in September 1846 Robert Crompton, a 45-year-old bargeman, was killed while assembling a float of timber at the Friars, in Hereford. He left a wife and family, and to support them a subscription was raised.[42]

Other deaths were caused by accidents incidental to the navigation, and there were at least two that resulted in claims of a deodand, which one definition states is 'any personal chattel which is the immediate occasion of the death of a rational creature, and, for that reason, given to God, i.e. forfeited to be applied to pious or charitable use.' In the summer of 1812 a barge was improperly moored at Chepstow, which resulted in several deaths by drowning. This is known from the accounts of the Monmouth Dispensary, published in the *Hereford Journal* of 6 October 1813:

> 'By a Donation from his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, being the sum accepted in lieu of a deodand from the Owners of a Vessel lying in Chepstow, through improper mooring of which a melancholy accident occurred in the course of the summer of 1812.
>
> 50 0 0

This is a considerable sum of money. There was an accompanying news item, commenting on the accident, and taking pains to point out that this was due to improper mooring, and not from the inherent dangers of the navigation of the river Wye! This sum must relate in some way to the value of the barge, and in sharp contrast to another sad event that happened in Hereford in September 1832. Charles Hopkins, a bargeman, was employed in stacking deals and taking them from a crane at Mr. Easton's quay of this city. There was an accident, some deals fell on

him, and he was so badly injured that he died within 10 minutes. An inquest was held before R. Johnson, Esq. Coroner, the report stating: 'Verdict Accidental Death. Deodand 1s. on the deals.'[43] This report reminds us that there would need to be cranes to deal with loading timber into, and out of, barges, difficult to imagine when we look at the scene today. Also, timber was brought up the Wye as well as being sent down, and in this case 'deals' would be softwood, probably imported from the Baltic.

Life as a bargeman must have been very uncertain, as in those days they would only be paid when they were working, and there is clear evidence that the barges only worked when there was sufficient water in the Wye. At other times the lack of water meant a shortage of coal in Hereford, and a consequence increase in price. Thus on 14 April 1790 the *Hereford Journal* noted that coal had reached 27s. per ton, due to the scarcity of water in the river, while on 28 December 1808 it had reached 40s. per ton. When the water justified it, there was a need to employ more bargemen to recommence trade, and there are a few adverts about this. Thus on 31 October 1776 there was an advert stating that barge-masters were wanted for the river Wye; on 12 November 1778 the barge-owners Wyatt and Townsend of Hereford were advertising for a barge-master, and in November 1801 the Hereford Coal Company was advertising for bargemen. These adverts were during the winter period, when most of the transport must have been done, and when there was activity on the river during the summer months, this was worth commenting on in the pages of the *Hereford Journal*. Thus on 13 July 1791 it reported:

> 'The river Wye had experienced a considerable encrease [*sic*] during the late rains; the craft have again been put in motion, and the boatmen now labour incessantly in loading, and delivering, their cargoes of corn, coals &c.'

When a proposal was made to construct a horse towing path, the notice of application for an Act of Parliament, which appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 12 and 19 September 1804, gave as one of the reasons as 'The Scarcity of Men to navigate the Barges and the exorbitant Wages demanded by the few remaining on this river,…' Jessop's report of 1805 indicates that hauliers were engaged, in addition to the crew, at a rate of one man per two tons of load. From Brockweir to Hereford took about two and a half or three days, depending on the state of the navigation, and for this the hauliers were paid 15s. each. Hauling a load of coal from Lydbrook to Hereford took from one and a half to two days, and each haulier was paid 9s. Jessop also states that, if horses were used to haul barges instead of men, then it would have the effect of 'restoring about 500 Men, who are no Substitutes for Horses, to more useful Employment.'

When the horse towing path opened in 1811 it would be easy to assume that the former custom of using gangs of men to haul loads up the river lapsed, but that was not so, as an advert of October 1827 proves:

> *TO BARGEMEN AND OTHERS.*
>
> A LARGE number of MEN is wanted at this Season of the Year, to Haul Barges from Bishop's Wood to Hereford and other places; men who wish to engage in this work will meet with encouragement by applying to James Ward of the Bishop's Wood Coal Wharfs.[44]

Perhaps it was cheaper to use seasonal labour than to maintain horses throughout the year, particularly as no tolls were paid if the barges were hauled by men!

MISBEHAVIOUR

River-men were not always of good repute, and there was often friction between them and the landsmen, with fault on both sides. In March 1776 a barge belonging to Thomas Pearce, of Hereford, was turned loose at Monnington-on-Wye, and he offered a reward of five guineas to anyone who provided information that led to a conviction. Curiously enough, a barge had come adrift in the area four years before, reported in the *Hereford Journal* of Thursday 13 February 1772, and although there was no claim of foul play at that time, the later event raises suspicions. The extract is worth quoting in full:

> 'Last Friday a barge, laden with 15 tons of bark, broke from her moorings, near Moccas, and arrived about six o'clock on Saturday morning at our bridge, but was prevented from passing through by her mast, part of which was immediately sawed off, when she was taken through it, and safely moored, after having performed a passage of little less than 16 miles, without receiving any injury, though there was not a soul on board until she came to the bridge.'

This was a remarkable journey as the barge came through Monnington Falls without a mishap.

On the night of 24 April 1782 a similar event happened, when a barge, which had been loaded with coal at Putson, was turned adrift, and the owner, Sarah Wheatstone, of Lydbrook, offered a reward of twenty guineas for conviction, a very large amount of money. She also played the sympathy card, as the advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 16 May 1782 described her as 'widow'.

Perhaps in these cases the culprit was an aggrieved landowner, as there is the occasional warning about trespass by bargemen. An advert of 27 May 1779 stated:

> 'THIS is to give Notice to all Bargemen, and Owners of Barges, going up and down the river Wye, that we, Walter Roberts of Tressick, and Joseph Browne of Llanfrother, in the parish of Hentland, in the county of Hereford, are determined to commence actions against every person who shall hereafter be found mooring barges on either of our lands, or in tramping or walking over any of our meadow-land, to and from the said river, as witness our hands the 26th day of May 1779.'

In April 1805 Thomas Moore, who was renting the Bartonsham estate, near Hereford, advertised in similar terms, warning bargemen not to land on the estate, while on 27 January 1813 there was a general notice from occupiers of land to owners concerned in the Wye Navigation, and giving a warning about 'making Roads over the Lands out of the line of the Towing Path, breaking down and carrying away Fences, leaving open the Gates upon the Towing Path, by which great Damages are sustained...' The notice went on to advise that barge owners should be careful in selecting Masters or Managers of Barges, and warning that if the depredations continued, the occupiers of land would commence actions to recover damages.

There is also evidence of more extreme behaviour on the part of bargemen. The *Hereford Journal* of 29 August 1792 carried the following news item:

> 'A few days ago, some bargemen called at the Half Way public-house, about a mile from Monmouth, where they staid [*sic*] drinking for some time. On being asked for the reckoning, they violently beat the master of the house, put his wife behind the fire (who was much burnt), and knocked down their daughter—when they made the best of their way off. Fortunately the person of the principal offender was recognised, and his name found out; a warrant has since been granted for apprehending him, and we sincerely hope his unprovoked brutality will soon meet with exemplary punishment.'

Unfortunately no further reports were published, and we do not know the end of this particular sorry story.

Honesty may well have been an issue as well, as the report from the *Hereford Journal* of 31 January 1827 indicates:

> 'On Saturday, the 13th inst. Richard Jordan, barge-man, was taken from on board a barge lying at Chepstow, by two of the constables of Chepstow, on the charge of feloniously stealing from the sail-loft of Mr. Thomas Taylor, of Chepstow, a quantity of new sail-cloth, and other articles, and he was fully committed for trial.'

Again we know nothing further, in particular whether Richard Jordan was innocent or not.

Rules about employment were also rather different in those days, and with much more draconian penalties for breaking an agreement. On 11 April 1771 the *Hereford Journal* reported:

> 'On Tuesday was committed to the city-gaol, for one month, by William Barrow, esq. mayor, Thomas Bassett, for refusing to navigate a boat down the river, agreeably to his engagement.'

Just over sixty years later, on 21 September 1831 the *Hereford Journal* reported:

> '*William Virgo* and *James Gregg*, two bargemen, labouring servants to Mr. Richard Crompton, barge-owner, of this city, were convicted of ill behaviour in their master's employ, by deserting the barge William, laden with bark, at Rotherwas in the River Wye, on her voyage to Chepstow, to their employer's loss and injury; the remainder of her crew not being able to proceed without them. They were sentenced to 2 months imprisonment, and hard labour.'

THE WYE AS A PLEASURE GROUND

In the second half of the eighteenth century there arose the cult of the picturesque, promoted by the Rev. William Gilpin, who laid down very rigid (and pretentious!) rules for interpreting the scenery. He undertook a journey down the Wye in the summer of 1770, and published an account of this in 1782, illustrated by aquatints. This was so popular that it ran through several editions, the fifth edition of 1800 having to have new plates made because the others had worn out. From this it is generally assumed that Gilpin was the father of the Wye Tour, the sight-seeing journey down the river from Ross. However, it is evident that this was well established by the time that Gilpin did his journey.

In December 1745 the Rev. John Egerton, son of the Bishop of Hereford, was collated to the rectory of Ross by his father, and stayed there until 1771, when he was appointed to the See of Durham. He was apparently of a sociable nature, with many visits by relatives and

acquaintances. What happened was described by Charles Heath in 1799, in his *Excursion Down the River Wye*:

> *'Under* HIS *auspices the* NAVY of ROSS was first founded, which has since arisen to *so much importance* in the world of *fashion* and *pleasure*, - and we must not with-hold from the Honourable Prelate the title of *Father of the Voyage down the Wye*. Son after taking possession of this his first benefice, he caused to be built a commodious *Pleasure Boat*, for the purpose of taking excursions on this river; and whenever any of his friends visited him in the Summer, an Excursion down the Wye formed always a part of their amusement.
>
> To the high post of *Admiral of his vessel* he appointed one Mr. EDWARD FLOYD, of Ross, - and to assist that officer in the duties of his station (which principally consisted *in drinking a quantity of good ale or cyder*), Mr. G. POLLARD and Mr. JOHN EVANS (father of our present worthy commander) were selected for his *first Captains*, whose *active services* kept pace – or rather were in perfect unison – with those of their *Commander*.
>
> Time, which (as the Moralist observes) "concludes all human pleasures", having called away the worthy Prelate to fill the See of DURHAM then vacant, the boat was moored on the bank of that river which it was first destined to navigate, - and the *ship's crew* committed to that destiny – the element of Fortune, - which we are all, more or less, *forced to weather*.
>
> For nearly thirty years did the Bishop continue a resident – at the end of which period, the Wye seems to have first attracted the notice of Mr. GILPIN'

More information is given by the Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, in his book *The Wye Tour or Gilpin on the Wye* (1818), where he states:

> 'The Tour of the Wye appears to have been first brought into notice, in the year 1750, by the late Dr. Egerton, Bishop of Durham,—the Rector of Ross—and the lady Sophia his wife: and about ten years afterwards, boats were first let to hire, by James Evans, of Ross, Basket-maker.'

Because of this, Gilpin was able to hire a boat with a crew of three—perhaps from James Evans—to take him down the river, and so we may deduce that there were already boats for hire on the river. Heath comments that for some years after Gilpin, a single boat was enough, 'but, *since the pleasure of the Excursion has been made known, and its scenery illustrated by the Engraver*, they have increased to the number of EIGHT, *and* MORE *are sometimes wanted*, - to accommodate the company.' This was helped by the success of Gilpin's book, from 1782 onwards, by the Rev. Stebbing Shaw's *Tour to the West of England in 1788*, published the following year, and Samuel Ireland's book *Picturesque Views on the River Wye*, advertised to be published in Spring 1795 but eventually published in 1797.

There is little doubt that even before the publication of Gilpin's book in 1782 that boating was considered a pleasure, with special boats. One such was advertised for sale in the *Hereford Journal* of 14 September 1780:

> 'HEREFORD.
>
> TO be SOLD, A new PLEASURE BOAT, with a pair of OARS and MAST. - She is built upon an excellent plan, sails swift, draws but little water, will sail over the shallowest

> stream on the river Wye, from the Hay to Monmouth, at the lowest water.
> ☞ For further particulars inquire of Thomas Skynner, joiner, in Broad-street.

The *Hereford Journal* of 29 May 1793 has details of another that was to be auctioned at the Saracen's Head, Hereford:

> 'A Handsome Clinker-built PLEASURE BOAT, of an easy draught of water, and well adapted for rowing or sailing; capable of accommodating twenty persons very comfortably; with and Awning, with neat chequered curtains, a full suit of Colours, Main-mast, Mizen-mast [*sic*], Bowsprit, two pairs of Oars, and all her Sails and Rigging, in complete repair.'

One can also imagine the distress of the owner at the loss of the pleasure boat advertised in the *Hereford Journal* of 8 March 1826:

> 'STOPPED on the River Wye, during the late flood, a flat-bottomed PLEASURE BOAT, nearly new, painted blue round the edges, with Rudder &c. complete. The Owner may have it again on paying the expense of this advertisement, by applying at the Hereford Journal Office, if by letter post paid.'

One of the larger pleasure boats was the steam boat built in London for F. R. Wegg-Prosser, of Belmont, but designed for pleasure excursions on the Wye. It arrived in Hereford in July 1857 and was carried to Belmont on a timber carriage drawn by four horses. The report stated that it was 42ft. 6ins in length and the width was between 8 and 9ft. between the paddles. Quite a pleasure boat! Not that it was the only one nor indeed the largest, as the *Hereford Journal* of 5 May 1866 reported the launch of a river steamer called *The Geraldine* from the yard of Mr. 'Jordon'. This had been built in Norwich in 1864 and had been purchased by Mr. George Bobart Hanbury, a surgeon, of King Street, Hereford. The boat had been overhauled at Richard Jordan's yard before launching, and was fifty-five feet long, six feet in the beam, of 5 horse-power, drawing about a foot of water and average speed eight knots per hour.

Of course, not everyone could either afford a pleasure boat, nor would want to, and to cater for these gentlemen boats were available for hire. When D. George, from Worcester, took over the King's Arms in Ross in March 1795 he advertised. 'N.B. Several elegant Pleasure Boats are kept on the river Wye, for the accommodation of Water Parties.' At this period the pleasure boats for hire at Ross were kept by John Newton 'who, with his Men, are well skilled in the navigation and instructed to point out the peculiar Beauties of this romantic Scenery, which so much engages the attention of Taste, Genius and refined Curiosity.' In 1855 William Newton, of the Hope and Anchor Inn, was advertising as a proprietor of pleasure boats. No doubt he was of the same family. At this time Joseph Evans was also a proprietor of pleasure boats, and in 1855 he was advertising that he had been in the business for upwards of 40 years and that he had made the trip 1200 times: by the next year this had gone up to 1300 times! Both Newton and Evans advertised their services in T. Sherwood Smith's *The Tourist's Guide to the Wye*, the first edition of which was published in 1855. Smith evidently tried to cash in on the arrival of the railway in 1855, and seems to have been successful, as he published another edition of his guide the following year.

More detailed information is given in an advert of 4 June 1806:

Excursion Down the Wye
A complete PLEASURE BOAT, worked by
Three men, to be had from Fownhope to Ross,
Monmouth and Chepstow
Terms

Fownhope to Ross 1 5 0
Fownhope to Monmouth 2 12 6
Fowhhope to Chepstow 4 4 0
For further particulars enquire of Wm. Badham,
of the Even Pitt, who has had the Boat new built, and
hopes with civility and attention to meet the sup-
port of a generous Public.
June 4, 1806.

This was in direct competition with three of the inns in Ross. The 1808 edition of Heath's *Excursion*... lists these inns (The Swan, The King's Head, and The George) and states:

> 'Parties, making the Excursion down the Wye, may be provided with Pleasure Boats, at each of the above Houses;—cold Collation, the best Wines, and every other Refreshment for the Voyage.'

What an idyllic picture! Of course, it would only be persons of means who could afford both the time and money to make the tour, and there are occasional reports of this. The *Hereford Journal* of 5 September 1792 reported:

> 'On Friday last, his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, accompanied by Mr. Howard, Mr. Walwyn, Capt, Scudamore, and a party of Ladies, made an excursion in Newton's pleasure boats, down the River Wye, from Ross to Monmouth.—It was their intention to proceed to Chepstow; but owing to the wetness of the weather, they dismissed their boats at Monmouth, and, after taking a view of the town, returned on Saturday to dinner at Holm Lacy.'

Even gentlemen of the law took the chance when the opportunity arose, reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 20 August 1794:

> 'The business of the Assizes was finished here on Saturday morning, when the Judges set out for Monmouth; where the Hon, Mr. Justice Heath opened the commission for that county – Sir Francis Buller, with a select party of gentlemen of the law on the Circuit, having made the excursion to Monmouth, down the river Wye, from Ross, and did not arrive until a late hour on Sunday.'

What they all hoped to see was exemplified in a report in the *Hereford Journal* of 15 September 1790:

> '"The banks of the Wye" are now in great perfection, and should be visited by every one who is pleased with rich and variegated scenery. The romantic views between Ross, Monmouth, and Chepstow; and the beauty and luxuriance of the prospect from Capler's Wood and other points between this city and Ross, are exceeded in very few parts of the kingdom.'

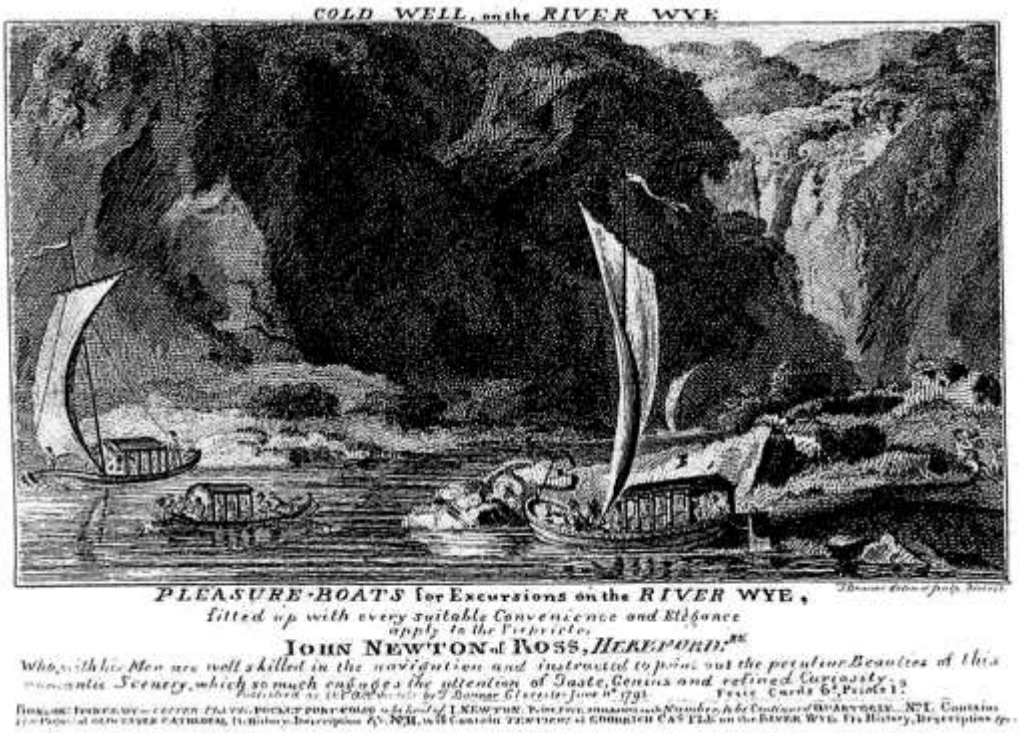


Figure 6. An engraving of pleasure boats at Coldwell Rocks below Symonds Yat rock, drawn and engraved by T. Bonnor, Gloucester, and published in 1793

In 1802 Nelson, while on a progress through the country, took breakfast at the Swan in Ross, before taking the voyage down the river to Monmouth. The Swan was where HRH Prince George of Cambridge, stayed on the night of 8 September 1835, when he visited Ross, accompanied by his tutor. The next morning he visited the house of the 'Man of Ross', commented favourably on the way the garden there had been laid out, and then departed to voyage down the Wye, reported in the following terms:

> 'On his Royal Highness leaving the inn to embark on the Wye, he spoke in terms of approbation of the comforts of the Swan Hotel and the attention of Mr. Barrett and his establishment. Whilst on the voyage, the party greatly admired the fine scenery through which they glided, and were particularly struck with Goodrich Court, the splendid residence of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick. – At Monmouth, the Prince was received with every demonstration of respect, and after viewing the town and vicinity, the party proceeded to visit Ragland Castle and Tintern Abbey.'

'Mr. Barrett' was James Barrett, who, in 1837, built the Royal Hotel at a cost of over £15,000. Perhaps the name referred back to his royal visitor at the Swan? This hotel became a centre for the Wye Tour, and the *Hereford Journal* of 2 June 1841 published the following advert:

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF PLEASURE BOATS

J BARRETT wishes to engage P L E A S U R E • BOATS for the accommodation of parties down the Wye, during the Summer. Three or Four will be required. Royal Hotel, Ross, May 31st, 1841.

While up to this period the tour had been made in boats propelled by oars, in 1834 a steamer was introduced at Ross, called, not very originally, 'The Man of Ross'.

RIVER WYE.

ROSS, HEREFORDSHIRE.

NEW AND ELEGANT

PLEASURE PACKET,

THE MAN OF ROSS,

From Ross to Goodrich Court and Castle, Symond's Yat, Whitchurch, New Weir, Monmouth, Tintern Abbey, and Chepstow, will leave Ross every Monday and Thursday morning throughout the Summer.

PARTIES TRAVELLING will now be enabled to enjoy the enchanting scenery of this beautiful river, at about one-third the usual expense; and persons returning either way, within a week, will only be charged half-price. Opportunities will therefore be afforded for travellers to proceed to Clifton, Bristol, Bath, &c., and to return at a very moderate expense; and likewise parties coming up from any of the above places, will have time for a trip to Malvern, Cheltenham, &c., and to return in the same way. The time of sailing will be given in hand-bills issued monthly, and may be had at either of the under mentioned places—at Ross, opposite the Lamb Inn, Dock Pitch, where large and small Pleasure Boats, with careful and experienced men, are kept in constant readiness; Ship and Castle, on the Quay, Monmouth; and Steam Packet Office, Chepstow.

Tickets for the season may be had of Mr. Joseph Evans, Dock Pitch, Ross.

TIME OF SAILING FOR THE NEXT WEEK:—

From Ross to Monmouth,

Monday, July 28, at 10 morn.; Thursday, July 31, at 10 morn.

From Monmouth to Chepstow.—Tuesday, July 29, at 9 morn.

From Chepstow to Monmouth.—Tuesday, July 29, at 9 aftern.

From Monmouth to Ross.—Wednesday, July 30, at 10 morn!

FARES.

Best Cabin from Ross to Monmouth, 6s.; after Cabin, 5s. From Monmouth to Chepstow, best Cabin, 6s.; after Cabin, 5s. From Chepstow to Monmouth, best Cabin, 6s.; after Cabin, 5s. From Monmouth to Ross, best Cabin, 6s.; after Cabin, 5s. Children under twelve years of age half-price. Dogs 1s. each.

Considerable allowance will be made from the fares to families and large parties. Persons returning within a week to either place, will be charged half-price. The fares for short distances about three pence per mile—these fares include every expense.

It is earnestly requested, all persons desirous of viewing the Packet on her way down or up, will repair to one of the under-mentioned places, viz.:—Glewston Ferry, Goodrich Ferry, Kyme Bridge, Lydbrook, Symond's Yat, Hunshalm Ferry or New Weir, (between Monmouth and Chepstow) Lower Redbrook, Landogo, Brock Weir, and Tintern Abbey.

N.B.—Sufficient time is allowed for parties to see Goodrich Court and Castle, Symond's Yat, Monmouth, Tintern Abbey, &c. &c.

Figure 7. This advertisement first appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 5 July 1834

TOUR OF THE

RIVER WYE,

From Ross to Goodrich Court and Castle, Symond's Yat, Whitchurch, New Weir, Monmouth, Tintern Abbey, and Chepstow.

THE admirers of the beautiful and romantic Scenery of the River Wye will now have an opportunity of making the deservedly celebrated Tour of the River from ROSS to CHEPSTOW, in ONE DAY; and at the same time be afforded AMPLE TIME for an attentive survey of the numerous attractions its Banks present; by the Establishment of a Safe, Commodious, and Elegantly Fitted up

STEAM BOAT,

CALLED

"THE MAN OF ROSS,"

which it is intended to Sail every MONDAY and THURSDAY from Ross to CHEPSTOW, during the Summer Season.

FARES:

Ross to Chepstow, 10s.—Ross to Monmouth, 5s.—Monmouth to Chepstow, 5s.—Chepstow to Ross, 10s.—Chepstow to Monmouth, 5s.—Monmouth to Ross, 5s.—Children under twelve years of age half-price. Dogs 1s. each.

A considerable allowance will be made in the Fares to Families and large Parties. Persons returning within a week to either place will then be charged half-price.

Refreshments may be had on board, on moderate terms, and every attention will be paid to the comfort and convenience of the Passengers.

The Proprietors respectfully request Parties desirous of making the Tour, not to listen to the statements of individuals interested in crushing the Packet, but to make enquiries at the Packet Office, as no pains or falsehoods are spared by the enemies of the undertaking, to prevent the Boat from obtaining Passengers. The voyage is made by the Packet in less time by two or three hours than by any other Boat which is used for conveying passengers.

Any further information may be obtained by applying at the King's Head Hotel, Ross; Packet Office, Dock Pitch, Ross; Ship and Castle on the Quay, Monmouth; and Steam Packet Office, Chepstow.

Figure 8. By 1836 *The Man of Ross* was described as a 'steam boat'

The proprietor was later James Evans, and its services were first advertised in the *Hereford Times* on 5 July 1834 (Fig. 6). Described as a 'New and Elegant Pleasure Packet', for the next couple of years, for a few weeks each summer, it made the trip from Ross to Chepstow twice a week, the journal being stated to be made easily in one day. When the season began again in 1836 the Man of Ross was described as a steam boat in an advert in the *Hereford Times* on 25 June 1836 (Fig. 7), presumably being a paddle steamer because of the shallowness of the river. The first trip of the season was advertised to take place on 27 June 1836. There was some bad feeling over this enterprise, as on 13 July 1836 the *Hereford Journal* carried a report, copied from the *Glocester Chronicle* [*sic*], that the boiler of the Man of Ross had burst at Landogo, an incorrect statement that it was forced to retract the next week! This bad feeling is referred to in the last-but-one paragraph illustrated in Fig. 7. Trips on the Man of Ross were last advertised in the *Hereford Times* on 10 September 1836, and nothing appeared the following year, so evidently the service was unsuccessful. There is no clue as to where the boat was built—it was not registered at Chepstow—nor is there any clue what happened to it after the service from Ross to Chepstow was discontinued late in 1836.

THE END OF THE NAVIGATION

The difficulties of the navigation were such that it was not surprising that alternatives were seriously considered. In 1801 there was a proposal to build a tram road to Hereford through the Forest of Dean, and a revised plan submitted on 30 September 1802 showed a tramroad starting from the opposite side of the river to Lydbrook and terminating at Wye Bridge, Hereford, but this came to nothing. However, the opening of the Brecon to Abergavenny canal in 1800 and the benefit of the cheap coal brought by it stimulated two proposals to link the canal to Herefordshire. A proposal to build a tramway from Brecon to Eardisley was first mooted in 1810, and the necessary funds were raised and acts of Parliament obtained: the first section from Brecon to Hay was completed in 1816, and the section to Eardisley was opened on 11 December 1818. The approach of the Hay tramroad stimulated a proposal in 1818 for a connecting railway to Kington and beyond, the section from Eardisley to Kington being opened on 1 May 1820. Naturally this had an adverse effect on the river trade, and the transport of coal by river above Hereford must be presumed to have ceased. The second proposal made in 1810 was for a tramway to link the Brecon to Abergavenny canal at Llanwenarth to Llanfihangel Crucorney and this was more successful. A bill was passed in 1811, while the following year a bill for a further construction from Llanfihangel to Monmouth Cap was also passed. It is rumoured that meetings were held from time to time with a view to stimulate interest in extending the tramroad to Hereford, but that these were said to have been broken up by persons with vested interests in the failure of the project. However, in 1825 a series of public meetings were held and an application made to Parliament for an Act. This was passed the following year, and the construction put in hand. The tramroad was opened for traffic on 21 September 1829 and at 10 a.m. the first consignment of coal arrived at the terminus in Hereford, which was the old coal wharf to the west of the south end of the Wye Bridge. It had been estimated that about 6,000 tons of coal would be transported annually, but it is suggested that the peak tonnage transported in the mid 1830s was rather more than this. The subsequent decline was attributed to the increased price of South Wales coal, which made Forest of Dean coal more competitive.

It is inevitable that the trade on the river was affected by the coal coming from South Wales. It must have been further damaged when the Gloucester and Hereford Canal reached

Hereford in 1845, and the final blow came when the Newport, Abergavenny and Hereford Railway, which used part of the old tramroad, was opened for traffic on 2 January 1854. With this the navigation effectively ceased to function. Until this period the half-yearly general meetings of the proprietors of the River Wye Horse Towing Path Company were advertised regularly, and on 15 June 1853 it was reported:

> 'We hear that the proprietors of the River Wye Towing-Path, at their half-yearly meeting at the City Arms, on the 1st instant, were able to make a dividend of 35s. per share upon the shares of the company, which is the largest they have been able to make for some years and the trade on the Wye would have been much larger if there had been a better supply of coal in the Forest.'

This forecast was optimistic, and the last general meeting of the proprietors was advertised on 28 November 1855, and it is assumed that the company then became inactive. With this the navigation to Hereford effectively ceased to function.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

[1] Clark states in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford*... (1794): '...even the counties of Brecon and Radnor derive some little benefit from the Wye, as it is in floods navigable six miles above Hay.'
[2] While it is not absolutely certain that the two abutments at New Weir above Hereford, which date from the Roman period, supported a wharf, this is the most likely interpretation. See R. Shoesmith, 'The Roman Buildings at New Weir, Herefordshire', *TWNFC* Vol. XLIII (1980), 135-154.
[3] State Papers.- Henry VIII, Section 96, p. 235. Quoted in the *Herefordshire Magazine*, December 1907, pp.340-1.
[4] It is possible that the mills were demolished 19 years before the date of this Act i.e. about 1536, which would accord with the letter quoted above, but when the Act was drafted this was misinterpreted as 18 Henry VIII.
[5] William. T. Jackman, *The development of transportation in modern England* (1962), p.172.
[6] Summarised from *Journal of the House of Commons* (1802), accessed via hhtp://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/
[7] A transcript of this broadsheet was published in John Lloyd jun. ed. *Papers relating to the History and Navigation of the Rivers Wye and Lug* (1873), pp.15-19, where it is incorrectly stated that it is dated 1690. A copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, was one of a set of proclamations assembled by Humphrey Dyson, a collector of such material, before his death in 1633. It clearly relates to the bill of 1624.
[8] Herefordshire Record Office (HRO), BG11/17/5/5.
[9] HRO, B47/80.
[10] HRO, Q/SO/1 Quarter Sessions Order Book 1665-1673.
[11] HRO, Q/SO/2 Quarter Sessions Order Book 1673 -1689
[12] Hereford Reference Library (HRL), PC 626.
[13] A photocopy at HRO, AP/21, is taken from the original survey, which was acquired by the British Museum in 1856 (Add. MSS. 21567) The part of the survey relating to the Lugg has been discussed in detail in these page: Anthea Brian, '"As to the Lugg" - its vanished mills, broken weirs and damaged bridge,' *TWNFC* Vol. XLVIII (1994), 37-96. A summary of the descriptions of the different weirs on the Wye and Lugg was published in H.W. Paar, 'Wye Navigation in 1696', Severn and Wye Review (1971), 98-103.
[14] HRO, K12/33/iii.
[15] This adds credence to the story given in J. Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (1796),p. 66 (footnote): An act of Parliament was procured some years ago, to reduce the above-mentioned Wear [New Wear], but the intention of the Act was defeated by the following stratagem. The proprietor of the Wear, whilst the bill was passing through the Houses, put a number of workmen to raise it just so much above its original height, as the intention was to reduce it below that level. By this means, when the Act came to be put into execution, the Wear was only brought to its former standard.'
[16] HRO, K12/33/ii.
[17] HRL, Pilley Collection 100-114. Since transferred to Herefordshire Record Office.
[18] F.C. Morgan, 'Local Government in Hereford', *TWNFC* (1941), p.52.
[19] *Penny Magazine*, 30 August 1835.

[20] William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*, 5th edition (1800), 41.
[21] Charles Heath, *The Excursion down the Wye from Ross to Monmouth* (1799), unpaginated
[22] HRO, Minutes of the Quarter Sessions 1719-1728 Q/SM/8 (unpaginated).
[23] The weir at Bartonsham was used to drive a corn mill, which was marked as disused on Taylor's map of 1763.
[24] Confirmation of the cable ropes kept at New Weir comes in an advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 13 February 1788, when James Biss offered 'One Guinea reward for information of any person using the ROPE at New-Weare, belonging to J. Biss, except his own men.'
[25] HRO, CO34.
[26] The petition is given in full, but without source, in V.J. Stockinger, *The Rivers Wye and Lugg Navigation. A Documentary History 1555-1951*. (1996), pp. 159-160. There are no known surviving records of the Trustees of the Wye and Lugg Navigation.
[27] *Hereford Journal* (*HJ*), 22 October 1772.
[28] Advertised in the *Hereford Journal* on 28 March and 4 April 1776. For the New Tolsey see John C. Eisel, 'Notes on the former Hereford Market Hall and the Tolsey', *TWNFC* Vol. 53 (2005), 36-38.
[29] In HRO, (Q/RWn/1-3) are three maps and plans made by Whitworth, relating to this survey, made in 1779; a plan of the river Wye from the city of Hereford to Tintern Weir, a rather rougher version of this, and a profile of the barge channel from the city of Hereford to Wilton bridge. Also, of the same date, at HRO, T90/1, is a plan and profile of a proposed canal to be made at New Weir, Whitchurch.
[30] HRO, Q/RWn/4.
[31] HRL, Printed report, in Local Collection.
[32] HRO, B11/1.
[33] *HJ*, 9 February & 8 March 1820, 13 April, 4 May, 15 June 1825, 12 July 1826.
[34] G. Farr, *Chepstow Ships* (1954). Any reference to registered details of barges are taken from this work.
[35] John Crompton was a publican in Monmouth, with premises near the river. In January 1811 the *Hereford Journal* carried a notice of property to be auctioned in Monmouth, one of the lots being 'a commodious dwelling house and premises situate at Wye Bridge, now and for many years past, used as a public house, in full business, in the occupation of John Crompton, who is under a notice to quit at Midsummer 1811.'
[36] This could be the field in Winforton parish, on the banks of the Wye, referred to as 'The Gliss' on a map of *c*.1774, for which see Brian Smith, *Herefordshire Maps 1577 to 1800. Supplement*. (2012), p.40. (SO 298457) By the time that the parish had been surveyed for the tithe map, the name had been changed. However, tithe surveys of other parishes record other fields with this name. A field along the river, somewhat to the east of Clock Mill, lies in Bredwardine parish, while to the west of Clock Mills the fields called Upper Gliss and Lower Gliss, in Clifford parish, were recorded as being in the loop of the river. Rather further upstream, a field in Cusop parish, lying along the right hand bank of the river just north of where the Dulas Brook enters the Wye, also has this name. There are also variants, such as the field called Glisshire, in that part of Bredwardine parish that joins Letton. What all these fields have in common is that they lie along the bank of the river, which must be significant, but there is no indication of the derivation, nor has it yet been found anywhere else. The barge built at 'Gliss' could have been built at any of these places, but the most likely places are Clock Mills and Cusop.
[37] *HJ*, 20 & 27 March 1783.
[38] Based, with additions, on Israel Cohen, 'Ship Building on the Wye' in *TWNFC* (1958), 75-9.
[39] A *snow* is a type of ship with two masts and a specific configuration of sails.
[40] The first iron steamship was built by the Horsely Iron Company, Tipton, in 1821. Harold Parsons, *Portrait of the Black Country* (1986), 166.
[41] P. Bonthron, *My holidays on inland waterways* (1916), Chap. XIX, where it goes on to say 'Now commercial traffic has been abandoned generally since the Wye Valley Railway was opened in 1876.'
[42] *HJ*, 23 Sept. 1846, inquest *Hereford Times* (*HT*), 26 Sept. 1846. For appeal see *HJ*, 30 Sept. 1846, *HT*, 3 Oct. 1846 *et seq*.
[43] *HJ*, 5 Sept. 1832, *HT*, 8 Sept. 1832.

The Precambrian inlier at Martley, Worcestershire: Martley Rock rediscovered

By WILLIAM J BARCLAY, PAUL OLVER, SUE HAY, MOIRA JENKINS, JOHN PAYNE, JOHN NICKLIN AND NATALIE WATKINS

A disused Victorian gravel pit 1 km. west of Martley, Worcestershire [SO 7450 5956] formerly exposed an inlier of Precambrian meta-igneous rocks and early Palaeozoic quartz arenite in the footwall of the East Malvern Fault. The pit is now back-filled, but recent trenching at the site, renamed Martley Rock at the request of the owner, Cob House fisheries, has re-exposed the rocks of the inlier. This has provided exciting new insights into its lithostratigraphy, complex geological structure and a prolonged geological history spanning 700 million years. This paper presents a progress report on the programme of work and a summary of the findings to date. The site has been of intense geological interest since its discovery in the early part of the 19th century. It is a remarkable occurrence, not only of Precambrian and early Palaeozoic rocks, but also of diverse geology including Late Silurian red-beds (the Raglan Mudstone Formation of the Old Red Sandstone), Carboniferous mudrocks (the Halesowen Formation), Triassic sandstones (the Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation) and Quaternary sands of possible Middle Pleistocene, pre-Anglian age, all within a small area of less than 3000m^2.

BACKGROUND

Martley Rock (Plate 2.1) has been the focus of geological interest for almost 200 years. The presence of ancient Precambrian basement rocks in a very small inlier surrounded by much younger sedimentary rocks and an apparently allochthonous underlying quartz arenite of Cambrian or Ordovician age is unique in southern Britain. The inlier lies on the Malvern Axis and very close to the East Malvern Fault, lying on its western footwall side. These structures are among the most important lineaments in England and have a prolonged geological history involving repeated tectonic movements and reactivation. Martley Rock provides a window into the complex geology that resulted from these tectonic events and the intervening periods of sedimentary deposition. The sedimentary rocks record a wide range of depositional environments spanning a period of almost 600 million years, from siliciclastic sand deposition in shallow sea (the Martley Quartzite) to tropical alluvial semi-arid, well drained floodplains (the Raglan Mudstone Formation) to equatorial shallow freshwater deltaic lacustrine and fluvial deposition (the Halesowen Formation).

The disused pit at Martley Rock was dug in solid bedrock of igneous rocks and sedimentary quartz arenite. It is shown as an old gravel pit on the early Ordnance Survey map, probably because of the much fractured, broken nature of the rocks. It was backfilled in the late 1980s and planted with conifers. However, the 2010-13 trenching programme described in this paper has not only re-exposed the rocks in the pit, but also the younger cover rocks and provided new insights into the complex structure of the inlier.

Investigations of the Martley Rock site, in the years since the Millennium, began with a first visit by Dr Olver on 10 July 2004, with three local residents. On that visit, Malverns Complex rocks were found in the field and a small pit was dug exposing solid Precambrian just

below the surface. Samples were retrieved, cleaned and photographed and Dr Olver sketched out his ideas on the local geology. All these documents and samples are archived.

Some years later, in February 2010, he organised a visit comprising representatives from the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (WNFC Geology Section), Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust (H&WEHT) together with the landowners, land users and local residents. The main trenching was carried out that day under the auspices of the WNFC (Plate 2.14), with the kind permission of the Taylor family and sponsored by the land user. Encouraged by H&WEHT, residents formed a geological society (The Teme Valley Geological Society TVGS) and successfully applied for LEADER funding, managed by Worcestershire County Council. This project aimed to document Martley parish geology, develop the Martley Rock site as a visitor attraction and to build on the success of the first geology course by H&WEHT in mid 2010 with three other new courses. Martley Rock site was retrenched in September 2011, fenced, interpretation boards erected, access pathways and observation platforms constructed to view the important exposures. A comprehensive 'Guide to the Geology of Martley' prepared by H&WEHT for TVGS, has been published and very well received. It documents the many geological sites in the parish.

Geological field work at the site has been carried out jointly by the WNFC, H&WEHT, TVGS and the British Geological Survey (BGS).

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Martley Rock has a long history of geological interest, dating back to its discovery by Murchison (1839).[1] He recorded his good fortune in discovering 'one little boss of syenite' ¾ mile west-south-west of Martley, which had then recently been cut into. Correlating it (and, mistakenly, the Clent Breccia of Berrow Hill to the south) with what he referred to as the trap rocks of the Malverns, Murchison described the rock as being made up of flesh-coloured compact feldspar, white quartz and silvery mica passing into a mass indistinguishable from several varieties of syenitic greenstone of the Malvern Hills. He noted that 'this little hillock of syenite' appeared to have been intruded into the Old Red Sandstone, but that its relations are 'ill-exhibited, not having been much worked into upon its flanks.'

Phillips was the next visitor, whilst surveying the Malverns and Abberleys for the Geological Survey.[2] He noted that the 'rocky axis of Malvern, prolonged to the north, beneath the strata of the Martley and Abberley Hills, is visible at the surface in one spot only.' He described it as 'a very small convex mound of the red syenite . . . about 60 yds. across. In one part of this small excavation, beautiful silvery mica may be gathered in handfuls, from a rock much like the granite of Worcester Beacon, but more disintegrated and even rotten.' His sketch cross-section shows Old Red Sandstone to the west of the inlier and steeply dipping to inverted against a steep, east-dipping planar contact with the syenite. On the east side, he illustrates a moderately dipping contact with 'blue coal shale' overlain by new red sandstone (now known to be the Triassic Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation).

Symonds gave the site a brief mention, noting the similar character of the 'boss of syenitic rocks' to the rocks of the Malverns.[3] He commented that if the Malvern rocks were to be correlated with the Laurentian of the Canadian Shield, the Martley rock 'should claim the like honour of antiquity'

A note by Coles in 1898 described the quarry as a small excavation for roadstone which did not appear to have been recently worked.[4] He was the first to describe quartzite (quartz arenite) at the site, as well as syenitic rock, the latter being very decomposed. He commented

that it seemed probable that the old excavation, as seen by Phillips, had been filled in and that the present one had been worked to a greater depth, probably on the discovery of the hard quartzite. He described and figured the section then exposed as comprising quartzite standing out conspicuously in a rounded protuberance, overlain at one point by a thin layer of powdery rotten rock differing little from the rest of the decomposed syenite and forming a crust elsewhere, but evidently marking the junction of the quartzite and syenite. He concluded that a careful examination of the two rocks shows that their 'apparent relationship… in all probability is not a real one.' Although described as decomposed, Coles managed to slice and describe two specimens of the syenite, comparing it to the Malvern syenite. Specimens of the quartzite are described as having well-rounded grains, one containing a well-rounded pebble and are said to be identical to the Lickey Quartzite and probably of the same age.

Coles's article produced a note by Callaway[5] and a somewhat dismissive response from Theodore Groom[6] in a later issue of the Geological Magazine in 1898. Callaway confirmed Coles's descriptions of the Precambrian rocks and that the so-called syenite was an altered Malverns diorite, but noted that the chief point of interest was its relationship with the quartzite. He suggested that although Coles compared the quartzite to that of the Lickey Hills, he could equally have correlated it with the basal Cambrian quartzite which 'clings like a blanket round the Malvernian and Uriconian masses of Shropshire'. Callaway seems to have been unaware of similar quartzite in the Malverns. Groom6 was rather more critical of Coles, having been mapping the Malvern and Abberley Hills for over two years and having visited Martley in January 1898. He commented that Coles had 'hardly done justice to the remarkable section exposed here.' He agreed that the lowest rock seen is a quartzite similar to that in the Lickey Hills and Wrekin, and probably to that of the Malverns and Cowleigh Park just to their north.

Groom described the quartzite as somewhat shattered and arranged in the form of a plicated anticline or anticlinal dome, dipping to the west and east and showing a tendency to a quaquaversal arrangement. About 42 inches of quartzite were exposed, but with the base unseen, Groom surmised that a much greater thickness may be present. He could find no fossils in the rock, unlike the quartzite in the Malverns, which was richly fossiliferous in places. He described the overlying igneous rock as being indistinguishable from the crushed coarse diorite prevalent in many parts of the Malverns. It is separated from the quartzite by two feet or more of greenish schists, the 'powdery rotten rock' of Coles's description. Groom noted that the foliation of the schists is parallel to the surface of the quartzite and to what is apparently bedding in it, and that the schists essentially resembled those formed by 'dynamo-metamorphism' in the Malverns. He described the superposition of the diorite and schists on the quartzite as the most remarkable feature of the section. The readiest explanation, he concluded, was that the quartzite is interstratified with the igneous rocks. However, he then went on to say that the quartzites interfoliated with gneissic and schistose rocks seen on a limited scale in the Malverns are quite different from the Martley quartzite in being metamorphosed quartz schists. The Martley quartzite is a 'typical sedimentary rock', with a microscopic structure similar to the Cambrian quartzite of the Malverns. Groom's illustrations show a section about 2.9m. long and 2m. high comprising diorite at the top, overlying schists which surround quartzite forming a corrugated anticlinal structure. The foliation of the schists is drawn as parallel to the corrugations of the quartzite surface and to internal structures within the quartzite which Groom interpreted as bedding. A sketch plan of the pit shows the quartzite forming a central domal area surrounded by schists dipping quaquaversally off it.

In his paper on the structure of the Malvern and Abberley Hills published in 1900, Groom[7] combined his earlier (1898) sketched section and Phillips (1848) section to produce a diagrammatic section across 'the Archaean patch at Martley.' This shows the Malverns Complex (Archaean) overlying the quartzite, with Old Red Sandstone strata faulted by a steep reversed fault against the Malverns Complex in the west, and Coal Measures (Halesowen Formation) lying unconformably on the Malverns Complex in the east. The East Malvern Fault truncates these rocks to the east, bringing in Triassic rocks on its east. The Malverns Complex/quartzite junction is shown as a plicated fault folded into the anticlinal structure seen in the pit. Groom noted that the 'Archean rocks have been *apparently* thrust on the Cambrian quartzite, the base of the former having undergone shearing parallel to the thrust plane. The overthrust series has been subsequently folded along a north-and-south axis, together with the Old Red Sandstone. This secondary folding has been accompanied by upthrust of the Archaean and Cambrian. The Coal Measures were subsequently deposited unconformably on the faulted and folded series, and in later times the old rocks covered by the Trias were let down on the eastern side. We appear to have in this small area an epitome of the history of the Malvern and Abberley Ranges.'

The next recorded visitor to the pit was S.E. Hollingworth, during the 6-inch survey of the Droitwich one-inch geological sheet in 1936-7.[8] Noting the 'remarkable 'inlier' of Malvernian granite resting discordantly on quartzite, supposed Cambrian', Hollingworth reported that an extensive series of auger holes showed that not only are the Coal Measures present on the east side of the small pit where 'alone this 'inlier' is at present exposed, but they almost entirely surround it.' Hollingworth's findings were incorporated in the memoir for the Droitwich one-inch geological map (Sheet 182).[9] In addition to a detailed geological map of the site, authors Mitchell *et al*. gave a comprehensive account of the work previously carried out. They reported that the quarry was then much overgrown. The large number of auger holes showed that 'the Precambrian rocks extend a short distance to the north of the original opening, in which the igneous rock and quartzite were indifferently exposed. Coal Measures almost entirely surround these rocks and except on the faulted north side the Precambrian rocks are overlain by beds with traces of coal, believed to be Highley Beds, which nearby transgress on to Old Red Sandstone; the relationship is complicated by faulting. No new information was forthcoming regarding the relationships of the quartzite and the igneous rock.' Thin sections of the quartzite and igneous rocks collected during the survey were examined by Dr J. Phemister (see below).

Phipps and Reeve (1969) noted that Groom's (1898, 1900) descriptions of the site were written when exposure was apparently better.[10] They found no contact between the Coal Measures (now Halesowen Formation) and the 'syenite' (Malverns Complex) similar to that illustrated by Groom. They believed, however, that 'the emplacement of the syenite boss and quartzite were subsequent to the deposition of the Coal Measures, because the sediments do not contain any fragments from the syenite although they outcrop at a lower topographical level and only a few feet from the older mass.' They considered the exposures to be part of a fault block which was probably a remnant of an upthrust system to which they attributed the tectonics of the Malverns.

Brooks, from geophysical studies, interpreted the Precambrian basement to be at considerable depth, probably over 1000 m., near Martley.[11] He tentatively suggested that the axis of the major fold of the Malvern axis (responsible for the Malvern Hills) lay east of Martley in Armorican (Variscan) times and was subsequently lowered by movements along the

East Malvern Fault. In this interpretation, he concluded that the Martley inlier may comprise material thrust westward from the axial zone of the major fold prior to the formation of the Triassic Worcester Basin. On this basis the structure at Martley was closely comparable to that of Herefordshire Beacon and Chase End Hill in the Malverns.

Earp and Hains (1971) summarised the geology of the inlier as a very small area of supposed Malvernian rocks on the line of the Malvern – Abberley Axis.[12] Quoting the work of Mitchell et al.9, they described the rocks as 'gabbro and crushed granite….associated with a quartzite which may be of Cambrian age.'

One of us (William Barclay) visited the pit in 1985 in the course of mapping the area at 1:10 000 scale for the British Geological Survey.[13] There were small exposures of shattered and disturbed rock visible in the northern part of the pit, including a green, micaceous schistose shear zone, white sheared clay gouge, pegmatitic, felsic quartz-feldspar rock with a little mica and a small outcrop of greenish dioritic rock. A BGS seismic line (Chadwick and Smith, 1988) 2 km. north of the pit proved the structure of the Malvern Axis at depth.[14] Barclay and Rathbone (1990)[15] summarised the geology of the site and presented a revised detailed geological map, as well as an interpretative cross-section invoking a series of thrusts in the footwall of the East Malvern Fault, splaying from the latter at depth below the site. A brief summary of the geology and structure was given by Barclay et al. (1997, pp. 45, 101).[16]

TRENCHING PROGRAMME

One main exploratory trench and a smaller side-trench were excavated on the site of the old pit in February 2010 (Plate 2.2). The main trench is about 50m. long and extends WNW-ESE across the inlier and the former pit. A 13.8m.-long side trench was dug at right angles 20.5m. from the north-west end, extending south-westwards to the trackside. Detailed logging of the southern face of the north-west part of the main trench was carried out by John Payne and Sue Hay in May 2010, with six vertical sections recorded over a distance of 10 m. A more generalised log of all the trenches was made by William Barclay in June 2010.[17] A temporary trench was dug in October 2011 in the field to the north of the site, commencing from the intersection of the main trench and side trench. It extended NNE for 27m. and from there about 23m. eastwards. The original 2010 trenches remain open, but the 2011 temporary one was left open for two days before backfilling due to farming requirements. This allowed time only for sampling, photographing and summary logging by John Payne and Moira Jenkins. A permanent extension to the south-east end of the main trench was dug in December 2011, proving the position of the East Malvern Fault. Further trenching is anticipated in the autumn of 2012. The excavation of the main trench has revealed the eastern wall of the former pit, cut in Precambrian diorites. Further excavation in this vicinity in December 2012 has extended the area exposed and revealed the diorites on the rockhead surface and in vertical section. The side trench has exposed the back (north-west) wall of the former pit, cut in a shear zone comprising tectonised quartz arenite and Precambrian diorites and pegmatite. Superficial head or fill deposits form a thin veneer over much of the excavations.

GEOLOGY OF THE SITE

The geology of the site, as previously recorded9 and mapped most recently by the BGS in 1985[13], comprises a small inlier of meta-igneous rocks of the Precambrian Malverns Complex (Plates 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). This forms a topographic mound covered by gravelly soil of weathered igneous rock, into which the pit was excavated. A quartz arenite shown previously to underlie

the Precambrian rocks[4,5,6,7] has been correlated with both the Lickey Quartzite of the Lickey Hills and the Malvern Quartzite of the Malvern Hills. Barclay and Rathbone (1990, Figure 3a)[15], following Groom (1898, 1900)[6,7], interpreted a thrust relationship between the units, with the Malverns Complex and the Martley (Malvern) Quartzite occurring in a thrust system produced as a splay off the East Malvern Fault during Variscan transpression. The older Malverns Complex was interpreted to 'piggyback' over the younger Martley Quartzite Formation, the latter being thrust over the Raglan Mudstone Formation. However, there was very little exposure during the BGS survey in 1985 to allow a more definitive picture of the relationships. The more extensive exposures recorded by Groom and others indicate, as shown by Groom, an anticline in which the thrusting was subsequently folded. The inlier lies within metres of the East Malvern Fault, with the Triassic Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation in close proximity to the east in the hanging wall of the fault. Surrounding the inlier on the western footwall side of the fault is a thin drape of mudstones correlated with the Late Carboniferous Halesowen Formation (formerly Highley Beds). This rests unconformably on red mudrocks of the Old Red Sandstone facies Raglan Mudstone Formation of Late Silurian age on the west side of the inlier. Red mottled mudrocks also underlie the Halesowen Formation on the east side of the inlier in close proximity to the East Malvern Fault.

Details of the geology of the 2010 trenching were described by Barclay (2010)[17] and are incorporated in this paper. Also incorporated are the geological records of visits made by Sue Hay, John Payne and Moira Jenkins. The NNE-section of the October 2011 trench exposed a fairly level rockhead surface of meta-igneous rocks of the Malverns Complex at a depth of about 0.3m. below the ground surface. From the north end of this section of the trench, the eastward section revealed a similar rock surface for 4m. before ending abruptly in a vertical north-south edge of highly weathered rock. This edge, which lies about 0.5m. below ground level, was excavated to a further depth of about 0.4 m. The nature of this boundary and the geology proved to the east in the trench are described in the following account of the geology according to geological age periods. A gap in the trenching of about 1m. to the east lies on the outcrop of the East Malvern Fault. Plate 2.3 shows the geology exposed in the trenches and Plate 2.2 shows a provisional detailed geological map of the site.

Precambrian

All previous workers have correlated the meta-igneous rocks of the inlier with those of the Malvern Hills, now named the Malverns Complex (Pharaoh and Gibbons, 1994;[18] Barclay *et al.*, 1997[16]). Hollingworth called them Martley Granite.[19] The rocks have been variously described as syenite (Callaway, 18985; Coles, 18984), (crushed) diorite (Groom, 1898,[6] 19007), altered gabbro and crushed granite (Phemister in Mitchell et al., 19629). The rocks of the Malverns Complex in the Malverns were described by Barclay et al. (1997)[16] and Barclay and Pharoah (2000)[20] as diorites, tonalities, granites and their sheared derivatives. They show abundant evidence of hybridisation, metasomatism and metamorphism, in addition to the shearing which imparts a gneissose fabric to much of them. The Martley rocks are little different. In addition to the mafic varieties, felsic quartz-feldspar pegmatitic rocks occur to a minor extent, but most show a high degree of shearing.

Phemister[9] described two samples from the pit. An altered gabbro (BGS Specimen Number E 176131) consists of equidimensional allotriomorphic grains of oligoclase-albite feldspar, crowded with muscovite flakes and granulated at the edges. Epidote-chlorite-ore aggregates suggest prismatic pyroxene, and chlorite clots and strings along the feldspar

junctions suggest hornblende. Accessory apatite and granular quartz occur in a granulitic cement. Specimens of granite (E 17614-16) are considerably crushed, the feldspar being largely albite.

The Malverns Complex occurs in the main trench from close to its intersection with the side trench south-eastwards for 18 m. The trench intersects the former side wall of the pit from 6 to 15m. from the intersection and further excavation in this vicinity has exposed outcrops of dioritic meta-igneous rocks cut by shear planes (Plate 2.5). The Malverns Complex extends for a further 3m. south-east of the former pit backwall, where it is unconformably overlain by dark grey to black clay correlated with the Halesowen Formation. Less mafic rocks were exposed in the temporary trench dug in October 2011, from its intersection with the main trench for about 25m. to its junction with the Halesowen Formation. The Malverns Complex also occurs for a short distance to the west of the intersection of the main and side trench in a shear zone. A sheared pegmatitic rock occurs at the intersection. It also occurs in the south-western part of the side trench, in sheared and folded contact with the Martley Quartzite (see below). In the NNE temporary trench, the Malverns Complex comprises altered, but not noticeably weathered diorite similar to that in the main trench. A pegmatite occurs 6m. from the trench junction.

The Malverns Complex/Halesowen Formation unconformable junction at the south-east end of the main trench is an uneven surface, with small 'steps', dipping generally 'down-trench' about 10° to 15°. Augering in the base of the trench confirmed the continuation of the surface in similar form. In the NNE trench, the vertical edge of the Malverns Complex, representing an unconformity with relief of at least 0.9 m., is similarly draped over by rocks of the Halesowen Formation (see below).

Cambrian/Ordovician

The highly sheared quartz arenite in the excavations has been correlated both with the Lickey Quartzite of the Lickey Hills (Coles, 1898)4 and the Malvern Quartzite of the Malverns (Groom, 1898,6 19007; Barclay and Rathbone, 1990[15]). It has also been likened to the Wrekin Quartzite of Shropshire (Callaway, 18985). The Lickey Quartzite has been shown by Molyneux (in Old et al., 1991)[21] to be of Ordovician (Tremadoc Series[21] or Arenig Series[22]) age and the Malvern Quartzite and Wrekin Quartzite are of Cambrian (Comley Series) age.[16] The Martley Quartzite is similar to the Malvern Quartzite in containing large amounts of very rounded, almost spherical grains of clear quartz of quite uniform diameter (about 600 microns), which the Lickey Quartzite does not. However, in view of the uncertainty of correlation, and pending the results of investigation for microfossils, we here refer to the quartz arenite at Martley as the Martley Quartzite, as on the Geological Survey manuscript map of the 1936-7 survey.[19] The rock is a very tough, fine-grained quartz arenite or orthoquartzite. Although Groom described bedding there is very little evidence of this today, the outcrop being highly tectonised. In the main trench, the quartz arenites are tectonised, shattered and thrust over the Halesowen Formation by a very low-angle thrust (Plate 2.6). These are truncated by a steeply dipping to vertical shear zone 3m. north-west of the intersection of the main and side trenches. From the intersection for 4m. south-westwards in the side trench the 5m.-wide shear zone comprises tectonised quartz arenites (Plate 2.7) and sheared Malverns Complex meta-igneous rocks.

Phemister9 described a sample (E 17612J) as a quartzitic sandstone with average grain-size about 0.5mm. and a siliceous cement. The rock was subsequently fractured and the cracks filled by quartz, feldspar and calcite. There are apparently two generations of cracks, the earlier

accompanied by straining throughout.

Silurian

Late Silurian (Pridoli Series) red-beds (Old Red Sandstone) exposed at the west end of the main trench are correlated with the Raglan Mudstone Formation of south Wales and the Welsh Borderland. The strata present are thought to lie at a stratigraphical level low in the formation and consist of red-brown to purplish mudrocks with pale green mottling. They are largely weathered to stiff red, green- and purple-mottled clay in the trench. Up to 0.4m. of red mudstone was exposed in the base of the trench at its north-west end. This is paler and more clay-rich towards its top and is truncated by an irregular surface dipping about 20° to the east overlain by Carboniferous mudstones. Millimetre-scale grey/blue lamination dipping about 10° to the east is preserved locally and an intraformational conglomerate of angular, 12 to 22 mm-length red mudstone clasts aligned parallel to the lamination is present near the base of the trench.

In the temporary October 2012 trench, dark red silty clay is truncated by an irregular erosion surface dipping about 45° west, which is overlain by brown silts of the Halesowen Formation. In both the main trench and the October 2011 trench the Raglan Mudstone Formation is faulted against the Triassic Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation by the East Malvern Fault.

Carboniferous

Carboniferous mudrocks are exposed at the west and south-east ends of the main trench. They were also exposed in the temporary October 2011 trench. At the west end of the main trench, the beds rest unconformably on an irregular surface of the Raglan Mudstone Formation (Plates 2.4 and 2.9) and dip gently (3 – 5°) to the west, becoming flatter eastwards to dip gently to the east. Formerly referred to as the Highley Beds,9 they are correlated with the Halesowen Formation of the Midlands, of Late Carboniferous (Asturian) age (Waters et al., 2011[23]). They consist of colour-bedded mudstones, the colours dark grey/black, orange and pale green reflecting differing stages of oxidation (Plate 2.13). Of the detailed sections measured by Sue Hay and John Payne, Section C is the thickest, where the trench, at 1.41m., is at its deepest. The ground surface in this sector of the trench falls about 10° towards the west. Plate 2.4 shows the sections measured and illustrates the lenticular geometry of the coloured horizons. A basal orange-mottled horizon has a thin (less than 0.01 m) basal layer of black mudstone. Small patches of better-cemented mudstone occur along the junction between the black and orange layers, in contrast to most of the section, which is poorly cemented and friable. The mottled orange horizon comprises irregular areas of orange mudstone and yellow claystone and ranges from 0.07 to 0.35m. in thickness. It is capped by a 0.02m.-thick orange, very fine-grained sandstone. At about 0.25m. east of B (Plate 2.4), fine laminae of black mudstone appear within the orange horizon, coalescing to form a black mudstone horizon up to 0.06m. thick. A black claystone overlying the mottled orange mudstone ranges from 0.21m. to 0.45m. and is in turn overlain by an orange sandstone of variable thickness from 0.02 to 0.45 m. Black millimetre-scale laminae extending into the orange horizon from the underlying black mudstone at several places demonstrate the secondary, diagenetic or pedogenic nature of the colour variations. Where the section is thickest, the rocks are brown and appear more clay-rich, whereas the main sediments are very fine sandstone composed mainly of sub- to well-rounded quartz grains with scattered fragments of dark material. An upper black or dark brown claystone is 0.01m. at F, increasing to 0.10m. at C and D. Thin vertical zones of pale clay in at least three places

penetrate the black and orange horizons and probably mark the positions of rootlets. The succession is overlain by a cream mudstone horizon interpreted as the fault gouge of a thrust separating the Halesowen Formation from the overlying Cambrian/Ordovician Martley Quartzite (see Structure).

The exposures of the Halesowen Formation at the south-east end of the main trench are weathered to a stiff, dark grey, organic-rich clay. No macrofossils have been recovered, but current palynological analysis is anticipated to determine more precisely the age of the beds. A 1cm.-thick impersistent gravelly layer of angular Malverns Complex clasts lies at the base of the clay. Olive green clay was formerly exposed at the south-west end of the side trench; some green sandstone debris is visible at present. Here, the Carboniferous rocks are in faulted contact with the Malverns Complex. In the October 2011 trench, none of the Carboniferous rocks draped over the stepped, irregular Precambrian surface (Plate 2.8) are indurated. They comprise a basal 0.25m.-thick mottled dull red, green and orange silty sandstone containing grains with a large range of sizes, including angular pink and white feldspars up to 4 mm. and angular to sub-rounded quartz grains of 1 mm. size. The sandstone passes up into an olive-grey silt about 0.25m. thick which is truncated by a sharp, very irregular boundary overlain by black clay (Plate 2.10). The beds dip about 20° eastwards near the Precambrian edge but are gently folded synclinally to dip westwards a few metres to the east. These silts and clays extend for 7m. and show a gradation from pale grey-brown silt to pale yellow-brown silt and finally to brown silt. The last rests on the sharp unconformable junction with dark red silty clay identified as the Raglan Mudstone Formation.

Triassic

Triassic rocks lie in the hanging wall of the East Malvern Fault, at the western edge of the Worcester Basin.[14, 15] They are correlated with the Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation of Early to Mid-Triassic age. The rocks are seen in the easterly extension dug in December 2012 at the south-east end of the main trench. Here, they comprise reddish, orange-brown fine- to medium-grained, soft sandstone with scattered quartz granules. This is redder in the immediate vicinity of the fault, becoming more orange and slightly coarser away from it. The sandstone immediately adjacent to the fault has a white ‘smear’ or streak where struck. This may reflect a carbonate cement or clay in the matrix. Red, purple and green coarse-grained sandstone with angular clasts was recorded in the October 2011 temporary trench.

Quaternary

A lens of red sand is exposed in the south-west wall of the main trench. It is about 0.6m. thick and 3m. wide. Further investigation of this deposit is anticipated, but it may be a Middle Pleistocene fluvial deposit similar to and/or correlatable with sands of the pre-Anglian Mathon Member of Mathon Valley Formation west of the Malverns (Barclay et al., 1992[24], Richards, 1998[25]; Maddy in Bowen, 2000[26]).

Structure

The site straddles the East Malvern Fault, with the Precambrian/Cambrian inlier on its footwall side. The East Malvern Fault was shown by seismic studies (Chadwick, 1985[27]; Chadwick and Smith, 198814; Barclay et al., 1997[16]) to be a one of a series of Variscan compressional or transpressional thrust faults reactivated as a Permo-Triassic extensional basin-margin growth fault. The fault lies in the short gap in the eastern section of the October 2011 temporary

trench, but was exposed in the December 2011 trench extension. In the latter, stiff red clay of the Raglan Mudstone Formation is juxtaposed against red-brown, fine-grained sandstone with scattered quartz granules of the Bromsgrove Sandstone Formation along a line trending at 170°. A line of green diagenetic ?carbonate nodules was visible when the trench was dug. A sharp, steep-dipping, east-facing junction is seen in the north-east wall of the trench.

The flat-lying thrust between the Martley Quartzite and the underlying Halesowen Formation towards the western end of the main trench represents an important discovery. The thrust is marked by a cream mudstone with angular, tabular rock fragments, some with broken rectangular faces as if broken along laminations. They are up to 7cm. long and appear to become larger south-eastwards along the trench. Lithologically, they are very fine-grained (0.01-0.05 mm.) immature sandstones composed of quartz, feldspar, ?micas and some dark fragments. Millimetre-scale laminae comprise quartz-rich horizons alternating with those containing a few white altered randomly shaped or euhedral feldspar crystals in a transparent matrix (Plate 2.11). This bedding-parallel clay-rich horizon would have acted as the ideal medium with which to take up the thrust movement, with the fine-grained sandstone fragments representing a Carboniferous sandstone disrupted, broken, entrained and transported during the thrusting.

The major shear or fault zone exposed in the trenching is another important new discovery. It is here named the Martley Rock Fault. The rocks formerly exposed in the backwall of the pit lie in this zone and its structural complexity encompasses the folding and faulting recorded by Groom.[6,7] The contacts between the Martley Quartzite and the Malverns Complex range from low to steep angle, with the Malverns Complex thrust over the Malverns Quartzite at one point (Plate 8), as in previous descriptions of the pit.[4,5,6,7,19] This may represent one of the plications in the thrust's overall anticlinal disposition described by Groom, but the tectonic interleaving of Martley Quartzite and Malverns Complex in and to the north-west of the side trench is part of the steeply dipping fault zone. Weathered Malverns Complex rocks are seen to the south-west in the side trench, probably in faulted contact with olive green mudstones of the Halesowen Formation, marking the western edge of the fault zone. This structure, or at least the latest movement on it, must post-date the earlier low-angle thrusting that superimposed the Martley Quartzite on the Halesowen Formation.

CONCLUSIONS

The trenching programme has greatly improved the accuracy of the geological map and provided important new information on the nature and positioning of some of the geological boundaries. Further anticipated trenching will refine the geological map further. The programme has also revealed the presence of a previously unknown major steeply dipping fault zone and a flat-lying thrust. Martley Rock lies on the Malvern Axis, one of the major basement structures of southern Britain with a history dating back at least to continental accretion in the Late Precambrian. The geology of Martley Rock comprises an inlier of Precambrian Malverns Complex and Cambrian/Ordovician Martley Quartzite surrounded by Carboniferous strata of the Halesowen Formation. These unconformably overlie the Late Silurian Raglan Mudstone Formation. Amongst the more important discoveries of the trenching programme are:

1. The Late Carboniferous Halesowen Formation rests unconformably on the Late Silurian Raglan Mudstone Formation on the west side of the Martley Rock Fault. On the east side, it rests unconformably on the Precambrian Malverns Complex and red mottled clays of the

Raglan Mudstone Formation.

2. The Cambrian/Ordovician Martley Quartzite Formation is thrust over the Halesowen Formation west of the Martley Rock Fault by a low-angled thrust.

3. The Martley Quartzite is faulted against the Late Precambrian Malverns Complex in a structurally complex 5 m.-wide shear/fault zone here named the Martley Rock Fault. The trench exposures indicate a steeply dipping to vertical fault zone and there is little evidence of the low-angle folded thrust between the two units and plicated anticline envisaged by Groom[6,7] except for one locality within the fault zone in the side trench where Malverns Complex overlies quartz arenite.

4. Although the Martley inlier owes its existence to late- to post-Carboniferous Variscan transpression and shortening, the different successions on each side of the Martley Rock Fault indicate pre-Variscan tectonic movement, probably during the mid-Devonian Acadian Orogeny. It is also likely that earlier Caledonian movement took place prior to the Llandovery, as shown by Brooks (1970[28]) in the Malverns to the south. The Halesowen Formation unconformity represents intra-Carboniferous tectonic movement, uplift and erosion. The inlier lies at the convergence point of three major thrust faults of the Abberley Hills to the north – the Cockshot Hill, Rodge Hill and Penny Hill thrusts[9,27] – and the East Malvern Fault. The Abberley structures have a mapped westerly upthrust of about 400m. and the Martley Rock Fault must take up this amount of displacement at least, with Variscan movement on the East Malvern Fault adding to that figure; seismic interpretation[16] confirms geophysical studies[11] suggesting that uplift of the Precambrian basement (Malverns Complex) at Martley Rock is about 1000 m.

5. The trenching proved the precise location of the East Malvern Fault, itself a Variscan (or older) structure reactivated during the Permo-Triassic as the western boundary fault of the Worcester Graben.

6. This paper presents a report of work in progress. The trenching programme is ongoing in 2012, as well as analysis and dating of the rocks of the inlier. These will reveal further information to add to the wealth of new data already discovered and will provide the basis for a full account of the stratigraphical and structural history of this geologically complex and important locality.

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We thank Helen and Rob Taylor, the landowners, for their support for the work at Martley Rock, including authorising and organising the February 2010 excavations. Public access to the site will be available for 10 years from completion of the LEADER Project in January 2013, but school parties and parties of over 10 people should book in advance by contacting the landowners at Cob House Fisheries.

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Pembridge parish church: some 17th-century visitors and its medieval heraldry

By PETER KLEIN

The parish of Pembridge has without any question an impressive medieval church, the greater part of which was rebuilt in an ambitious campaign of enlargement during the first half of the 14th century, seemingly grandiose in scale for such a modest-sized community. Nonetheless, like most similar buildings in Herefordshire and elsewhere, it has suffered the swings in doctrine, depredation, and decay of succeeding centuries. Most of its pre-Reformation trappings went during the brief reign of Edward VI; further damage certainly occurred during the Civil War, in particular in 1645 when a Parliamentary raiding party fired volleys of musket fire into the building. However, at around this latter time and just after, four gentleman antiquaries visited the church and, fortunately for us, recorded what they saw although in varying detail. What remained there then, but is not there now, only serves to show how much we have lost since the 17th century; what they saw fit to record was quite possibly merely the icing on the cake.

SURVIVALS AND LOSSES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The 17th-century antiquaries did not record all they must have seen. For instance, at least part of the medieval rood-loft still survived at this date, because Sir Stephen Glynne of Hawarden, visiting probably during the 1830s, even at that time still found 'within the chancel arch…part of the rood-loft and its screen painted and gilt with a rich band of vine leaves and grapes, and some good panelling, but mutilated.'[1] The corbels that formerly carried either the rood-beam or three separate rood images are still in place, immediately above the apex of the chancel arch; the central corbel which supported the rood itself is carved with a bearded figure, perhaps depicting Christ. An illegible inscription is crudely carved along its top edge. (Plate 3.1)

With the 19th-century came the early Victorian excesses. In 1842, under the architect Josiah Griffiths of Quatford, the pulpit and clerk's desk in their original form were separated, the interior stripped of its furnishings, and 'a quantity of beautiful carved oak was turned out of the church, much of which...found its way into the neighbouring houses.'[2] Whatever it was that Glynne had seen of the remaining medieval rood loft also appears to have been summarily ejected at this time. This was followed by the 'restoration' of the chancel in 1870-71 by the then rector, James Crouch, who reinstated the chancel roof back to its medieval height, but also 'paved the floor with black and yellow tiles, covering up the beautiful old memorial stones.'[3] Thankfully these tiles were removed in a more sensitive era by a later rector, Frank Whitehead, in 1909.

THE HERALDIC GLASS

Amongst other losses at Pembridge was old window glass; an elderly lady, who died in 1925 at the age of 86, told Mary Langston that she 'remembered her father telling her he had seen a lot of old glass carted away from the church.'[4] This is quite likely to have been at around the time of the 1842 restoration; among the fragments it is sadly possible that there were pieces of decayed medieval heraldic glass.

Fortunately for us, the heraldic portions of medieval stained and painted windows were what were most likely to have survived the upheavals of both the Reformation and the Civil War. The rights and privileges of seigniorial authority and status were something that even the most fervent protestant could understand and respect; and in times of religious tensions, with a risk of social unrest, the rule of law and deference to authority needed to be upheld. Heraldry was a very visible statement of rank and historic family status, in a society where station was assiduously observed and asserted. The right to prove entitlement to bear a coat of arms was therefore keenly sought after amongst the gentry, not least during the 17th century, although many aspirants were rejected by the Heralds, as the several county visitations of this period attest. This regard for heraldry consequently extended to ancient coats of arms preserved in our churches, both in glass and on monuments, and became of consuming interest amongst antiquaries who went out of their way to record them. Four visiting antiquaries came to Pembridge, the first in 1645 being Richard Symonds, an Essex gentleman in the Royalist cavalry during the Civil War, who kept a war diary during his travels.[5] In about 1655 he was followed by Silas Taylor, *alias* Domville, who as an officer fought for Parliament during the Civil War, and was later a sequestrator for the county of Herefordshire.[6] Last to arrive were Thomas Blount of Orleton, a lawyer, and Thomas Dingley of Dilwyn, an inveterate traveller. Both were keen local antiquaries who compiled extensive historical notes during the late 1670's.[7] It is to these men that we owe our knowledge of what the Pembridge heraldic glass had to tell us, and the principal aim of this paper is to collate these accounts and draw some conclusions. For this purpose, the church will be considered by area, starting with the transepts.

THE TRANSEPT CHAPELS

The two transept chapels, what Symonds refers to as the 'crosst yle', are mirror images of one another across the church, and were built at the same time.[8] The north or Marston transept, now the vestry behind the organ, was formerly the Trinity chancel, and a piscina and two corbels mark the positions of the former altar and two images there. This dedication was first recorded in 1433 when Bishop Spofford commissioned his suffragan to consecrate 'the altar of the Holy Trinity and the blessed David, Confessor, in the parish church of Penbrugge', on the 25 June of that year.[9] The altar was then said to be '*jam de novo erectum*', but whether this implies simply a renewal of its fabric, or the former dedication being superseded as well, is not clear. A new dedication is certainly plausible bearing in mind the popularity of the Trinity during the early 15th century, here plausibly being added to a previous one to St. David. There could also have been a recent change in the lordship at Marston, the new occupant having a different focus for personal devotion. According to Blount, the chantry of the Blessed Trinity was endowed with messuages and lands in Westonbury, Weston, and Hinton, for the maintenance of a chantry priest, although the priest's recorded net income of a mere twenty-one shillings a year in 1547 was a very poor one.[10] The stipendiary at that time, Roger Pyper, was also the newly-appointed chaplain at the chantry of Our Lady at Dilwyn.[11]

The south transept or Byletts chancel, now the Lady Chapel, contained the medieval chantry dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and was originally endowed with 'certeyn lands and tenements', which according to Blount were in Eardisland.[12] In 1547 this chantry paid a net income of three pounds thirteen shillings a year to the priest who held it, John Roode, 'a man of good conversation & bachelor of Arte', who also served as a schoolmaster to teach the forty children at the free Grammar school. To qualify, the pupils were all to be born within the parish of Pembridge.[13]

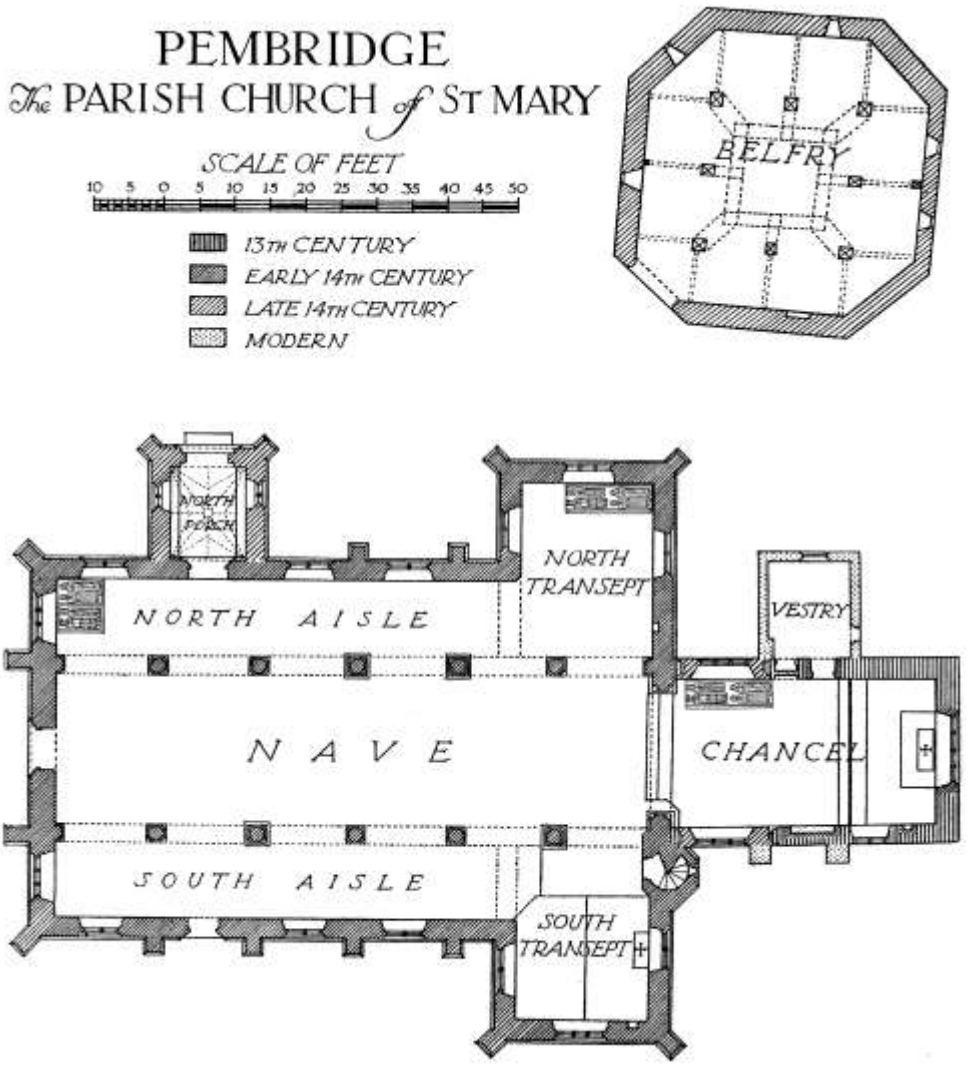

Figure 1. Plan of St Mary's, Pembridge, adapted from the RCHME plan by the author. It shows the varying locations and correct relative size of the Gower monument. (*RCHME Herefordshire*, Vol. III p.161)

By the early 16th century both chantry chapels in the church were evidently impoverished, their foundation endowments in the form of fixed rents not having risen in response to inflation, and on the 31 January 1529 Bishop Bothe had allowed a forty-day indulgence to any who would contribute 'to the fabric, lights, vestments, and priest of the altar[s] of the Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary in Pembridge church.'[14] Despite this, within twenty years the chantries were to be suppressed and the land-endowments granted away by Edward VI.[15]

The earliest eyewitness descriptions of Pembridge parish church however are the four accounts of the 17th century. These describe features then surviving in varying detail, although chiefly concerned with the monuments and, importantly, the heraldry in the stained glass and elsewhere. It was here, in the former chantry chapels, that the most significant medieval heraldic glass then still survived.

The heraldry of the north transept

In June 1645 Richard Symonds visited the church and wrote of the 'North W[indow] Crosst yle, very old, this coate 3 times faire', sketching the coat of arms of Sir William de Grandison - *paly of 6 argent and azure, on a bend gules three eaglets displayed or*.[16] (Figure 2)

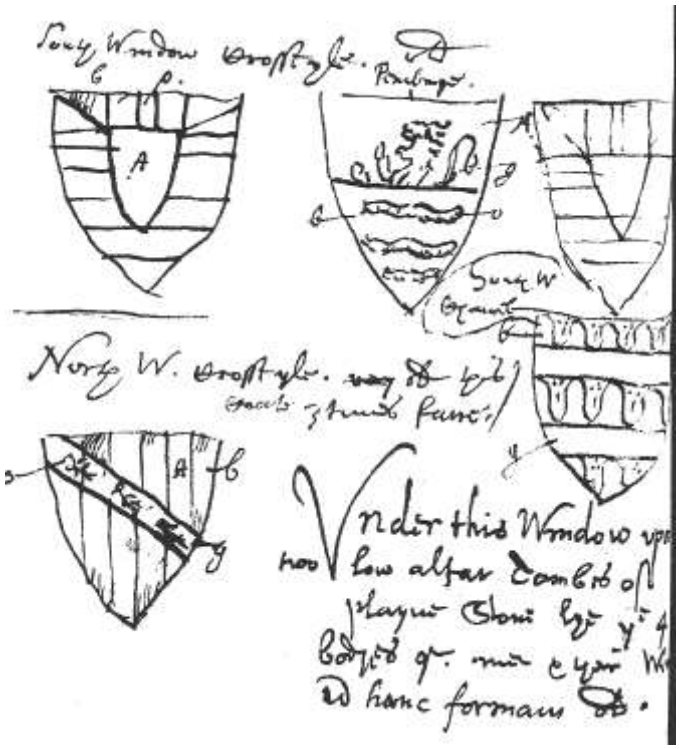

Figure 2 (left). Richard Symonds's 1645 sketch of the heraldic glass in the Pembridge transept chapels, the south transept at the top. Below left is the Grandison arms from the north transept, with a reference to the Gower monument (sketched on the next page).

Inserted at centre right are the Braose arms, labelled "South W Chancel".

Later commentators had assumed that the reference to the Gower tomb was as being beneath this and not the Grandison window. (British Library)

This was clearly intended as a description of the north window in the north transept, confirmed by Silas Taylor *c*.1655, and also by Thomas Dingley in about 1680 who sketched an identical coat as being in the glass of the 'Sarnefie[l]d Chancel'.[17] (Figure 3)

This last reference was explained by Thomas Blount in around 1675 when he referred to the Marston chancel, and to Marston itself 'w^{ch} now belongs to Monington of Sarnefeild.'[18] Blount, like Dingley, then went on to refer to two other coats of arms in the glass, although curiously he failed to notice those of the Grandisons.

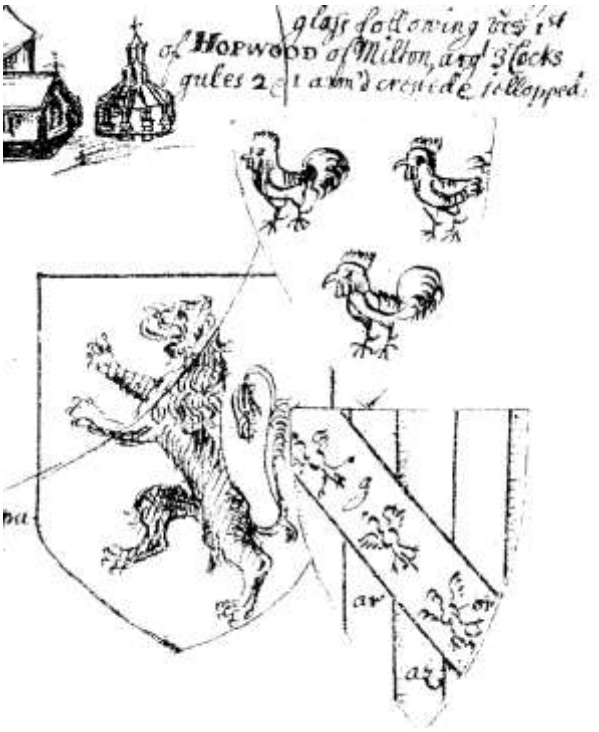

Figure 3. The Pembridge heraldry as recorded by Thomas Dingley in around 1680, with the Grandison arms at lower right

Despite Symonds's description, we cannot be sure whether what he saw here were three identical Grandison arms in the glass, or three that were subtly 'differenced' in some way. Silas Taylor noted no differences between them in 1655, nor Dingley *c.*1680, but three *identical* coats in the same window would seem to have been not only unusual but also superfluous, and on the face of it, rather unlikely. We should also remember that the glass was at that time already over three hundred years old and almost certainly somewhat decayed, perhaps accounting for Symonds's observation that they were clearly 'very old'. Also, the armorial bearings were probably small and high up, either in the upper tracery or at the tops of the tall lancet lights—nor were our observers equipped with binoculars.

The hypothesis therefore that three *differenced* versions of the Grandison arms might have been present here has interesting implications, and if true might suggest a date earlier than the death of Sir William in 1335. The arms of Sir William, his brother Sir Otho or Otis, and his sons Sir Peter, and John (Bishop of Exeter, 1327-1369) would have been practically indistinguishable when viewed from the ground, and in this situation difficulty in discerning between them would have been highly likely.[19] If the three putative differenced coats of arms present were those that were the most similar, that is of Sir William, Sir Peter, and Bishop John, then this window could be closely dated between 1327 and 1335, and would also accord with the probable completion date of the transept (see below). Sadly, unless a more detailed record of the glass comes to light, we will never be sure of this.

Of the remaining heraldry in the north transept, Symonds's and Dingley's descriptions are otherwise complementary. Dingley wrote that 'In the Sarnefie[l]d Chancel besides those of Monington are these 3 Armes in y^{e} glass following viz. 1st of HOPWOOD of Milton, arg^{t} 3 Cocks gules 2 & 1 arm'd crested & jelloped', although it should be noted that the arms of the Hopwoods of Milton were *Or, a pile azure*.[20] In 1655 Silas Taylor, who clearly had also visited the church personally, had previously noted that this chancel belonged 'to a place in this parish called Milton where live a family of the Hopwoods', so the chancel may possibly for a time

have borne this name as well.[21] The surviving white marble monument to Thomas Hopwood of Milton (died 9 April 1679) on the north wall probably just postdates Dingley's visit, but there is now no trace of any heraldry as the cartouche-of-arms, formerly placed above the pediment, is missing. Dingley sketched two more coats in the window glass, the first a Lion Rampant, not tricked, and followed by that of Grandison (Fig. 3). Blount's account is almost as vague, merely describing 'a Lyon Rampant, gules' and '3 Cocks gules'.[22] The last he ascribed to 'Williams'; and it was also noted by Taylor, but with no other comment.[23]

By the mid 17th century, following the excesses of the Parliamentary force that, a few months after Symonds's visit, 'beate up' Royalists at Pembridge at three o'clock one morning in November 1645, it is very probable that at least some of the medieval glass was smashed in an action that is known to have caused deliberate damage elsewhere around the church.[24] Blount later noted that 'two Windows of curious painted glasse' had 'escaped the fury of the late Warrs – though the Cross over the Church Porch had not so good Luck, as having been shot down by a Souldier'.[25] By the time of Taylor, Dingley, and Blount, therefore, this damage must have been made good, some perhaps with fresh heraldic glass to mark the presence of a new generation of local gentry, although the Grandison arms in the north transept were evidently still present – almost certainly placed well out of harm's way high up in the window tracery.

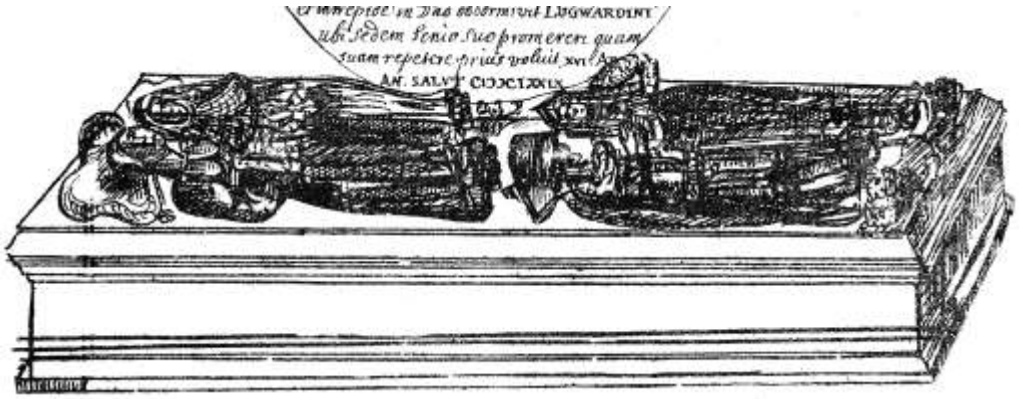

Figure 4. Thomas Dingley's drawing of the Gower monument in about 1680

Blount also noted in the Marston chancel 'two ancient Monuments of man & wife of free Stone in ful proportion, said to be Gowrs, formerly Lords of Marston.' This is confirmed by Taylor who saw 'two very faire Tombes of two men & two women, neither writing nor coats to deliver unto us who they were', but adding that 'The Inhabitants doe affix me these Tombs to be of the Gowres.' Symonds in 1645 had also seen 'two low altar Tombs of playne Stone' under the north window, and sketched two of the figures, and he too reported the local inhabitants said them to be 'Gowres of Worcestershire.'[26] The best early illustration is that by Dingley, showing the four figures arranged as today in two pairs on the one long altar tomb, but he mentioned neither their location nor identity (Figure 4). Sir Stephen Glynne noted them as still being there during the 1830s, their precise position in the north transept apparently that shown in the earliest surviving church plan dated July 1841, drawn by the architect Josiah Griffiths, showing the *status quo* before the re-ordering of the church interior in 1842.[27] This

suggests the pairs of figures were still placed end to end, as depicted by Dingley, the whole pushed up into the north-east corner along the north wall. In 1842 they were evidently banished to the north aisle in the north-west corner where the four effigies were set side by side, their heads against the west wall; it is here that they were photographed in 1901 by Alfred Watkins (Figure 5).[28] In 1909 they were moved yet again, not back to the north transept but this time to the chancel where they were placed in their old form beneath the north window, although the eastern pair of figures now lies to the west, having been transposed from the way in which they lay in Dingley's time. Apparently the reason for the move was the finding of what was then identified as the original foundation for the monument, being discovered under the floor of the chancel during refurbishment by the then rector, the Reverend Frank Whitehead.[29]

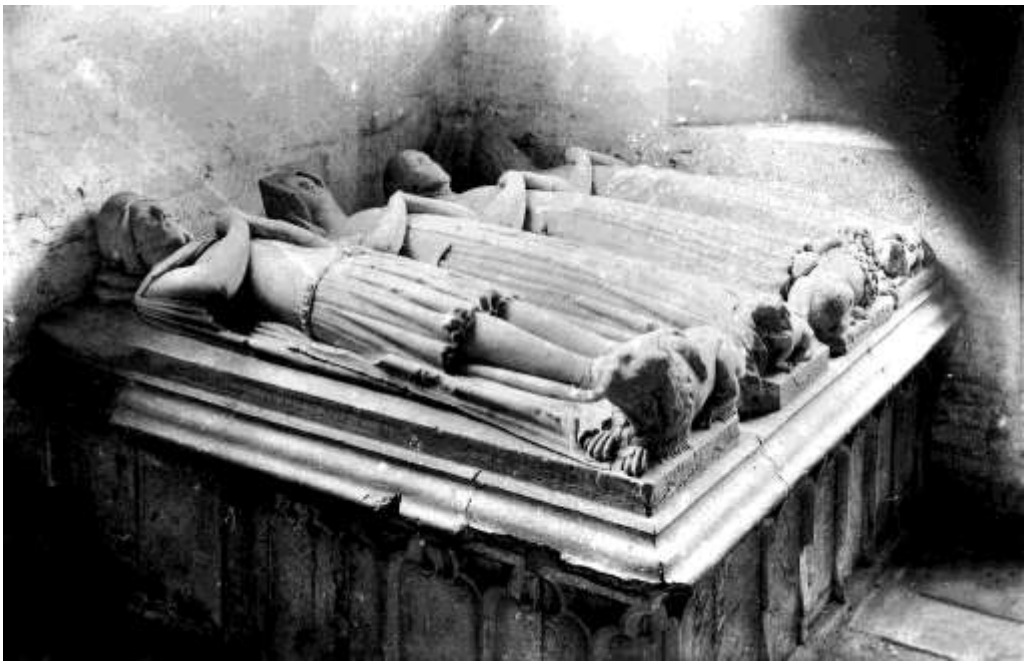

Figure 5. The Gower monument in Pembridge church, as photographed in 1901 by Alfred Watkins, in its former arrangement at the western end of the north aisle, following removal from the north transept in 1842. (Herefordshire Record Office)

The heraldry of the south transept

The pale outline of a medieval armorial bearing appears high up on the east wall, at the top of the wall painting that formerly provided a background to the medieval image of the Virgin once standing on the stone corbel above the Lady altar. Few traces of a design are now apparent, although enough remains of the coat of arms to suggest several bars on the sinister side towards the base. (Plate 3.2) Pending closer examination, it is uncertain at present whether the armorial bearing was painted on top of the decorative scheme, or possibly over-painted and a relic of an earlier design beneath. By the mid 17th century, however, all this had long since been covered over with whitewash, and thus was invisible to the antiquaries. This is now the only surviving medieval heraldry within the parish church.

Referring once again to our 17th-century sources, Symonds's notes speak of the 'South Window Crosst yle', and here he sketched a coat of arms as *Azure, three barnacles extended in pale or, on a chief argent a demi-lion issuant gules*, between two flanking coats of Mortimer.[30] (Fig. 2) The central coat is quite clearly that of Joan de Geneville, although correctly *Azure, three barnacles extended in pale or, on a chief ermine a demi-lion issuant gules*, and the discrepancy can perhaps again be explained by the difficulty that Symonds may have had in seeing the old glass clearly. The combination of this coat with that of Mortimer is a reference to the youthful marriage between Roger de Mortimer IV, later Earl of March, and Joan de Geneville at Pembridge on the 20 September 1301, she having been declared sole heiress to the de Geneville estates, including the Barony of Ludlow Castle. The marriage ended with Roger's execution for treason in November 1330, while Joan herself survived until 1356.

Silas Taylor was a little more specific about the location of the various armorial bearings, noting: 'In a chapel southward is in one window France & England quarterly, in another is 1. Mortimer 2. Jenevill. In a third window is Mortimer'.[31] He then added confusingly that 'this chapel belongs to Merschton & the Bilets, two townships in this parish in which last liveth a branch of the family of the Lochards who have painted up their coat in that chapple viz. Argent, 3 loaches sable'.[32] Blount too mentions the south transept, referring to it as 'belonging to the Lochards of the Bilets'. By his time it was known as the Byletts Chancel; and it subsequently received burials of the later manorial lords who lived there. Blount said there were no monuments, but he too found the Lochard's arms, and 'Brace's, three Rams'. The 'Ancient family of the Braces', who lived at Noke, bore as arms 'Argent 3 Rams sable, Horned and footed Or'; and in 1931 Mary Langston claimed to have seen a slab bearing these arms laid in the floor of the chancel, although none was noted in 1934.[33] A scarcely readable fragment of a stone vault cover, apparently re-used and now laid as paving in the south aisle, in part formerly read '**HERE LYETH THE BODIES OF THE GENTRY OF NOKE G·B R·B I·B F·B**'.

The high chancel

The earliest description of the high chancel is again that of Richard Symonds in 1645, and he noted the medieval coats of arms then surviving in the east and south windows. He sketched and tricked three coats in the east window: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, a cross gules (the Cross of St. George); 2 and 3, Mortimer*; followed by the royal arms *Quarterly, France Ancient and England*, that is in the 1340-1405 form; and then the last was repeated, but with a label of three points apparently argent (Fig. 6).[34] Taylor had also noted these, confirming the label as being three points argent, but remarking incorrectly that the Royal arms with this label was 'for Lionell Plantaginet'.[35]

In one of the chancel's two south windows, Symonds found *Vairé azure and ermine, two bars gules*.[36] (Fig. 2) This is most likely to have been a variation of the arms of de Braose – those of de Braose of Brecon having been blazoned *Barry of 6 vairy ermine and gules, and azure*.[37] The de Braoses were lords of Pembridge from about 1091 until the death of William de Braose of Brecknock, who was hanged by Prince Llewelyn in 1229 for having had an illicit relationship with his wife. William de Braose's daughter Maud married Roger de Mortimer III in 1247; and between her husband's death in 1282 and hers in about March of 1301, she is said to have resided in the manor house at Pembridge.[38] The tinctures of this coat however are reversed from those of her father, so it would appear to be perhaps that of a minor member of the family. One such is quite likely to have been Hugh de Breusa, chaplain, who was instituted as rector of Pembridge in April 1287, Maud de Mortimer at that time being the patron.[39] As

bishop's Penitentiary he held the stall of the Golden Prebend in Hereford Cathedral from July 1293, and he is almost certainly the same man who endowed in mortmain a chantry in the cathedral, with eighteen acres of land in Hereford and its suburbs, by authority of a licence granted on the 20 February 1314/15.[40] As former Penitentiary of Hereford, he had also inhabited a house near the bishop's palace that was vacant at his death some time shortly before the 29 September 1321.[41] It is evident that this rector was a man of independent means who is very likely to have been entitled to bear a variation of the de Braose family coat of arms, and he is therefore a very good candidate for having placed his arms in the Pembridge chancel glass. Of our four 17th-century visitors, Richard Symonds was the only one to have noted its presence here, later inserting his sketch into a cramped space in his notes, and labelling it: 'South W Chancel' (Fig. 2).

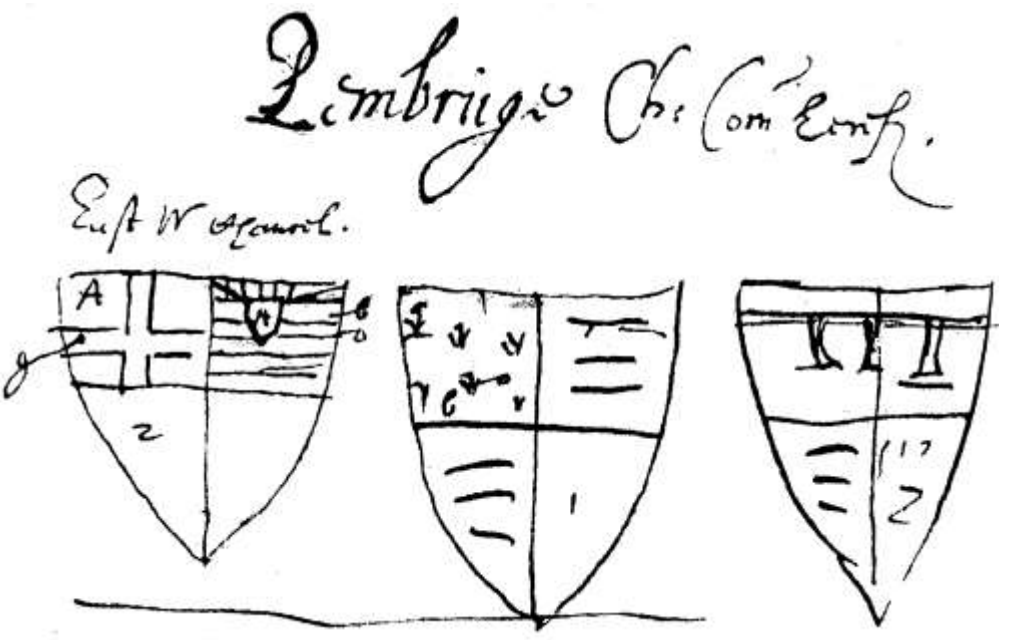

Figure 6. The Pembridge chancel heraldry as recorded in Richard Symonds's *Diary of the Marches* in 1645. Here are shown the three coats of arms from the E. window, with the Royal arms centrally bearing *Quarterly, France Ancient and England*. (British Library)

The nave

Silas Taylor also found the arms of Mortimer 'in the church [as opposed to the chancel] on the S. side in a window', perhaps therefore in the south aisle. He was also alone in referring to furnishings within the church, remarking that 'below the chancell are the remaines and memorialls of an old quire with stalls'. Some of this woodwork may survive today in the form of the fragments of screenwork incorporated into panelling placed at the top of the chancel arch steps and in the present vestry. He also remarked that 'neare to the chancell in memory of one — Steed is an escutcheon Sable a Unicorne passant Argent affixed [sic] or'. A member of the Steed or Stead family of Westonbury died in 1615.[42]

The only other coat of arms in the nave referred to by any of our visitors was that of Thomas, later Baron Coningsby of Hampton Court, the lord of Pembridge Borough. Dingley observed that 'Within opposite to the North Door on high over an arch between two pillars embossed against the Wall are the Armes of Conisbye viz. gules 3 Conyes seiant within a border ingrailed arg^{t} .' This, or possibly a later version, is still in that position high up on the south wall, but there is no apparent sign of it ever having been coloured. Large wooden wedges, driven into the joints in the stonework to either side, suggest that there may formerly have been more to this arrangement than now survives. Viewed through binoculars, the achievement appears to have been sculpted in wet plaster, and its style perhaps suggests a date rather later than that of Dingley's visit (Fig. 7).[43]

Figure 7. Thomas Coningsby's coat of arms, from the south wall of the nave, placed above the nave arcade opposite the north door. Remains of wooden wedges can be seen to either side

DISCUSSION

Inevitably over the last century or so some misconceptions have crept in concerning the Pembridge glass and its heraldry, not only through the bungled transcription of an early source in 1859, but even in a more recently published Woolhope Club paper in 1902.2 The star turn in this respect is undoubtedly the Camden Society edition of Richard Symonds's diary.5 Here

there are four major errors or omissions in the transcript of the short section of text describing Pembridge church, which will have had a considerable bearing upon the conclusions of later researchers who may well have depended upon it. If ever it were needed, it is an object lesson in proving that whenever possible, and if time permits, it is always best to go back to the original document. This printed edition was also the source for the Rev. Frank Whitehead, then rector of Pembridge, who wrote the short paper in the Woolhope Club *Transactions* in 1902. He succeeded in misunderstanding his source on no less than two counts when he wrote somewhat vaguely of the *West* windows of the north and south aisles: 'Symonds sketched, I believe, these windows, which depicted the arms of Mortimer, Genevill, and Grandison, and an unassigned coat - vair, azure, and ermine, two bars gules'.[44] With a stroke of the pen, he has taken the heraldry out of the transept and chancel windows, and placed it all at the west end! In the light of the analysis of the texts above, even the Camden Society edition of Symonds said no such thing. Latterly, Frank Whitehead's comment was itself specifically cited as a source in a footnote in a worthy and highly respected paper as recently as 1977.[45]

Again in 1902, the then editor of the *Transactions*, in a footnote to J. B. Hewitt's short paper, quoted 'an old manuscript dated 1736 by P. Snell.'[46] This asserted that the army of Owen Glendower, during the Welsh incursion in 1402, 'destroyed and plundered the Church at Pembridge; two windows with curiously painted glass escaped their fury which were adorned with a variety of inscriptions in old Saxon characters. But the Cross on the porch was not so fortunate, it being shot down by a soldier.' A similar version is also to be found in the Rev. Jonathan Williams's *Leominster Guide* of 1808; in turn it was faithfully repeated by Mary Langston in her Pembridge booklet in 1931. Nonetheless, the wording of this passage makes it perfectly obvious that it had been lifted practically *verbatim* from Thomas Blount—only Blount had used these words specifically in the context of the Parliamentary attack during the Civil War in 1645! It is earnestly to be hoped therefore that some of this sillier mythology can now be laid to rest, although this is not to deny that there is indeed interesting circumstantial evidence that Pembridge may have been fired by the Welsh in 1402.[47] In this instance, however, the church was evidently not included, so conceivably the presence of an altar here dedicated to St. David might have disposed the Welsh to spare the building, unlike some others in the vicinity.

The date of what was practically a complete rebuild of Pembridge parish church has been strongly argued by Dr Richard K. Morris, on persuasive evidence based on patterns of mouldings, style, and comparable datable examples at Weobley and elsewhere, as being most probably between 1325 and 1330.[48] While it may at first seem curious that no record of the dedication of these major works at a local church should be recorded in the bishops' registers at Hereford, it is not improbable that this was indeed formerly included among the lost or defaced first eight-and-a-half folios of Bishop Thomas de Charlton's register, covering the period between his return from Avignon late in 1327 and the autumn of 1330.[49] Judging from the medieval heraldry and its former location, the old glass at Pembridge would strongly support this date, and it would appear to have recorded, as elsewhere, the identity of the principal patrons with an interest in the church, or at very least would have marked the contribution of window glass to the finished building. Moreover, bearing in mind the similar arrangement of heraldry in the north and south transept windows, facing each other across the body of the church, the transept glass in particular would plausibly appear to have referred to the families who were the major fund providers in these areas of the church during the great rebuilding.

In particular, these were the Grandisons in the north transept, and the Mortimer-Geneville partnership in the south, families that were themselves closely allied by marriage at this time, since Sir Peter de Grandison, Sir William's son and heir, had also been married at Pembridge to Blanche, the daughter of Roger de Mortimer IV and Joan de Geneville, not long before 10 June 1330. The Grandisons are not known to have had any other association with Pembridge apart from this one historical event, such an occasion being all the more triumphant if taking place in a newly-completed church. The presence of the three putative very similar but differenced Grandison arms, if this supposition is correct, would certainly suggest the completion of the glazing at a date around the time or just after the Grandison/Mortimer marriage, but probably before 1335, the death of Sir William. (Plate 3.3) The arms of Mortimer and Geneville on the other hand might suggest a date before November 1330, the death of Roger IV, and the sequestration of his estates by Edward III (Plate 3.4).[50] Whatever the date of its installation, this glass was clearly contemporary with the erection of the transepts and had survived the Reformation and later depredations probably in the quatrefoils of the upper tracery, whilst the lower panels containing devotional imagery suffered in the usual way, with even portraits of the donors as 'kneelers' and the associated dedicatory inscriptions long having been lost, such as were still surviving during the mid 17th century at Ludlow and Leintwardine.[51] To these, particularly in the glass of the north transept, was later added the heraldry of subsequent generations of manorial lords.

In the high chancel, the east window glazing dates from the reign of Edward III. The use of *France Ancient* quarterly in the Royal arms indicates installation after 1340, the year of Edward's claim to the French throne, while the arms of the Black Prince (made Prince of Wales in 1343) could only have been used before his death in 1376. The occurrence of the Cross of St. George quartered with the Mortimer arms, though unusual, could be a direct allusion to Roger de Mortimer V's installation as a Garter knight in 1348.[52] Alternatively, this could indicate here a date during the period when Roger was the young heir to the Mortimer fortunes and still a ward of the King, this being a time when the patronage of Pembridge was temporarily in the hands of the Crown. (Plate 3.6) Today the stone tracery of this window is a Victorian replacement, in a style dating from the second quarter of the 14th century, but whether it is a facsimile of the original is not known. That original appears to have ended its days as part of the 'old fernery in the rectory garden.'[53]

Figure 8 (left). The east window in the south. wall of the chancel, showing the plate tracery that probably contained the Hugh de Breusa arms

We finally come to the question of the probable variation of the de Braose arms in one of the chancel's two south windows. If the identification of the arms is correct, then the glass must be dated between Hugh de Breusa's institution in 1287, and his death in 1321. The tracery of the larger of the two windows, inserted into the infilling of the arch leading into a former south transept or chantry chapel, is far too late, being of the latter part of the 14th century. On the other hand, the smaller window to the east by the piscina, throwing more light both upon celebrant and the high altar, is just of the right period being of simple early Decorated form with plate tracery, dating from the mid 13th century (Fig. 8). The small armorial bearing is most likely to have been placed here in the single quatrefoil of the window head, and although the stonework itself may date from shortly before de Breusa's time, it is the most logical place for him to have installed devotional glass topped by his armorial coat (Plate 3.5).

REFERENCES

[1] ed. J. Leonard, *Herefordshire Churches through Victorian Eyes; Sir Stephen Glynne's Church Notes for Herefordshire* (Logaston Press, 2006), 9.

[2] Rev J. B. Hewitt, 'Pembridge Church, Herefordshire' in *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (*TWNFC*), 1902, 142-3; Rev F. Whitehead, 'Pembridge Church and Belfry', in *Ibid*., 138. This woodwork is yet to be identified.

[3] Mary Langston, *The Story of Pembridge and its Church*, (Pembridge, 1931) repr. 1963 & 1966, 9.

[4] *Ibid*., 10.

[5] R. Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army ... during the Great Civil War*. British Library Harleian MS 911, ff. 52v - 53r (Published as Camden Society LXXIV, 1859, 202. (This edition is now available in facsimile online at Google books).

[6] Silas Taylor, B.L. Harleian MS 6726, ff. 123v - 124r. [see Herefordshire Record Office (HRO), Microfilm X8].

[7] T. Blount. Original ms. in HRO, CF50/249, ff. 83v - 85r. A transcript of a later copy of the original has been published as R. & C. Botzum, *The 1675 Thomas Blount Manuscript History of Herefordshire*, Hereford, n.d; T. Dingley alias Dineley, *History from Marble* (Camden Society, XCIV, 1867), facsimile edition. (This is also available in facsimile online at Google books.)

[8] The sequence of construction is revealed by the succession of masons' marks through the building, and this study is to be published by the author in a forthcoming paper.

[9] *Register of Bishop T. Spofford* (Cantilupe & York Society), 159.

[10] T. Blount, fo. 85 [Botzum, 46]; see also TNA, E 301/24, Chantry Certificates [HRO microfilm X67].

[11] A. T. Bannister, *Institutions, etc 1539-1900* (1923), 5.

[12] T. Blount, fo. 85 [Botzum,46].

[13] TNA, E 301/24, Chantry Certificate.

[14] *Register of Bishop C. Bothe* (C. & Y. S.), 360.

[15] By 1694 unspecified chantry rents yielding a total of £5 13s. 8d. were part of the proceeds of the lordship of Pembridge borough. See *Pembridge Borough Rent Roll* [undated, but clearly of 1694] at HRO, A63/I/33.

[16] R. Symonds. B.L. Harleian MS 911, fo. 52v (Camden Society LXXIV, 1859, 202). These arms were later also used by his eldest son and heir Sir Peter or Piers de Grandison who married Blanche Mortimer, Sir Peter adopting his father's arms upon his death in 1335.

[17] Silas Taylor, B.L. Harleian MS 6726, fo. 124; T. Dingley alias Dineley, *History from Marble* (Camden Society, XCIV, 1867), 63, & in facsimile cclii.

[18] T. Blount, fo. 85 [Botzum, 46].

[19] For a review and discussion of the de Grandison differencing, see T. Wilmott in *The Coat of Arms*, 140/141, Summer 1988, 112-4. The paper also refers to the association of the arms of Sir Peter de Grandison with those of Mortimer in the context of mid 14th-century Herefordshire floor tiles.

[20] Monnington of Sarnesfield - *Argent, a chevron between three unicorns salient sable*. G. W. Strong, *The Heraldry of Herefordshire*, 78, & Pl. VIII. Hopwood of Milton - see Blount Ms. fo. 64v., in marginal note: 'He bears Or, a Pile azure', also citing the 1634 Visitation. G. W. Strong, 63, & Pl. VII.

[21] S. Taylor, fo. 124.

[22] *Argent, a lion rampant gules*, if these were the tinctures, was a coat of arms used by Sir Hugh de Turbervile, later modified, but others are also known to have used it. The coat, not tricked, is also illustrated by Dingley. Also see J. Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, 1902 (reprinted as *The Dictionary of Heraldry*, 1989, 194).

[23] The arms of Williams of Brecon were somewhat similar to those sketched, i.e. *Argent, a chevron between three cocks gules, on a chief as many spearheads of the first sanguinated*. See B. Burke, *The General Armoury* (1884), 1113.
[24] There is what appears to be the scar of a musket ball impact on a pier in the north aisle. Both the west doors and those to the bell-tower are peppered with bullet holes, and in 1901 it was said that shot could 'still be picked out of the oak with the point of a knife'. See J. B. Hewitt, 'Pembridge Church, Herefordshire' in *TWNFC*, 1902, 142.
[25] T. Blount, fo. 85 [Botzum, 46].
[26] R. Symonds, B.L. Harleian MS 911, fo. 53r. (Camden Socy. edn. 202-3). It is clear from the original MS. that the altar-tomb was beneath the north window of the Marston chancel, and not beneath a south window in the high chancel as is printed in the Camden Society edition. Here the descriptive note is mistakenly associated with the sketch of the Braose coat of arms, inserted later. By 1645 the tomb was devoid of both heraldry and inscription, but one Worcestershire variation of the Gower arms was *azure, a chevron between three wolves heads erased or*.
[27] The Society of Antiquaries of London (see Lambeth Palace Library Church Plans Online Project, ICBS file 03004). Two versions of Griffiths's 1841 plan are preserved, showing the interior both before and after the reordering.
[28] It was alleged in 1917 that a former inhabitant could remember the tomb against the south wall of the chancel, and that Silas Taylor had described it there in 1655. Taylor said no such thing, George Marshall confusing Taylor with the Camden Society edition of Symonds' diary. *TWNFC*, (1917), 192.
[29] Mary Langston, *op. cit*. in note 3, 13. The effigies are shown in their present position in the Royal Commission plan published in 1934, although it should be noted that the altar-tomb has been drawn to scale some 40% larger than its true size. R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, III, 160. For more recent authoritative comment on the figures see *TWNFC*, XLII, 1977, 147-8.
[30] R. Symonds, B.L. Harl. MS 911, fo. 52v. The Camden Society edition is misleadingly in error in several respects. Here it totally omitted the reference to the 'South Window Crosst yle', and wrongly described Symonds's tricking of the central coat as *Argent, three barnacles* ... etc. A barnacle or horsebray was a device used by farriers to coerce a spirited horse into being quiet whilst being shod.
[31] S. Taylor, fo. 124. The east and west windows have one quatrefoil each in their tracery, while the south window has three. The Mortimer/de Geneville combination was therefore almost certainly to the south.
[32] Taylor's assertion that this, and not the north transept, was the Marston chancel contradicts Blount's account, and was almost certainly mistaken.
[33] T. Blount, fo. 78 [Botzum, 41]; G. W. Strong, 32, & Pl. VII. Mary Langston, *op. cit*., 19; R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, III, 162.
[34] R. Symonds, B.L. Harl. Ms. 911, fo. 52v, (Camden Socy. edn. 202). Symonds is the only 17th-century observer to confirm in his sketch that the Royal arms were *Quarterly France Ancient and England*. Taylor merely mentioned *Quarterly France and England*, as also does the Camden Society edition of Symonds.
[35] The plain label argent was for the then Prince of Wales, Edward of Woodstock, later known as the Black Prince. Lionel of Antwerp (1338-1368), Duke of Clarence and second son of Edward III, bore a label argent with pendants, each with a canton gules.
[36] In the medieval glazing of heraldry, if the coat was small then the number of bars was often reduced, as the extra leading made the correct coat appear too dark and opaque. The location of the window in question is discussed below.
[37] B. Burke, *The General Armoury* (1884), 137; R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, III, 220.
[38] W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iv, 197; F. Noble, 'Medieval Boroughs of West Herefordshire' in *TWNFC*, XXXVIII, 1964, 68
[39] *Register of Bishop R. Swinfield* (C. & Y. S.), 526. The name of Braose occurs spelled in varying ways in contemporary documents, such as Braos, Breys, Breuse, Brewes, and even Bruce.
[40] F. T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 65. *Register of Bishop R. Swinfield* (C. & Y. S.), 499. See also *TWNFC*, 1959, 191.
[41] *Register of Bishop A. Orleton* (C. & Y. S.), 200/201.
[42] See also B. Burke, *The General Armoury* (1884), 967; for Steed: *Sable, a unicorn passant argent*; also Steede of Kent and London: *Sable, crusily argent a unicorn salient of the last*. The local branch were presumably the Steeds or Steads of Morecott. Philip Stead of the Bury (d. 1615) appeared as a prominent local landowner in the Pembridge Glebe terrier of *c*.1589, compiled during the incumbency of the rector John Newton [HRO, HD2/3/50]. John Stead of Morecott, gentleman, died in April 1662 but was buried on the 14th at Dilwyn, evidently at the behest of his executor Walter Vaughan. See HRO, will of John Stead at ref. 59/1/41; C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire*, London & Hereford 1872 (repr. Logaston 2001), 254.
[43] R.C.H.M.E. *Herefordshire*, III, 162.
[44] F. Whitehead, 'Pembridge Church and Belfry' in *TWNFC*, 1902, 138.
[45] *TWNFC*, XLII, 1977, 131, 149.

[46] *Ibid*, 1902, fn. on p. 144.
[47] D. James, 'The Buildings of Pembridge - An Analysis of the Medieval & Post-Medieval Timber-Framed Houses' in *The History and Heritage of Pembridge Herefordshire* (Pembridge, 2005), 74-5.
[48] R. K. Morris, 'Pembridge and Mature Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire' in *TWNFC*, XLII, 1977, 146. Further confirmation of this might come from a dendrochronological date for the medieval 'spreader' beam across the nave, inserted at the point where the two flying buttresses, supporting the thrust of the west walls of the transepts, intersect with the weakest points in the nave arcade. This beam has every appearance of being original to the rebuild, instability here having been anticipated by the builder.
[49] HRO, *Register of Bishop T. de Charlton* (C. & Y. S.), v, 2, *et passim.*
[50] Mortimer is believed to have also visited Pembridge in November 1326 when a document was dated from here. It would not be inconceivable that his visit was, in part, to view the work on the church. R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, xi, 329, citing [Bodleian Library] Dugdale Ms. 39, fo. 82.
[51] Bodleian Library, Ashmolean Ms. 854, fo. 185r ; S. Taylor, fo. 68r.
[52] This is reminiscent of the coat of arms, first used half a century later, of Roger Mortimer VI (d. 1398) as Earl of March and Ulster, although the quarterings were then reversed, i.e. *Quarterly, 1 and 4, Mortimer; 2 and 3, or, a cross gules* (for de Burgh). This was recorded in the west window of the south aisle at Ludlow in 1663 (see Bodleian Library, Ashmolean Ms. 854, fo. 185; and for general remarks, also see *The Coat of Arms*, 126, Summer 1983, 148-52). Roger Mortimer V (1328-1360) had become the King's ward following the death of his father, Edmund, early in 1332. In 1346, at the age of about 19, he was knighted on the field of battle, and had livery of his lands. In 1348, he was created a Garter knight and summoned to Parliament as Baron de Mortimer, and finally restored to the earldom of March in 1354. Roger Mortimer V and the Prince of Wales were friends and exact contemporaries.
[53] F. Whitehead, 'Pembridge Church and Belfry' in *TWNFC*, 1902, 137.

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The building of Eastnor Castle, 1812-24

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

Within the residual wildwood that flanked the Malvern Hills in the Middle Ages, the moated homestead provided a dignified dwelling for the emerging gentry, who proliferated in an environment relatively free from feudal pressures. Several fine houses still exist within their watery enclosures, including Madresfield Court and Birtsmorton Court, found on the eastern side of the hills in the redundant royal chase. On the west the bishop of Hereford, perhaps, kept a tighter control over his lands but even here moated houses are common, for example, at Ham Green, Mathon, Cummin's Farm and Oldcastle Farm, both in Colwall parish. In the mid 15th century, the bishop lost control of a large part of Colwall Chase to the Yorkist favourite Richard de Beauchamp who established, with a royal license, Bronsil Castle.[1] *His neighbours in the valley below, next to the parish church of Eastnor were the de Clyntons, whose moated-residence dated from an earlier period. From this family can be traced the origin of the building of Eastnor Castle.*

THE DE CLYNTON ERA

According to the 1569 visitation of Herefordshire the de Clynton descent commences with Ivo de Clynton, a military tenant of the bishop, who lived here early in the reign of Edward I (*c.*1280-81).[2] The family prospered and a century later in 1385, John Clinton was granted the right to have mass said in an oratory in his manor at 'casteldiche'.[3] This is, perhaps, one of the earliest references to the place and suggests either that the manor house had castle-like pretensions—the addition of an oratory gives support to this view—or it was encircled by a stream that ran beside another castle. Since Bronsil was a new creation of *c.*1460, it is much more likely to refer to the fortifications on the British Camp, from whence a stream emerges to pass close to Netherton Farm, through the present deer park and down to the site of the de Clynton manor house, where it joins another brook, giving credence to the description in 1805 that Castleditch had 'a rivulet flowing on each side'. Nevertheless, albeit Castleditch was the principal residence in the parish of Eastnor until the arrival of Bronsil, it was not the manor house. This was at Home Farm, to the west of the present castle, which remained in the hands of the bishop until 1772.[4]

THE COCKS FAMILY AND CASTLEDITCH

The Clynton line ended with another Ivo, born in 1575 and living in 1602, who sold his estate to Richard Cocks, an alderman of London with an estate in Gloucestershire who was domiciled at Castleditch by 1606. At this time the house was described as standing in a moat with a dove house, stables, barns and a cider mill in their own courtyard; a garden and a pool with a mill and pond nearby. The house itself contained a hall, great parlour, little parlour and a buttery, and was well-furnished with tables, joined chairs, 'turkie' carpets and cushions.[5] This idyllic setting was interrupted by the Civil War when the moat provided scant defence in 1644 when the house was bombarded by the parliamentary garrison from Canon Frome. The victors briefly established another garrison here before being driven out by the royalists from Hereford.[6] Thomas Cocks was declared a delinquent by the resentful roundheads but, along with the bullets lodged in his door, he tolerated this inconvenience with pride, especially when Charles

II was restored in 1660. Now promoted to J.P. and sheriff, Thomas lived in a house assessed at twelve hearths in the chimney tax of 1664—making Castleditch one of the largest country houses in Radlow hundred.[7]

This is depicted in perspective on 'A Survey of the Mannor' by John George in 1726 (Plate 4.1). The many-chimneyed house is shown in its oval moat with a gabled entrance front looking south.[8] This has a cupola on the roof and to the west is a dovecote. Two blocks of service buildings stand in their own court to the south, whilst on the north-east there is a triangular fishpond stretching towards the public road. Beyond the service court there are 'Terras walks'; a curving avenue, focussed upon the entrance to the house, leads the eye across an orchard to Summer House Hill where, as its name suggests, there is a conical pavilion. A small sinuous 'park' stretches south-eastwards towards the 'fludgates' where there is a mill. The house is surrounded by orchards on all but the east. The church is also marked and the road- system seems to reflect the modern arrangements.

A series of watercolours kept at Eastnor, perhaps, by the Hereford artist Simon Fisher, shows Castleditch in *c.*1790.[9] A prospect looking towards the Malverns displays the house embedded in its orchards and fields. The *ad hoc* character of the building is represented by a miscellany of pitched roofs and chimneys but beyond there now seems to be a landscape park, planted with clumps of stilted trees—a product, perhaps, of a pupil of 'Capability' Brown (Plate 4.2). The avenue has gone but the summerhouse is still visible on its prominent knoll. Two other views of the house show that little had changed since 1725, apart from the presence of sash windows throughout and a columned entrance in a symmetrical setting, flanked by two bull's-eye windows on the ground floor. A slightly later watercolour by another hand suggests further improvements on the ground floor with a continuous colonnade. On all the views the whole ensemble appears to have been stuccoed to complement a new polite frontage, looking eastwards into the park, which now hosts a herd of deer. The new range is given due prominence in a further watercolour, which was, presumably, the excuse for inviting the artist to Eastnor in the first place (Plate 4.3).

The new two-storey range is a compact piece of neo-classical architecture, dominated by two full height semi-circular bows, with triple sashes on both floors. Another pedimented and columned door-case occupies the central recess with a three further sash windows above. Giant bows were the hallmark of the Gloucestershire architect Anthony Keck and can be seen today at Underdown, Ledbury; Longworth Hall near Hereford and, until its demolition *c.*1930, at Ham Court, Upton-on-Severn.[10] Keck was promoted as a fashionable architect in the West Midlands by the Revd Dr Treadway Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, for whom Keck designed Bevere, at Claines, north of Worcester, *c.*1760. Nash was married to Margaret, sister of John Martin, the builder of Ham Court and in 1785 his daughter and heir, another Margaret, married John Somers Cocks, the first Earl and second Baron Somers. It seems very likely that Nash recommended his protégé, Keck, to his daughter's father-in-law, the first Baron (1725-1806). His semi-circular bows elsewhere seem to date from the late 1770s or early 1780s, a date that would suit the additions to Castleditch. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the presence of forty-seven pocket books belonging to Nash in the Eastnor archive,—investigated by Geoffrey Beard in the 1950s—no documentary support has been found for the attribution to Keck.[11]

Charles Cocks continued to maintain and embellish Castleditch in the first decade of the 19th century. In 1803 he paid £46 8s. 7d. to enhance the entrance front, which included the setting-up of the stone colonnade, noticed above. Even in 1812, when the new building was

commenced £40 was paid to a carpenter, Benjamin Hodges, for routine work around the old house.[12] By this date, the romantic appreciation of ancient edifices amongst the *literati* was in full flow. Uvedale Price of Foxley, a neighbour and friend of Charles Cocks and occasional visitor at Castleditch, wrote movingly in defence of 'old mansion-houses', which were often neglected but 'accompanied by their walled terraces, by their summerhouses covered with ivy, and mixed with wild vegetation have a most picturesque effect.' He took particular delight in the 'summits' of old houses, with their many chimneys and gables, which 'lead the eye on a wanton chase' and could well have had Castleditch in mind when writing his eulogy on picturesque architecture, published in 1804.[13]

Price was not alone in the growing appreciation of old mansion-houses. Local guide books were beginning to feed the appetite of the educated public for local examples of the Castle of Otranto and Northanger Abbey. Brayley and Britton wandered through Malvern Chase and noticed Birtsmorton Court 'the manor house is very ancient and moated round...a memorial of ancient times...rooms all wainscoted and carved with armorial bearings.' At Madresfield, however, their expectations, on crossing the lawn towards the 'ancient baronial castle' set in its 'venerable moat' were dashed by Lord Beauchamp's improvements carried out by George Byfield, the architect of the Worcester House of Industry, *c.*1799. They were 'obliged to confess, that in those parts where the mansion had gained comfort and convenience, and elegance, it has unavoidably parted with a portion of its ancient grandeur.' At Castleditch they were more circumspect but their romantic expectations were again frustrated. All they could see was Keck's new range: 'The mansion is situated in a fine lawn having a rivulet flowing on each side; it is a small plain building of white stone, with a portico in front and projecting semi-circular wings. The contiguous grounds are disposed into walks winding through very thick shrubberies: the park contains some very large and flourishing oaks, and the surrounding eminences are covered with woods.' Clearly, Castleditch had a romantic landscape but the house had been compromised by modern improvements.[14]

TOWARDS THE NEW CASTLE

John Chambers, writing his *Malvern Guide* in 1817, when the body of the new building was virtually complete, also had mixed feelings about the destruction of the 'ancient seat', having, it seems, viewed the Fisher sketches in possession of the family. He had little sympathy for Keck's additions, which 'added several elegant apartments (to) the ancient building' but was 'a small plain building in white stone….built on a modern plan'.[15] These views, essentially condemning with faint praise, suggest that contemporary taste had shifted dramatically since the 1780s – the era of Georgian consensus – and the neat neo-classical architecture, provided by provincial architects like Anthony Keck, was clearly regarded as being in yesterday's style. John Cocks, who succeeded his father in 1806, appears to have been sensitive to the changing cultural milieu.

Why did the 2nd Lord Somers build on such a grand scale? This is an issue that has preoccupied many subsequent members of the Cocks' family as well as many architectural historians. Several contemporaries commented on the family's fortune. Maria Edgeworth arrived during the building process and remarked that the Somers family 'fortunately had a fortune equal to the expense'.[16] The radical, William Cobbett, who passed by in 1826, noted that during the building period, Lord Somers had sold two estates. Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, to a partner in Baring's Bank for £80,000 and Strensham in Worcestershire to a Birmingham banker, called Taylor, for £70,000. Cobbett was no friend of bankers, and had a

particular grudge against Lord Somers who had published a pamphlet in 1817, warning his countrymen that Cobbett's liberal principles would lead to revolution and the end of all property.[17] Even Francis Witts, a Cotswold parson, held exaggerated views of Lord Somers's wealth, suggesting that, in the general view of his contemporaries, the castle cost nearly £200,000, which was well beyond the true figure.[18] As John Somers probably calculated, great buildings were taken as evidence of great wealth and the non-partisan evidence suggests that he could well afford to build on a grand scale. Lord Somers's grandfather, also John Cocks, had consolidated the family's resources and in 1758 had inherited part of the fortune of Lord Chancellor Somers. There was property in Reigate in Surrey, Hertfordshire and London as well as the core of the estates in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford. The first Baron, Charles, appears to have managed his estates particularly well, employing Nathaniel Kent, the leading agriculturalist of the age as his steward. In 1776 Kent had published the influential *Hints to a Gentleman of Landed Property*, and two years earlier, Uvedale Price employed Kent to survey his estate at Foxley. His advice gave Price an annual income of £2,461 from 3½ thousand acres.[19] In 1771 Kent had made his first appearance in the Eastnor archives recommending improvements at Leigh (Worcs.) and Dumbleton (Gloucs.) and he subsequently stayed on as the manager of the Worcestershire estates. In 1794 he received a glowing testimonial from Lord Somers when he took over George III's model farm in Windsor Park. 'Farmer' George's reputation as an improving agriculturalist, to a great extent, derives from Kent's articles and pamphlets, written at this time. The king apparently wrote to Lord Somers, assuring him that Kent would not forsake his role as land agent in Worcestershire, and when Kent finally moved on in 1808, he had spent 33 years in the service of Lord Somers. It was estimated that he had improved the yield of the farms under his control by £2,500 a year.[20]

Among the first baron's papers at Eastnor there is a book of accounts with estimated income and expenditure. The latter is incomplete with several pages in the 1790s ripped out, but nevertheless, the calculations of income, provided on an annual basis from the late 1780s give some useful figures. The purpose of the calculations is unclear but it looks like an *aide memoire* for the baron of the estimated income from the West Midland estates. For the year from August 1792-3 these estates were expected to produce £12,059 11s. 10d. In the following year the total was £10,745 with £5,061 coming from the estates being managed by Nathanial Kent. It is interesting that even the park and garden had estimated incomes. The former in 1794 produced £175 9s. 6d. based upon the sale of deer, 'porkers', chickens, cattle and hay – notwithstanding that 85 deer had been killed by the severe weather in the previous winter. An account for the garden in 1787 showed an income of £139 10s. after the deduction of labour, estimated at £48. The produce was mainly for use in the kitchen. If nothing else, these accounts show that the first baron took a microscopic interest in the sources of his income and presumably by 1806 when the second baron inherited the property, he had a healthy bank balance.[21] Moreover, with the country blockaded by Napoleon's Continental System, agricultural prices continued to rise in England and in 1811 there was an additional windfall, when the second Baron, John Cocks, inherited, via his wife Margaret, the estates of the Rev. Treadway Nash. This included property in Strensham, Claines, Droitwich, Salwarp, Kempsey, Hadsor, Eckington and elsewhere in Worcestershire. Some indication of Nash's wealth can be ascertained from the notes in his pocket books – in 1760 his bank account with Messrs Martins, Stone and Blackwell carried a balance of £17,485. He was by no means a typical indigent Georgian clergyman in the mould of Gilbert White.[22]

The metamorphosis of Castlelditch, the modest home of several generations of the Cocks family, into Eastnor Castle, a baronial residence fit for an earl, was part of a process repeated all over England in the early 19th century. The rigid hierarchies of Georgian England were shattered by the forces released by rapid industrialisation, revolution and romantic individualism. Alistair Rowan sees Eastnor Castle as a product of Lord Somers's 'ego', which 'in its inflated scale it can inform on the character of the man for whom it was built'.[23] John Cocks's daughter Margaret, with a certain bitterness, remarked that the grandeur was necessary 'for the master and the house will then (be) on a scale'.[24] There is a good deal of truth in this as the Cocks' family had reached the apogee of their power and status in the West Midlands but were still living in a manor house contained by its medieval moat. The new house physically and symbolically raised the profile of the family, following the example of many of their neighbours, but going one step further. Several 'prospect houses' had been built in the neighbourhood of Castlelditch in recent decades by advancing families who abandoned their traditional manor houses for fashionable mansions in conspicuous sites e.g. the Barnabys at Brockhampton-by-Bromyard and the Herefords at Old Sufton. Uvedale Price, who lived rather modestly in the valley of the Yazor Brook, railed against his neighbours who built their eye-catching houses on every available hill, creating 'a landscape full of spots' and destroying the sacred countryside with their stucco villas.[25] Perhaps, one of the triggers for Lord Somers project was the arrival of Edward Moulton Barrett, recently enriched by overseas trade, who bought the contiguous estate of Hope End and in *c.*1812 erected a house in the 'moorish' style which a later sale catalogue claimed was 'justly considered to vie with Eastnor Castle….as the chief ornament of the surrounding countryside'.[26] Such *parvenu* impertinence needed knocking on the head but, perhaps Lady Henry Somerset, with the benefit of hindsight, put her finger on the essential quality of the new building, namely, that it combined 'the comfort and convenience of a modern home with the stately grandeur of a feudal fortress'. In a revivalist age most commentators placed its style in the reign of Edward I —a castle that Ivo de Clynton might have aspired to at an earlier date, had he access to Lord Somers's wealth.[27]

It is difficult to find an aesthetic impulse behind the design of Eastnor. Most commentators look to Lords Somers's architect, Robert Smirke for the creative stimulus. But Eastnor is so different from other Regency castles, and from Smirke's earlier work, that it is worth considering the possibility that it was built as a real fortified house. Smirke's perspectives of 1811 indicate that the castle was to have a stone revetment on three sides and a dry ditch was especially conspicuous on the north-west, adjoining the entrance turret (Plate 4. 4).[28] Here the planned service wing was to be separated from the castle by a single arched crenellated bridge, bringing the lower green court without interruption up to the foot of the south-west tower. All of this was, to some degree, made necessary by the placing of the new house on a spur of high ground above Castlelditch; it could also be interpreted as mere theatre, an attempt to bring Eastnor close to medieval models, such as Warwick Castle. However, one visitor, at least, the Rev. Francis Witts, conjectured that its fortress-like qualities 'even in these days of chain-shot and Congreve rockets, it might be successfully maintained for some length of time'.[29] Given Somers's fear of 'levelling' and 'sedition', his hatred of radicalism, his vigorous pursuit of Cobbett and the increasing threat of popular unrest in this period, Eastnor may have been a 'real' castle, like those built by English landowners in Ireland e.g. Dromore Castle, County Limerick, built at the time of the first Fenian uprising in 1867.[30] Indeed, on the laying of the first ashlar stone of Eastnor on 23 June 1812, Margaret Somers, Lord Somers's daughter, penned a rather gloomy poem 'Malvern Hill to Eastnor Castle, greeting' which

specifically refers to the protective role of the castle that will 'cherish its inmates' and 'stand with firmness…when sedition stalks nightly to pillage and blood, and we know not to curse most, the courtier or Ludd'.[31]

Robert Smirke

It is undeniable, that the complex aspirations of Lord Somers were brilliantly fulfilled by, Robert Smirke (1780-1867), whose reputation as a reliable and creative architect was already beginning to be celebrated when the former inherited Castleditch in 1806. With a town house in London Somers would have been aware of Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre, built 1808-9, and the first fully articulated Greek revival building in the metropolis. It was this building that came into the mind of the provincial writer, John Chambers, when he commenced the first written account of Eastnor Castle in 1817.[32] However, some of Smirke's earliest commissions were to be found in the West Midlands. In 1807 he designed a gothic screen behind the high altar in Gloucester Cathedral. Lord Somers was Recorder of Gloucester and the family regarded this city, rather than Hereford or Worcester, as their regional service centre. Whilst working at Eastnor Smirke restored Westgate Bridge (1813-16) and designed a new Shirehall (1815-16) in Gloucester as a result of Lord Somers's influence.[33]

Perhaps more pertinent was the architect's arrival in 1806 at Eywood House, in north Herefordshire, which he refurbished for Edward Harley, 5th Earl of Oxford. This was Smirke's earliest country house commission and was presumably secured by his father, also Robert, who was a fashionable artist, and a regular visitor to Eywood. The Earl of Oxford, albeit socially compromised by his wayward wife, held an important position in the county's social hierarchy.[34] In 1806 Smirke was also to be found at Lowther Castle, Westmorland, where he was employed by the first Earl of Lonsdale to provide a new great-house in the gothic style. Smirke was recommended to Lonsdale by Sir George Beaumont, another friend of his father, and an intimate of Uvedale Price.[35] It was perhaps via the Price connexion that Lord Somers was persuaded in August 1811 to write to Lord Lonsdale for an appraisal of Smirke's skills. The response was most satisfactory. Lonsdale affirmed that:

> 'Mr Robert Smirke's management of the works under his direction at this place and his general attendance entitle him to every commendation it is in my power to give him… his activity is exacting and such has been his accuracy and practicality that in the course of the time he has been engaged here, I believe he would cover the expense attendant on any delay which arose from that of instructions or alterations from the original design'. [36]

The design, as it turned out, was settled in the winter of 1811-12 and the work commenced on 24 April 1812 with the laying of the first foundation stone, an event celebrated in a poem by Margaret, the daughter of Lord Somers, who regretted that her brothers, Charles and John, were not present at the ceremony. Perhaps, like them, she had misgivings about her father's grandiose aspirations.

In some respects, Lowther Castle can be taken as the prototype for Eastnor but in its compact design, it was quite different (Plate 4.5). Like Eastnor, Lowther still obeys the classical canons established in the 18th century with a strong emphasis upon the central portion of the building. But, whereas in a classical building there would have been a pediment of a portico raised up on an extra storey, here there is a gothic composition flanked by turrets and given emphasis by a *porte cochère*. At both castles a turreted 'keep' dominates the composition

from behind the entrance front. At Eastnor the centre is strengthened by a giant Romanesque *porte cochère*; a more graduated management of the sequence of towers from entrance hall to the 'keep'; much sturdier clover-leafed corner towers and a more compact a rectangular design for the accommodation. Lowther was a typical late Georgian mansion with a long show-front, which extended 19 bays, whereas Eastnor only has four bays of fenestration either side of the entrance. Clearly, the great towers, made to project away from the core of the building by corridors, compensated for the reduced length of Eastnor's main fronts. In this sense, Eastnor is a much more successful design than Lowther, which during the 19th century was reduced in length and made more gothic by the addition of a large traceried window over the porch and spirelets on the battlements. It was thus transformed into something much more like the picturesque castles designed by John Nash, epitomised by Garnstone Castle in Herefordshire, completed in 1810, which shared an extended show-front with Lowther.

Smirke's favourite style was Greek, which, unlike contemporary gothic, required very little in terms of architectural embellishment to make its impact. In Smirke's view it was a chaste style, where less was more. Eastnor owes a lot to the architect's enthusiasm for this principle. The facade at Covent Garden Theatre has the same rhythm as Lowther and Eastnor but with a Doric portico replacing the gothic entrance.[37] Similarly, the fenestration—full height on the main storey, half on the upper storey—is repeated on the two castles. At Lowther, however, the windows are gothic throughout, whereas at Eastnor the upper windows, and those in the towers, have moulded semi-circular voussoirs in the Romanesque style, reinforced with colonettes and cushion capitals on the main facades. The fenestration is, therefore, relatively simple, which was one of the essential features of the Greek style. The compact, sub-rectangular design of the main accommodation is also familiar in the 'new square style' that Smirke employed in the design of smaller houses, such as the Homend in Herefordshire. Thus, the rigid symmetry, the limited fenestration, the general austerity in the use of mouldings etc, the massive towers constructed with finely textured ashlar, laid with the narrowest of joints and the Romanesque touches, created a dramatic effect. Smirke realised that Romanesque, a style only just being distinguished from gothic and 'Saxon', was associated with monuments of power and , as Christopher Wren recognised in the ruins of Old St Paul's, it gave a building 'grandeur, which exceeds all little curiosity'.[38]

Smirke's earliest perspectives, two pencil drawings signed and dated 1812, indicate that Lord Somers was considering having secondary turrets on the corner towers. This appears to be an afterthought, as only one of the drawings—the view from the south-east—has them roughly shaded in. John Goodall believes that this idea derives from the model for the Eastnor towers—the 14th-century Caesar's Tower at Warwick with its uniquely irregular profile.[39] The turrets also turn up on the working drawings, which begin to appear early in 1812 but are missing on the four watercolour perspectives, which exist alongside the two pencil sketches. As the turrets persist on the working drawings until May 1813, it looks as if they were abandoned reluctantly, as the financial situation became more straitened. The turrets would have made a difference to the final composition, making the skyline of the castle much more flamboyant - 'leading the eye on a wanton chase'.[40] They also served a practical purpose, doubling as chimney stacks.

Without the secondary turrets the end result was more sublime than picturesque. Perched on its knoll, overlooking a very large lake and without the frippery of picturesque planting, Eastnor stimulated awe and astonishment. The early 19th century prints show it in this manner, rising from the bare ground unencumbered by the planting of the mid 19th century (Fig. 1).

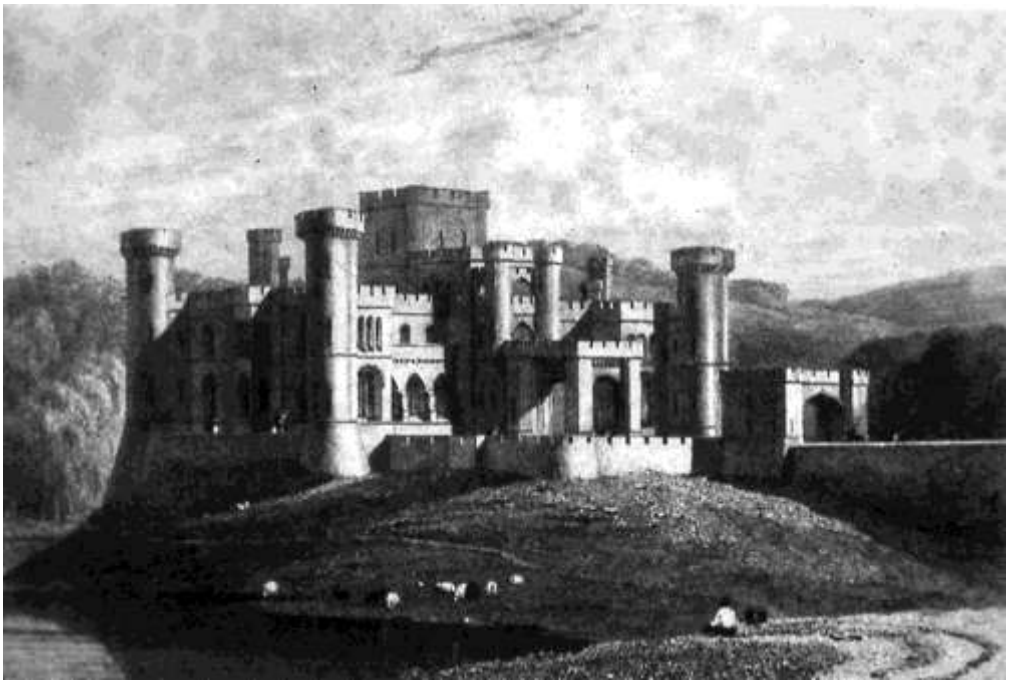


Figure 1. Eastnor Castle by J. T. Neale, *c.*1830, unencumbered by picturesque planting (Hereford City Library)

The idea, often repeated, that Lord Somers skimped on the landscaping because of a shortage of money, misses the point. A similar effect had been achieved by Richard Payne Knight at Downton where the castle—without its later gothic accretions and terracing—rose directly from its natural platform above the River Teme. Payne Knight, as we now know, was trying to build a stronghold fit for a Greek hero.[41] Like Smirke his enthusiasm was for the purer stream of classical culture provided by the Greeks; albeit, beside the Teme, out of sight of his castle, he created picturesque walks, which, in some respects, clashed with the sublime impact of his castle. Another castle builder, Samuel Rush Meyrick, persuaded his architect, Edward Blore, in 1828-31 to build his Edwardian castle on a cliff overlooking the Wye, adjoining the authentic Goodrich Castle, which now, in a sense, became a folly in Meyrick's park. Like Eastnor and Downton, when seen from a low perspective, it was a powerful and awe-inspiring structure and, until the 1840s, was viewed in isolation without the accompaniment of trees.[42]

The Obelisk

There was a prelude to the main building project in April 1811, when stone began to be assembled on 'the high soil' above Bronsil Castle to build the obelisk (Fig. 2). It is generally accepted that this structure was erected to commemorate the tragic death of the Hon. Edward Charles Cocks, the eldest son of Lord Somers, who fell at Burgos, in Spain, in October 1812.[43] However, a bill dated 1811, from George Wood (fl.1783-1823), a prolific statuary and marble mason from Gloucester, itemises the stone to be delivered to Eastnor and to be used in the building of the obelisk.[44] This suggests that Lord Somers was thinking of the monument

eighteen months, at least, before the death of his son and implies that its primary purpose was to celebrate the history of the Somers Cocks family and that the tribute to his son was something of an after-thought.

The bill refers to the transportation of Leckhampton, Bath, Syerford and Painswick stone to 'the high soil' at Eastnor, via various quays on the Severn and the Hereford and Gloucester canal. The Painswick stone came as 'slabs' suggesting that it was to be used for the inscription tablets. The total bill, including haulage and freight came to £200 7s 0d. There is no specific voucher for the work, naming Wood, but presumably he carried this out and was also the designer of the structure, which has hitherto, been attributed to Smirke. However, he is only linked with the obelisk in January 1813 when he is about to dismiss Wood from his position of one of the chief masons employed at the castle. As there are few payments referring to work upon the obelisk in the castle accounts, it was clearly a separate commission.

George Wood was the son of the more celebrated Henry Wood of Bristol who was a prolix statuary, and was also involved in architectural work in Somerset and South Wales. The family monopolised monumental work in the west-country and, significantly, George Wood's younger brother Thomas had recently settled in Hereford, taking over the business of Thomas Symonds, a monumental mason who was also surveyor of the fabric of Hereford Cathedral and the architect of Downton Castle.[45]

In 1809 Thomas Wood was responsible for the construction of Nelson's column, erected upon the Castle Green in Hereford. This seems to have been originally designed by the London architect, Thomas Hardwick, but the local sources state that Wood modified Hardwick's design before construction.[46]

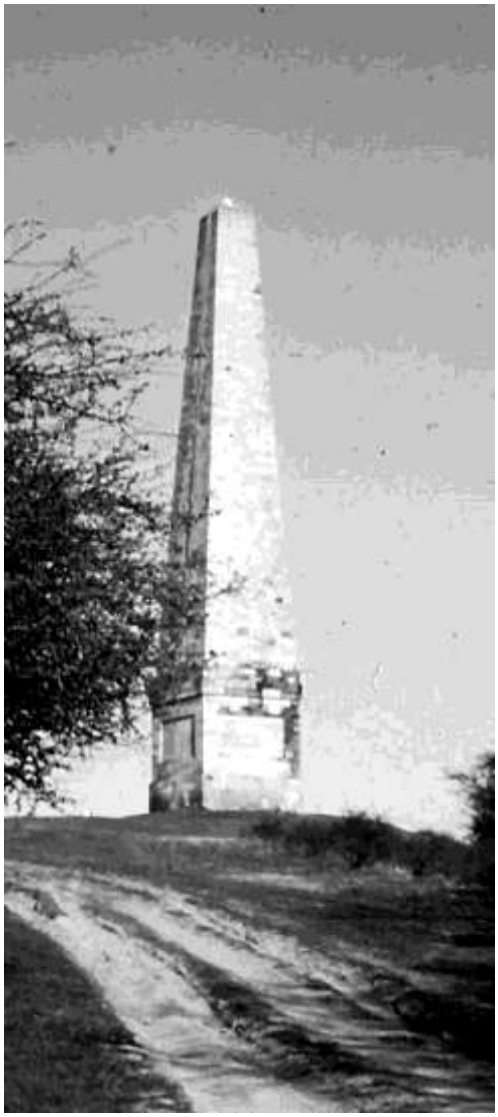


Figure 2. The Obelisk, Midsummer Hill (Author)

Historians have had difficulty in distinguishing the work of the various members of the Wood family and it is possible that George Wood got the commission for the Eastnor obelisk on the basis of the previous experience of his brother who died in November 1809. The column at Hereford was paid for by public subscription, to which, no doubt, Lord Somers contributed. Clearly, George Wood was well up to the task of designing and erecting the Somers obelisk.

Initially, George Wood also played a key role in the construction of the new castle. In the 1812 accounts he is the premier craftsman, bringing a large workforce to the site and receiving £3,866 12s. 3d. for mason's work and a further £3,185 10s. 7d. for the provision of stone. His men were employed to lay the tramway, built to bring the rubble-stone from the park, and he was sent to Bristol and Yorkshire to secure additional workmen. However, in January 1813 he was dismissed by Smirke and paid off. His fall throws an interesting light on the problems that might arise in managing a large building project like Eastnor and employing a metropolitan architect who was thrown into the hands of a close group of local craftsmen and a client who had strong ideas himself.[47]

George Wood's fall from favour came about as a result of Lord Somers's insistence that, in order to save money on transport, the stone for the castle should come from a local source. Most of 1812 was taken up with prospecting for a hard building stone. Having exhausted all the potential sites on the Eastnor demesne, Smirke sent Wood in search of samples to the south-west of Eastnor, to Dymock, Greenway, Tillers Green and Little Marcle, but little was found with the necessary strength to take the heavy weight of the proposed towers. Smirke carried out a series of experiments and demonstrated that even Bewdley sandstone, used in Worcester Cathedral, fractured under a weight of 14 tons. However, Wood had a solution at hand and introduced Smirke to a consortium of Forest of Dean quarry owners, represented by a Mr Jackson who undertook to arrange the transport of the stone to Eastnor. Smirke was heavily reliant upon Wood's connexions and soon found that the real cost of getting the stone to Eastnor was much higher than Wood had estimated. Moreover, Lord Somers continued to hope that a local source could be found and only reluctantly agreed to the use of Dean-stone. Matters came to a head in the autumn of 1812 when the weather interrupted the supply of stone and Wood made the problem more acute by using all the available teams to draw stone to the obelisk. Moreover, some of the suppliers in the Forest complained in November 1812 that they were not being paid by Wood. Smirke promised Lord Somers that he would check the receipts and in January 1813 Wood resigned because of his 'embarrassments'.[48]

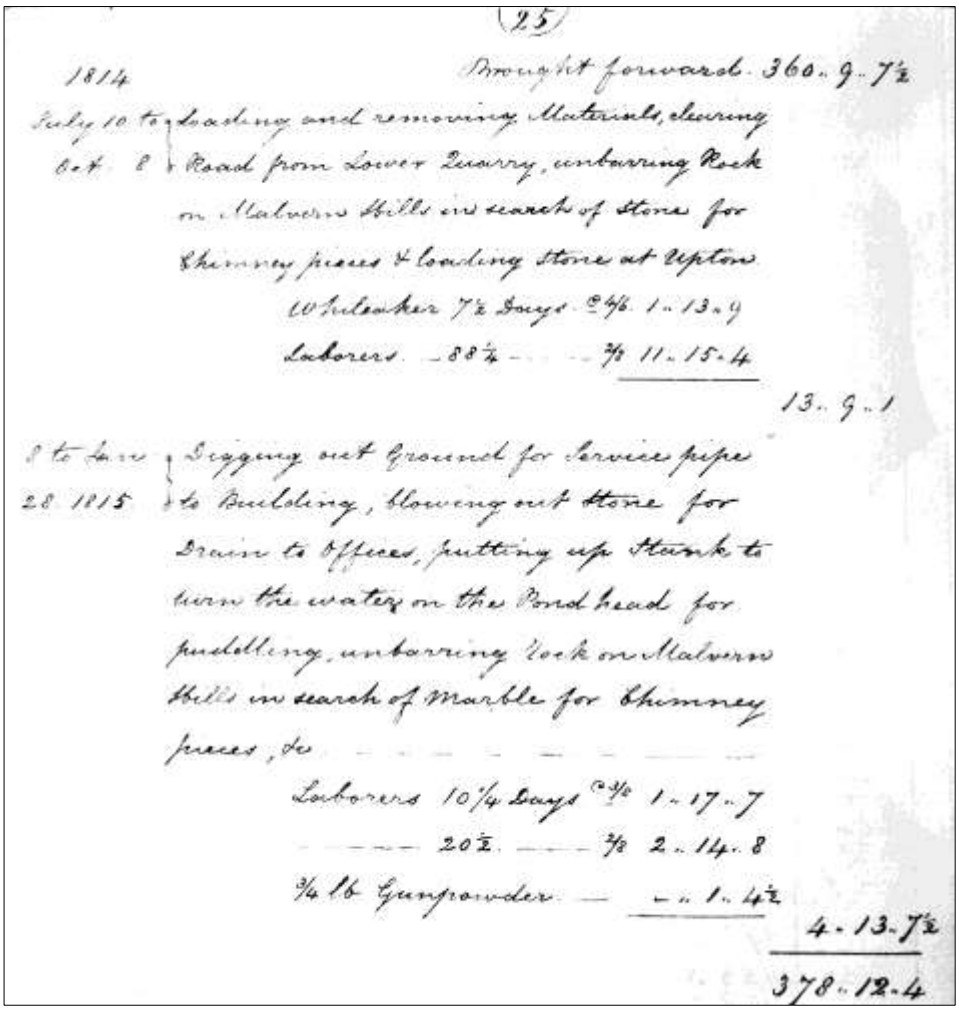
From the subsequent correspondence it seems that Wood had demanded a 'certain tonnage' from the quarrymen of the Forest as a payment for his services in persuading Smirke and Lord Somers to accept the deal. A draft of a letter from Lord Somers, unaddressed but probably to Wood or Jackson, complains bitterly about 'conduct reprehensible' and his own 'lack of knowledge in the stone quarrying business'. To resolve the matter, he declared his intention of going to Gloucester to speak to Mr Roynon Jones of Nass Court, Lydney, who was one of the quarry owners and, apparently, an occasional business partner of Somers.[49] This produced a letter from Jackson (11 February 1813) who disclaimed any knowledge of Wood's arrangements with the quarry owners, and was particularly hurt that Somers had referred to him as a 'liar'. In a letter to Jackson, Lord Somers blamed his architect, saying that he 'misunderstood Smirke's words' and his reputed slur against Jackson's honesty was unintentional. Smirke's involvement in this debacle was remote but he quickly took advantage of the resignation of Wood and appointed his own clerk of works, Thomas Carpenter. A new relationship was worked out with Jackson and the Dean quarrymen, especially after Smirke announced the results his experiments on the Forest stone, which, he found, was 'infinitely harder' than he had expected and a small cube could support a weight of 50 tons when pressed against the surface of a piece of hard oak. In durability he thought it was equivalent to granite.

Wood was allowed to finish off the obelisk and, occasionally, makes further appearances in the account books. His intimate connection with the Forest quarry men is confirmed in April

1816 when he supplies the masons at the Castle with a load of 'Grey Forest stone for coping and paving'. The obelisk appears to have been completed in September 1813 when six and a half gallons of beer was provided for the workmen. Wood received his final payment of £250 early in the next year. However, two years later Smirke wrote to Lord Somers referring to 'problems with the obelisk' and in March the assistant Clerk of Works, at the Castle, Mickle, is sent to view it. Clearly, it had suffered a lightning-strike and in September 1815 Smirke reported that a 'lightening rod' with copper prongs had been fixed to it. As this was a perilous job for the workmen involved, the accounts for 1815 record that 6½ gallons of beer was bought to treat the 'workmen repairing the obelisk'. No further details are provided but in 1849 the 2nd Earl noted in his diary that the obelisk was causing concern and in *c.*1850 Gilbert Scott, assisted by the Worcester stone-carver, William Forsyth, appears to have carried out minor reparations.[50]

The building process

There are seventeen volumes of accounts in the Eastnor archive, which obliquely tell the story of the construction of the castle from the laying of the first foundation stone on 24 April 1812 to the final bills for the stone, used in the construction of the lower lodge, in December 1819 (Fig. 3).[51] The majority of the volumes simply contain vouchers from individual tradesmen, which are summarised in the main accounts. They were carefully written by George Watson, Lord Somers's steward or land agent. A rough account book also survives for 1812-14, which deals with the financial transactions between Lord Somers, Biddulph's Bank and Thomas Carpenter, Smirke's clerk of works. The main volumes provide a unique opportunity to study the minutiae of the building process, the provision of materials and services, as well as the activities of even minor craftsmen. However, in many cases the craftsmen brought their own journeymen and labourers, so behind the names in the accounts there is a more indistinct world of the day labourer. Estimates of the number of men employed at any given moment, is difficult. Their wages are recorded but even labourers came with various skills and, therefore, their rate of pay varied. A recent modest estimate suggests that about 250 men were employed on the site, ignoring those working on the extraction of stone, lime, clay et*c.*[52] Equally, accurate figures for weekly, monthly or annual expenditure are difficult, as payment was often delayed for many months and bills were sometimes paid in instalments. For example, at the end of the first year's work Smirke claimed his 5% on the £16,334 paid to tradesmen, plus his travelling expenses, which came to £936 for which he received a cheque from Biddulph's Bank for £500. He entered the second year of the project with £436 outstanding on his account. We find at the end of the project in 1819 the architect and many of the larger undertakers were still owed substantial sums of money. Between 1812 and 1815, when the accounts were well managed, the total expenditure was £55,472. But for the final five years—when annual totals are sometimes missing—the expenditure was, on average, about £5,000 per annum. This brings the total to around £80,000 on which Smirke based his 5% professional fee, bringing the final figure up to £86,000 – very close to Smirke's original estimate of £82,000. Incidental work in 1820, excluding furnishing, probably brought the total to well over £90,000. Beard estimated that Lowther Castle cost Lord Lonsdale £64,243 to build.[53]



(25)

1814 Brought forward 360. 9. 7½

July 10 to Oct 8 — Loading and removing Materials, clearing Road from Lower Quarry, unbarring Rock on Malvern Hills in search of stone for Chimney pieces & loading stone at Upton

Whitaker 7½ Days @ 4/6 1. 13. 9

Laborers 88¼ 3/9 11. 15. 4

13. 9. 1

8 to Nov 28 1815 — Digging out Ground for Service pipe to Building, blowing out stone for Drain to Offices, putting up Stank to turn the water on the Pond head for puddling, unbarring Rock on Malvern Hills in search of Marble for Chimney pieces, &c

Laborers 10¼ Days @ 3/9 1. 17. 7

20½ 3/9 2. 14. 8

¾ lb Gunpowder 1. 4½

4. 13. 7½

378. 12. 4

Figure 3. Page from the labourers' accounts, 1814, including searching for 'Malvern Marble' (Eastnor Castle)

The microscopic nature of the accounts also makes it difficult to paint the broader picture. For this it is necessary to look at Smirke's numbered and dated plans, which eventually reached 210. Something like 50% of these has survived. The plans were produced in Smirke's office at the Albany in London as and when they were required. They are all dated and numbered. The clerk of the works, Thomas Carpenter received the plans at Eastnor and, as the accounts show that he used a great deal of paper, it is likely that he drew the mouldings and other details at full size to provide a blue-print for the masons. He also had the most significant plans backed by a local stationer to make them more durable. Among his other responsibilities was the laying out the line of the walls and checking levels. Notwithstanding his social elevation above the lesser tradesmen, he was concerned about their well-being, claiming expenses for' treats' at

various landmarks in the project and hiring a surgeon for £8 18s who was presumably on-call in case of an accident. He was also constantly visiting the quarries on horseback and between June and December 1812 claimed £10 19s. 7d. for his journeys. As a professional he also had his accommodation paid for and received a wage of 10s. 6d. per day. Smirke visited the works every two months between February and September but only infrequently in the winter.

Some of Smirke's plans are very complex, especially those showing long sections through the building and others that show the route taken by chimney shafts to find their way out onto the roof. The primary plans, such as the elevations, are heavily annotated or stained by sweaty fingers or spills of liquid showing evidence of the craftsmen – and Lord Somers - pouring over and debating the proposals, whilst some of the interior perspectives were obviously used by later members of the family to try-out new schemes of decoration. Alongside the plans are a number of letters written by Smirke to Lord Somers and some drafts of his responses. Somers was not an easy client and lacked the languid affectations of 'laid-back' peers like the 5th Earl of Oxford and the first Earl of Lonsdale. The plethora of material kept by Lord Somers on the building of the castle is a reflection of his serious involvement in the project. Spontaneous notes were hurriedly scribbled to Smirke by Somers, one often contradicting another, but Smirke never failed to respond with patience and, more often than not, with sound arguments for his approach to a particular problem. Dealing with Lord Somers was excellent training for a young architect who was subsequently employed by a large section of the peerage and had many institutional clients.

The Perspectives and the Plans

Smirke produced four charming watercolour perspectives of the proposed castle and two pencil drawings, which hang in the passage to the small dining room at Eastnor. One of the latter shows turrets on the corner towers, of which there is no sign on the watercolours, albeit they are present on some of the early working drawings, suggesting that they represented an earlier option, soon to be abandoned. Only one of the watercolours is signed by Smirke and their charm and competence suggests that they were produced by a professional watercolourist working in the architect's office.

The first general view from the north-west must have thrilled Lord Somers for, from a distance, the towers and chimneys cluster together, giving the impression of a fortification fit for a king, one perhaps with the subjugation of Wales on his mind (Plate 4.6). Seen from this perspective the design appears to be asymmetrical and its white stone, so carefully chosen by Smirke, sets the building off against the hazy grey of the Malvern Hills. To the left a high causeway with a sturdy gatehouse hints at an impressive entrance whilst to the right, stretching out away from the castle, the services, masked by a group of trees terminate with a courtyard and an isolated turret.

From the north-west the architect takes the viewer into the austere landscape beneath the great court (Plate 4.4). The parapet is low, much lower than the one that exists today, and so, the figures, dwarfed by the Romanesque *porte cochère*, can be seen at full height. On the left the stern gatehouse, with its water pump in the basement, controls access for the outside world; whilst, to the right, a large single-arched bridge, crosses the lower green court, to give access to the extensive services. This is pure theatre and, sadly, one of the excesses Lord Somers cancelled, along with the extensive service court. A stone bastion, cut with military precision, appears on the left suggesting that the proposed service court was also to be contained within pseudo-fortifications.

Seen from the south-east the symmetry of Smirke's design is revealed (Plate 4.7). The two clover-leaf corner towers hold together a long crenellated curtain-wall, pierced with gothic windows, with a raised and projecting central tower, which steps down from the great keep. The flamboyant flag contains the Maltese cross, the emblem of the Knights of St. John, to remind us, perhaps, of their great fortress in Palestine, Krak des Chevaliers. This is no minor picturesque castle but a sublime structure designed to inspire awe and majesty and behind the gothic surface detail we can detect a monumental building, with a strong kinship with the Greek porticos at the shire-halls in Gloucester and Hereford. From this perspective we can also see how the great terrace levels off the hill-side to provide the platform for the castle and to the left (south), the transition to the service wing begins with the first three bays of a gothic conservatory, with fully drawn-out late gothic windows. Below is a rocky outcrop which emphasises the rugged context of the new building, which would eventually be tamed by the planting of trees and shrubs.

The final view takes us round to the north-east where again we see the arrangements for the entrance with the minor towers leading the eye on a 'wanton chase' up to the summits on the corner towers and the great keep (Plate 4.8). Here the architect captures the opportunity to emphasise the elevation of the castle, perched on its flattened hill. Without tree cover and with just a hint of the great lake in the lower right corner, we can appreciate how dominating the new edifice would have been for a visitor coming from Ledbury or Malvern to the east. The sparse fenestration on the smooth ashlar stonework increases the awe inspiring effect.

Both the perspectives and the surviving ground-plans—one, much worn, copy from Smirke's office and a rough copy drawn by Lord Somers (Fig. 4.)—show that Smirke's original proposals were followed fairly consistently, albeit some of the rooms remained relatively undecorated, the grand staircase was abandoned, the offices were reduced in scale and the stables left un-built. The interior was also designed to impress with a *route d' honneur* from the entrance hall, through the great hall to the octagon room, set in the central bay of the west front with spectacular views across the lake, towards the Mavern Hills and the family obelisk, built in 1811. This sort of plan had a Georgian pedigree but unlike the conventional villa, which culminated in a show staircase, it carried the guests into the principal reception room. This—the great hall—was the centrepiece of the design and occupied three-quarters of the depth of the castle from west to east. To the south of the hall there was a dining room, whilst on the north there was a state bedroom, accompanied by a dressing room and wash room. On this side there was also the staircase, which was placed to one side of the main enfilade, since it now only gave access to the bedrooms and was thus, principally used by the family . Either side of the octagon room on the lake frontage was a library (north) and a drawing room (south), which, like the octagon room itself, was left in a fairly simple state in 1819.

1812 – Gathering the Materials and laying the Foundations

The laying of the first ashlar stone above ground took place on 23 June 1812. The carpenters erected a temporary floor for the company, which included 'many neighbouring gentlemen' who observed Lord Somers place a silver coin of Elizabeth I beneath the stone. His daughter, Margaret, wrote at least two poems to celebrate the occasion, one of which refers to the 'glistening banners' and 'cheerful music' that accompanied the event. In addition, £43 1s 6d was spent on a dinner for the workmen. The extraction and assembling of materials on the site accounted for much of the expenditure in 1812. During the prospecting for stone, close to the

building-site, Smirke had tested the limestone and found it contained 52 parts of lime out of 100, and immediately ordered that a lime kiln should be erected nearby. The rough stone used for the foundations also came from a series of shallow quarries found close-by—Eaton Field is mentioned—but the largest still survives as a deep cutting to the north of the Ledbury drive. This work was supervised by Joseph Whiteaker, another colleague of Smirke who now managed the workforce. At the end of 1812 had received £2,296 13s. 6d. for himself and his team of labourers who were responsible for the 'groundwork' in opening up quarries and on-going problems like drainage.

By March 1812 his labourers had dug down to the rock on the site of the castle and during the next two months water pipes were laid, connecting the new house to a reservoir near the parish church. The pipe-work was supervised by an engineer called John Jones who also helped Whiteaker construct a tramway. The plates, pins and stubs were supplied by William Montegue of Gloucester, probably from the Bradley Forge in the Forest of Dean who had earlier provided the plates for the Severn and Wye Railway.[54] The wagons and trucks were purchased from Messrs Lovesy and Burford. Three other contrivances needed specialist advice. A mortar mill made of iron and wood, with two grind stones was built by Thomas Whitcomb, a smith. There was also a pug mill, driven by a horse, which mixed the clay and sand used in the bricks, which had been introduced by George Woods. The horse cost 4s. per day to feed. A hoist, for lifting stone, made of large timbers called 'shears' was also employed and was serviced by the carpenters. This appears to have been superseded in March 1814 when Smirke informed Lord Somers that he had bought a 'hydraulic machine' for £70, which had originally been priced at £150. Using 84 recently-purchased wheelbarrows, constantly in need of repair by the carpenters, Whiteaker's men laboured all day to fill the wagons at the quarry and make the stone available for the masons. Grown men were paid 2s. 8d. per day, boys received 1s. 2d; rates that were 50% less than the daily rate paid to the masons and 'wallers'. Whiteaker himself was paid 4s. 8d. per day. In June the men were 'treated' for completing the tramway, which was frequently adjusted to serve various parts of the building and as old quarry faces were worked out and new ones opened.

The ashlar stone or 'grey forest stone' used for facing the walls above ground came from a variety of remote quarries in the Forest of Dean, principally at Nailbridge, Ruardean and Berry Hill. Even as late as November 1814 Lord Somers was still quizzing Smirke about the necessity of bring stone from such a long distance. He had been to Plymouth and had seen building stone very similar, he thought, to that found on his estate. Once again, Smirke patiently explained the defects of the Eastnor limestone but to encourage his client, he mentioned that some stone had been located on the estate that could be employed for fireplaces. Two innovations in transport allowed Smirke to choose the very best stone. The first was the Hereford and Gloucester Canal, which was opened to Ledbury from Over, just to the north-west of Gloucester in 1798. Regular payments were made in the building accounts to the canal company and to the individual hauliers, like Mr Chadwick who between March and August 1812 brought timber, pipes, lime-coal, iron rails, castings, rail-road wagons, as well as stone, usually from Gloucester to Ledbury, but occasionally from Lydney or Bullo Pill. The 'block-stone' was loaded onto narrow boats at Over and unloaded at Hazle Mill, to the south of Ledbury, where it was dragged by teams of horses—often in short supply for agricultural work—on carts to the building site. In 1812 the canal company was paid £215 15s. for freightage and wharfage, which rose to £303 10s. in the first six months of 1813.

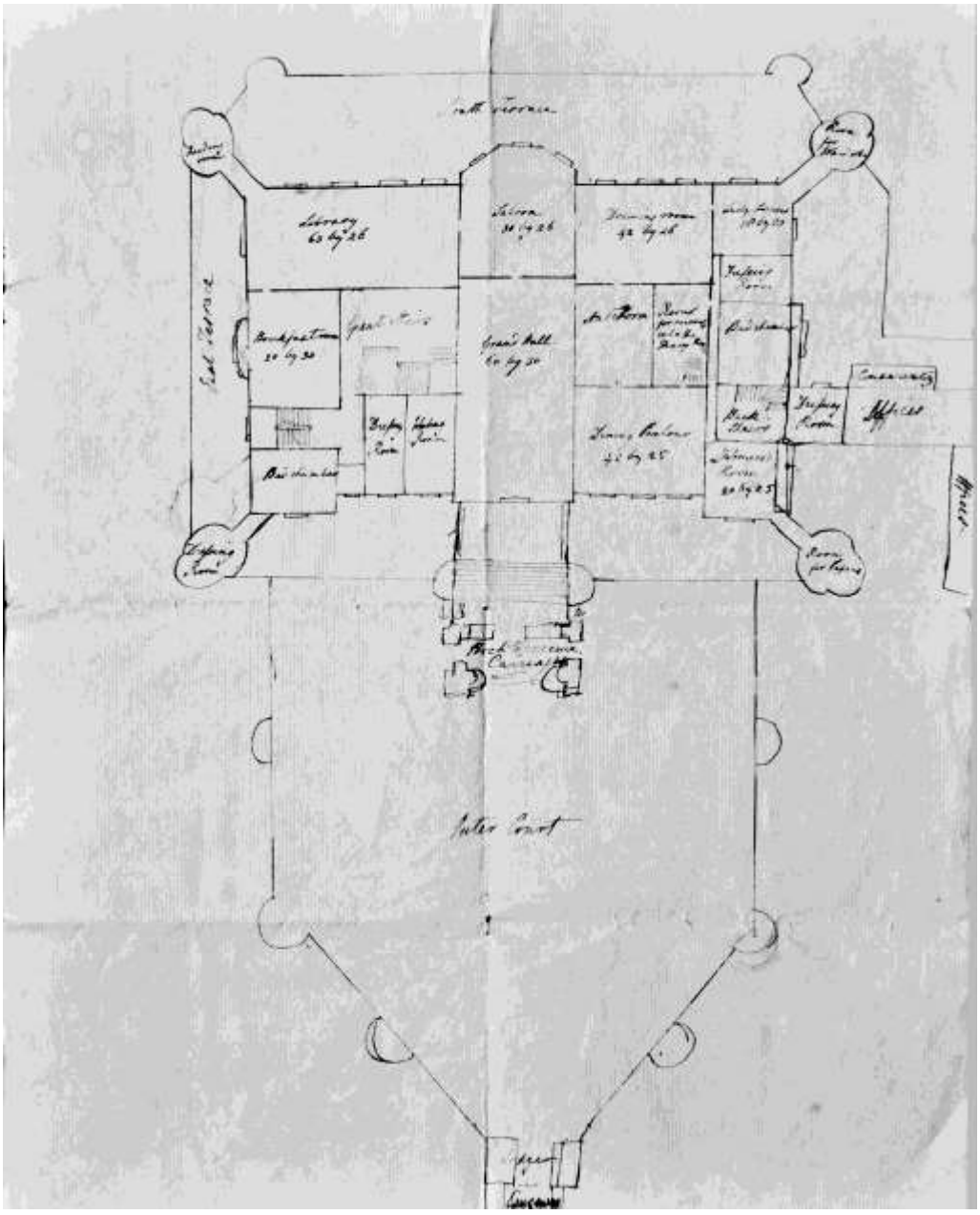


Figure 4. A sketch plan made by Earl Somers of Smirke's ground plan. Looking east with the Great Hall in the centre and the principal reception rooms on the east front - from the right – the Library, the Octagon Room and the Drawing Room (Eastnor Castle)

Figure 5. A plan noting the quarries and showing the transport system employed to bring stone to Eastnor Castle between 1811 and 1819 (Author)

By the time it had reached Over, outside Gloucester, the stone had already made a long river voyage up the Severn from either Lydney or Bullo Pill, near Newnham (Fig. 5). The latter was connected in 1807 by a tramway to Cinderford, which was close to the quarry at Nailbridge. Significantly, the leading investors in this development were Roynon Jones, a gentleman of Ness Court, near Lydney, and two Gloucester bankers, all of whom were well known to Lord Somers. On the other hand, the stone from Berry Hill made an equally long trip by another tramway known, rather precociously, as the Severn and Wye Railway, which connected Drybrook on the Wye with a new harbour at Lydney. Fortuitously, this was completed in 1812-13 and passed close to Berry Hill. Some soft, easily worked, sandstone also came down the Severn Valley from Bewdley and was delivered to Upton, from whence it was laboriously hauled over the Malverns Hills.[55] Needless to say, Whiteaker's labourers were frequently

diverted from the castle site to repair the roads, especially during the winter. As the work progressed the stone was worked into the requisite shapes at the quarries—circular, straight or block; by the end of 1813 sills, steps, landings, cornices and corbels were arriving on the site—all to the architect's specification.

Brick was used extensively for the interior walls of the castle and for lining drains. The brick-clamps were built close to the building site and thousands of faggots were cut from the local coppices. In August the clamps were stacked and fired, accompanied by the lime kilns, which had their contents 'discharged' in October. Coal seems to have been used in the lime kilns and by the smiths who sharpened tools and repaired broken shovels. No doubt, it was used in the braziers that kept the watchmen warm on Sundays as the autumn evenings drew in; Sunday was the only day of rest allowed. Hardwood, usually oak came from local sources on the estate e.g. Dingwood and Pixley. Scaffolding poles were also cut on the estate—elm was the usual wood—but some also came up from Bristol. This was also the source of a good deal of the soft woods, which were simply described as 'fir timber and deals' but often they had their place of origin indicated: Norway, Russia, Stockholm etc. Exotic timber often came from further afield. A load being carried on John Callow's narrow boat got stuck on the Droitwich canal in January 1814, presumably because of frost, and it was only released after 15s. was paid to the canal company for a 'lock of water'. Soft woods had also been planted on the estate in the 18th century so that 2908 square feet was felled at Abbot's Wood in 1813.[56] The carpenters used the soft wood early on in the project and it played an essential part in the construction. 'Slabs' were cut as sleepers for the railway and also for 'fixing quarters at the angles of the intended building' i.e. for the laying out. As the towers rose they also created temporary platforms for the masons to work from. The masons shaped and worked the stone in a workshop also created at an early stage by the carpenters and as the bad weather arrived in November, they built shelters over their own saw-pits. The brick makers also relied upon the carpenters for the moulds for their bricks. By the end of 1812 the angle-towers were sufficiently high to require the timber centring for the window arches.

All the corner towers were well under way by the summer of 1812 when the carpenters claimed payments for the making of platforms from which the masons worked on the walls. At the end of August they were framing a floor for the north-east tower and just over a week later the south-east tower was floored and joists were provided for a staircase. By January 1813 in spite of a severe winter—the same one that destroyed the French army retreating from Moscow—the carpenters were making centerings for windows and framing doors for the tower chambers. The winter reduced activity but a group of labourers began cutting turf to protect the rising walls from the frost, whilst another team removed the ground to level the site of southern and eastern terraces. In June 1812 Carpenter was joined by Charles Vokins whose designs for castellated villas were later recommended by John Claudius Loudon in his *Encyclopaedia of Rural Architecture* (1846) but at this date he was a young man, appointed as 'foreman of materials' thus, bringing to three the elite group of managerial staff, including the team-master, Joseph Whiteaker, employed on the project.[57] However, only Vokins and Carpenter had financial responsibility, signing-off payments to individual craftsmen, which were handled for Lord Somers by Biddulph's Bank, a company in which, his family had a strong interest.

1813 – Completing the Exterior and contemplating the Creation of the Lake

Work continued in 1813 on many fronts, but after the sacking of George Wood, there are only one or two letters from Smirke and his visits to Eastnor were restricted to three times between

June and October. Increasingly, the stone delivered to the site was already cut for a specific purpose—sills, steps, landings, cornices, arches and corbels are mentioned—and a few were regularly rejected as not being fit for purpose. Producing stone cut to precise measurements seems to have been very demanding, but with rigorous quality control, the freemasons at the quarries soon got the idea. Carpenter and Vokins continued to spend much of the summer visiting the quarries, presumably carrying the paper templates with them. In May, as the walls rose to their full height, 90 tons of Welsh slates were delivered *via* the canal from Gloucester, to be stockpiled on site. Smirke's plan, dated July 1813, provides a bird's-eye view of the complex roof with its many valleys, gutters and downpipes (Fig. 14).

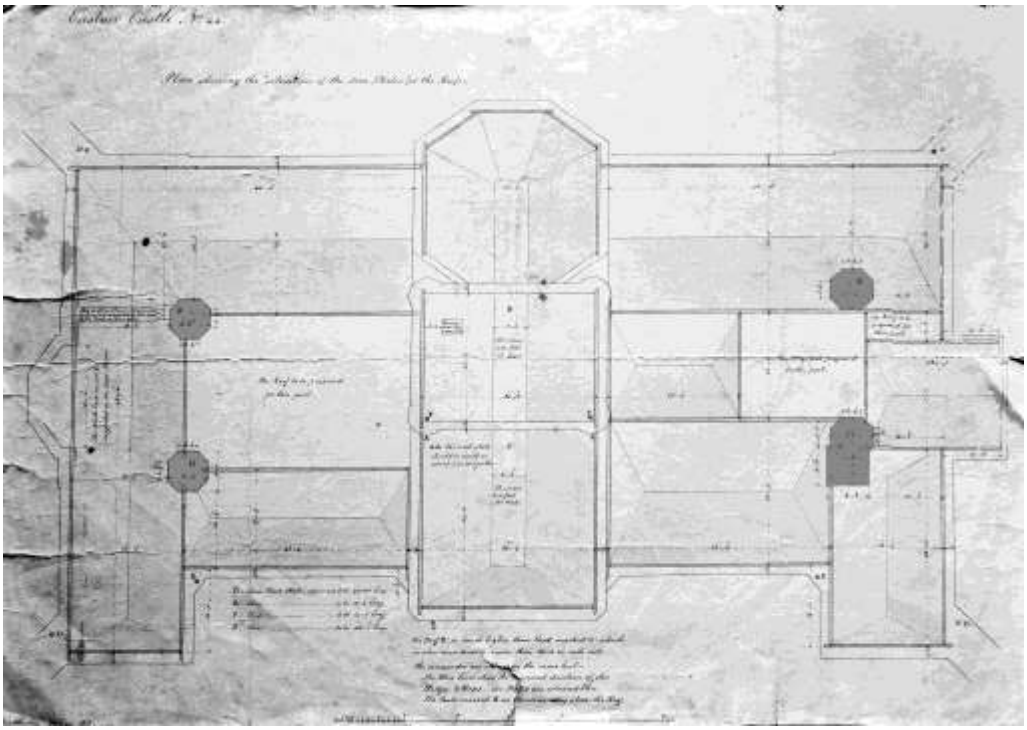


Figure 6. Plan 44 - 'Shewing the situation of the Iron Plates for the Roofs' dated 9 July 1813 (Eastnor Castle)

More significant, in architectural terms, was the arrival in February of the cast iron beams supplied by Peel and Williams of Stockport, with miscellaneous ironmongery for fitting. Eighteen beams and 58 wall plates weighing 16 tons were delivered to Upton; they were too heavy, apparently, to be carried on the canal. Here they were loaded onto carts by Whiteaker's team of labourers and dragged by horses over the Malvern Hills. Significantly, perhaps, Thomas Carpenter claimed a bill for horse medicine in this year. The labourers, meanwhile, repaired the public road as the cavalcade progressed. The beams were to be used as floor and ceiling joists, crossing the wide public spaces within the building, which were well beyond the reach of single timber joists. They were also used to support the roof. Smirke is regarded as one of the first British architects to use load-bearing cast iron beams in domestic architecture

and, given the position of Eastnor in his work, it may well have been the prototype. Interviewed later by a Parliamentary Committee on the use of iron in roofs, he stated that he adopted iron at Eastnor because of the shortage of Baltic timber, which became scarce and expensive as a result of Napoleon's Continental System.[58] In some parts of the roof at Eastnor even the laths for taking the slates were made of iron. These supports came in several patterns and were sold by the yard. An engineer, Samuel Bowden, was sent down from Stockport supervise the use of all this novel material.

By the summer of 1813 Smirke was producing complex sectional drawings showing the position of the floors, and to put the girders in position the carpenters designed a new heavy-weight hoist. Another weighty object which needed placing before the floors were laid was the boiler, the foundations for this were excavated in February and the cumbersome object was delivered by Mr C. Noke of Droitwich in May. A specialist plumber was sent from Aldgate Street in London for two weeks to set the pump up with its complex pipe-work. By this date the internal drains within the building had also been excavated and lined. Meanwhile, the masons are busy cutting stone for the window arches, carrying up flues to the towers, creating cornices and quoins, and filling in the putlog holes. They worked in small teams with the masons doing most of the skilled work, supervised by a foreman. They were assisted by 'setters' and 'wallers' who positioned the stones, and again, were guided by their own foreman. Also attached to the team were stone sawyers, smiths, bricklayers and a boy. For a two-week period in the autumn one team was paid £212. As the roof went on a group of plumbers clambered over the roof laying the gutters and flashing using 50 tons of lead, which cost £982. Their work was completed by December, when they received a total of £1,354 18s. 10½d. for their contribution.

To stabilise the setting of the new building the foundations of the terrace walls were dug-out in March but little progress was made here as there was a shortage of stone and much of the workforce was directed towards the south-west wing of the castle where Lord and Lady Somers had decided to move in before the end of the year. In August Whiteaker's labourers were 'cleaning the basement of the west wing' ready for their appearance, which also made it essential to get on with the offices planned for the north-west side of the castle. The foundations for these were dug out in October. Smirke's perspectives suggest that the offices were to be placed at some distance from the house, perhaps around a service courtyard, but outline plans for a modest range, close to the west wing, were shown to Lady Somers, and her husband wrote to Smirke expressing some misgivings about the distance between the kitchen and the dining room. This was resolved and throughout the summer the carpenters were engaged in erecting partition walls, door frames, skirting and by October preparing the walls for plastering. Just one month later furniture was being brought from Castleditch and in December the carpenters were stripping the floorboards out of the old house.

During the summer 1813, with walls rising in all directions but with little stone on site, the supply and character of stone, once again, became an issue and Lord Somers wrote to his architect. Smirke reacted swiftly and Carpenter, Vokins and their agents were sent in search of new sources. A specialist surveyor, William Masey, spent eight weeks 'superintending the searching for stone', for which he received a fee of £12. Financial incentives were also offered to the workmen in the quarries to make them more productive and gunpowder was purchased to facilitate extraction. At this time Vokins disappeared from the accounts and during the summer R. Mickle, a new assistant clerk of works, is found doing the rounds in the Forest to 'expedite the forwarding of stone'. Finally, in August, the situation was relieved by the arrival

stone from a new quarry at Eadensfield, which appears to have been on the Eastnor estate and produced a hard limestone, used for retaining walls and the offices. A major landmark appears to have been reached in October 1813 when 47 dinners were provided for the senior workmen at Mr Johnson's establishment in Ledbury at a cost of £20 11s. At the same time the lesser workmen were treated to something similar, but probably washed down with more ale, at the New Inn. This occasion, perhaps, marked the 'topping-out' ceremony, celebrating the moment when the roof was finally in place, just in time to ward-off the winter weather. In this light, it is significant that on 31 December 1813 the first payments are recorded having been made to Francis Bernasconi, the plasterer, presumably for work in the new family apartments in the south-west wing.[59] The total expenditure for all work in 1813 came to £25,893 19s. 10d. Lord Somers accepted the services of George Austin, surveyor of Blenheim Palace, to measure the completed works and Smirke received £1,261 6s. as his 5% excluding travel expenses and Austin's fee.[60] He received £981 from Biddulph's Bank leaving a balance of £807 19s. Several of the other main contractors also had large balances due at the end of 1813.

January 1813 saw the first payments being made to the labourers for 'digging out Puddle Ditch (and) removing earth in front to form pond head'. This marks the beginning of the epic struggle to create the great lake, which is very much in evidence in Smirke's preliminary pencil drawings. During the next five months, whenever labour was available, work took place on the pond head and included 'puddling'; in February Whiteaker claimed payment for 3,266 feet of work done. Castleditch, as we have seen, was surrounded by a moat fed by two 'rivulets'. One of these was impounded to create a triangular pond, seen on the 1726 survey of Eastnor by John George, stretching to the north-east from the house and terminating on the Ledbury to Tewkesbury road. This was a very half-hearted affair in an age when impressive stretches of water were seen as an essential accompaniment for the fashionable landscape park. The reputation of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was, in part, built upon his talent for creating sinewy pieces of water as counterfeit 'rivers'. Their outline followed the 'line of beauty' recommended by Hogarth and a good example existed at Croome Court, perhaps ten miles to the east of Castleditch. Brown's successor, Humphry Repton, followed this example and at Garnons, Herefordshire in 1792, promising Sir John Cotterell a curvy pool that would appear to be a detached reach of the Wye when viewed from his new house.[61] Large rectangular lakes were very much out of fashion among picturesque writers of the late 18th century and William Shenstone, the poet-gardener, criticised the large pool at Hewell Grange created for Lord Windsor by Nathaniel Richmond, a pupil of Brown.[62]

Arbiters of contemporary fashion, like Uvedale Price, urged discriminating landowners to go with the grain of the landscape and avoid vulgar theatrical gestures, especially in managing water.[63] However, the temptation to raise-up a large expanse of water was difficult to resist for aspirational landowners like Lord Somers, as the pencil drawings, prepared by Smirke, indicate. At Eastnor historical associations also probably came into play, and for a man with a second home at Reigate Priory, Surrey, the examples of real medieval castles with a watery settings like Bodiam in Sussex and Leeds in Kent, would have come to mind. Equally, the 'Great Mere' at Kenilworth could have been the model for a man seeking security from the mob. It served its defenders well during the great siege of 1265, as every Georgian schoolboy knew. More persuasive, perhaps, was the sublime and irresistible pleasure of seeing a castellated mansion on its bare hill, reflected in a great mere. The creation of the great rectangular lake at Eastnor, with its long man-made dam and cascade produced many problems and absorbed a great deal of labour - and finance - during the next decade and beyond.

1814 – The Icehouse, the demolition of Castleditch and the embellishment of the Interior

Another essential requirement for the newly ensconced family was an icehouse for which Smirke produced a plan in May 1813 (Plate 4.9). Its elegant porch masked the passage to a deep well-chamber, sat high above the water level on steeply rising ground to the south-west of the new lake. In November, the mason were laying stones in the 'ice well' and it appears to have been useable by December when the ground was back-filled over the chamber and turves cut to provide insulation.

It was around this date that Lord Somers and his family moved into temporary accommodation on the western side of the castle where Bernasconi's new plasterwork would have been barely dry. This enabled Joseph Whiteaker finally to demolish the old house in April 1814. We learn from a detailed memorandum that 116 yards of old stonework was rescued and stored; 416 square yards of timber from roofs, floors and partitioning was cleaned and stowed away; 30,700 stone tiles and 13,159 Broseley tiles from the roofs were stacked, together with 19,210 bricks. As the ground was levelled and the debris screened, the final count of stacked stones was 81,324 pieces. The six stone columns that formed such a prominent feature of Keck's stylish entrance front were also carefully preserved. All this labour cost £295 6s. 4½d., but very soon the materials were being re-employed in the new building. The Bath stone slabs were used in paving the passages; some old chimney pieces were cleaned and re-erected in out-of-the-way rooms; 'old squares of glass' were re-cut by the glazier, Samuel Nott; doors were refurbished for minor openings in the entrance hall and floor boards were re-cut and re-laid in the offices. Smirke had anticipated that the re-cycling of the old material would save Lord Somers £2,500, but, as he explained in a letter of August 1815, his calculations had been very optimistic and the value of the material had only met the expense incurred in the methodical demolition of the building.

Meanwhile, as the water in the lake began to rise, fir trees, presumably planted around Castleditch for ornamental purposes, were felled to provide additional faggots for the brick kilns. Down at the pond head an overflow channel was cut but this was unsuccessful and later in the year Whiteaker's labourers were putting up a 'stank' (dam) to 'turn the water into the pond head' and carried out further puddling. The winter of 1814-15 proved to be a testing time for the new lake and in December the pond-head was heightened and a month later the labourers were again withdrawn from other work to engage in 'raising the pool head'. Further work took place in July 1815 when 1646 cubic yards of earth was dug and wheeled to the pool head for 'puddling and ramping' suggesting that in the high summer the pool sprung a leak. By December it was full again and the labourers were directed to raise the pool head to 'its proposed height'. In the following August (1816) labourers and carpenters were busy working on the 'tumbling bay' – presumably the cascade in the south-eastern corner of the lake. As the water crept closer to the site of the old house later in 1815 there was a flurry of activity, with a good deal of digging and wheeling of materials to the site, to consolidate it as an island. On the 19th century plans this had been joined by another, smaller island.

The winter of 1813-4 appears to have been particularly hard and before work commenced in the New Year the labourers were removing snow from 'rooms and sundry places'. This activity continued to March. Meanwhile, the masons were also engaged in resetting stone damaged by the frost. Even Smirke, it seems, made an unscheduled visit to the site in January to rally his workforce. As spring arrived much of the work still seems to have been focused upon the offices where stone pipes were bought from a company in Gloucester

and a large ‘service pipe’ was laid to get rid of the waste water from the kitchen and wash houses. By October 1814 a smoke jack had been set up in the servant’s hall but outside the labourers were still removing ground in December to create access from the west. A letter from Smirke in March 1814 suggests that he had been urged to divert his masons to building a walled enclosure to the north-west of the castle for the kitchen garden. This seems to have been an amenity missing from Castleditch but the clay that was dug in the winter of 1813-14 by the brick-maker, William Bill, was sufficient to make 240,000 bricks. However, a letter from Lord Somers instructed Smirke to put a hold on the garden walls, as he was spending beyond his means on both building and furniture and was forced to reduce the fortnightly payments to Carpenter for the labourers’ wages to £100 a week. Smirke agreed to this and the building of the garden walls were deferred until 1818 although the flues for the pine-pit were completed by the mason in February. The family, it seems, could not live without its pineapples. Perhaps to cheer Lord Somers up, Smirke’s progress report, submitted in May 1814 estimated that £5000s worth of materials had been extracted from the Somers estate. Smirke also learnt at this time that, with Lord Somers’s support, the Herefordshire magistrates had accepted his proposals for the new Shirehall in Hereford.[64]

Inside the castle scaffolding was being moved from room to room to provide a platform for the ‘finishings’ – the decorations. The family rooms in the west wing received their embellishments and the accounts for this year contain several pages naming specialist suppliers of pulleys, hooks, butts, hinges, keys and locks. Thomas Whiteaker bought 3 dozen marble saws and Wiiliam Price supplied 375 square feet of mahogany, some of which was used in the handrails placed in passages and on staircases. Hannah Cooke, a turner, also did a good trade in deal and oak caps for furniture and fittings. Of particular interest was the fitting of the water-closet. Two or three plumbers were present all the year working on the remaining roofs and laying out a further expanse of lead, worth £1,031. They also piped-in a ‘brass water engine’ supplied by Richard Hughes, which was, perhaps, part of the ‘apparatus for water-closets’ which included a ‘brass open-headed pan with a wrought handle and brass hinges’. A specialist plumber travelled from London to give advice on fitting – his significance is indicated by the payment of his coach-hire. The ‘apparatus’ had a 16-inch drain trap and was connected to a cess-pool. Copper and lead were valuable materials and Thomas Carpenter’s account notices that on 29 January copper, valued at £14 6s. was stolen from the site office. What, we might ask, was the night-watchman doing, for whom, in the same account, wax candles were bought!

The Octagon Room was the last part of the castle to receive its iron roof, for which the scaffolding was erected in March 1814. The 177 castings and beams were weighed when they arrived at Eastnor to ensure that the scaffolding could take the burden. Samuel Bowden continued to supervise this work but was assisted by another engineer, Roland Williams, who had his coach hire from Stockport paid to Eastnor and received £118 15s. 9d. for his trouble. Bowden was rewarded by Thomas Carpenter with a gratuity of £1 when he was paid-off in June. During April it was the turn of the entrance hall where a structure was built by the masons to ‘receive the iron bearers on the staircase’ prior to the construction in December of the ‘springing wall for the grand staircase’. Its grandness was soon to be a subject of discussion between Smirke and Lord Somers but to illuminate its glory the carpenters created a framed ‘curb’ for the ‘Lanthorn light’ which was to be suspended over it.

Perhaps aware that his client’s enthusiasm for this Leviathan of a project might have been waning, Smirke penned an optimistic note in March 1814, predicting that by the midsummer of 1816 the whole interior of the castle, the exterior, kitchen and offices would be

finished. Only the laundry, stables, court walls and approaches would still be pending—but no mention was made of a porch or an entrance tower. This was dependent on Lord Somers discharging all outstanding bills, keeping up with the regular £100 payments per week to Mr Carpenter and having £600 available every 6 months for 'sundry payments'. In the two year period to Midsummer 1816 Lord Somers could anticipate spending another £15,260 – but he would have the castle in his hands. It was too good to be true!

The complexity of the contract was especially revealed by the accounts in this year. The corner towers received their flues and staircases – held by iron bearers - and outside they were embellished with corbels and parapets. The masons were also busy, taking the flues up into the central tower and elsewhere into four purpose-built chimney-turrets, which were a substitute for the turrets originally planned for each of the corner towers – a feature that was presumably abandoned during this time of austerity. Soon the corbelling, coping and parapets were put on the central tower to complete the highest summit of the castle. Inside the carpenters were erecting partitions and elsewhere they were to be found following the masons, preparing oak and deal for window frames, erecting partitions, putting in joists and laying floorboards, generally elm or old oak. The Drawing Room received its window frames this year and the Dining Room had its walls battened ready for the plasterers. But before the plasterers arrived it was the turn of Thomas Milton who came to erect the chimney pieces.

He was a member of a family of monumental masons active in the Bromyard area. William Milton, perhaps his father, signed a well designed stone wall-monument to Henry Brace (d. 1773) at Acton Beauchamp church. Thomas was employed by Smirke to pave the hall at The Homend (1817-20) but then the architect called upon William Stephens of Worcester to provide the marble chimney pieces.[65] It was, perhaps, Thomas Milton's predilection for local stone that brought him to Eastnor, as Lord Somers was determined to use Malvernian granite as a substitute for marble. In July 1814 Milton was paid 9 guineas for spending 18 days searching and 'unbarring' specimens of granite in the Malvern Hills. He was accompanied by several labourers who were paid for 'raising blackstone for chimney pieces'. This material was sawn into granite veneers and used as inlays for several fireplaces in the castle. His total fee, including travel, for his men to and from Eastnor was £208 9s. 10½d. Milton later returned to Eastnor to fix and repair other chimney pieces, plus unspecified mason's work, on two or three occasions between 1815 and 1816. In 1819 Paul Nixon, a mason resident in Carlisle, also provided black marble chimney pieces for the saloon and the library, for which he was paid £141 12s. 6d. Nixon was well known to Smirke having been employed by him at Lowther Castle.[66]

1815 – Much Carpentry and Plasterwork but slower Progress on other Fronts

During 1815 most of the work was focused upon equipping and embellishing the interior of the castle. The plumber Briggs was eventually paid £1,447 6s. 8½d. for his contribution, which included setting up a 'furnace' in the bowels of the house—apparently separate from the boiler put in a year before—and provided additional water closets and basins. Window and door furniture was supplied by R. J. Farmer of Wolverhampton and Richard Harbourne of Birmingham. A great deal of stone was still arriving on the site, costing £604 for the year; some was paving stone from Dean, but also much more sandstone from the Severn valley above Worcester, which was easily worked and could be used for interior mouldings around windows and doors. Local limestone was being delivered for the walls of the Castle courtyard, 898 cubic yards of which was raised from the quarry in the garden, less than 100 yards from

the work. Smirke decided to use it in an undressed form to give it a rusticated appearance. He assured Lord Somers that if necessary, the stone could be coloured or covered with ivy, if it was thought to be too raw. A source of light drift sand was found in the Malvern Hills, which was used in the coarse plasterwork necessary to skim the walls. Satin wood and deals, instead of hardwoods, were now in demand, again for interior work, and Thomas Carpenter was looking at samples of mahogany for the fitted furniture, which once again became a bone of contention with Lord Somers.

In September Smirke apologised for not 'advancing the main work' and concentrating on the 'convenience of the family'. With expenditure having now been reduced to £70 a week, the skilled craftsmen were all busy inside the house fitting-out the rooms most likely to be used by the family. Many labourers, we assume, had probably been paid-off but Lord Somers was fretting about the mounting expense of equipping each room and Smirke promised to keep a separate account for fire irons, grates and bells, persuading Somers to continue providing £600 for these extras every three months. Even so, Smirke found it necessary to point out that there were large deficit-sums in the account books for London craftsmen and urged his employer to send urgent instructions to Biddulph's Bank to release one of the agreed £600 payments. In another letter sent in September concerning the arrival of some expensive grates from Shaw and Jobson of Sheffield, Smirke reminded Lord Somers that they needed to be paid for on delivery – presumably the master of Eastnor was getting a bad reputation among the more savvy tradesmen. To release some of the burden upon Lord Somers, in this year, Smirke paid his Clerk of Works, Thomas Carpenter, four payments adding up to £500 out of his own pocket. Similarly, the plumber Biggs, who carried forward a massive balance in 1814, was also paid £500 by Smirke.

One of the largest sums expended during 1815 was £870, paid to the plasterer and stuccoist Francis Bernasconi who had also followed Smirke from Lowther to Eastnor. He was the 'most fashionable purveyor of gothic stucco work in England during the Regency period' who worked for all the significant architects of the time and contributed to the enrichment of some of the greatest palaces and houses in the country.[67] In Herefordshire he teamed-up with the architect William Atkinson and provided gothic and classical plasterwork at Harewood (*c.*1818), Garnons (*c.*1820) and Holme Lacy (*c.*1830). At Eastnor his team of men and boys seems to have been responsible for all the plasterwork, both plain and ornamental. His particular skill was to be found in handling gothic, which was especially required in the dining room for which, Smirke produced detailed designs in May 1814. Here a ribbed ceiling was contrived, divided into panels, which had a heavily moulded cornice. A separate plan was produced for the ceiling with its heavily moulded beams. Elsewhere in the room, columns and capitals around the door and windows and a gothic arcade with triple arches at the east end also required work by Bernasconi. A similar panelled and moulded scheme was introduced over the main staircase. His accounts are full of arcane language of his craft, referring to 'circular and spayed mouldings', 'gauged stuff', 'gothic quirks and circular beads', 'gothic roses of the basket shape' and 'straight impost moulding enriched with duck's bill ornament' – indicating that this was an age before the classification of gothic ornamentation by Rickman and his followers. To assist Lord Somers, many of the details were provided in the form of models of wax, wood and clay. Once the form was decided, much of the fabrication was carried out at Bernasconi's workshop in London and delivered in 15 packing cases to Eastnor. Even the plaster for the common mouldings was already seasoned and matured; 51 casks were delivered during 1815. In addition there were seven cartloads of stucco and 1344 bundles of lath.

Bernasconi's greatest challenge was in the hall where a late medieval roof with heavily moulded axial beams, probably made of plaster and suspended from the load bearing girders, clashed stylistically with the Romanesque detail below. The high clerestory windows with semi-circular arches were unembellished but the gallery below was provided with a double roll moulded arcade with archaeologically correct colonettes with cushion capitals. Also receiving similar treatment were the six entrances to the hall, but on a grander scale. Only the crenellated fireplaces reverted to the late medieval style of the roof. This was probably Bernasconi's first essay in the Romanesque and in J. C. Buckler's watercolour of the hall in *c.*1820 the decorative scheme looks rather sparse with large areas of undecorated wall. By the 1840s, in the age of Pugin, this would have been regarded with distaste but in the context of the short-lived Romanesque revival and Smirke's preference for the equally chaste Greek style, the general effect was probably very much *á la mode*. Buckler's watercolour is, perhaps, a little misleading as Smirke's plan for the decoration of the hall indicates further embellishment. In pencil, perhaps by another hand, there is a sketch of a triumphal display of armour either side of the north entrance (Plate 4.10). This sketch could have been made by the 3rd Earl who was re-ordering the extended collection of armour in 1870s, but it is most likely an annotation of the 1st Earl (John Cocks, 2nd Lord Somers, was created Viscount Eastnor and 1st Earl in 1821). If so, we are left wondering if it was a display of real armour or a design for a plaster achievement for Bernasconi. Equally interesting on a further plan of Smirke (171) painted worthies are proposed for the blank openings of the gallery. These include Plato, Virgil, St Peter, Dante, Raphael, Shakespeare, Nelson and Wellington. Again these could date from the 1860s but Nelson and Wellington were obvious choices for Lord Somers in 1815/16.

It has been suggested that Bernasconi went on to work at Penrhyn Castle in North Wales where he produced a veritable symphony of extravagant Norman ornament.[68] If so, Eastnor was just the prelude. At Eastnor Bernasconi was aided in his conceits by Cornelius Dixon and Sons, a firm of decorators from London who were paid £422 5s. 10½d. for a year's work in 1815. The Dixon family had previously worked at Strawberry Hill and so, was very familiar with the gothic ornamentation being created by Bernasconi at Eastnor. Joseph Dixon claimed 82 days work for his team in 'rubbing down', using 83 sheets of glass-paper.[69] They also used gallons of distemper in the minor rooms but painted the chimney pieces and other woodwork with oil-based paints. The balusters on the staircase, for instance, were painted four times in 'oil drab' and 'rich gothic flowers' were painted five times, and 'six gothic heads' four times. More interesting was the decision to paint the offices with an 'anti-cossossion' mixture 'tinted to imitate Forest stone or Bath stone'. It was also painted on brick. The purpose was unclear, but it may have become necessary for the later stone-work, where new material was introduced, which failed to match with the fabric of the main building. Both Dixon and Bernasconi were paid-off in 1819 but a note in volume 15 of the accounts states that their final work remained unmeasured (a job done by the clerk of works) because it was in a 'very-unfinished state'. The point was reiterated in the final volume of the accounts (17). In total Bernasconi was paid in the region of £1,600 but Smirke's letter of 1820 suggests that he was left with a large balance unpaid.

By the end of 1815 the pace of building was declining but there was still major work to complete. No decision had been made on the grand staircase and the entrance front; there were no drives or lodges; the kitchen wing and service yard were incomplete and basic amenities like a supply of fresh water were also unrealised. With the family ensconced in the western side of the house, the completion of the service wing was a priority. An elevation (162) for the

'North front of the offices and adjoining servant's hall' was produced by Smirke in September 1815. Once again, Lord Somers was concerned about the expensive stone being used for the offices, albeit this seems to have been locally sourced. Inside the new range basic facilities were introduced in an *ad hoc* fashion. Paving was put down in May in the 'temporary scullery' and in July the masons laid a setting for the 'stoves and boiler in a temporary kitchen'. Outside in May the carpenters were still preparing the roof to receive its lead-work and earlier in the year were found hanging old doors – from Castleditch – in the 'office chambers'. Presumably, this was where some of the servants were accommodated, who also had the inconvenience of only having to use 'temporary privies'. It was not until 1819 that the cooks had 'modern' stoves, engraved with black shields displaying the Somers arms, on which to prepare food. In February 1816 the butler's room with its closets and cupboards was finished by the carpenters but he had to wait until October for the stone shelves to be fixed in the wine cellar.

An important element in an elitist household was the stable block, upon which a great deal of attention was lavished; even in modest households it was a building of architectural distinction. Smirke clearly understood this and provided a sketch plan showing the position of the new stables in September. They were perched on the escarpment above the lower lawn, to the west of the great court. The design seems to include corner towers, suggesting turrets, presumably castellated, and implying that the architect was fully conscious of its prominent position, which would be viewed by all who approached the castle on the entrance causeway. However, as Smirke's early perspective indicates, this was something much less than the great castellated courtyard he had envisaged. Lord Somers was also unhappy with this compromise and agreed, for the time being to use the old stables close to Castleditch, which are shown on a map of 1816 just above the high water mark of the new lake. Stabling capacity was also increased at this time at the Somers Arms on the Ledbury Road where a dedicated team of craftsmen were engaged throughout 1815 until the racks for the mangers were completed in October. The extensive paving around the offices was provided and laid by Leonard Johnson, a stalwart of the building trade in Hereford.[70] Ironically, once the offices were up and working, Lord Somers was concerned about the exposure of his dining room to the eyes of those who served him, but Smirke, ever keen to satisfy his patron, promised to get on with the courtyard wall here and to promptly remove any unsightly building materials.

With the household accommodated and its services just about functioning smoothly, Lord Somers decided to press on with the great courtyard and its gate-tower. Clearly, without a spacious and elevated *cour d'honneur*, the whole impact of the Castle would be lost and the sublime experience for visitors, diminished. In March 1815 the labourers began digging the foundations, enabling the masons to put in the footings of the gate-house and construct a reservoir. In July a drain was dug under the putative entrance and soil removed from the 'hill to the west of the Castle' to make the ground up for the courtyard. Outside the new gate George Williams, a specialist road builder, was constructing the 'new coach road' to connect with the public thoroughfare.

Within the main rooms of the castle work progressed slowly and rather randomly. The north-west tower seems to have the last to receive its interior fittings. In April and May it was battlemented and provided with stairs and flues. Meanwhile the carpenters were fitting out the south-west tower, hoisting timber on to its roof, building partitions and fixing the strong-room door. Down below they fitted out a dressing room as the butler's room, providing it with shutters; attended the bell-hangers, made and hung the oak double doors for the Drawing Room; prepared 'presses' for Lord Somers's dressing room and erected a temporary passage

through the Great Hall, whilst Bernasconi and Dixon slapped plaster and paint on every surface. We also learn that they laid floors in the upper rooms of the keep and provided window linings for the upper floor of the Octagon. This was a busy year for the carpenters who in total received £938 in expenses and wages. Equally busy were J. & P. Palmer who cut and fitted acres of 'best crown glass' bringing their bill to £332 by the end of the year. Two or three incidental details provide an oblique means of measuring the progress in 1815. John Langford was employed in March to sweep 37 chimneys, suggesting that the family and its servants had enjoyed the use of a large number of warm rooms during the winter of 1814-15. A month later an unnamed woman was employed by Thomas Carpenter to scour the floors in the new chambers. She worked three months and was paid £1 1s. 3d. but was supplied with flannel rags and a daily ration of soup. Immediately afterwards in the accounts Carpenter claims 2s. for cat-meat. Was there a problem with vermin evacuating the surrounding countryside and filling the miles of voids within the carcass of the new castle?

On the last page of volume 8 of the accounts we discover that £12,091 had been spent in 1815 which gave Smirke a commission of £588. This year the work was independently inspected by an unknown architect, J. A. Murphy, who of course, agreed with the totals. But because Smirke had been bailing out his Clerk of Works and Briggs, the plumber, the two payments he had received from Lord Somers, totally £1,200 left a balance on his account of £1,196 – up by over £500 on 1814. As professional as ever, Smirke provided a timetable with completion dates for the remaining work. In midsummer 1816 he anticipated that the Dining Room and an unspecified number of bedrooms would be finished, together with the battlements of the two eastern towers. By mid-1817 the Saloon (Octagon Room) and bedrooms over would be completed with progress expected in the Library and Breakfast Room. The porch, entrance gateway, Library, offices and courtyard wall would be usable by mid-1818 and whatever Lord Somers decided was missing, by 1819-20. By their absence in the schedule we might assume that the Great Hall, the Drawing Room and the Dining Room were finished – but apparently not.

1816 and the Castle opened to the Public

1816 began as usual with more stone arriving from the Forest of Dean, especially from quarries in the vicinity of Dymock and Newent. The estate quarries were also busy, stockpiling stone for the courtyard wall and the great gatehouse. The principal mason responsible for the work was Paul Grubham who was eventually paid £608 for walling around the courtyard and building the cross walls of the gate tower. He continued to be employed as the estate mason at Eastnor for the next decade. Smirke's perspective from the north-west shows the great court had a low parapet, which reveals the full height of the building, but, in the event, this was raised by several feet. Also on the perspective, as we have seen earlier, a sweeping single arched bridge crossed a dry moat in front of the family/kitchen wing. This was abandoned without comment at this time. The approach road to the new gatehouse required considerable materials to reach the desired height of the courtyard. This was described as the 'new coach road' and the sale of 520 tons of sundry material to the Ledbury and Upton Turnpike Trust in 1815 suggests that the public highway was raised to make an easy connection with the drive. The lower lodge was also built by Paul Grubham in December 1819, presumably to designs by Smirke. This was the last job recorded in the accounts.

By the end of 1816 Eastnor had received an important part of its grand entrance albeit the house still lacked a porch. Elsewhere progress was slow. In August the carpenters were still

flooring the great tower whilst fitting out minor rooms with beds and wardrobes, at the same time helping the bell hangers to complete the communication system. As 1816 progressed major construction work was took place in the south and east towers where the masons were working upon window arches and creating grates. Adjoining the great hall, in the space left for the staircase, the carpenters erected a temporary construction as Lord Somers and Smirke debated a cheaper option for one of the traditional focal points of a great house. After the bumper expenditures of 1815, Lord Somers decided that retrenchment was necessary, and Smirke promised to save him £1300 on a more modest structure. In July 1816 Smirke provided one of his periodic summaries of the work still necessary to complete the Castle. The optimistic predictions of March 1814 had been completely undermined by the new atmosphere of frugality. To complete the furnishing of the house £300 was necessary; £1,400 would complete two great towers; battlements on the east-front would need a further £300; the rest of the battlements £700; the Saloon is mentioned, without a figure and, finally, £200 was necessary to level the ground outside the Castle. Clearly, this was rather a selective list of what remained to be done and was probably the result of an inquiry by Lord Somers. Another extravagance abandoned was the conservatory, a splendid high gothic building, shown on Smirke's perspective, attached to the family quarters on the west side of the castle. The ground was cleared for this is in March and in November Bernasconi repaired and coloured the outside wall of the Castle, but nothing structural materialised. Otherwise, the accounts for 1816 show that some rooms were completed. The troublesome recess in the Dining Room was given its architrave and columns by the carpenters, the re-cycled oak floor was planed and the skirting applied, implying that the room was complete. Similarly, the offices received their finishing touches. Whitewood furniture was made by the carpenters for the servants and stained a variety of tones with materials supplied by the clerk of works. Bernasconi tinted the Bath stone of the kitchen to imitate Forest stonework. Elsewhere the carpenters were making flour and salt bins, preparing frames for fly-wire in the larder, providing a seat and riser for the servants' privy and eventually nailing down carpets and fixing curtains. Smirke had also promised that the Octagon Room would be finished and in August the carpenters were putting up ceiling boards for the plasterers. In November, Lord Somers's Sitting Room had its 'angle columns' fixed and temporary bookcases erected. All this suggests an air of domesticity was descending over the erstwhile building site.

John Chambers wrote an account of a visit to Eastnor in his *General History of Malvern* (1817), which perhaps took place the year before, which, perhaps, explains the direction the work took in 1816.[71] He assures his readers that 'Imperfect as is this account, it is the only one in print'. He also stated that, notwithstanding, the incomplete state of the building the castle 'is open to the public every Tuesday, from 11 to 5 o' clock'. Externally, the castle was virtually complete 'and exhibits a fine specimen of an elevation of proud baronial dignity'. Only 'the grand entrance is not yet raised', but he presumed 'from the appearance of the foundation, the bases of the gothic intercolumniations, etc that the portico will have an appearance at once venerable, grand, and imposing'. He visited the family apartments in the west wing and admired the dining room, which 'is the most finished apartment in the house, and exhibits a fair specimen of what the whole may be expected to realise' (Plate 4.11). The gothic embellishments and furnishing, he believes, are 'in unison with the character of the place'. He also found Lady Somers's dressing room accessible and 'decorated with many prints and drawings and 'some interesting relics of her father, the late Dr. Nash'. Equally surprising, given the incomplete state of the place, was his discovery that Lord Somers had hung his art

collection '*pro tempore*' in various rooms and he provided a long list of the most notable paintings, obviously copied from one available for the interested visitor. Lord Somers, it seems, was not prepared to wait patiently for the completion of the castle before revealing it to the curious eyes of the county community and the tourists who came to nearby Malvern.

Smirke visited Eastnor three times in 1816—January, June and August—and signed the general statement of accounts, which showed that £4,935 had been disbursed in this year. Once again he had paid large sums to several of the individual craftsmen and suppliers, keen, no doubt, to keep their loyalty for future projects. Even with such a dramatic reduction in expenditure, Lord Somers was finding it increasingly difficult to pay his workers and tradesmen. A sign of the straitened times was the pathetic account kept for the first time by Thomas Carpenter—an 'error account'—which noted the shillings and pence that craftsmen either over claimed or under claimed on their small bills. After a year of close scrutiny, Lord Somers was in credit by an additional £2. All the suppliers and craftsmen ended the year with even larger balances on their accounts. Smirke had the largest and ended the year with his account £1,547 in arrears. It was not surprising that his professional interests were moving elsewhere. A number of metropolitan works were about to commence and in the West Midlands he had secured commissions for the shire halls at Hereford and Gloucester, as well as domestic work at Boultibrook, Presteigne and the Homend, Stretton Grandison, Herefordshire. Smirke's foremen were often drawn to Gloucester and unwanted materials such as stone and timber was sent there and even oak felled on the Eastnor estate. Late in 1815 the county magistrates bought the rail plates for the tramway for £42 and in the following year paid a further £21 15s. for the 'trams'. Lord Somers complimented Smirke on the completion of the Shirehall at Gloucester in a letter of 1816, which reported that it was 'well approved' locally. There had, however, been some trouble with a persistent echo, which Smirke assured Somers would disappear when the court room was full of people. He thought a similar problem was unlikely to occur at Hereford because the courtroom was of a 'square form'. Perhaps one sign that the project was coming to an end is found in the clerk of work's accounts for December 1816, where the labourers, after cutting fern and bracken to cover the recently laid walls around the courtyard and along the terraces, were themselves laid-off and provided with an extra shilling or two as a Christmas box by Thomas Carpenter.

1817-18: Completing the Project

After August 1816 Smirke's visits became even more infrequent and the architect, J. Murphy, presumably a trusted associate of Smirke, was sent again, to measure the completed work. From Hereford Shirehall Charles Heather arrived in January 1818 to measure some of the extensive paving carried out by Leonard Johnson. Heather was also Smirke's foreman at the Homend and had previously worked for John Nash at Garnstone Castle (1806) and before that Ingestre in Staffordshire. He went on to have a distinguished career in Herefordshire. Thomas Carpenter was present until the end of the project but he seems to spend some of his time in Gloucester and Hereford, supervising Smirke's schemes there. Quite properly, he credits the Eastnor account with £25 19s. 7d., although, a little earlier, in 1816, Mr Watson, Lord Somers's steward, had spotted a £6 19s. error in Carpenter's overall account. In 1817 Carpenter recorded in his claim for travel expenses, a trip to London, on Smirke's instruction, to negotiate with the proprietors of the Covent Garden Theatre about an iron door. The following year some of the burden was removed from Carpenter when he was joined by J. Fortune and James Alexander, two new clerks of work.

In November 1817, Smirke attached a statement to one of his letters estimating that with a lodge, reservoir and water connection, completed bedchambers over the Library and the inferior staircase, the total bill for the outstanding work would be £3,650. How far the extensive work itemised in 1816—e.g. the battlements—had progressed is difficult to ascertain. As Smirke's statement suggests, one of the principal endeavours during these final years of the project was to bring piped water to the castle. A plan for the outer gatehouse, where the water engine was to be found in the basement, was drawn up by Smirke as early as May 1815. It was delivered to the site, together with an additional '13 pieces' by William Bladder, a barge owner, in June 1816. But nothing was done and in September of the same year Lord Somers was urging his architect to put men on the job. However, it is not until the mason's account for 1817 that we hear that work was progressing. A little later, a millwright, Richard Matthews, claimed board and lodging at the Somers Arms, whilst 'fixing a water-engine for the castle'. It appears from later bills that this was a 'forcing pump' provided by the Boulton and Watt Company. During 1818 George Webb laid down new iron pipes from a spring near the church to the 'house water engine tank'. This was presumably an arduous task as Thomas Carpenter treated the labourers involved to beer worth 2s. 8d. Lead pipes were purchased and another group of labourers were similarly rewarded for 'cutting round (the castle) for water pipes'. The outcome may not, at first, have been very satisfactory, for a voucher of £34 16s. 2d. survives for repairs to the pump, carried by its makers. Apparently the boiler was 'injured by (a) fire having been put under ditto when the boiler had no water in it'. It had to be re-tinned.

Work on the great hall and the adjoining staircase progressed slowly during the last three years of the enterprise and Smirke's drawings of the north and east sides of the Hall were not received until February 1818. This plan seems to have been a revision of an earlier scheme, for in 1817 the masons had already cut-out and constructed the brickwork niches – perhaps the gallery - ready for Bernasconi's embellishments whilst, at about the same time, the glass was put into the clerestory windows by Philip Palmer who charged £84 4s. 9d. In January 1818 eight labourers were employed to carry the marble blocks into the Great Hall, supplied by Paul Grubham. These were destined to become the crenellated fireplaces, which Smirke had specified should be made of Malvernian marble. Soon after, James Bennett paved the hall with Drybrook stone from the Wye valley. This material was thought to be too light in tone and Thomas Carpenter purchased two pounds of lampblack to give it the right hue. Subsequently, twelve men were treated to beer for clearing and cleaning the hall and new brooms were bought for this purpose. Two years later, still unfurnished, a sketch was made of the room by the watercolourist, J. C. Buckler.

In November 1817 responding to demands for further restraint Smirke estimated that to complete the staircase hall 'as originally planned' would cost £2,800, but 'without enrichments', a temporary staircase with a hand rail and balusters, with plain plasterwork, would reduce the bill to £1,500. Lord Somers agreed to Smirke's modest staircase and in April 1818 the architect produced a plan, which gave the 'temporary staircase' a decent balustrade terminating in octagonal newel posts with gothic reliefs (Plate 4.12). The balustrade was made of timber with cast iron insets. The latter were supplied by the company of Philips and Parker and were described in their bill as 84 'gothic balusters cast in fine iron'. They were also introduced into the intermittent balustrade in the gallery above the stairs. After fitting, the partnership claimed £221 18s. 6d. The 'temporary' nature of the staircase was soon forgotten and Francis Witts in 1826 regarded it as 'very handsome and in perfect keeping with the rest of the building'.[72] The upper part of the staircase hall was glazed in a simple gothic manner by

Thomas and Philip Palmer with 'best glass', which was also put in the reading room and library. There are few references to the Drawing Room in the final volumes of accounts and the last reference is to the repair of the windows in 1818 and a few years later the Rev. F. Witts made no comment on the decorations, simply adding that it was 'only partially, scantily and ordinarily furnished'.

During the last three years (1817-19), there was little sense that the project was running down. The value of stone arriving at the Castle from the Forest of Dean and Bewdley remained high at £352 (1817), £388 (1818) and £280 (1819). Briggs, the London plumber, was still working hard and claimed £485 (1817), £126 (1819) and £112 (1820). In 1817 he was plumbing at Bronsil Cottage for the land agent, George Watson, whose presence both in the accounts and letters increases during the last three years of the building campaign, as the main sequence of estate accounts take over from the building accounts. Bernasconi finished plastering in 1816 and the remaining work in the Saloon and elsewhere was completed by a plasterer from Gloucester, but, moulding s from Bernasconi's workshop continued to be sent, already made-up, in barrels to Eastnor. The work of the reduced team of masons, listed in a single paragraph in the 1817 accounts provides useful summary of the work still in progress between 1 May 1817 and 1 January 1818: 'Setting sundry stonework to the South, North and East Fronts, Great Hall, Entrance Towers, Angular and Small Ditto, Lodges, etc…Setting in cramps to Ditto… Working stone for making flues to small Towers….Repairing old asherling (sic) and setting Paving inside Battlements…. Building Court Yard Walls and setting Coping etc to Ditto….Altering repairing and making in Water Engine House and Larder….Laying, Paving in Wine Cellar…. Cleaning of Anteroom floor, working Marble Tables etc.' The superior masons were paid at 5 shillings a day for 203½ days, being £50 17s. 6d. whilst the inferior masons (setters?) were paid 4s. a day for 561 days 3 hours, being £112 5s. 2d.

The last rooms to receive attention in 1819 were the Saloon, Library and its adjoining Reading Room. These rooms were not glazed until October 1819 albeit the sash frames had been inserted in 1817. It is likely that they were left unglazed to allow the new plasterwork to dry. All three rooms were provided with floors in July and August, which is reflected in the high timber account for 1819 of £1,126. The black marble chimney pieces, made by Paul Nixon, also arrived in this year with their hearth stones. The crowning adornment for the Library was a chandelier and for the Reading Room a marble topped table. Smirke's designs for these rooms suggest that they were to be treated relatively simply with gothic detail restricted to the panelled doors with cresting above. The form of the bookcases is indicated on the plan but the shelving was left to Lord Somers. Similarly the wooden panelling in the Saloon (Octagon Room) was deferred albeit the ribbed ceiling with its central boss appears to have been completed with Bernaconi's mouldings. Witts in 1826 thought it would be a 'handsome room, when suitably fitted up & furnished'. It is not surprising to find that within a generation, the 2nd and 3rd Earls were very eager to replace the meagre decoration they found in the main reception rooms on the south front of the Castle with something more striking and *á la mode*.

One of the last acts of Thomas Carpenter was to buy materials for curtains, rods, pulleys, wheels and hooks, as well as, knobs and hinges for fitted furniture. With some relief he must have felt that his work at Eastnor was a job well-done. As he never emerged as an independent architect, he must have been well-rewarded by Smirke, whose extensive office was very dependent upon effective and loyal clerks of work. The architect himself, made his last recorded visit to Eastnor in October 1819 when he signed-off £5,585 18s. 2d. as the total

expenditure for the year and added £279 5s. 0d. to his professional fee, which was already in arrears. He also itemises the work still to be completed. The offices had been reduced considerably and still lacked a housekeeper's office, laundry yard and an extended kitchen-court. This, no doubt, would have been combined with the crenellated stable yard, which had also sunk without trace. Including the new stables, the architect estimated that the total expenditure required here was £5,300. Inside the Castle, the Billiard Room needed finishing, windows in the 'NE building' required fitting, which together with the 'rest of the interior' called for a further £1,500-£2,000 expenditure – and then there was the *porte cochère*.

This feature occurs on Smirke's perspective drawings but was not drawn in plan form by the architect until April 1818. However, its construction was deferred, as a plan for the entrance hall of a similar date shows the top of the opening into the *porte cochère* sealed with a temporary cover of slate. It was at this time too that Paul Grubham, the mason constructing the great court was paid for raising 403 cart-loads of stone for the entrance port. This was presumably for the foundations; for there is little direct evidence in the final accounts that anything was done above ground until June 1823 when Lord Somers raised the matter again in a letter, which also referred to the un-built conservatory, the terraces and the coat of arms, which was to be placed on the west front of the castle lodge. Lord Somers instructed that it should be copied as it appeared on his carriage. The construction of the porch was underway in September 1824, when we find Smirke defending his estimate of £1,300, emphasising that this 'was not a rough calculation' and was unlikely to be exceeded. The issue arose because Carpenter, still apparently supervising work at Eastnor, had been quizzed by Lord Somers and had given him the wrong figures. In the same letter he assured Lord Somers that he had no objection to abbreviations occurring in the inscription he had provided – presumably to be put up on the porch. However, a month later he was less happy having 'enquired of several persons learned in the language of the Middle Ages' he had failed to find any 'example of the 'æ' diphong in gothic characters'. It seemed, he added, 'that I must invent a character for 'æ' if your lordship still desires it'. Lord Somers's response is not recorded.

Relations between Smirke and his client were troubled by the continuing dispute about the payment of arrears to craftsmen and a string of minor complaints about the completed work. In September 1820 Lord Somers requested a plumber to look at the roof of the offices, which appears to have been only the tip of the iceberg, as the household accounts for this year record the £2,323 was spent on the Castle. In 1822 it was still £2,026 for the year, after which, there appears to be no further record in the accounts. Smirke offered to visit Eastnor late in 1820 on a routine trip to the north and took the opportunity of reminding Lord Somers that he had broken an earlier promise to pay-off the London craftsmen with regular instalments. He pointed out that he had discovered that the local craftsmen i.e. those living in the West Midlands had received payments much more regularly. He promised to send a list to Watson indicating those London craftsmen who deserved priority. The short list of eight craftsmen arrived in October. It included Briggs the plumber and Bernasconi the plasterer who were owed respectively, £1,663 and £600. Some payments were made but in November 1822 another list was forwarded. Presumably because of on-going work Briggs was now owed £1,881 and Bernasconi £1,505 and even Smirke – generally absent from earlier lists –claimed £1,641. This letter survives with annotations suggesting that Watson persuaded Lord Somers to provide £2,000 to reduce the claims.

However, the following year—July 1823—Smirke wrote a polite letter to Watson, informing him that the method of payment by instalments *via* Smirke was no longer working

and that, in future, all payments were to be paid directly to the tradesmen. Clearly, Smirke felt that his responsibility for the unpaid bills was coming to an end. A further but shorter list of tradesmen with unpaid balances was included showing reduced balances compared with the previous year. Briggs had done well but Smirke and Bernasconi had received nothing. No further correspondence survives until December 1826 when Smirke responded to a letter from Watson, which suggested that Lord Somers was generally unhappy about the recording of work in the last years of the project, claiming that he was paying for unnecessary work. Smirke's response was direct and unequivocal; there had been no extra work sanctioned by him. He had spoke again to his clerk of works who had assured him that any extra work had been done at the request of Lord Somers. He quoted as an example the £25 charged for painting the porch ceiling which included extra work done on the orders of his lordship. There appears to be a draft of a long response to this letter, in the hand of Lord Somers, but very difficult to decipher. It begins by expressing 'great satisfaction in respect to the most essential parts of your practice' but concern about the pricing of 'comparatively smaller work' including the painting of the ceiling in the porch. A figure of £3,542 is mentioned, probably the balances outstanding at this date. He offers to settle 'Buzze's account' (Bernasconi?), plus that of Dixon and Carpenter and after that recommends that the 'trifles' then outstanding should be forgotten and the account closed. The letter finishes with a complaint forwarded by Lady Somers that the 'finishes' on the sideboard were unsatisfactory. Rather more difficult to fathom-out is the suggestion—made either by Smirke or Lord Somers—that the architect and his wife should make a social visit to Eastnor. The letter implies that as the commission for the work remained unpaid, Smirke felt this would be out of place. There is no indication that Mr & Mrs Smirke made their visit to Eastnor but in the second Earl's bankbook for June 1831 a payment of 5 guineas is debited for Mr Smirke. This was a very small fee for an architect who, it is recorded, never accepted a commission under £10,000 but it does suggest that Smirke forgot his differences with the first Earl, albeit the evidence implies that he never received a final payoff for Eastnor Castle.

Public Perception of the Castle

Lord Somers and his architect had produced a building that could not be ignored and public perceptions of their creation during the 19th century provide an interesting narrative of changing architectural taste. An early reaction was provided by Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), the daughter of an eccentric Irish landowner, and a popular novelist, whose work was commended by the heroine of *Northanger Abbey*. When she viewed Eastnor in 1813 the towers were still roofless but she was thrilled and lost for words. She felt that only Mrs Radcliffe—the author of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*—could possibly describe its character.[73] John Chambers of Worcester, with a guide book to write, was also quick off the mark and, as we have seen, arrived sometime in 1816. He provides eight pages of description, shared between the castle and the church. Like most visitors he came via the Ridgeway drive where 'anon we perceive the noble domain frowning in majestic pride at every opening …. It possesses all the exterior of the ancient castle, but it combines also all the convenience of modern and elegant comfort…. The *tout ensemble* (is) everything that chivalry can wish for, or romantic feelings produce'. He was, it seems, very much in agreement with Mrs Radcliffe.[74]

Notwithstanding these effusions, other local guide books were slow in noticing the new building. *The Improved Cheltenham Guide* (1815) claimed to provide 'copious and interesting descriptions…of objects worthy of attention' in its environs, but continued to draw attention to 'Lord Somer' ancient mansion called Castleditch'.[75] Cooke's *Topographical Description of the*

County of Herefordshire (1819), albeit a metropolitan publication, finds a castle 'lately erected ….It is a noble building upon the plan of the baronial castles of former days, in a fine commanding situation and has an imposing appearance from whatever points it may be viewed'.[76] Mary Southall's *A Description of Malvern* (1829) appears to have been based upon Chambers and adds little to his description of 1817 but, like many subsequent observers, she has a little more to be said about landscape developing around the castle. [77]

More perceptive is the Cotswold parson, Francis Witts, who approached the castle in 1826 from the long drive across the park, beginning at the lodge just below the British Camp. This route was designed to show-off the building and it rarely failed in its purpose. He noted in his journal: 'the castle fronts you under the hills bounding the valley or basin on the opposite side: it rises boldly on a bank overhanging a lake, and is a very imposing pile of building; a square fortress with towers at each angle, the architecture Norman, save the windows of the principal fronts, which are of an early and unenriched pointed style'. As this is a diary, and not a guide book we learn that Lord Somers 'the noble owner…has considerably embarrassed his fortune by this sumptuous undertaking….and has not the means of finishing or adequately furnishing it'. He takes pride in his architectural knowledge, correctly distinguishing the Norman from the pointed style and complimenting Smirke as 'a skilful architect, the building is a fine monument to his taste and science'. Rather too glibly he mentions Smirke's work elsewhere—at Eaton Hall, Cheshire and Ashridge, Hertfordshire, neither of which are associated with Smirke by modern authorities. The former was re-built by an associate of Smirke, William Porden, between 1804 and 1812, and the latter by James Wyatt and his nephew, Sir Jeffry Wyatville between 1813 and 1817. Witts also appreciates that the gothic revival has moved on since Eastnor and states that Toddington, Gloucestershire, rebuilt and designed its owner, Charles Hanbury Tracy, Lord Sudeley, between 1820 and 1835, in a seriously correct gothic style, 'would rival Eastnor' when finished. Nevertheless, he is still able to compliment the earlier castle on its 'simplicity…and its imposing grandeur'.[78]

Witts had detected the significant shift in architectural taste that occurred between 1820 and *c.*1840. This was something the 2nd Earl Somers was conscious of when he employed A. W. N. Pugin in 1849-50 to re-new (complete?) the Drawing Room by applying the true principles of gothic architecture. Ironically, Pugin later said, that had he been informed by his decorator Crace, that he was producing designs for a 'sham' castle built by Smirke, he would have rejected the commission.[79] When Lamb's *Visitor's Guide to Malvern* directed visitors to Eastnor in 1861 a veil was drawn over the architecture of the castle and it was the 'perfect architectural gem' of the parish church that received the encomiums for its recent restoration by 'Mr G. Scott, the eminent architect, and the builder, Mr G. McCann of Malvern'.[80] After completing the work of the parish church, Scott was briefly employed to apply 'correct' gothic details to Smirke's Great Hall but already by the early 1860s the 3rd Earl had followed Ruskin to Italy and was enthralled by the early Renaissance. For Charles Eastlake who charted these shifts in revivalist taste, Eastnor Castle was 'a massive and gloomy looking building (of) quaint uncouthness (which) might have made a tolerable fort before the invention of gunpowder, but as a residence it was a picturesque mistake'.[81] Even the county historian of Herefordshire, the Rev. Morgan Watkins passed over Eastnor Castle in his volume of *Duncumb's History* for 1902. He admired Scott's restoration of the church, the new cottages in the village 'in a modern Queen Anne style' and the 'well-wooded grounds, stocked with a herd of deer, but had nothing to say about the castle.[82]

However, by the end of the 19th century, most commentators had positive views about the castle, which they felt had been enhanced by the 3rd Earl's intensive planting. Typically, H. Thornhill Timmins, a roaming artist, felt that 'the princely seat of Lady Henry Somerset had a fine appearance, (its) massive walls and towers mirrored in the waters of a broad lake surrounded by trees'.[83] At this time it was very much the favourite venue for the womenfolk of the all-male Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club who chose it three times—1902, 1918 and 1936—for their summer outing called Ladies Day. On each occasion the male secretary of the Club gave the Castle a fulsome write-up, in 1902 praising the 'consummate taste' of the 3rd Earl for both his judicious planting in the pleasure grounds but also for his well-directed patronage of the High Victorian artist G. F. Watts, whose work was so well represented at Eastnor. Members were also urged to purchase Lady Henry Somerset's monograph of the Castle for 3s. 6d. from her secretary, for which the address was provided.[84]

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Richard's Castle:
conservation of standing remains 2011-12

By TIMOTHY MORGAN

Figure 1. Richard's Castle motte from the north-east, October 2011

Conservation of the standing remains of the castle from January to June 2012 was the result of a Management Plan written by Jez Bretherton, Regional Historic Environment Specialist for Natural England, and Sarah Lewis, Historic Environment Advisor for English Heritage. The aims were to secure the future of the monument by 'improving its condition and addressing areas of impending structural collapse', and to improve its presentation to the public 'leading to a greater understanding of its significance as one of the very few pre-conquest castles.' The purposes of the plan were to decide on an appropriate repair strategy and to provide a detailed specification of works subject to competitive tender. This included wildlife and tree surveys, a structural record and an assessment of the historic fabric of the castle, the work being eligible for funding under the Environmental Stewardship Scheme and subject to Scheduled Monument Consent.

Conservation work

No new archaeological excavation was carried out during the project, and intervention was limited to partial re-excavation of trenches excavated by Curnow and Thompson over a period of eight weeks from 1962 to 1964. The report on these excavations, together with a descriptive survey published by English Heritage in 2000, formed the basis both for the archaeological interpretation of the castle and for this summary of the 2012 project. These were supplemented by an accurate plan undertaken as part of the project and produced in April 2011.

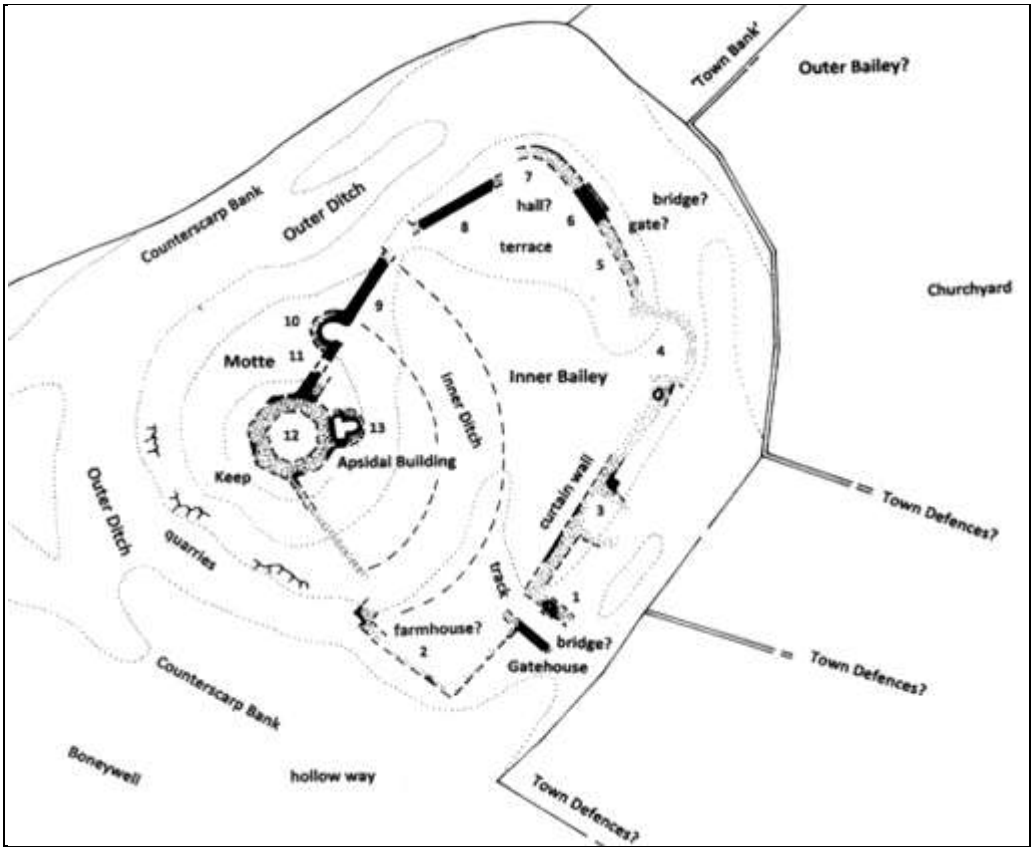

Figure 2. Richard's Castle: standing remains and features (north to top)

Historical Background

Richard's Castle is associated with two entries under the name *Auretone* in the Domesday Survey 1086, where Osbern, son of Richard (le) Scrope, held the vill and *castellaria*. The second reference is to twenty-three men at *castello Averetone*, which J. H. Round considered was Orleton, 3 km. to the south of Richard's Castle and in another hundred. Curnow and Thompson suggest a more likely candidate in the place-name Overton, the part of the parish in Shropshire separated from the Herefordshire half, including the castle and town, only by a

small stream. It was first recorded as *Castelum Ricardi c.*1180-86, the name referring back to a grant of land by Ralph, Earl of Hereford, to Richard Scrope about the year 1050. The earldom was a fairly new creation, Herefordshire and its Welsh territories being severed from Mercia by Edward the Confessor on his accession to the throne in 1042. Edward's mother was Norman and Richard was one of a number of her countrymen to be granted land in Hereford. The intention seems to have been both to secure the earldom within Mercia and from attacks by Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, who had invaded in 1052 and twice defeated Anglo-Norman forces. Richard's portion was the Teme valley or barony of Burford, although it is uncertain if a castle in the recognisable form of a motte and bailey was built in this period or in the years after the conquest. Other pre-conquest castles may have been built at Hereford, for Earl Ralph, for Osbern Pentecost and for one of Richard's uncles, Robert Fitz Wymarch, as well as at Howton and, in Wales, at Radnor and Monmouth.

The estate was held by the Scropes until the end of the 12th century when it passed to Hugh de Say and, through his daughter Margaret, to Robert de Mortimer, who was granted a charter for a weekly market and an annual fair on the feast of Saint Bartholomew (August 24th) in 1216. On the death of Hugh de Mortimer in 1304, the estate was divided between two daughters, one of whom retained the Richard's Castle lordship and married Richard Talbot; by the end of the century, control had passed on and the estate further divided. Although it is still listed as a town with a market in 1382, this period seems to signal a decline in both castle and town, the principal reason probably being that it could not compete with the growing commercial importance of Ludlow. When John Leland visited the castle he found the castle in a dilapidated condition: fragments of the keep, walls and towers remained standing, but the 'castle garth' was occupied by a 'poore house of tymber.' The owners at that time, the Salweys, were tenants of the Bishop of Worcester, their main house being at Moor Park in the Shropshire part, although Herefordshire hearth-tax was levied on Richard Salwey, M.P. and major in the Parliamentary army, implying occupation. Use of the early 17-century courthouse and dovecote by the bishop's bailiff may symbolise the administrative abandonment of the castle, and by 1822 an anonymous guidebook notes that although parts of the keep and walls survived, they were obscured by encroaching woodland and that the interior of the castle had been converted into a hop-yard.

Description

The castle is centred at SO 4834 7026, 5km. south west of Ludlow and 16km. north of Leominster. The parish straddles the boundary with Shropshire, with the castle and the earthworks of the medieval borough entirely within Herefordshire. This anomaly has never been fully explained, but its origins may lie in the 14th century division of the barony. The present village is focused on the intersection of the B436 with minor roads connecting it to the main A49; the castle and redundant church are located at the highest point of the settlement 1 km. west of this junction with several farms and cottages linking the two.

The motte-and-bailey castle was formed by cutting through the end of a ridge aligned roughly west to east ending at the steeply-sided Boneywell Dingle, whose stream flows south east to the river Teme, a tributary stream defining both the north side of the abandoned borough and the county boundary. Views to the east over the Shropshire-Herefordshire plain are far more extensive than the other sides, particularly to the north, where the castle and town are overlooked by the high ground of Hanway Common and High Vinnalls. The underlying geology is Silurian siltstone, which has been quarried through to form the outer ditch of the

castle and is exposed at the base of the south west side of the motte. Both native woodland and introduced species mantle the site, including yew trees, Scots and Corsican Pines, as well as lime trees planted after World War II. Hawthorn, nettle and a variety of saplings alternate with comparatively open spaces in the bailey and parts of the defensive outer ditch and banks.

The centrepiece is the motte, 49m. in diameter at the base and 13.8m. high, although excavation showed that this consists of the original height of 9.2m. with the addition of the lower storey and debris from the demolished upper storeys of the keep. The roughly circular flat top measures 19 to 21m. across, the octagonal stone keep 13.4m. across with walls 3.5m. thick. The motte was isolated by the arc of the outer ditch on the west side and from its bailey to the east by a flat-bottomed ditch *c.*12m. wide and 3m. deep. This was later infilled, probably to create more space in the bailey, and now appears as no more than a shallow depression. At its north end it is crossed by the north curtain wall, postdating the ditch and obscuring the original junction with the outer ditch. At the south end of the inner ditch the course of the south curtain wall (2) is unclear, although Curnow and Thompson show it as a distinctly narrow straight wall descending the motte scarp from north to south, and returning to the east at the bottom, perhaps as an inner revetment wall for the ditch. This coincides with the gable end of a building which may be associated with the farmhouse mentioned by Leland, and an area where the curtain wall 'was confused with signs of later occupation.' Neither this building nor an 'oven', shown on their plan a little to the south of the inner ditch line, is discussed in the text of their report.

The course of the curtain wall between here and the gatehouse is not as clear on the ground as it is in plan; comparison with the English Heritage survey poses a number of questions. For example, the excavators show the curtain abutting the south wall close to the front of the 12th-century gatehouse and describe it as 'thick'—presumably for a parapet and wall-walk. It is directed south-west on top of the break of slope above the outer ditch, then turns to form a right angle, perhaps forming the south-west wall of the later farmhouse. Little of this wall, except where it was excavated, is now visible; the more obvious feature is a stony bank or wall 0.7m. high, with at least two breaks—or doorways—in it set some metres back from, and parallel to, the curtain wall. The internal wall is aligned with the curtain wall on the opposing, north, side of the gatehouse, towards the rear of the earlier part of the gatehouse. It is tempting to suggest that it represents the rear wall of an L-shaped range built against the internal face of the south curtain, if not the line of the curtain wall contemporary with the earlier, 12th-century, gatehouse. The absence of towers in the south curtain wall is odd, given that the south part of the bailey was as vulnerable, in spite of the steeper slope down to Boneywood Dingle, as the north and east sides, where there were as many as five defensive towers.

Curnow and Thompson date the earlier part of the gatehouse (1) to the 12th century; it formed a rectangular building *c.*7m. square with walls set *c.*3.6m. apart, which have been reduced to no more than a stony bank. Any trace of an archway may remain buried beneath the masonry of a later, 13th-century extension, which had a steeply pitched stone passage and the lower courses of a garderobe chute emptying into the outer ditch as well as what may have been an acutely small porter's lodge. The upper part of the more complete south wall of this gatehouse extension had been propped and needled with scaffolding in the 1980s, and was almost entirely obscured by ivy and saplings. A ragged opening through the wall may have been a window loop looking south along the outer ditch, but the decision was taken to fill in

this opening with deeply pointed corework, rather than using more intrusive 'cintec' anchoring, to support the overhead masonry. Removal of vegetation from the wall exposed patches of the internal wall face at first floor level which was set back 0.2m. from the ground floor wall, although there was no sign of joist sockets for an intervening floor.

In the 1960s no investigation was carried out of the causeway and the precise character of the earlier arrangements, such as a swing or fixed bridge, perhaps with a barbican, is unknown. English Heritage note that to the south west the external face of the outer ditch is vertical and 'appears to be re-cut for *c*.7m.' A hollow way ascends the scarp of Boneywell Dingle from the south west and would appear to be directed towards the gatehouse, but there is no clear indication of how it approached the causeway. English Heritage state that there is no break in the counterscarp bank at the causeway and suggest that it may have been landscaped for graves in what is now a modern extension to the churchyard. When the hedge was removed for the new public access to the castle, reusing the original entrance to the castle, the counterscarp bank was actually indistinct at this point.

The earthworks of the borough have been described in detail in the English Heritage survey and appear well defined to the north of the church and modern road, but less extensive and on a varying alignment south of the road. Some may have been erased by the expansion of Green Farm, the most obvious feature being a second hollow way between Boneywell valley and the Green, but the precise line of the defences is not at all clear on this side. Two possibilities are suggested: one on top of the steep slope overlooking the valley meeting the counterscarp bank of the castle and the first hollow way approaching from the south west, and another taking a more northerly course to a point north of the gatehouse. Neither of these is any more or less convincing than a third possibility coinciding with the boundary of the churchyard, although this may have originally formed the southern defences of an outer bailey enclosing the initial foundation of the church and town. (Fig. 2) The first defence line would mean that the gatehouse provided a direct link between the castle and town, the second and third would exclude the gatehouse, which seems curious unless there was a second gateway across the outer ditch further north.

The course of the curtain wall north of the gatehouse is clear and much may survive beneath the undulating bank, although the outer parts of two – or three – towers have fallen in to the outer ditch. The first tower (3) was a semicircular bastion, considered by the excavators to be contemporary with the 13th-century curtain wall; the best indication of its position is a garderobe built into its north angle with the curtain wall. Tower 4 was excavated in the 1960s and described as a large, crudely-built, tower, with entrances at the north and south ends of its west wall, the last of which connected with a spiral staircase. Curnow and Thompson compared it to towers with apsidal ends at Helmsley Castle, Yorkshire, and Ewloe, Flintshire, dating it to about 1200, although this tower was not truly apsidal, but rectangular with rounded corners. Apart from a garderobe shaft and fragments of wall face, this area and the curtain wall to the north are a confusion of sprawling banks and partly filled excavation trenches(4/5). Where the curtain wall reappears it abuts a broader wall (6) below which the excavators saw a wall built at a right angle to the curtain wall crossing the outer ditch to join the north defences of the town. Nothing of this wall is now visible and no reason was advanced for the thickening of the curtain wall; when it was stripped of vegetation in 2012 it appeared that the outer face was stepped or battered like that of wall 8, possibly to counteract the pressure of a wall of similar height.

If there was a second gateway into the castle, it was probably sited between the so-called ‘town bank’ and the southern boundary of the churchyard, English Heritage suggesting a position due east of Tower 4, although it was admitted that an apparent rise in the ditch bottom at this point might as equally be debris from the tower as the remains of a bridge or causeway. Alternatively, it may have been close to the town wall noted by Curnow and Thompson as crossing the outer ditch, wall 5 possibly representing the blocking of a simple opening through the curtain wall.

Beyond this the curtain wall curves round to the west and slightly forwards of wall 8, suggesting the apsidal end of a tower or range 7 in what is the highest part of the bailey. Wall 8 is the most intact section of curtain wall, faint diagonal marks in its internal face perhaps representing the roof-line of a later building, which may have reused existing beam sockets for its purlins. This may explain why the wall has survived in a near complete state in contrast to the rest of the castle walls.

Until 2012 the wall top was entirely hidden by vegetation, which included a mature ash-tree whose main root extended the full length of the wall. When this was removed it uncovered part of the original wall-walk and parapet, with a drain hole; the wall-walk was over 5.5m. above the present ground level and partly overlaid with large stone roof slabs jettying out over the internal face of the wall. Curnow and Thompson dated it to the 13th century, but a mullion of the same type as SF1 (found in the outer ditch) had been reused in the core of the west end of the wall, and suggested a rather later, 15th century, date of construction.

There is no clear evidence of buildings in the bailey, but the entire area is marked with linear hollows, one of which may be a trackway from the gatehouse to the base of the motte, and at least two scarps aligned north west to south east separating the higher north part of the bailey from the lower part west of the gatehouse. Both of these scarps override the projected arc of the inner ditch encircling the motte. Curnow and Thompson identified the lower of these scarps as ‘the base of a wall…running across the bailey over the filled-in motte ditch’, adding that it was ‘of very crude work and is presumably to be referred to the farmyard or hopyard period’. Felling of lime trees and clearance of scrub has created a more open aspect to the bailey, and geographical survey may further clarify features otherwise variously attributed to walls, debris from the 1960s excavations and to building platforms.

With the exception of the south wall of the gatehouse and parts of the external facing walls of the keep, the most problematic stonework was that of the curtain wall on the north side of the motte. Although there is no reason to suppose that it was originally as high as wall 8, since its ascent of the motte would have made this unnecessary, the thickness of the wall is the same and it seems reasonable to estimate a loss of over half its volume of stone. The lower part (wall 9) was built across the point where the inner ditch would have met the outer ditch; little survived of its internal face and much of its outer face had separated from the core and had progressively collapsed around a putlog hole. A combination of traditional dismantling and rebuild, as well as anchoring, was employed and the external collapse filled with new corework. In between this and the upper lengths of curtain wall there are the lowest courses of a dovecote tower (wall 10), which Curnow and Thompson regarded as a conversion on the basis of a variation in the colour of the mortar.

So much of the stonework had collapsed since its excavation in the 1960s, however, that it was difficult to confirm this sequence apart from admitting that the internal arc of nest boxes does not ‘fit’ the tower. The tower was re-excavated and several nest boxes rebuilt to resist the

pressure of the higher ground to the south on the wall. There was no obvious sign of a doorway, such as a rebate in the south reveal, nor any indication of a timber frame.

The top section of the curtain wall (11) is fragmented into two, the lower part being in a similar condition to wall 9; the upper part, according to the excavators, was 'built about 3ft. above the motte surface, on soil which must have accumulated against the keep.' No earlier defence seems to have been encountered and the wall was dated on the basis of pottery to the 13th century.

Built into, and postdating, the internal angle of the curtain wall and the north east side of the keep there are the remains of a flight of steps which must have lead up to the wall-walk and, perhaps, a first floor entrance into the keep. Three corbels, partly hidden by the steps, may be interpreted as jettying out of the curtain wall rather than any clear sign of earlier steps, since they are horizontally in line. The overhanging core of the wall at the bottom of this upper section had been propped with timbers and a concrete block buttress, one of whose stanchions was embedded in the core of the step remains. Both the overhang and the modern supports were removed.

Important as the 1960s excavations were in outlining the development of the castle, eight of the nine trenches on the motte had been left open and the exposed facing walls of the keep, apsidal building and curtain walls had not been conserved. The result was that all of the masonry structures had suffered collapse and stone loss, the most dramatic of which was the octagonal interior of the ground floor of the keep: the internal walls were no longer visible and the resulting, amorphous crater had been colonised by saplings and thorns. In the 2012 project this was filled with surplus earth and stone carried to the top of the motte by cable and bucket using existing trees as anchors. Four of the trenches were difficult to conserve: the trench sides of 12B had remained near vertical, but part of the wedge-shaped cordon above the plinth as well as several of the dressed stones dependant upon it were missing. The dressed stone blocks were discovered at the bottom of the outer ditch and, based on a photograph in the excavation report, were reinstated but the cordon could not be found. Each of the eight angles was clasped by a pilaster, but rebuilding of the north angle had removed any evidence of one, and where part of an angle pilaster survives it does not resemble the semi-octagonal form shown in the excavators' report.

Rebuilding of the north angle seems to be mirrored in the east face of the keep where it is abutted by the lower walls of the so-called apsidal building, the function of whose first floor may have been as a private chapel. Part of a portable altar was found 'in the rubbish pit on the north west side of the gatehouse' in the 1960s project. The finely dressed, battered plinth is intact, but the cordon is absent and the upper stonework is distinctly crude. In addition, there is a 1:10 slope from north to south, suggesting that the keep has settled towards the south of the motte, perhaps at an early stage in its construction.

The remedy for this, the excavators propose, may have been the demolition of the upper storeys of the keep and reuse of rubble to buttress the external face of the ground floor at a time 'unlikely to have been later than the 13th century' and possibly not completed. Dressed stone now appears to be absent from the external buttressing, but Curnow and Thompson evidently found it 'lying both within and outside the basement'. This concealed the top of the motte and the plinth, and these drastic alterations may have involved both stripping out the pilasters and rebuilding the external angles of the keep. They may also have included rebuilding the east wall of the keep, although it is conceivable that this was carried out when the apsidal building

was attached to it. The vaulted and steeply-sloping ground floor of the apsidal building was apparently void to be filled up during construction.

A 'great deal of pottery, including large parts of jugs' was found in the apsidal building, enabling Curnow and Thompson to date this structure to *c.*1250 and to suggest that the keep 'fits most comfortably into that class of "transitional" forms of the latter part of the 12th century.' Comparisons were drawn with Conisborough, which is cylindrical with six projecting buttresses, and Orford, with no less than twenty-one sides and three projecting turrets, as examples of these hybrids between rectangular and circular keeps. The wedge-shaped cordon or string-course at the base of the keep also occurs on the plinth of the 12th-century keep at Corfe Castle and at the south end of the bridge at Stamford castle. They compare Richard's Castle keep more closely, however, with Tickhill, Yorkshire, although this had eleven rather than eight sides. The main reason given is that both keeps had clasping buttresses and both castles similarly sized baileys and rectangular gatehouses. Polygonal, and especially octagonal, keeps are comparatively rare throughout Britain and mainland Europe, and date from almost any period between the 12th and 15th centuries. Chilham, Kent, for example, has been dated to 1171-74 and Odiham, Hampshire, the dimensions of whose keep is somewhat larger than Richard's Castle, to about 1216. Other parallels may be sought much closer to home, however, such as Snodhill, in the far south of Herefordshire, and an unexplored keep at Aston, 3km. to the north west of Richard's Castle. Snodhill has been dated to *c.*1200 and is commonly described as a shell-keep, although its dimensions are not incompatible with its having been a single tower. It forms an elongated octagon with evidence for three storeys built on top of an oval motte 3.5m. high. Aston (Number 1 to distinguish it from a probable siege-work, Aston Number 2) SO 462 718, appears to be the remains of an octagonal keep *c.*15m. across, compared to Richard's Castle, which was 13.5m. across, built on top of a motte of similar height.

The final stages in the conservation included the re-direction of the footpath, which until recently entered the bailey over a modern causeway from the churchyard, through the later cemetery to the gatehouse. From this point the path takes a route across the bailey and up the precipitous north side of the moat using modern steps so that most of the remains of the defensive circuit and the octagonal keep and chapel are visible. Illustrated signboards have been positioned to give a brief description of the history and archaeology of the castle. The programme of repairs to the castle was very much dependant on close cooperation between Natural England, English Heritage and Hugo Salwey, besides the skills of the architects, the Garner Southall Partnership and the contractors, Conservation Building Services. Open days organised by the Salwey family since completion of the project have proved a great success in stimulating interest in the castle. Careful management is now in place to secure both the historic fabric of the castle and the natural environment within which Richard's Castle forms the centrepiece.

Bibliography

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Reports of Sectional Recorders

Archaeology 2012

by RON SHOESMITH

As in previous years, I have included a section for each archaeological organisation that responded to my request for information. Their reports continue to provide members with a vivid picture of archaeological work throughout the county.

Prehistoric sites continue to be of interest with a second season of work as part of a continuing research project investigating known and putative Neolithic sites on and close to Dorstone Hill and the Golden Valley. There have been further investigations at Eaton Camp in Eaton Bishop parish which have provided a provisional date in the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age. Investigations in the Whitchurch area of the Wye Gorge survey have shown that there are many more caves and rock-shelters than had been previously recorded. Traces of Romano-British farmsteads have been found at Leen Farm in Pembridge, at Moreton Business Park in Moreton-on-Lugg, and at Lord's Wood Enclosure in Whitchurch.

In Hereford, the late Saxon defences were investigated at 31 Eign Gate and work was examined that probably relates to Harold Godwinson's reinforcement of the town in 1055. Traces of later buildings were also found. Survey work and excavations in Brockhampton have established the previously lost site of the village of Studmarsh. The moat at nearby Lower Brockhampton was also examined and surveyed. In Hereford further work on the County Hospital site exposed walling that was probably associated with St. Guthlac's Priory. Consolidation work at Bronsil Castle included full before-and-after recording.

In the post-medieval period new drainage works associated with the 18th-century Shobdon Church were recorded, whilst at Harewood Park the various changes to the lake were examined by limited excavation.

At Dore Abbey, I provided a Written Scheme of Investigation in advance of repair work to a section of the north face of the north wall of the cloisters, which collapsed sometime early in 2011. Since then I have been replaced as archaeological consultant to the parochial church council by Richard K. Morriss.

Two reports included below are of interest in showing how solutions are found to problems with an archaeological dimension. One considers an Archaeological Research Framework for the City of Hereford, the other discusses Traditional Orchards and the Historic Environment.

In every section I have indexed each report by city, town or parish, and site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. Many of the references are to internal unit publications (now called 'grey literature'), some of which are available in the City Library, others may be consulted in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by the Herefordshire County Archaeological Service, others on the internet. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; if it is an event it is prefixed by EHE (Event in Herefordshire) to distinguish it from a site. The Historic Environment Record (HER) will, from January 2013 become the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record (HHER). Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed SAM.

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 that has made this report a valuable and up-to-date source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2012. Also my thanks to Roger Barrett and P. J. Pikes, who have spent much time checking and correcting the text and putting it into the Woolhope Club format.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

ARCHAEOPHYSICA LTD.

HAREWOOD, The Lake in Harewood Park (SO 353 228) [HSM 5775]

Figure 1. The only known photograph of Harewood Park lake in its Georgian form before it was lined in brick. The church of St Denis was rebuilt 1863/4 thus dating the photograph, which is labelled *c.*1870. (Hereford Central Library, Beddoe Collection Vol. 2)

Following an historical study and topographical survey, a geophysical (electrical resistance) and trenching evaluation was carried out between December 2011 and March 2012 to understand properly the nature, form and development of an ornamental lake at Harewood Park. Here, the Duchy of Cornwall has been active in the conservation of historic structures since its acquisition of the Estate in 2000. Heavily infilled following clearance of the park

(Plate 5.1) and demolition of the country house in 1959, the feature may have begun as a fish stew serving a preceptory of the Knights Templar (later Knights Hospitaller). Acquired by the Brownes of Much Dewchurch soon after the Dissolution, a large stone and turreted house was built about 1547. A century later Harewood was sold to Bennet Hoskyns MP who prospered both under Cromwell as High Sheriff and Charles II who rewarded him with a baronetcy in 1676 for maintaining 30 soldiers in Ireland.

Sir Bennet died in 1679 and his son, Sir John Hoskyns, made Harewood his principal home. There is a reference to the creation of a garden at Harewood in 1652, but the archaeological evidence of carved copings and fine hand-made brick is that Hoskyns created a formal pool garden surrounded by walks and stone terraces perhaps a little later. The style seems to be that of a *jardin à la française*, by contrast to the National Trust's restored, near contemporary Dutch style canal water garden at Westbury Court, Gloucestershire (1696–1705). Harewood's pool had straight sides on the east, west and south and a curved northern side below a series of terraces in front of the house (Fig. 1), an arrangement evident at Powis Castle, also National Trust.

Figure 2 (right). The 17th-century terrace wall to the west of the lake

In 1773 Sir Hungerford Hosykns, 6th baronet, inherited a crumbling mansion which, thanks to a generous marriage settlement, he was able to substantially rebuild in the 1780s. It is likely that around this date most of the by then unfashionable terraces were swept away, creating a landscape park. The lake was extended, reshaped and deepened to include an island at one end.

An old well house, later known as Edgar's, was remodelled and given an ornamental sunken entrance, later converted into a semi-circular bath (Plate 5.2). In the 19th century a pump house, known latterly to have had a Lister engine supplying water to the house, was erected near the well. However, following the sale by Chandos Hoskyns in 1876, Harewood began a long period of decline, punctuated only by a half-hearted attempt to strengthen the lake edges using brick probably during the ownership of Joseph and Henry Parry (1892–1920).

Machine trenching at 15 locations confirmed the sides and the southern and the north-eastern corners of the buried 17th-century pool structures (Plate 5.3). Hand excavation concentrating in the area of the south-west corner demonstrated the main sequence outlined above, with mortared walls of the lowest terrace to the west (in front of the house) surviving to a height of over a metre from deep foundations. In the south-east corner these walls rise to over two metres. To the south the lowest terrace wall, although much had slumped away at the spring-line, had evidence for a design break and abutments, perhaps for a stepped cascade and statuary. To the north-east, close to the island, the evaluation uncovered a slipway of stone

setts, interpreted as part of the Georgian remodelling to allow access for stock from the park. At the centre of the curved north side the plug, penstock and outflow culvert were recorded. There is a proposal to restore the formal pool for which a fuller archaeological excavation is planned. (Roseveare, M.J., Barrett, D. and Milne, J., *An archaeological assessment of the former lake and adjacent structures: a descriptive report*, ArchaeoPhysica Ltd., August 2012).

COTSWOLD ARCHAEOLOGY

WALFORD TO BRELSTON COURT, Cable Installation (SO 563 200 to SO 585 212)
A watching brief identified one undated and one modern ditch, both most probably representing field boundaries or other agricultural features. Three undated pits and two spreads of industrial debris were also recorded. (Holt, R., 2012 *Walford to Brelston Court Cable Installation, Herefordshire: Archaeological Watching Brief.* CA typescript report 12123).

HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) LTD.

HEREFORD, 31 Eign Gate (SO 508 400) [HSM 48860]

Figure 3. Possible Saxon defensive wall at 31 Eign Gate, Hereford

A scheme of archaeological work was undertaken at 31 Eign Gate, a property that crosses the known route of the Saxon town defences. The project comprised two stages; an initial bore hole and environmental assessment by Worcestershire Historic Environment and Archaeological Service (WHEAS), and monitoring and excavation of features exposed during groundwork associated with the development. Radio-carbon dates from the first stage of work indicate that all the ditch silts and thus the profile of the ditch are probably late Saxon in date and relate to Harold Godwinson's reinforcement of the town in 1055.
Archaeological monitoring demonstrated that medieval stone wall structures and associated stratigraphy survived at the front (north end) of the site. It also established the presence of possible rampart deposits at the back (south) of the site and the top of a stone wall which could also be associated with a later phase of the Saxon rampart (Fig. 3).

The strip of the southern area of the site revealed evidence potentially relating to the later 11th-century Saxon defences. The evidence consisted of two deposits, one containing turf the other a silty clay, that may be part of the rampart, topped by a stone and clay bonded wall that aligned

east-west. The upper deposit contained turf and had been much disturbed by later activity. This deposit is similar to the description of the known rampart sequence.[1] Finds from the upper deposit were mostly post-medieval, reflecting the disturbance seen. The underlying deposit was undisturbed and consisted of silty clay. No dateable finds were present in this deposit. The section of rampart fronted by a stone wall excavated in Victoria Street in 1967 may be comparable to the section identified on the site.

The excavation of the main drain run (aligned north-south through the site) exposed part of what may be the top of the south edge of the Saxon ditch. The feature was located to the north of the stone wall, and was dug as part of the refortification of the city by Earl Harold Godwinson after the sacking of the city by Gruffydd ap Llywellyn and Earl Aelfgar in 1055. Though the evidence was slight, due to the shallow depth of the trench and truncation by the adjacent cellar of a now demolished 18th-century building that formerly fronted onto West Street, it was enough to identify the top of the rise of the possible gravel bank. The gravel rise appears to fit very well with the model previously produced in excavations on nearby and adjacent sites.

A borehole survey was also carried out by Intégral Ltd, which describes a similar sequence of deposits to those described by WHEAS, confirming that the ditch appears to bottom at between 3m. and 4m. below the present ground level.

The information from the pile logs was combined with the evidence from the previous borehole logs. From the combined information, it appears that the natural gravel level drops by between 1m. and 1.5m. from west to east across the site between the positions of the 18th-century buildings at both the north and south frontages of the site. The drop in level possibly suggests a feature of some sort below the supposed base level of the Saxon ditch. Presently nothing is known about such a feature but it is may be related to the water channels that underlie this part of the city.

Stratified deposits of medieval date were encountered in the south-eastern quarter of the standing shop building fronting onto Eign Gate during excavations for new drains. The nature of the earliest of these deposits, though heavily truncated by later activity, suggested occupation and hard-standing, possibly a path, road or surface composed of compacted gravel. At the eastern extent of the drain run, within the building, a mixed silty deposit containing pottery, stone roof tile and abundant animal bone was identified. The pottery from this deposit dated from between the 11th and the early 13th centuries. The relationship between this deposit and the gravel deposits is unclear, as later features have removed the evidence connecting them, but the pottery from the earlier of the two compacted gravel layers was dated to the later 13th century, suggesting these deposits are probably a little later in date than the silt deposit. Two thin bands of silt built up over the gravels; no dateable artefacts were present to date these layers, but they suggest that the gravel surface became redundant or went out of use. A feature containing at least three separate fills was probably a refuse pit cut through these silt and gravel deposits. The pottery from the earliest exposed fill of this feature dated from between the mid 13th and the 14th centuries. This would suggest that the surface was out of use before the end of the 14th century. Overlying and sealing all the above features and deposits was a layer of compacted red clay, slightly sloping down towards the east that may have been a floor or surface layer, suggesting the presence a medieval building on this part of the site. The exposed part of the deposit contained no finds or inclusions of any kind. (Rouse, D., HAS 927)

HEREFORD, County Hospital, (SO 515 397) [EHE 1958]

The unit was commissioned by Herefordshire Primary Care Trust to undertake an archaeological watching brief during work on two single-storey extensions to the Stonebow Unit. One feature of possible archaeological significance was thought to be either the foundations of a wall or a dump of masonry potentially associated with the position of St. Guthlac's priory (Fig. 4). The wall or rubble lay only some 30m. from the area in which the footings for walls were recorded during watching briefs in 1983.[2] Although no dating evidence was found, these walls predated the tithe map and were on the north-west/south-east alignment associated with the priory.

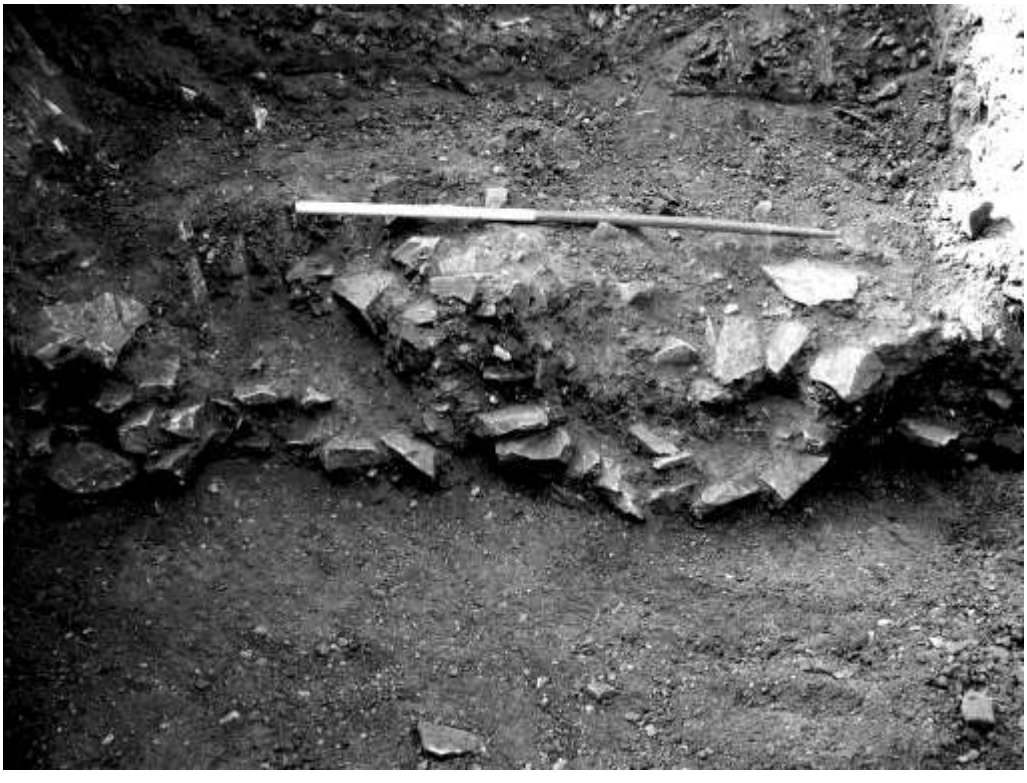


Figure 4. The rubble deposit, possibly relating to St. Guthlac's Priory, in the grounds of the County Hospital

Two interpretations for the deposit are possible. It may have been footings for a wall or a robber trench associated with such a structure. Alternatively it may have been rubble dumped following robbing of a structure, and may therefore possibly be monastic masonry. The single sherd of pottery recovered from within the deposit implied a date in the 17th or the earlier part of the 18th century, supporting the interpretation that they may be the disposal of unwanted robbed masonry following the dissolution of the monastery. Even if this were the case it seems unlikely that such rubble would have been moved a great distance from its original position before being dumped, and it could, therefore, indicate the presence of monastic buildings fairly

close by. (Crooks, K., HAS 928)

PEMBRIDGE, Evaluation at Leen Farm, (SO 384 592)
Acting on behalf of the Norman Partnership, the unit conducted a programme of archaeological works on land at Leen Farm, comprising the excavation of nine evaluation trenches. A series of archaeological ditch features containing Romano-British pottery were located within the area designated for development (Plate 5.4), probably representing the remains of a field system contiguous with an area of organised landscape of Romano-British date known from aerial photographs. Examination of an environmental sample taken from one of the ditch features suggests that the general area had been associated with farming through the identification of a type of spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*) known to have been cultivated during the Romano-British period.

Field systems are generally organised for the convenience of the farmer, therefore the size of the fields could possibly give an indication as to the type of agricultural processes that have taken place. However, the constraints of evaluation trenches unfortunately do not allow the complete pattern of the field system present within the development site to be visualised.

The nature of the features and finds identified during the evaluation work indicate that the archaeological remains can be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase dates from the Romano-British period, the finds and features indicative of debris from nearby occupation and low-intensity activity on site being incorporated both into deliberately dug field boundaries, and into natural pockets of preservation. Later features indicate late post-medieval field systems, subsequently erased to create the larger modern fields that can be seen at Leen Farm now.

While the distinct lack of any evidence for activity within the central portion of the study area suggests that Romano-British activity on the site was not intensive, and probably did not include actual settlement, the development area is located within an area associated with Romano-British agriculture. The nature of the features recorded indicates that the area, although agricultural, may be within reasonable proximity to the centre of occupation due to the presence of both ceramics and metalwork within the excavated features. (Mayes, S. & Craddock-Bennett, L., HAS 947)

SHOBDON, Watching brief at Shobdon Church, (SO 340 262) [EHE 1990]
An archaeological watching brief was undertaken on the excavation for new drainage at Shobdon Church. The drains ran along the northern, southern and eastern sides of the church before crossing the position of the former Shobdon Court to a soakaway.

A single burial, of a child, was encountered at the eastern end of the church. Also at the eastern end of the church was a brick structure, possibly a vault. Human bones in the vicinity suggested that this structure may have cut a further burial. A stone drain, thought to have formed part of the original drainage system installed at the time of the construction of the church in the 18th century, ran along the length of the north transept. Walls and cellarage, filled with building rubble and associated with Shobdon Court, were seen on the southern part of the site. (Crooks, K., HAS 939)

MUSEUM OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY (MOLA)

KILPECK, Kilpeck Castle (SO 344 230)

On 20th December 2012 archaeologists and engineers attended the site of Kilpeck Castle to investigate ground conditions and assess the stability of the surviving masonry (Figs 5 & 6). This involved the sinking of four boreholes, (the location and hand-coring of these were monitored by an archaeologist), and the hand-excavation of four small test pits by archaeological staff from MOLA.

Figure 5. The interior of the north wall at Kilpeck Castle *c*.1982

Figure 6. The same wall in 2008 showing the gradual deterioration

No features of archaeological significance were seen; the sequence observed being a variable depth of topsoil over the redeposited natural subsoil that formed the mound. These deposits were shown to be undisturbed and to exceed four metres in depth in places. The test pits revealed that there was little or no depth of foundation on the external side of the walls, but

previously unrecorded detail of the construction of the foundations was observed. (Barrett, D. & Sherlock, H., Jan 2013 *Report on archaeological monitoring and excavation at Kilpeck Castle, Herefordshire. MMC25)*

*HEREFORD, 101-102 East Street (*SO 351 240)
MOLA staff maintained an intermittent watching brief of groundworks associated with the re-ordering works on the Conservative Club. The demolition of 19th-century outbuildings was recorded and a well and cess-pit (both shown on Curley's detailed survey plans of 1856) were recorded. The work is ongoing in 2013.

WORCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

MORETON-ON-LUGG, Moreton Business Park (SO 350 246).
An archaeological evaluation was undertaken at the request of Great West (2003) Ltd, who intend to expand the existing business park. A concentration of Roman features was uncovered including a number of ditches, pits, beam slots, surfaces and a track-way. The features were typical of a Romano-British farmstead, with indications of occupation across the site ranging from the first to the fourth centuries. An undated palaeo-channel was also found and due to its location on an upper river terrace is likely to be of early Holocene or possibly pre-Holocene date. (Miller, D.)

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

In addition to routine advisory case-work (development management and countryside matters) and continuing record maintenance and updating duties, staff of the county archaeological service undertook a number of grant-aided projects. These involved a number of partnerships with organisations including English Heritage, Herefordshire Nature Trust, Natural England, The National Trust, Malvern Hills Area of Natural Beauty (AONB), Wye Valley AONB, and the Mental Health Charity – MIND. Work on upgrading and broadening the scope of the Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record was completed in 2012, and from January 2013 it has been re-launched, in line with such records nationally, as Herefordshire Historic Environment Record (from HER to HHER). It is now administered jointly with Herefordshire Collections and Archives Service in preparation for the development of a new Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre. It is planned that this will be built at Rotherwas, and from 2015 will house the County Record Office (Archives), the HER, the Biological Records Centre, and the archaeology service.

Field projects undertaken during 2012 included further investigation of the known and putative Neolithic sites on and close to Dorstone Hill; small scale excavations within the hill fort of Eaton Camp (Ruckhall, Eaton Bishop), and a survey of caves, rock shelters and industrial remains within the Wye Gorge at Symonds Yat. Excavations also took place at The Grove, Lower Brockhampton in order to research the deserted settlement of Studmarsh. A detailed survey of the moat at Lower Brockhampton was undertaken in order to document erosion. Survey work was carried out on the surviving masonry elements at Bronsil Castle and a measured earthwork survey was produced for the Romano-British enclosure at Lord's Wood, Whitchurch.

BROCKHAMPTON, The Grove (SO: 695 558) [EHE 2055, HER 1050]
Throughout 2012, MIND (the mental health charity) and Herefordshire Archaeology worked in partnership with The National Trust and local heritage groups to deliver a project investigating the possible site of a lost settlement. A primary concern of the project was to explore comparisons between the processes of archaeological and historical investigation, and mental health recovery. The project aimed to do so by providing opportunities for participants to experience the direct practice of archaeological and documentary study including fieldwork. The work was undertaken by members of MIND, members of Bromyard Historical Society and students, as well as members of the local community and Herefordshire Archaeology volunteers, all under the supervision of Herefordshire Archaeology staff.

Figure 7. The site of Studmarsh from the north-east (J.K. St. Joseph, 1956)

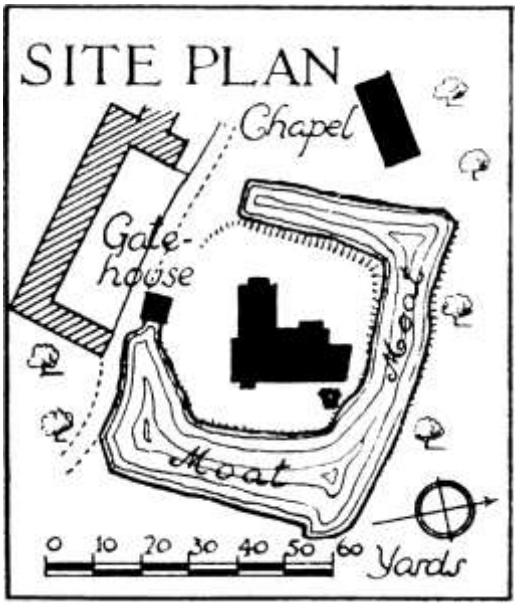
The medieval settlement of Studmarsh is first recorded in the Domesday Book (1065–86), but the location of the settlement was not known. In 1956 earthworks were recorded through a series of aerial photographs taken by J. K. St. Joseph, some of which appear to be building platforms and hollow ways (Fig. 7). A visit to the site in 1972 by members of Bromyard Historical Society led to suggestions that this was indeed the site of a medieval settlement; possibly the site of Studmarsh. The MIND project focused on this site comprised a full desk-based assessment including historical research undertaken by a professional historian. This was followed by a detailed earthwork survey and targeted, small-scale, excavation.

Figure 8. The stone wall exposed in excavations at Studmarsh

The earthwork survey recorded a wide range of features including building platforms, boundary banks and ditches, track ways and industrial activity as well as evidence for historic agriculture. A series of test pits were excavated over a number of features in order to establish their character and date. Two larger trenches were excavated over what appeared to be platforms. Both trenches contained evidence for the existence of buildings. One was apparently a simple wattle and daub structure, while the second was a substantial multi-celled stone structure with walls of up to one metre thick (Fig. 8). The pottery recovered from the excavations suggest that much of the site had been abandoned by the late 14th century (Atkinson, C. & Williams, D., HAR 316).

BROCKHAMPTON, Archaeological assessment of the moat at Lower Brockhampton, (SO 687 559) [EHE 2061, HSM 7157]

In 2012 The National Trust grant-aided archaeological recording work to assess the problem of erosion along parts of the embankment surrounding the moat at Lower Brockhampton. The aim was to provide information regarding the structures formerly in place to contain the moat, and concerning its origins, early character and developed form. The work comprised a desk-based appraisal; visual inspection within the moat (following the lowering of the water-level) and detailed annotation of an existing topographical plan (Fig. 9).



Two lengths of bank-side walling were recorded, one likely to be of late 18th to early 19th century date (associated with a drain which entered the moat at its south-western corner), the second of unknown date and serving as a revetment to the northern gable end of the house. It is possible that this wall continued along the entire northern inner edge and the western arm of the moat. Whilst no evidence of a timber revetment was recorded, a line was traced under water that represents a significant point of increase of depth within the moat. This perhaps provides an indication of the position of the original western limit of the eastern arm of the moat (Plate 5.5). (Hoverd, T., Ray, K., & Williams, D., HAR 314)

Figure 9 (left). RCHME plan of Lower Brockhampton

CRADLEY, An Exploratory Excavation at Whitman's Hill Coppice, (SO 749 482) [EHE 1989, HSM 52190]

A small-scale excavation was carried out into a ridge-top boundary bank which had been identified in a previous woodland survey of Whitman's Hill Coppice. This bank was potentially contemporary with a cross-valley dyke to the south that forms the current parish boundary separating Mathon and Cradley. Although no datable material was retrieved, the feature is likely to be at least medieval in origin due to the depth of burial. The feature utilised the natural limestone ridge top and consisted of a broad bank, the material for which was extracted from a shallow parallel ditch to the south-west (Atkinson, C., HAR 311)

DORSTONE, Dorstone Hill (SO 326 424) [EHE 1969; HSM 1551]

A second season of excavation was undertaken by staff of the University of Manchester Archaeology Department, the University of Kyushu, Japan, and Herefordshire Archaeology, together with local volunteers. The aim of the project is to improve knowledge of Neolithic settlement in the area between the Black Mountains and the River Wye in this part of south-west Herefordshire. Trial excavations in 2011 were undertaken to follow up the discovery of Neolithic worked flint and pottery, and potentially associated works, including an earthwork bank found during excavations in the 1960s, and a survey of the site by an English Heritage measured-survey team in the 1990s. During 2012, a trench was excavated over the bank to the west of the 2011 excavations. This trench intercepted the bank at right angles and was widened to 12m. over the bank itself. It would appear that the bank was constructed without a ditch, the material being derived from a broad shallow scoop on either side or transported from another (as yet unknown) location.

Unusually, the bank was faced with stone on both sides. A stone-lined but collapsed chamber had been built into the eastern side which contained a leaf-shaped arrowhead. The point had been broken with a hinge fracture consistent with it having been shot into an initially soft target prior to being stopped by harder material such as bone. It is suggested that the arrowhead was the cause of death of an individual buried within the chamber. This chamber represents a third phase of development of the bank (or linear mound), a second phase being represented by narrow timber palisade slots that had contained a turf mound capped with stones. Upon the decay of the palisade timbers, the turf mound had collapsed and the stones had tipped down on either side of the mound. The stone chamber of the third phase had then been inserted into the material comprising the collapsed phase 2 mound.

Much of the earth used in the primary construction of the bank showed signs of intense burning, which was deposited directly on a layer of carbonised timbers. Interestingly, the former ground surface below the burnt timbers was not itself burnt, implying that the timbers were laid down after they had been burnt elsewhere, and were then sealed by the burnt clay.

The 2012 season has transformed the understanding of the bank. It is now apparent that this feature was not part of the defences of a mid-4th millennium BC hill-top enclosure as had previously been supposed. Rather, phase 2 appears to represent a class of funerary monument known as a bank barrow, a type uncommon outside central southern England and so far unique in the West Midlands. The timbers may possibly derive from a timber building built nearby early in the Neolithic period and then carefully fired and dismantled to form a linear earthen mound that was itself then developed into a more sizeable mound, perhaps before the mid-4th millennium (McInnes, E. & Thomas, J., HAR 318)

DORSTONE, Windy Ridge (SO 338 413) [EHE 1968; HSM 52221]

At Windy Ridge, between Dorstone and Peterchurch and overlooking the Golden Valley, a ditch had been located by aerial photography, overlooking and traversing a prominent hill spur. Works in 2011 comprised the excavation of two trenches. One intercepted a former informal quarry into natural rock outcrop and the dumping of waste to fill it. This activity was dated by the presence of clay pipe-stem fragments. However, the basal silts of the surviving lower portion of the ditch produced a single leaf-shaped arrowhead from a very small slot cut across it. While this could have been residual, it is provisionally regarded as a likely indicator of construction in the 4th millennium BC. This part of the promontory site was re-visited during 2012 and two further trenches were excavated with the aim of intercepting the basal deposits of the ditch. These established that the quarrying has almost entirely removed some form of Neolithic or early Bronze Age enclosure which overlooked the Golden Valley (Garcia Rovira, I., & Mizoguchi, K., HAR 319)

HEREFORD, An Archaeological Research Framework for the City of Hereford.

The immediate background to the production of this Research Framework lies in the English Heritage-funded *Hereford Urban Archaeological Strategy Project*. This commenced in July 2006 with the Hereford Urban Archaeological Database (UAD) following a long period of discussion and consideration of design options stretching back to 1994–5 and the work of the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey*, the extensive urban survey of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire (HWCC/CHAU 1995). The original design, which first expressed the need for a research framework for the city, remained unimplemented through the

1990s. A management review of Herefordshire towns in 2001 identified production of an urban archaeological strategy for Hereford, based on a UAD and subsequent resource assessment, as the leading item on the urban agenda (Ray, K., 2001, 35).

The UAD project was redesigned by Nigel Baker in early 2006 and the bulk of the database work was undertaken in 2006–7. The 2006 revised project design for the UAD identified the need for a subsequent assessment stage that would comprise two principal elements – an archaeological resource characterisation and a research framework. The resource characterisation would itself have two components: a historic townscape characterisation to describe and analyse the present urban landscape; and an archaeological deposit model to identify the presence, absence, depth and type of buried archaeological deposits. This approach had first been tried in the city of Worcester, as an alternative to the commissioning of a major academic volume that would have contained a (rather briefer) research agenda and resource characterisation. Previously, the English Heritage Urban Archaeological Strategy programme had resulted in the production of 'archaeological assessment' volumes for two towns – Cirencester (the pilot or prototype, published in 1994) and St. Alban's (published in 2005). Both volumes contained elements along these lines. The Cirencester volume contained a section on archaeological 'sensitivity' which surveyed the town, area by area, looking at a combination of depth and preservation of archaeological deposit combined with the known or predicted 'archaeological interest' of that deposit. The (longer) St. Alban's volume similarly considered depth of deposit, and factors influencing deposit formation and survival, and raised the question of future research imperatives separately, though very briefly.

For Worcester it was felt that the resource characterisation element should give equal weight to buried deposits and to townscape, as the 'above-ground' archaeological resource, and one which had by then in Worcester received some academic attention independently. Moreover it was felt that the then recent appearance of two major volumes on the city, (Baker & Holt's 2004 study of Church institutions and urban growth, and the Deansway excavations volume published in 2004) raised a large number of research issues that were in urgent need of systematising, codifying, and embedding in archaeological policy while removing, for the moment, the need for a large-scale published synthesis.

This is broadly the situation that currently (2012/13) exists in Hereford. The two elements of the resource characterisation process were completed in February 2010 in the form of a deposit model and a historic townscape characterisation. Meanwhile, the broader archaeological picture is one of relatively complete and up-to-date publication, with the last (fourth) City Excavations Volume published in 2002 and at least interim 'grey-literature' reporting of most major excavations that have taken place subsequent to that date. Further city excavations volumes are currently in preparation. The 2002 volume also contained extensive discussion of progress on a variety of research issues since Shoesmith's 1982 city excavations volume and, though not expressed as a 'research agenda' as such, it contains the material from which such an agenda may be formulated.

Work on the present document may be said to have begun in earnest with The Hereford Archaeological Research Framework Seminar, hosted in the Museum Learning & Resource Centre, on 25 January 2012. The seminar was attended by staff from Herefordshire Archaeology, Herefordshire Heritage Services, English Heritage, the leading archaeological contractors and consultants operating in the area, and by individuals with knowledge and experience of working in the city. The format adopted was for a speaker to summarise the state

of knowledge of a number of topics within period or specialist areas and to seek the views of the audience on issues arising from these. (Baker, N., HAR 310)

HEREFORDSHIRE, Traditional Orchards and the Historic Environment

A report was prepared for the Malvern Hills AONB to guide the development of a "Three Counties Traditional Orchard Project for Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire" project. The report summarises the known history, highlights the heritage assets and other landscape values of traditional orchards, identifies opportunities for learning and understanding, and provides an initial view of tasks that could be included at a development and delivery stage of the project.

The report summarised the history of traditional orchards from their emergence in the medieval period through the peaks of the 17th and 19th centuries, to the rapid decline in the 20th century. It highlighted the contribution that traditional orchards give to the distinctive character of the counties and the buildings legacy that their management has left. The report stresses the important contribution that traditional orchards have made to preserving archaeological features. (Rimmington, N., HAR 312)

EATON BISHOP, Eaton Camp (SO 453 393) [EHE 2006, HSM 907, SAM 10]

Archaeological survey and excavation was carried out as part of the Eaton Camp Conservation Project – a Heritage Lottery funded project organised by the Eaton Camp Historical Society. This report presents the preliminary results of small-scale excavations within the interior of the camp. A final report including further interpretation following the full analysis of the ceramics, soil samples and radio-carbon dating, will be prepared.

Two trenches 5m. by 5m. were opened to test the nature and significance of two apparently substantial ditches that were detected within the interior of the camp following a comprehensive geophysical survey. In each case the ditch terminals were targeted as these were expected to give the best chance of recovering datable artefacts and deposits.

Both trenches contained ditches, the origins of which are provisionally dated to the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age. That within the trench in the western part of the hill-fort was found to be a continuous length of ditch comprising two deeper sections connected by a shallower stretch (Plate 5.6). Within the one deeper section there was evidence of either ditch cleaning or the former presence of a large post. An upper deposit of burnt clay, stone and charcoal is likely to be late in date, possibly post-medieval. A single sherd of probable Iron Age pottery, part of a shale object, and fragments of bone were recovered from the lower ditch deposits. Stony secondary deposits may derive from an associated bank.

The ditch in the trench at the eastern end of the promontory contained a laminated primary fill laid down partly under standing water and then subsequently in wet conditions. The upper (tertiary) fills comprised apparent midden deposits containing large quantities of middle Iron Age pottery, briquetage, crucible fragments, fire-cracked stone, burnt bone and charcoal. *In-situ* occupation deposits adjacent to and partly overlying the upper ditch fills are preserved by colluvial material; these again contained middle Iron Age ceramics.

Charcoal and bone from both ditches provide a good sequence of radio-carbon dates for the primary fills and later deposits. The results indicate the digging of the ditch in the western trench soon after 750–400 cal. BC. This result clearly falls on the early first millennium BC radio-carbon plateau. The ditch within the eastern trench has a narrower and slightly later

distribution (700–390 cal. BC), and the probability distribution at 68% confidence is 510–400 cal. BC. The enclosures relate to mid-Iron Age activity and are broadly contemporaneous. (Dorling, P., HAR 313)

EASTNOR, Bronsil Castle: Archaeological Recording (SO 749 372) [EHE 1992, SAM 62]
A programme of consolidation was implemented to conserve the fragmentary standing remains at Bronsil Castle. This was delivered through a Higher Level Stewardship Scheme, part of the Environmental Stewardship Scheme administered by Natural England Environmental Stewardship Grant. Herefordshire Archaeology assisted the consolidation of the site through a programme of recording.

The structures undergoing consolidation included the remains of the west gate-house, adjacent to the footbridge and a fragment of the staircase tower and the underlying supporting revetment wall that marks the eastern castle boundary. A third section of standing masonry, located in the south-east corner of the site was also recorded, but was not subject to consolidation. All three structures were photographed at all stages of the project – before work began, after the removal of vegetation, and upon completion of the project. Stone-for-stone drawings were also made after the removal of vegetation and upon completion of the consolidation work. As part of the consolidation of the stair tower, a supporting wall had to be constructed to protect overhanging masonry. This necessitated the excavation of a shallow trench on the south side of the structure but no archaeological deposits were encountered.

Consolidation of the curtain wall was not undertaken at this time as a substantial fallen tree impeded access, but the structure was archaeologically recorded as well as it could be under the circumstances. (Williams, D., HAR 317)

PETERCHURCH, Test Excavations at Wellbrook Park (SO 366 383)
[EHE 2082, HER 1484, 8479 & 51893]
A significant quantity of prehistoric artefacts have been recovered by field-walking within two fields at Wellbrook Park, a hill top to the east of Peterchurch in the Golden Valley. Quantities of worked flint, thought to date from the Neolithic period, were recovered during the 1930s, 50s and 80s. Reports of large stones being ploughed up and a curved, stoney bank were also made during the 1950s and ’80s, suggesting the presence of a prehistoric occupation site. As part of the on-going Prehistoric South-West Herefordshire Project, a series of five trenches was opened across two fields in order to locate any features of prehistoric date.

Each trench was excavated by machine, under close archaeological supervision, to the base of the plough-soil. The trenches ranged in length from 20m. to 60m. and were all found to contain nothing of archaeological significance. In all of the trenches the natural gravels and/or bedrock was apparent. No artefacts pre-dating the 19th century were recovered from the topsoil. It would appear that, due to the location/topography of the site, the fact that it was bulldozed to convert it to arable and that it has been continually ploughed for a number of decades, all traces of features relating to the artefacts recovered during the 20th century have been removed. (Hoverd, T., & Ray, K., HAR 320)

WHITCHURCH, Lord’s Wood Enclosure (SO 552 147); [EHE 2081, HER 12074]
A measured earthwork survey of the small Lord’s Wood enclosure was carried out during February 2012. This sub-circular, embanked, earthwork enclosure is located at the south end of

Lord's Wood, a Forestry Commission managed woodland close to Symond's Yat. The site had previously been subject to trial excavations by the Monmouth School Archaeological Society. These were carried out in 1949–50, and the pottery retrieved indicates that the site was occupied between the first and third centuries AD, during the Romano-British period. The trenches from these excavations were not backfilled and are still evident today

Surviving earthwork enclosure sites like this are nationally rare and this site is therefore of national importance and was identified at an early stage of the Heritage Lottery Funded Overlooking the Wye (OtW) Project as a potential site to record within the scheme. The survey improved upon a sketch plan made in 1949–50, and revealed a number of subtle details concerning the disposition and form of the bank. (Atkinson, C. & Williams, D., HAR 309)

WHITCHURCH, A New Survey of Caves, Rock-Shelters and Industrial Remains (SO:552 146) [EHE 2072]

Many of the caves and rock-shelters within the Wye Gorge have been the subject of research over the last 150 years. Despite this (and in the main due to the difficult terrain and dense woodland), few have been accurately located. This has led to confusion over site names, locations, and site types for some caves. This was highlighted during recent archaeological works in close proximity to Merlin's Cave during 2010 and 2011. A HER enhancement project was therefore developed in order to accurately locate and describe caves, rock-shelters and mining adits on the Herefordshire side of the Wye Gorge.

During the winter of 2012 the base of the cliffs was walked by Herefordshire Archaeology staff together with suitably qualified and experienced cavers. Each cave, rock-shelter and adit was located using a hand-held GPS unit, a brief description was made of its dimensions and appearance and, where possible, a photographic record was made (Plate 5.7). A record of the archaeological potential of each site was also made. Caves and adits of any size/depth were inspected but not thoroughly explored. The walk over survey identified in excess of 40 sites previously unrecorded on the HER.

The survey has shown that there are many more caves and rock-shelters than had been previously recorded. A number do not appear to have been investigated and are of high archaeological potential. The adits and other features associated with mining which have now been recorded represent an important, complex and well-preserved class of monument relating to the rich industrial heritage of this area of the county. (Hoverd, T., HAR 315)

[1] Shoesmith, R., *Excavations on and close to the Defences, Hereford City Excavations, Vol.2, 1982.*
[2] Shoesmith, R., 'St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford', *TWNFC,* XLIV, 1984, 321–57.

Botany 2010-12

By PETER GARNER

Peter Thomson wrote his last botanical report in 2004. As I now accept the position of botanical recorder almost ten years later I shall not attempt to make a seamless transition.

I shall start my recording period from 2010. The Botanical Society of the British Isles (BSBI) appoints a recorder for every county, and we have all been asked to provide records for our counties from 2010 to 2019 in preparation for a new atlas of the British Flora, which is planned for 2020. This decade is referred to as 'date class 5'. For this reason, although there has been an interval of several years since there was a botany report published in the *Transactions*, I shall confine my report to 'date class 5' records; with one exception: Ghost Orchid - *Epipogium aphyllum*.

A single spike of Ghost Orchid with just one flower was found by Mark Jannink on 20 September 2009 in Haugh Wood. This discovery caused a considerable stir amongst botanists across the country with over a thousand requests for details of the location. However, only ten were taken to see it and the exact spot remains a carefully guarded secret. The ground around this exceptionally rare and delicate orchid is very vulnerable to disturbance through trampling. The roots of the Ghost Orchid are connected to fine threads of a fungus which in turn connect to tree roots, and in this way the orchid obtains the nutrients it needs.

The Ghost Orchid was first recorded in Britain from Tedstone Delamere in Herefordshire in 1854 and has been seen about ten times since, but prior to Mark's discovery it had not been seen in the county since 1982, and had not been seen anywhere in Britain since 1987. It is exceptionally difficult to find because it is small with very little colour and often grows in deep shade in woods. It can flower at any time of year from May to October, often not in the same spot and sometimes at intervals of thirty or forty years, or maybe even longer. Mark was only the second person in this country to set out to search for it and find it; on all other occasions it has been discovered by chance.

The following records have been reported to me by an ever expanding number of reporters mentioned below.

Euphrasia stricta – Upright Spurge. Reported by Ian Curtis from Old Ashmoor near Kington (18.08.10), and by Simon Harrap from Tupsley (30.08.10). A native with a very restricted distribution, almost entirely confined to the lower Wye Valley.

Trifolium scabrum – Rough Clover. A single plant discovered by Mark Jannink on a road-side verge at Hollybush, where the A438 to Ledbury crosses the Malvern Hills from Worcestershire into Herefordshire (31.05.11). This is a small white clover which is almost exclusively coastal. This was a new county record. It was still there in 2012.

Trifolium fragiferum – Strawberry Clover. A few small patches discovered by Mark O'Brien in old pasture at Woolhope (04.09.11). A plant which is declining nationally due to the improvement of old pastures. It is only the fifth Herefordshire record and the only current known site. Apart from some coastal sites its national distribution is almost exclusively south-east of a line from Bristol to the Wash.

Scandix pectin-veneris – Shepherd's–needle. Hundreds of plants along the edges of two neighbouring fields at Breinton recorded by Jane Wise (21.07.12). This is a rapidly declining arable weed which has not been recorded in the county for many years.

Ranunculus arvensis – Corn Buttercup. Another arable weed which is almost as rare as the above, and equally endangered. A single plant also found by Jane Wise at Breinton in one of the fields with the Shepherd's-needle.

Antennaria dioica – Mountain Everlasting. During a Herefordshire Botanical Society field meeting (29.04.11) Philip Bauer found a 2m. x 1m. patch almost on the ridge of The Cat's Back (The most easterly section of the Black Mountains and just in Herefordshire). Dr. Kevin Walker who is head of research and development for the BSBI (Botanical Society 0f the British Isles) commented:- 'This is a really rare plant in England, certainly south of the Peak District and the Yorkshire Dales'. It was recorded from what was probably the same spot in the late 19th century, and more recently on a dry bank on the Great Doward.

Hypochoeris glabra – Smooth Cat's-ear. Mark Jannink found a colony of about 100 plants near the summit of Raggedstone Hill (the second most southerly hill of the Malverns), and less than a metre from the county boundary inside Herefordshire (31.05.11). It was still flourishing in 2012. This is not an easy plant to identify (I have twice received incorrect records for *H. glabra*), and it is easily overlooked. This is only the third record for the county, and the only extant site.

Sorbus sp. – Whitebeams. Dave Green has carried out much erudite and very valuable research into this critical genus. We are fortunate that this well respected botanist (former county recorder from Wiltshire) has moved to live close to Herefordshire. Apart from the well known species of *Sorbus*, Dave has recorded six other species and mapped each tree. This is a remarkable effort and an invaluable conservation tool. One of these critical species was previously unrecognised, and expert referees have accepted it as a species new to science.

Rumex pulcher – Fiddle Dock. I found a strong colony in perfect habitat in the parish of Donnington in the extreme south-east of the county (24.07.10). This is now (still present in 2012) the only known Herefordshire site for this striking member of the Dock family. It seems to have disappeared from its only previous site on the bank below Foy church, so its re-establishment as a Herefordshire plant is not only important locally, but it is also of national significance because it marks the north-westerly limit of Fiddle Dock in Britain.

Acroptilon repens – Russian Knapweed. Beside the tracks at Hereford station is the only site in Britain where this pink-flowered, Russian cousin, of our common Knapweed has been recorded. It has been known from there since 1950 when it was recorded as 'well established' by Lillian Whitehead. Her identification was confirmed by Kew in 1959. On 25 August 1989 Stephanie Thomson recorded 12–15 plants, but in September 2012 there was just one small plant. In the past the trackside was cleared by burning and the Russian Knapweed survived each year to flower late in the season as re-growth after the fire. Herbicides are now used and it is only just hanging on. We have discussed this with Network Rail and they have promised to help protect it in the future.

Fumaria purpurea – Purple Ramping Fumitory. First named by Pugsley in 1902, there have been no Herefordshire records until I sent some 'possibles' to Rose Murphy (the national Fumitory referee) in 2010. Rose has now confirmed *F. purpurea* from beside the main road in 3 places in Bartestree, from 2 sites beside the same road in Lugwardine, one site in Weston-under-Penyard and one site in the village of Bodenham.

Trifolium incarnatum – Scarlet Clover. I found about twenty of these vividly-coloured clovers in an arable field at Dinedor (03.07.12). *T. incarnatum* was much grown in Britain as a fodder crop in the middle of the 19th century, but is rarely grown now. It was first recorded in the wild in 1838, but now only occurs as a very rare casual: there are no previous records of this clover for Herefordshire.

Salvia verbenaca – Wild Clary. Stephanie Tyler found a single plant in a small meadow (limestone grassland) on private land next to the Hereford Nature Trust's White Rocks Reserve on the Doward. (21.08.12). There are just three previous records (mid-19th century) for this plant in Herefordshire, and they were described as aliens! It has decreased nationally since the census of 1962, so it is even more remarkable that it should be found in Herefordshire in habitat that would suggest it is probably native. The site has recently been purchased by Ruth Allen and Ian Draycott and they also found six spikes of *Monotropa hypopitys* – Yellow Bird's-nest on their land.

Peter Garner is the County Botanical Recorder for the county for the BSBI. He has also written a definitive small book '*The Dragonflies of Herefordshire*' and is editor of '*The Flycatcher*' – an annual journal of the Herefordshire Nature Trust.

Buildings, 2012

By DUNCAN JAMES

Peterchurch: Wellbrook Manor, Watery Lane
Latitude/Longitude 52.040795,-2.947797: Map ref. SO 35107 38446
SMR number: **1125**

Figure 1. Wellbrook Manor in 1983

This is a large, timber-framed, late-medieval open-hall house of high quality. It is listed Grade II* and noted for being of base-cruck construction, a distinct form associated with high status buildings.[1] It is also of semi-aisled construction with arcade plates under the lower tier of purlins. The surviving structure includes the two-bay hall and three-bay, two-storey upper (solar) crosswing with its 14th-century chimneystack and fireplace. The lower bay or service wing has gone.

A recent visit to the building, by courtesy of the Vivat Trust, when guiding a group of SPAB members, allowed a close inspection of the timber-framing to be made and as a consequence, a revision of the previous understanding of the structure has been made.

The hall, excluding the cross-passage, is almost square in plan. Including the cross passage it has an area of approximately 800sq.ft. which groups it amongst the larger halls, the average size in the county being nearer 400-500sq.ft. The centre of the hall is marked by the base-cruck frame in which the massive cruck blades rise to a high, cranked tiebeam. Below this there is arch bracing. Above the tiebeam there are raking struts with cusping to form a quatrefoil flanked by trefoils.

At the upper end of the hall the end wall is decorated in spectacular manner with two tiers of quatrefoils[2] with, to the left, a doorway, with double-ogee doorhead, giving access to

the solar crosswing. At the lower end of the hall is the spere truss, an arrangement with side screens allowing entry to the hall from the cross-passage. (The cross-passage is now blocked by a later chimneystack and the cross-passage doorways are lost. A 17th-century floor has also been inserted in the hall).

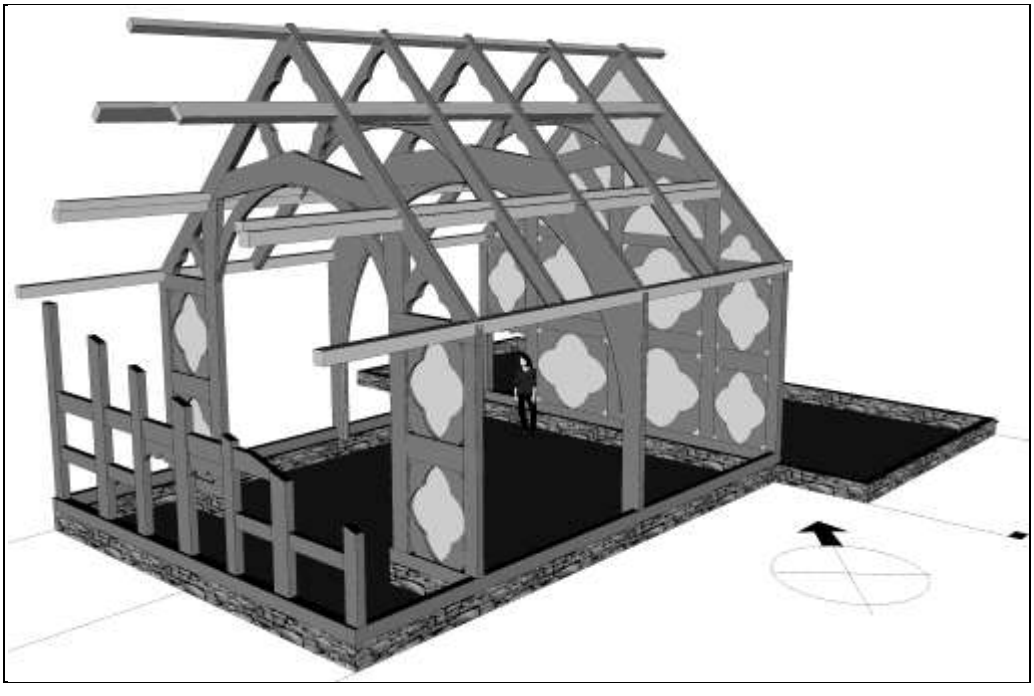


Figure 2. A reconstruction drawing of Wellbrook Manor hall showing the spere truss and the end wall with quatrefoils. The two tiers of cusped windbraces in the roof have been omitted for clarity

Over the middle of each bay of the hall there are intermediate arch-braced collar trusses with cusping above the collars.

The roof has two tiers of purlins, the lower tier resting on top of the arcade plate. There are also two tiers of curved, cusped windbraces in each half-bay, the lower tier is now missing.

The three-bay upper crosswing was originally laid out on both floors as large, two-bay rooms adjacent to the end of the hall and smaller, single-bay chambers to the rear on ground and first floor. On the first floor there is a double-ogee headed doorway between the two original rooms. This appears to be primary. In the back wall of the smaller room there is a narrow, double-ogee headed doorway, now leading in to later (modern) additions. If the narrow doorway is in its primary position it may have given access to a garderobe tower.

The crosswing has large fireplaces in the north wall of the present upper and lower front rooms. On the ground floor the fireplace is plain but that on the first floor has a hood and shaped corbels and was noted by the Royal Commission in the 1930s as being of the 14th century, which they took to imply that much of the building was of that date. However, the fireplace and chimneystack have very probably been brought from elsewhere, possibly in the

17th century, as they can be associated with the later addition of the east end bay of the wing and the inserted floor that replaces an earlier floor.

Tree-ring dating of buildings on the west side of the county indicates that there was an extensive phase of destruction during the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion *c*.1400-1410 and that timber-framed secular buildings within the border area post-date that period.[3] Rebuilding of houses along the west side of the county appears to have taken place after about 1425. On stylistic grounds, Wellbrook Manor is likely to belong to this period of reconstruction.[4]

[1] The eight other base-cruck houses in the county include The Hyde (Stoke Bliss), Amberley Court (Marden), Lower Brockhampton (Bromyard), Eaton Hall (Leominster), Peg's Farm (Wellington Heath), Court Farm (Preston Wynne), Swanstone Court (Dilwyn), and Manor House (Weobley). See also J. W. Tonkin, Social Standing and Base Crucks in Herefordshire. 1970, *Vernacular Architecture*, Vol 1, 7-11.

[2] This unusual form of decoration was also used at Swanstone Court (Dilwyn), Shelwick Court (Holmer) and The Old Shop (Market Sq., Pembridge).

[3] D. James, 'Dendrochronology in Herefordshire' in *Essays in honour of Jim & Muriel Tonkin*. (2011) Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

[4] The Hyde (Stoke Bliss) is the only base-cruck hall in the county that is likely to be of the 14th century and it stands on the east of the county well away from the Welsh border.

Natural History, 2012

By BERYL HARDING

The concluding sessions of churchyard plant recording took place this year with a depleted number of recorders. Not only had we lost Stephanie Thomson, who died last year, but also Paul Zagni who died this year—both very enthusiastic first- class botanists. Both had given a great deal of volunteer time to the Hereford Biological Recording Centre for many years past.

The proposed twenty remaining sites were recorded but not necessarily on the suggested dates. Such variations were due to the vagaries of the weather but also because on one day we would have become 'enmeshed' in the routes for the Jubilee torch-carrying relays, so we decided to leave the byways clear for them and the attendant crowds.

16 April 2012: *The church of All Saints, Clehonger*.
The church lies one mile east-north-east of the later 20th-century village and is Norman in origin. There are scattered pieces of Norman chevron moulding remaining in the 13th-century chancel south wall, with traces of a Norman window in west wall of the nave and a Norman door *c*.1200 in its south wall. Both the nave and chancel have elaborate 17th-century roofs. The north chapel was built by Sir Richard Pembrugge to serve as a chantry; it was founded in 1341 and contains his effigy. The smaller effigy may be that of his widow. Also in the chapel are brasses of Sir John Barre, who died in 1483, and of his wife.

The unbuttressed west tower is early 13th-century with a battlemented top added a century later. Restoration was begun in 1847-8 by William Newman and was continued by William Butterfield two years later. Fragments of 15th-century glass have been reset into the north-east window of the nave.

The boundaries consist of wire or wooden fencing with mixed hedges apart from that to the east with a stone wall bordering the lych gate.

As the turf had been closely mown it was difficult to identify any distinct grass species. 15 species of trees were recorded with 34 species of herbaceous plants. 11 species of birds were noted but as the church was locked no signs of bats could be found.

The church of St. Michael and All Angels, Eaton Bishop.
The church, standing at 340 ft. above sea level, forms a widely seen landmark. The walls are of rubble with ashlar dressings, all of local sandstone, and the roofs are covered with tiles and shingles. The site is Celtic with a circular churchyard; when it was built is unknown but there was certainly a stone church here at the time of the Conquest. Remains of this earlier church can be seen on the west wall where the roof line of an earlier church is clear. The Manor of Eaton Bishop was given to Walter, Bishop of Hereford, by William I and in Domesday is recorded as *Etune*, perhaps meaning the town on the river and was known as Eton by 1291.

The great thickness of the walls show the original church as post-Conquest then enlarged during the 13th century. It would seem that this new building was constructed around the old one, as was often common, and would account for the lofty chancel arch erected over the former arch. The stem and base of the font are the same age as the nave but with a new bowl of 1885. The east window of the chancel is composed of five diminishing lights with cusped

heads of the same age as the glass, probably c.1330-5. This glass is not only the finest in the county but also of both national and international repute. During the last war it was removed and stored in the rectory opposite for safe keeping. The glass had to be removed again in 1968 because of movement in the surrounding walls, it was then cleaned, restored and replaced in 1970 by the glass makers, T. A. King & Son of Norwich.

The abutting west tower was built in the 12th century and bears traces of Saxon influence in the windows but no short-and-long work appears on the tower corners. The boundaries consist of high retaining stone walls and the grass had been recently close mown so no grass species could be identified. 12 species of trees were recorded with 40 of herbaceous plants and 13 of birds. The presence of bats was also recorded.

The church of St. Michael, Kingstone.

The church interior shows an interesting building history. The aisle-less north building contains a simple Norman south doorwa,y then a north aisle was added *c*.1200. A little later, the chancel was rebuilt with a north chapel added. In the early 14th century the north aisle was widened and then the nave was lengthened to end flush with the tower. The nave, aisle, chancel and chapel roofs were renewed during the 14th and 15th centuries and finally the tower was rebuilt by N. J. Cottingham in 1848-5 so the whole building forms one rectangle but with different roof lines and heights. The church contains an unadorned but impressive Norman font with a polished tub bowl of breccia from about the 11th century, and a chest dug out of a single tree trunk. In addition there is an excellent 13th-century coffin lid apparently belonging to the Mannsel family.

The boundaries consist of mixed hedges and trees contained within paling fences, apart from that to the south which has a stone wall abutting a stone barn. Again, the grass had been recently mown so no grass species could be identified. 6 species of trees were recorded together with 40 species of herbaceous plants and 8 of birds. There was no evidence of bats.

The church of St. Leonard, Blakemere.

The site is Norman but the church was rebuilt in 1877 by George Truefitt with the internal facing all of that period and with a 19th-century west bellcote. The rebuild was as ‘nearly as possible’ on the same lines as the old church and re-using some old materials. Much of the older church was 12th-century with 13th-lancets in the chancel east wall with several other later medieval windows. The chancel north window and the priest’s doorway are Late Norman with the south doorway and reset chancel arch *c*.1200. The whole nave and chancel is a single chamber. There is still the Norman font with rope moulding at the foot of the tub bowl and the pulpit is Jacobean.

The boundaries consist of a mortared stone wall by the roadside to the east with a mixture of iron railings, fencing and mixed hedges elsewhere. This churchyard had also been recently mown so no grasses could be identified. There were 7 species of trees and 37 species of herbaceous plants with the fern, wall rue, growing in gaps in the stone wall. 8 species of birds were recorded and the presence of bats noted in the church.

The church of the Nativity of the Virgin, Madley.

This large church is within the village and is one of the finest buildings locally. In about 550AD the Celtic saint Dyfrig, or Dubricius, was reputedly born in Madley and probably

founded a Christian community here with a simple church. The first stone church was Norman and built *c*.1100. In about 1200 this church was rebuilt using some of the original materials giving a cruciform and aisle-less church. The large north porch is obviously Norman.

In the early 13th-century the church came into the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford and a complete remodelling began. It probably started outside the nave when the west tower was built, with nave aisles added and engaging the tower; the church was also greatly lengthened to the east. By 1318 a wider new chancel was added further lengthening the church, which had a polygonal end, which is rare, and below is an added polygonal crypt. In *c*.1330 a wide outer south aisle called the Chilston chapel was also added. Dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin and having a large statue to the Virgin led to the church becoming a centre of pilgrimage which provided revenue for its subsequent enlargement.

A few fragments of medieval glass remain in the east window and in the aisle side-windows. The large font under the tower is probably Norman. There are stalls with misericords in the chancel and above the chancel arch are traces of a wall painting. As expected, the churchyard is large with many chest and pedestal tombs *c*.1782-1840. There is a churchyard cross, probably 14th-century, with base, shaft and a badly preserved head.

The boundaries are marked by a retaining stone wall some 3-4ft. high to the west with fencing and mixed hedges elsewhere. Again, the grass had been recently mowed so no grass species could be identified. There were 12 species of trees recorded including a 500-year old yew near the preaching cross, 42 species of herbaceous plants and 12 species of birds were recorded with the presence of bats noted within the church.

7 May 2012

The church of St. Andrew, Allensmore.

The church is in a scattered parish, reputedly named after Alan de Plokenet, the 13th-century lord of Kilpeck Castle who reclaimed a large area of moorland from the waste, formerly part of the royal Haywood Forest. The single nave and chancel are 1280-1300 with several remaining windows of that period and the east window contains fragments of glass of 1330. There is an incised cross coffin lid in the nave and a large 14th-century incised slab in the chancel to Sir Andrew Herle and his wife Joan. There is also a fine Jacobean pulpit and, inside on the north wall of the nave, a recently added copy of the Mappa Mundi. There was a final restoration of the nave in 1878-80 by F. R .Kempson.

The west tower, north doorway and one north window are 15th-century. The tower was rebuilt in 1675-80 with diagonal buttresses and wide battlements. The churchyard cross is *c*.14th century topped with a reused Norman capital. There are several headstones dated between 1705 and 1714.

The boundaries consist of mortared retaining stone walls to the north and west with mixed hedges elsewhere. 2 species of grass, 9 of trees and 38 of herbaceous plants were recorded with 20 species of birds. The presence of bats in the church and moles elsewhere were noted.

The church of St. Bartholomew, Thruxton.

Surrounded by pasture the church is a single-chambered nave and chancel with an attached west tower. The tower, the short chancel with a stained glass Crucifixion in a south window, and the timber south porch are all 14th-century. So too is the nave with its fine scissor-braced

roof. All was rather severely restored by William Chick in 1865-6. The font is dated 1677 and some box-pews remain.

The boundaries are all mortared stone walls with a good lichen cover. The turf had been closely mown nevertheless 2 species of grass were recorded with 29 of herbaceous plants and 9 of trees including a non-native weeping Chamaecyparis species which had a 4 metre trunk circumference. 10 species of birds were recorded and the presence of bats in the church noted.

The church of St. Michael, Dulas.

Between 1400-1840 Dulas Estate was in the ownership of the powerful Parry family, with Blanche Parry serving as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth I. After 1840 it was sold and the existing Court and nearby church were subsequently torn down and rebuilt elsewhere. The first 12th or 13th-century church stood east of Dulas Court. Its site, probably a Benedictine priory founded in *c*.1100, is now a lawn with a stump of the 14th to 15th-century cross at the south end. Reassembled fragments of the Norman nave's west doorway form the entrance to a walled garden.

The present church was built in a meadow by the Dulas brook across the road from Dulas Court during 1865-6. It has a bellcote on the nave's eastern gable which contains a 13th-century bell. The church is now redundant.

The boundaries consist of mortared walls to the north and south with drystone walls and hedges elsewhere. These walls provide niches for the fern wall rue.

The grass is mown around the graves but left elsewhere and cut once in late July when the yellow rattle and other wild flowers have seeded. Longer grass is left around the periphery as a habitat for small mammals. Having been a meadow previously it is species rich, treated carefully as a conservation area and registered as a Local Wildlife Site. 2 species of grass, 7 of trees and 44 of herbaceous plants were recorded with 12 species of birds noted.

The church of St. Peter, Rowlestone.

Rowlestone Court stands on the probable bailey site some 120 yards south-west of a castle motte. Nearby is the simple Norman church with a single aisle-less nave and chancel of *c*.1130. The chancel arch and south door show outstanding examples of the Kilpeck school of architecture. The chancel arch is decorated with birds in foliage. At each side are two carved panels of St. Peter, one in prison with his angel and the other of him upside down since tradition says he was crucified in that way. The Norman windows are typically small and deeply-set so showing the thickness of the walls. The nave roof is 16th-century with collar beam trusses.

The short west tower is of uncertain date, perhaps C14, with a pyramidal roof. The boundaries consist mainly of mixed hedges with mortared retaining walls to the south and west.

The herb-rich turf is 25% mown where necessary with the remainder left and is very herb rich. Only one species of grass – sweet vernal - was recorded with 7 of trees and 53 of herbaceous plants including 2 species of orchid. 11 species of birds were recorded and the presence of bats within the church also noted.

12 June 2012

The church of St. Mary, Dinmore.

The church, nearby school and two houses are alone on the wooded slopes of Dinmore Hill and now unfortunately cut off from the rest of the village to the southwest by the busy A.49. The village itself is also bisected by the Hereford-Shrewsbury railway line.

The 12th-century church was almost entirely rebuilt in the Decorated style by Kempson in 1879, after adding the Arkwright memorial transept and porch in 1866. There is a small octagonal font of the mid 13th-century with small seated figures of Christ and the three evangelists. The posture and leg arrangements are still in the early 12th-century tradition. There is an incised slab to Humfrey Coningsby d.1599 and his wife, plus a monument of 1760 to Earl Coningsby, his wife and baby son, who died in 1708.

The boundaries consist mainly of iron fences with a mixed hedge to the south.

The turf is partly mown where necessary but a very large area is left unmown and very species rich. 3 species of grass were recorded with 13 species of trees and 63 species of herbaceous plants. This is the most species-rich site yet recorded in any of the churchyards. 11 species of birds were noted and the presence of bats and moles recorded.

The church of St. Andrew, Moreton-on-Lugg.

Situated in the village, the 12th-century church underwent a rebuilding in Geometric style during 1867 by W. H. Knight which left only a Norman window in the chancel. There is a late medieval three-bay arcade, also the single framed collar-beam nave roof and a screen with a band of running vine on the cornice and cresting. There are fine Victorian fittings.

There is a south-west tower with a ribbed broached spire. The boundaries are marked by mortared stone walls to the west and south, a fence to the east and part of a timber-framed barn to the north

The turf is mown all over. 5 species of grass were recorded, 7 of trees and 36 species of herbaceous plants. Only 3 species of birds were noted as was the presence of bats in the church.

The church of St. Margaret, Wellington.

Situated in the village, the spacious nave, chancel arch and the two doorways, (one now reset in the aisle) are all Late Norman. The chancel is 13th-century but the tomb recess within it is early 14th-century, as is the south porch and the plain octagonal font. The four-bay arcade, the north aisle with its roof and the north transept are of the 15th-century. Thomas Nicholson restored the chancel in 1883-4.

The massive west tower is also Norman, *c*.1180-1200, in four ornamented stages, some pierced by windows, and with ashlar battlements of the 14th or 15th centuries. There are the remains of the 14th-century churchyard cross. The boundaries are marked by mixed hedges and dry stone walls to the south and east. The top of the east wall is level with the churchyard itself.

The turf is mown closely with some rough grass around the periphery. 6 species of grass were recorded, 9 of trees and 47 species of herbaceous plants. One of the pedunculate oaks had many leaf galls – it is believed that proximity to Turkey oaks can cause this infestation. 15 species of birds were noted and also the presence of bats and moles.

The church of St. Bartholomew, Holmer.
Much of Holmer parish is now part of suburban Hereford and spreads some distance from the church. The single-chambered nave and chancel are *c*.1120-1200 with a number of lancet windows, most of which have been renewed. The church has fine old roofs with scissor-braced single frames over the nave and with three bays of *c*.1500; hammerbeams support collar-beams above the chancel, both of which have tracery and carvings. Tradition claims that the unusual roof came, perhaps in 1791-2, from the former Bishop's Palace at Stretton Sugwas.

There is a large detached tower to the south built at a slight angle which is early 13th-century in its lower stone part and an attractive upper part of the 16th century—timber-framed close studding topped by a pyramidal roof. The boundaries are all drystone walls except that to the east by the main road which is mortared.

The herb-rich turf is partly mown with some left long. 6 species of grass were recorded, 12 of trees and 54 species of herbaceous plants. 11 species of birds were noted, including a kestrel, and also a squirrel and a hedgehog.

The church of St. Peter, Pipe and Lyde.
This church is 14th-century with a nave much restored in 1865 by F. R. Kempson. Nevertheless enough remains to trace the medieval building history. The earliest is the nave of *c*.1200 with Late Norman north and south doorways. The 14th-century chancel is the least altered and has a splendid roof with collars on arched braces with a trefoiled opening above. The rood-loft steps survive and also, now set higher up, its beautiful 15th-century main beam with two finely carved friezes of foliage.

The west tower is also *c*.1200, unbuttressed with lancets and there are the remains of a 14th-century churchyard cross. The boundaries are marked by mixed hedges and walls to the west and south.

The turf had been close mown so no species of grass could be identified. There were 8 species of tree recorded with 30 of herbaceous plants. 11 species of birds were noted and also the presence of moles, rabbits and bats.

22 June 2012
The priory of St. Peter and Paul, Leominster.
The site dates from the 9th century but the priory itself is Norman. A nunnery existed in Leominster in the 9th century but was dissolved in 1046. A Benedictine priory, dependent on Reading Abbey, was founded in 1123. This church was composed of nave and transepts with east apses and a chancel with an ambulatory and radiating chapels. These chancel parts were destroyed in the 1530s and little remains of the monastic buildings to the north of the church.

The nave of 1130-50 still stands because its south aisle was used by the parish. This had been widened in the 13th-century, and was doubled in size by the addition of a further south aisle separated by a lofty six-bay arcade in *c*.1310. [The present slender piers were put in by Scott, 1875-7, replacing earlier Tuscan columns of 1705 which in turn replaced earlier ones.] The previous south aisle was then called the south nave. Relatively little of internal furnishings survived the fire of 1699. There is a wall painting depicting the Wheel of Life in red outline of *c*.1275 on the nave north wall. Of the two fonts, one is simple, probably 13th-century, and the other of 1842 is a copy of the 14th-century font of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford.

The lower part of the tower is Romanesque; the upper stages are later. It is now within the body of the church as the north and south aisles were later extended. The tower contains a decorated Norman west window and the fine Norman west doorway has carvings typical of the Herefordshire school of Romanesque sculpture.

Set within the town, the boundaries are marked by mortared stone walls on three sides with a low bank descending to the river on the east. The extensive churchyard has few remaining graves and is largely treated as parkland with many non-native trees planted and the turf is closely mown with mainly one species of grass – yellow oat grass. 18 species of trees were recorded with 48 species of herbaceous plants. The presence of bats, moles, rabbits and squirrels were noted, also 11 species of birds.

The church of All Saints, Monkland.

Until the last century the dedication of the church was to St. John the Baptist, why this was changed is not clear. The age and site of the church date from the 12th century, when a cell of Benedictine monks was founded by Ralph de Tondeni, under the rule of the Abbey of Conches in Normandy. It was suppressed in 1415 as an alien possession and later given by Edward IV to the Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, who are now the patrons of the Benefice. The monastic buildings were probably on the south side of the churchyard and are now the site of farm buildings.

The church is Norman in origin built of local stone with tufa dressings around the door and most windows. The nave and font are *c*.1100 with the large windows of the nave inserted in 1270 at the same time as the south door and porch and also the tower. The nave was restored in the 1860s under the direction of George Edmund Street. The walls were pulled down and re-built with the same stones replaced in their former position so that it now appears as it did in 13th century. The chancel was similarly rebuilt in 1866.

The bold shingled spire was also added to the west tower during the 19th-century restoration. The boundaries are marked by a mixture of iron fences and hedges apart from the mortared stone wall to the south and a fine 19th-century lych-gate. Some of the graves are chest tombs.

The turf is mown with only one species of grass recorded – Yorkshire fog grass. 7 species of trees and 48 of herbaceous plants were recorded with 11 species of birds and the presence of bats noted.

The church of St. Peter and Paul, Eye.

The church is Norman with the south aisle and its three-bay arcade of *c*.1190 whilst the north aisle is *c*.1210-20; both have later side windows. The early or mid 13th-century chancel has a late 13th-century north chapel and a 16th-century east window. The nave has a 14th-century tie-beam roof, the central beam of which is elaborately carved and must have been the former rood beam. The chancel and chapel have 15th-century boarded roofs. The timber north porch is late 14th-century. The church was restored, with the south vestry added, in 1872-3 by William Chick. He completely rebuilt the west tower in 1874 with Decorated style windows. He also added a tower arch and battlements with a higher square stair turret which is unusual for Herefordshire.

The boundaries are marked by brick or drystone walls with boundary trees. That to the north is covered by a massive, billowing, close-clipped yew hedge and to the south the top of

the wall is level with the churchyard with a ha-ha beyond. This wall was restored by local residents in 2006. There is both a lych-gate and war memorial to the north-east. Part of the churchyard is included in the Herefordshire Register of War Graves – 1916.

The church yard has been surveyed in the past by 'Caring for God's Acre' with recommendations for its future upkeep in a way which is sensitive for wildlife and plants living there whilst keeping it attractive to visitors.

The grassland varies from close-cut around the graves to areas less mown thus using an 'old hay meadow regime' to allow flowering plants to set seed. Horseradish was introduced in the 15th century in the lower section of the churchyard for the use of its roots but has become invasive so now needs to be controlled. One species of grass predominates – Yorkshire fog. 6 species of trees were recorded with 42 species of herbaceous plants. 10 species of birds were recorded and the presence of bats noted. These are the predominantly the brown long-eared bat.

The church of St. Luke, Stoke Prior.

Situated within the village, the church is Norman in origin but the old church was demolished in 1861 because of its dilapidated state and rebuilt in 1863 in the Decorated Style, with the exception of the chancel where 18ft. of the walls are of the old building. The chancel later underwent some restoration raising the roof and inserting a new four-light east window. The nave roof was erected during the time of Cromwell in 1650 and bears the coat of arms of the Coningsby family, which was restored when moved from the older building.

The church has a battlemented west tower with the oldest of its five bells cast in Worcester, dating from *c.*1410. The boundaries around the raised churchyard consist of banks topped by walls and hedges, mostly conifer. It also has been surveyed by God's Acre and a team of local volunteers care for the green space to the south where they have sown a wildflower meadow, cutting it by scythe once a year in the traditional manner.

We recorded 2 species of grass including tufted hair grass, 2 species of tree and 37 species of herbaceous plants. The presence of moles, bats and 9 species of birds were noted. Volunteers have erected bat boxes and nestboxes for owls but so far the bats prefer the church (which is probably safer!) and the owls have found places to nest elsewhere.

The church of St. James, Kimbolton.

This remote church has a 12th-century chancel and retains the 12th-century base to the nave walls. The remainder is of the 13th century, consisting of a long nave and south transept. A severe restoration was carried out by Haddon in 1874-5 which included the south porch. The chancel has single Norman windows to the east and north with a blocked Norman priest's door to the south west. There are 16th-century stalls with linenfold panelling on their backs.

The unbuttressed west tower has belfry openings and is covered with a tall shingled broach spire. The boundaries consist of drystone walls topped with semi-circular coping stones apart from that to the north which consists of mortared breeze blocks with flat coping stones.

The turf, consisting mainly of Yorkshire fog grass, is close mown. 7 species of trees were recorded with 35 species of herbaceous plants, 9 species of birds were noted and also the presence of bats in the church.

Whitman's Hill Quarry and Woodland

By JANET PARRY

The Editor wishes to apologise to Janet for omitting her report for 2011, which is included below.

2011

Monitoring of the leased area as agreed in 2007 has continued this year with 7 visits being made by the Woolhope Club. The site is now managed by the Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) 'Champions' of the quarry who are mainly local residents. Earlier in the year, the rather overgrown quarry face on the left of the entrance was cleared of the encroaching Buddleia (*Buddleja alternifolia)* so visitors could see the geology and find specimen fossils more easily. A new pile of fossiliferous rock was also deposited by the gate as the other rock was getting rather depleted. The first school visit in February was a great success with many fossils being found and childrens' interest fostered. Further visits have been arranged later in the year and hosted by EHT and Champion volunteers. Visits to monitor the vegetation could not be made between early March and late August to avoid disturbing the Peregrines. Regular monitoring of the boxes in the woodland was done during the nesting season.

The Quarry

The vegetation suffered from the very dry conditions this year. The Buddleia is getting quite mature in the areas where it has not been cleared and the invading Cotoneaster is becoming more extensive. More Ash and Oak seedlings are creeping in from the wood fringes also Hawthorn and Rowan seedlings have appeared as well as Wood Sedge and a new grass, Wood False-brome. In the very exposed quarry floor the usual plants appeared again, the Gromwell making a particularly good show this year as did the Prickly Oxtongue and Ploughman's Spikenard. Imperforate St. John's-wort, Wall Lettuce and Barren Strawberry were added to the list. Large White, Red Admiral, Comma and Small Tortoiseshell butterflies were seen in late August attracted by the large number of Buddleia flowers.

The ponds almost dried up this year and were reduced to small puddles with some green algae but a few Lesser and Greater Waterboatmen and Whirligig beetles were still seen on some of the puddles. The larger pond was reduced to a cracked mud base. The clump of Bulrushes was left high and dry and the Pondweed was reduced to the odd green leaf. Hopefully they will recover after rain.

The Peregrines had a bad year. Only the male was seen by Ray Bishop, the British Trust for Ornithology (BTO) observer. He thinks the nest site suffered a collapse after a rock fall though was not sure if this was before or after nesting had begun as the leaves obscured the site. If this was the case, the female may have moved on as there is no other obvious ledge nearby. No chicks were seen about the site and only the male was in evidence later in the year.

The Woodland

The woodland vegetation continues to be very stable. Herb Paris reappeared in May in the usual places but the Greater Butterfly Orchid discovered in 2009 was not found again this year. The Wild Garlic and Bluebells continue to make a great display in late April. The winter winds blew more dead wood down creating more open glades and allowing new seedlings to thrive. Ten of the 12 bird boxes were occupied and yielded 59 Blue Tits, 17 Great Tits but no

Nuthatches. Birds also took over 2 of the 6 Dormice boxes and added another 7 Blue Tits, giving a final total of 85 birds for the woodland, higher than last year and the highest number yet. A dormouse nest was built in the same box as last year though the occupants were again not seen this year, movement was recorded. One box hosted a woodmouse nest. The bird records have been entered on the Herefordshire Ornithological Club (HOC) database and appear in the Woolhope Club *Transactions* as well as the Herefordshire Nature Trust (HNT) journal *Flycatcher*. Dormice have been reported to 'Herefordshire Action for Mammals'.

Local dog walkers continue to use the informal path through the woodland regularly but seem to cause no harm and can be a useful presence keeping a lookout for intruders.

Conclusion

The quarry is developing as a good educational site though the times it can be used are restricted due to the Peregrines. It is being maintained well by the Champions and playing its part in raising public awareness of earth science. The vegetation is slowly encroaching though the lack of rain this year was a drawback. The woodland continues to be a good habitat for small birds, dormice and woodland plants. The Woolhope Club hopes to continue monitoring the area over the time of the lease and passing on the records to the appropriate bodies and will continue to liaise with the Champions and help in their projects when possible.

2012

Figure 1. The volcano demonstration underway in February, 2012

This is the sixth year of monitoring the leased area begun in 2007. Eight visits were made by Janet Parry. In February there was a walk round with Herefordshire Archaeological Services and invited locals to identify features worth exploring further mainly in the western section of

the wood which is privately owned. However, a work party was set up and excavations were made across the dyke which runs along the high boundary of the Woolhope Club leased area and near some of the boxes.

The Quarry "Champions" held a family day in February half term which was well attended and generated much interest. It involved various activities in Storridge village hall followed by a trip to the quarry, a volcano demonstration (Fig. 1) and fossil hunting, A new fossil identification board has been erected in the quarry which is very attractive and a big asset. EHT has held other events during the year.

The Quarry

The year began with a drought and the pools were totally dry. However, after April they filled up and remained flooded for most of the year. This led to much more verdant vegetation in the quarry which was still green in September, instead of its usual scorched state. The Buddleia has grow prolifically and has been cut back near the quarry face and the brash left on the floor. Traveller's Joy, *Clematis vitalba*,was rampant and covering the bioherm at the end of July. The Ash seedlings, *Fraxinus excelsior*, are getting taller and more abundant, and the undisturbed parts beyond the bunds are becoming more stable with tall Silver Birch trees, *Betula pendula*, and a carpet of Wild Strawberries, *Fragaria vesca*. Several new species were added to the list including Lesser Burdock, *Arctium minus*, Sticky Mouse-ear, *Cerastium glomeratum*, Canadian Fleabane, *Conyza Canadensis*, Petty Spurge, *Euphorbia peplus*, Aspen, *Populus tremula*, Gooseberry, *Ribes uva-crispa*, and Heath Speedwell, *Veronica officinalis*. The species found in previous years were still flourishing and increasing their coverage helped by the increased rainfall this year and the buildup of organic material, though there seemed to be less Teasel, *Dipsacus fullomum*, and Wood Sage, *Teucrium scorodonia*.

The overflowing ponds attracted many invertebrates and the newts, *Triturus helveticus*, are getting more abundant. Butterflies continued to enjoy the Buddleia.

The Peregrines, *Falco peregrinus*, did not breed again this year after a rock fall destroyed the nest site. It seems a new suitable one has not been found. The pair were seen early in the year with the male feeding the female but later on only the male was left and no nest or chicks seen.

The Woodland

The woodland has seen increasing use of the paths by trail bikes even though it is private. The access path became very worn and slippery during the wet summer with deep tyre tracks developing. This made access even more difficult. The woodland vegetation continues to be very stable. There were 36 flowering spikes of Herb Paris, *Paris quadrifolia*, in May in the usual places but the Greater Butterfly Orchid, *Platanthera chlorantha*, discovered in 2009 was not found again this year. The Wild Garlic, *Allium ursinum*, and Bluebells, *Hyacinthoides nonscripta*, continue to make a great display in late April. More dead wood was blown down in the winter creating open glades and allowing new seedlings to thrive. Regular monitoring of the boxes in the woodland was done during the nesting season. Box 9 had disappeared mysteriously with no sign of it or of any nearby fallen branch to knock it off. Ten of the 11 bird boxes were occupied initially but the bad weather and possible predation meant several did not yield any fledglings. There were finally 13 Blue Tits, *Parus caeruleus*, and 10 Great Tits, *Parus major*, from 54 eggs layed. Birds also took over 5 of the 6 Dormice boxes and added

another 29 Blue Tits, giving a final total of 52 birds for the woodland, half the number of last year and reflecting the cold wet weather. It is interesting to note that several of the abandonned nests were near the archaeological dig that took place in the spring and which may have had some impact on their use.

A dormouse nest was built in the favoured box and one dormouse, *Muscardinus avellanarius*, was seen in June confirming they are still in the wood. One box hosted a woodmouse, *Apodemus sylvaticus*. The bird records have been entered on the Herefordshire Ornithological Club (HOC) database and appear in the Woolhope Club *Transactions* as well as the Herefordshire Nature Trust journal *Flycatcher*. Dormice have been reported to "Herefordshire Action for Mammals"

Conclusion

The quarry benefitted from the wet weather this year allowing much more vegetation to grow and the ponds to stay full all season. However, the woodland birds were severely hit by the rain and low temperatures. Whilst the quarry continues to be a big asset for promoting geoscience the woodland was used as a bike track which will not promote the biodiversity being monitored.

Ornithology 2012

By BERYL HARDING

After a mild end to 2011, with some plants in flower and some butterflies still flying and even a few summer migrants still lingering, January started mild with temperatures reaching double figures during the second week. This triggered of very early nesting attempts by doves, water birds, Tawny Owl, Crossbill and Robin – all noted with active nests, chiefly in man-made habitats. But with the subsequent intensely cold air pushing eastward from Asia through Europe to the U.K. many eggs and nestlings had died by the end of the month. The total rainfall for the month was a low *c*.38mm.

The annual, national 'Big Garden Birdwatch' run by the B.T.O. (British Trust for Ornithology) in January showed that Siskins have now entered the top twenty species coming to gardens to feed. Half the weight of Greenfinches, these agile, sharp-beaked, bright green and yellow birds are relatively new arrivals over the last fifty years now taking advantage of our gardens. They tend to remain throughout March until well into April before returning to northern and western Britain where many breed. Their favourite natural food is alder-cone seeds.

February continued cold with some snow. By the middle of the month it was reckoned that it could become the coldest since 1986. The rainfall for the month was also a low 17mm. H.O.C. (Hereford Ornithological Club) records showed that numbers of Waxwings were still to be seen in the county during February and a Peregrine was noted on the cathedral! Also, the Great Egret continued to visit Brockhall Quarry from the previous November through to January.

Despite a chilly start to March, conditions improved again as high pressure to the north allowed the entry of warm southerly air with temperatures quickly rising to double figures and into the lower twenties - also with bluebells flowering in parts of the country! So early breeders such as Tawny Owl now had a second chance and Long-tailed tit advanced their laying considerably. It became the warmest March since 1957. Early migrants such as Chiffchaff and Little Ringed Plover arrived back and numbers of butterflies emerged. The first Swallow was sighted on 21 March in Ledbury Deer Park. Rainfall was still low at 21mm. for the month, all of which gave droughts in East Anglia and talk of hose-pipe bans in south-east England and fears that 2012 could become as bad as 1976 for low rainfall.

Such fears began to be laid to rest as a cool April became the wettest since records began with more than 113mm. rain for the month and an average temperature of less than 9°C. Long distance migrants were delayed by very bad weather in the Middle East, southern Europe and Iberia which prevented many from completing the final stages of their journeys. In addition, strong headwinds in southern Europe plus sandstorms in northern Sahara meant that some migrants like Whitethroats, Sedge Warblers, Wheatears and Swallows were also delayed back from Africa. However, as April turned to May there was a short 'window' of warm south-easterly winds from the Continent allowing these migrants to return. They were, however, greeted by subsequent cold, wet weather. While most species returned to nesting sites in average numbers the majority then delayed laying, or even incubating, giving as much as

nearly two weeks between these activities. Blackcap and Chiffchaff, both short-distance migrants, plus those wintering here, fared better with their earlier start to laying.

The Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme results rather reflected all these weather variations.

Overall results for 2012.

Results for last the last nine years are as follows.

	2012	**2011**	**2010**	**2009**	**2008**	**2007**	**2006**	**2005**	**2004**
Sites recorded	26	26	29	30	29	33	30	27	29
Boxes available	805	820	818	939	961	943	983	825	766
Boxes used	478	521	510	508	519	639	578	510	467
% used	**59.3**	**63.5**	**62.3**	**54.1**	**54.0**	**67.8**	**58.7**	**61.8**	**60.9**

Fewer boxes were taken up this year – partly because some had been lost with tree felling and also some Flycatchers were heard calling but subsequently failed to mate or to make complete nests.

Species Results for 2012 compared with 2011

Species	**Sites 2011/2**	**Nests 2011/2**	**Eggs 2011/2**	**Hatched 2011/2**	**Fledged 2011/2**	**% success**
Pied Flycatcher	11/9	87/75	543/477	438/425	354/304	65.2/63.7
Blue Tit	26/26	252/ 210	1,925/ 1,613	1,623/ 1,200	1,309/ 948	68.0/58.7
Great Tit	26/26	144/ 141	985/852	775/735	594/574	60.3/67.4
Nuthatch	8/9	20/11	65/65	56/37	53/27	81.5/41.5
Redstart	3/1	5/1	19/6	19/6	12/6	63.0/100
Marsh Tit	1/1	1/1	8/6	7/0	5/0	62.5/Fail
Wren	0/1	0/2	0/12	0/7	0/7	0/100
Tit species*	/6	/8	/35	/25	/22	/62.9%

* It is not always possible to identify the adult when sitting, or the eggs within the darker confines of the birdbox.

As can be seen from the above, the number of nests made has been fewer this year and the reduced number of eggs laid is striking - even more so is the reduction of chicks that finally fledged. Some failures were due to predation but after the warmest, driest and sunniest March on record, April followed giving a complete contrast being the wettest since records began in 1910 and the coldest since 1989. This poor weather continued into May, also the wettest on record, and with June continuing in the same vein. Consequently, many hatchlings were found

dead before fledging as the parents could not cope with keeping them both warm and sufficiently well fed.

The tits in particular did some strange things: started laying then stopped again: finished the clutch and delayed incubation: and in several cases finished a clutch, abandoned it and started another. In some cases, two clutches were laid one above the other.

One cheering footnote from a Recorder was that a Blue Tit parent in one birdbox was found on a floating soggy nest of dirty wet eggs. This material was removed, the eggs dried and the base drilled for drainage. The parents then made a fresh nest around the original eggs eventually raising all six!

Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species

Species	**2012**	**2011**	**2010**	**2009**
Pied Flycatcher	63.7%: 9 sites	65.2%: 11 sites	74.9%: 12 sites	67.2%: 13 sites
Blue Tit	58.7%: 26 sites	68.0%: 26 sites	61.7%: 28 sites	73.1%: 29 sites
Great Tit	67.3%: 26 sites	60.3%: 26 sites	72.9%: 28 sites	75.3%: 30 sites
Marsh Tit	Failed: 1 site	62.5%: 1 site	37.5%: 3 sites	-
Coal Tit	-	-	100%: 1 site	100%: 1 site
Nuthatch	56.8%: 9 sites	81.5%: 8 sites	89.7%: 7 sites	87.9%: 7 sites
Redstart	?: 3 sites	?: 3 sites	51.6%: 3 sites	80.0%: 4 sites
Wren	58.3%: 1 site	-	-	-
Tit species	62.9%: 6 sites	-	-	-

Wren nests are difficult to record for accurate results so they are no longer included unless the recorder wishes to do so.

Pied Flycatcher only Results [2001 –Foot & Mouth restrictions.]

2000	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
2002	14 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
2003	14 sites	109 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
2004	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
2005	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success
2006	16 sites	88 nests	520 eggs	503 fledged	96.6% success
2007	12 sites	107 nests	636 eggs	263 fledged	41.4% success
2008	13 sites	81 nests	582 eggs	367 fledged	63.0% success
2009	13 sites	93 nests	525 eggs	353 fledged	67.2% success
2010	12 sites	82 nests	539 eggs	404 fledged	74.9% success
2011	11 sites	87 nests	543 eggs	354 fledged	65.2% success
2012	9 sites	75 nests	477 eggs	425 fledged	63.7% success

The number of sites continue to drop steadily and fewer nests were completed this year but nevertheless the overall success rate was not too bad compared with some previous years. Many young Flycatchers were found dead but the parents were either ringed or re-recorded for the future. Results show how they continue to be largely site-faithful.

As usual our thanks go to the recorders who visit their rounds regularly during April and May to obtain these results. Regular visits this year were hampered by the continuous wet weather. Also, it must have been very disheartening to find so many broods failed after a promising start. Our thanks also go to the ringers who keep the detailed records which are fed into the B.T.O. This task requires careful timing to both ring the young before departure and to catch the parents to check previous ringing without causing disturbance. The ringers also visit more than one site which is even more time-consuming.

Some urban birds have been found to have discarded cigarette filters within the lining of their nest material! It seems that these remains give off a powerful insecticide making their nests repellent to parasites.

Ringing has always played an important part in monitoring bird movements but only in so far as it shows the two ends of the bird's route, not the details of the route itself. Now one of the best established and cheapest alternative to ringing is radio-tracking. These tags, which are light enough to be fitted to insects, emit radio signals which are picked up by receivers. This technology has been used by the B.T.O. with a variety of small bird species including the Chiffchaff, Nightingale and Yellow Hammer. The range, however, is limited and mostly used to study bird movement within their home ranges or on short flights.

For migration and larger scale information satellite technology is used. There are two main kinds of satellite tags - those that rely on the Argos satellite system and those that are based on G.P.S. The former were chosen for the now famous B.T.O. cuckoos (see 2011 Ornithology report) transmitting signals to the five orbiting satellites in the Argos system and giving an accuracy to within 150m. of the individual's position.

G.P.S. tags are more powerful because the system is underpinned by a larger network of satellites (approximately thirty functioning at any one time) so giving an individual's location in three dimensions to within 5km. Tags of this type come in a range of sizes depending upon on how long they are needed for and whether their data can be downloaded remotely. Both are costly and still too large for smaller birds.

Despite their cost, an enormous amount has been discovered from the five East Anglian cuckoos tagged last spring. Not only has it been discovered that the river Po catchment in Italy might be very important for British Cuckoos but these birds have highlighted a brand new migration route through Spain. So it is hoped to do the same with five Scottish Cuckoos. It is well known that we have lost half our breeding Cuckoos in England and Wales during the last twenty-five years but evidence from the B.T.O. Breeding Bird Atlas 2007-2011 shows that numbers in most of Scotland and northern and western Ireland have actually increased. This tagging will gather comparable data on their departure date from their breeding grounds, use of stop-over locations, subsequent southern migration routes, their movements within Africa and their wintering locations. The results may then go towards explaining these differences within the U.K. populations.

BirdLife Malta has been in a front-line battle for conservation for over fifty years fighting destructive developments along the coast and the even more destructive elements of the shooting and trapping fraternity. Gradually, with the establishment of small sanctuaries, widespread education programmes in primary schools plus the necessity of complying with E.U. legislation since joining the E.U. in 2004, progress has been made. By 2011 there was a drop of more one-third in trapping licences and 75% in trapping sites. In 2012, BirdLife Malta embarked on a 5-year E.U. project to identify areas at sea for designation as Marine Protected

Sites. The battle is not yet over but, at last, many of both 'our' small and large migrants will have a better chance of reaching these shores.

During the year, southward migrating Ospreys were recorded by H.O.C. from eleven locations between 5 April and 19 May. A Rose-ringed Parakeet has spent much of the time around Adforton and a Long-eared Owl was flushed in an orchard in Breinton. Also a Red Throated Pipit was recorded which is not often seen. Rarities noted were a Lesser Yellowlegs, a scarce but annual vagrant from North America, smaller and more delicate than a Redshank with its yellow legs and feet clearly visible in flight - presumably blown off course by westerly winds. A Pectoral Sandpiper remained for twenty days as Brockhall Quarry in April – the second-ever report for Herefordshire. This bird is about 7.5 inches in length and distinguished by the marked division between its richly streaked breast and pure white under-parts. In August a Cream Coloured Courser was sighted on Bradnor Hill – another second-ever report for the county. This is a scarce vagrant from North Africa and the Middle East slightly resembling a Golden Plover with long legs and a pointed slightly de-curved bill.

Following May's rainfall of 63mm., June continued cloudy with further rainfall of 125mm. and in the Midlands on 25 June one-third of the normal month's rainfall descended in one hour causing widespread flooding. The month became the wettest June on record. July and August continued in the same vein with temperatures in August often in the upper teens but overcast and giving an August rainfall of 66 mm. with yet further flooding. September started in the lower 20°C region but cloudy. At the equinox 64.6mm rain fell during 24 hours in Ross with 72.6mm in Hereford. The UK generally had the worst equinoxial gales for thirty years. October became the coldest since 1983 and hundreds of summer migrants leaving the country appeared to have died before leaving the coast. The reason is not known.

Avian pox is a well-known disease affecting wild birds giving feather-less, tumour-like swellings anywhere on the body appearing like berries 1-2cm in diameter. Dunnocks, House Sparrows and the tit family are affected in particular. If on the head, the swellings can impede movement and restrict vision. The occurrence of the pox tends to increase after warm, wet weather and is transmitted by insect vectors, possibly mosquitoes, or by direct contact from bird to bird. Those with small swellings can often recover but those with more severe lesions can succumb to secondary infection restricting its ability to feed. There were no reports of such swellings seen on tits in the nest boxes recorded this year.

The Grey Partridge is one of the most stay-at-home British birds, content to spend its entire life in only a few fields. It is also among the hardiest scratching a living from stubble and field margins even when farmland is frost-bound or snow-covered. However, Grey Partridges were more plentiful until the introduction of the Red Pheasant. Competition by these game birds, in addition to lack of food and habitat may be the cause of its near-extinction across wide areas of farmland.

We see the general colour of birds but how they see themselves has only recently been noted by scientists. For example, when looking at a Blue Tit we see the blue colour but the density of blue varies greatly in the eyes of another tit. It is now known that many birds also see in the ultra-violet spectrum, so the degree of brightness within a colour varies between individuals giving strong signals and, experiments have found, that females prefer brighter-capped males – presumably showing better health? Also, the more intense the yellow on a Blue Tit breast the better the provider. This yellow pigment comes mainly from the bodies of caterpillars so, when growing new feathers, the more caterpillars caught the yellower the

feathers become showing that the male that will be a good provider as a mate. Similarly, the degree of yellow in a Blackbird's bill affects their breeding success. The more orange the colour the healthier the bird.

Despite House Sparrows being on the Red List of threatened species, the bird is not really rare although it has declined by 66% in the U.K. over the last forty years – there are still about 6 million pairs. The worry is its decline in cities and if the numbers drop below a certain level in an urban locality it could led to a complete loss of that colony. There may be several reasons for this population fall such as loss of scrub in parks and gardens and loss of roof eaves for nesting places but tests are showing that high levels of nitrogen dioxide close to busy roads may also be a factor. Recent other tests also indicate that urban traffic noise could be interfering with communication between parent birds and their offspring, but whether this is because parents do not hear the begging calls of chicks, or whether the nestlings are not calling because they do not hear the approach of the parents is not clear.

By September the Swifts have long gone and the Swallows are lining up on telephone wires to follow into Africa but House Martins differ. It is not uncommon to find them feeding second or third broods into October. It is a case of breeding as often as possible in the time available. So while a cold wet spring may thwart many pairs from raising early broods subsequent milder weather can allow later breeding. Also, during spells of poor weather these late-season nestlings are able to enter a state of torpor living off fat reserves for a few days until the parents can forage for air-borne insects again. However, one is left wondering how both these late parents, who have been feeding young, and the youngsters themselves have sufficient time remaining to build up enough fat reserves to cope with the difficulties of migration - unless October remains warm and/or they have strong northerly winds behind them when migrating?

Waxwings had a good breeding year in Scandinavia again but the berry crop could not support such numbers so an influx into Scotland began in autumn. Many birds reached Herefordshire by November with widespread sightings and flocks of up to 100+ seen. Redwings also began their migration and numbers have been seen in the county. Generally those wintering in Britain and Ireland are thought to be from Scandinavia while those in the Western Isles and the west coast of Scotland are from Iceland. However, it has been found that they are not site-faithful and move either way and in a general south-west direction so that in really harsh weather they become 'pushed' into France and Iberia and can go as far as the Black Sea.

Sightings of the Great Grey Shrike continue over Bircher Common and the High Vinnals. This handsome winter visitor has a pearl-grey mantle, a long white-rimmed black tail and a black mask – rather like a highwayman. They tend to perch at the top of silver birches or conifers in a woodland clearing ready to pounce on their prey. In autumn, they eat many large beetles and late bumblebees as well as small mammals and small birds. They can also pursue the latter on the wing. Surplus prey can be stored by impaling it on thorns for later consumption. Those that winter here probably come from Scandinavia where they breed in similar habitats of forest clearings and they are faithful to both sites each year. There may be fifty of so individuals wintering in the U.K. at any one time so we are privileged to have some in our county.

For most of the winter Robins can be heard singing. They are one of the few garden birds that continue to sing all the year round and after the August moult. They can also be more clearly heard while other birds are quiet. [In the gloom of winter this can prove one of the most cheering seasonal sounds for the human listener!] Both sexes sing in defence of their winter territories. Towards the winter solstice each male increases his song to a full-throated medley and each have a repertoire of several hundred short phrases, often with extra improvisations. Research has shown that these changes of pitch have a greater impact on mate-selection by listening females.

November and December continued wet and cool rather than cold, nevertheless, most of the berries in my garden had been consumed by early December. The year ended with almost double the average rainfall and the second wettest since records began - the total for the year reaching *c*.893m.m. Weather-wise, 2012 has been a record breaking year but unfortunately not in a way we can appreciate. The records broken have been for almost continuous and unprecedented rainfall causing flooding and still saturated fields, thus affecting farming, and also for cool overcast summer days with little sunshine. It is to be hoped that this year is not an indication of what can be expected for the years to come.

Weather Statistics, 2012

By ERIC WARD

Month	*Max. temp. shade ºC*	*Min. temp. shade ºC*	*Nights frost air/ground*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in 1 day mm.*	*Days with rainfall*
January	13.5	-4.5	9 7	40.2	7.0 (23rd)	12
February	18.0	-5.5	11 5	18.7	7.0 (9th)	5
March	19.0	-0.5	3 3	18.4	17.0 (3rd)	13
April	19.0	-2.0	1 2	158.0	23.0 (30th)	22
May	27.0	2.0		61.3	9.0 (3rd, 9th)	13
June	25.0	5.5		182.9	28.8 (14th)	22
July	28.0	8.0		100.3	22.0 (6th)	19
August	27.0	6.5		116.2	21.0 (14th)	18
September	24.5	7.7		88.1	59.0 (23rd)	12
October	17.0	0		91.1	17.0 (5th)	20
November	14.5	-.3.0	0 4	141.9	32.0 24th)	21
December	13.0	-5.0	9 6	125.5	22.0 (14th)	21
Total			**33 27**	**1142.6**		**198**

The 2012 rainfall pattern was very unconventional. The first three months were fairly dry. (Do you remember Summer in March?). Unusually June was wet enough to be the wettest month, but for the first time the wettest day of the year was in September. The total rainfall of 1142.6 mm. for the year was the highest I have recorded in Much Marcle and possibly anywhere before that since I began recording in 1964. Previous highest here was 940.2 mm in 2007 and last year was 575.2 mm the lowest since 2003 (486.6 mm).

Weather Summary 2003 to 2012

Year	*Total rainfall year mm.*	*Wettest day mm*	*Date*	*Days with rain*	*Highest temp. deg C*	*Lowest temp.deg.C*	*Days air frost*
2003	485	28	Jun. 22	231	33.5	-5.0	40
2004	698	26	Aug .3	182	3 l.0	-5.0	17
2005	656	40	Jul. 24	156	31.0	- 5.5	17
2006	759	30	Aug.17	172	35.0	- 4.0	27
2007	940	103	Jul. 20	184	28.0	-6.0	22
2008	982	50	Mar.15	191	29.5	-6.0	32
2009	870	46	Jan. 5	176	30.0	-6.5	42
2010	670	47	Aug.25	167	29.5	-11.2	63
2011	557	26	Jun.22	165	30.5	-6.3	20
2012	1142.6	59	Sep.23	198	28.0	-5.5	33

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

Book Reviews, 2012

By JOE HILLABY & DAVID WHITEHEAD

Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Vol X. The Western Midlands
by Richard Bryant with Michael Hare (British Academy, 2012) 596pp, 795 photographic illustrations.

The compilation of the *Corpus* began in 1984, under the editorship of Professor Dame Rosemary Cramp of Durham University. It seeks to identify and describe all sculpture from the craft's origins in the second half of the seventh century (with the establishment of such major centres as Lindisfarne, Hexham, Wearmouth and Jarrow) up to the Norman Conquest, a span of four centuries. A 'Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament', the conventions to be observed in subsequent volumes, was established by the first volume, which can be found on the Corpus website, www.ascorpus.ac.uk; eventually, all Corpus volumes will be available online.

Volume X covers the five counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, Warwick and Worcester. The region's cultural heart lay in the ancient dioceses of the *Magonsæte* and the *Hwicce*, for which a Historical Introduction is provided by Michael Hare. Hereford diocese still includes the southern half of Shropshire, for the most part as far as the Severn. The ancient diocese of Worcester included all land as far as the Avon on the southwest, a historic boundary accepted within this volume.

At ***Bromyard*** Bryant describes the sculptured panel showing St Peter with his keys above the Romanesque south doorway of the church rebuilt on the site of a minster documented in the ninth century. The RCHME in 1933 referred to this as 'just possibly of the pre-Conquest period'. Bryant, however, points out that 'the carving of the figure is quite delicate and…the frame was specifically designed to be set partly over a curving feature', possibly 'as part of a frieze of figures across the top of an arch.' He gives a date of 'the tenth to eleventh century', and for the adjacent panel with a cross, 'possibly eleventh/probably twelfth century.'

At ***Acton Beauchamp*** St Giles an early-ninth-century cross-shaft has been 'reused as a lintel' above the south doorway into the tower (Fig. 1). In a number of respects this is the most intriguing of the pieces of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the county. Its interest lies primarily in the close relationship of its design to that of other works described by Bryant: a cross from St Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, now in the Museum; another at St Andrew's, Wroxeter, and the early-ninth-century cross-head at Cropthorne, one of the most important of Worcester Cathedral's estates at that time. At Acton Beauchamp three creatures can be seen: on the left what is apparently a dog with sharp-pointed ears and boldly drilled eye; of the second just the rear of the body, with a leg and curved tail, and part of the head, with pointed ears like the dog above; the third is a bird, again with deeply drilled eye. For Professor Cramp both the Acton Beauchamp cross-shaft and the Cropthorne cross head are 'the earliest examples' of a 'west midlands style which seems to be influential throughout the ninth century, not only in sculpture but in metal work and manuscripts.' These, like Acton Beauchamp, are of eastern Cotswold oolitic limestone, and Bryant (pp.25, 67) suggests Gloucester or Worcester as 'possible carving centres'. Similar work is found at Breedon-on-the Hill, Leics (A. Dornier *Mercian Studies* (1977) pp.191-233). Cramp also refers to examples found in 'continental art of *c*.800'. For

Richard Bryant 'the birds and animals of the 'Cropthorne group' combine liveliness and movement with dramatic light and shade effects of body texturing or more naturalistic body treatment to create impressively dynamic compositions'.

Figure 1. Acton Beauchamp: an early-ninth-century cross-shaft 'reused as a lintel' above the south doorway into the tower. Note the crack in the middle of the lintel (J. Hillaby, 2013)

At the Woolhope Club's Winter Annual Meeting in December 1930 it was reported that a letter had been received from Mr, later Sir, Alfred Clapham FSA of the RCHM, author of the classic *English Romanesque Architecture*. *I Before…*(1930) and *II After the Conquest* (1934); in 1944 he was to found and become first President of the CBA. Clapham drew 'attention to a carved pre-Conquest cross-shaft, probably dating from about the beginning of the 9th century, now doing duty as a lintel over a modern doorway into the tower of Acton Beauchamp Church.' He asked, 'if the Club could take any steps to have a closer examination made of this stone, and have it moved to a position of greater security.' The Club's decision was that 'members should take the opportunity to see the stone at a Field Meeting before doing anything in the matter'(*TWNFC*, 1931, lxx). In May 1932 the Club held a Field Meeting at Acton Beauchamp and the Malvern Hills; McNeil Rushforth was in attendance but unfortunately Alfred Clapham was not. Despite their firm advice, it was decided to procrastinate. 'With regard to the preservation of the cross shaft, which is carved out of an oolitic stone, which points to it not being a local piece of work,…it was decided to take further advice, whether it would not be advisable to remove it from its present position, and place it in the church.' (*TWNFC*, 1932, lxxxiv-v) RCHM *Herefordshire II. East* xxvii is categoric: 'It is very desirable that it should be taken out of the wall and the other faces exposed.

Mercifully, the Acton Beauchamp cross-shaft is not of the same friable local stone as the now totally unprotected Shobdon Arches. Bryant points out that it is 'a geological interloper' in the old red sandstone area of Herefordshire, as it was carved on the oolitic limestone of eastern Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. As there is a major crack in the centre (Fig. 1), many may

wish that Clapham's suggestion could now be adopted, not only to protect the stone but also to provide some idea of the sculpture on those sides of the shaft not now visible.

At ***Cradley*** St James the Great, Bryant draws attention to two alien pre-Conquest pieces on the west tower dated *c.*1200 by the RCHME. The first, on the exterior of the north wall, is what Pevsner describes as 'a length of Anglo-Saxon frieze with crockets in alternating directions'; the second, in the south wall, is an arched door-head cut with sham voussoirs which, as Bryant points out, 'could be a reused remnant of an earlier structure.' Further south, at ***Upton Bishop***, is what Bryant suggests is 'part of a cross-base or frieze (?).' This displays the head and shoulders of a male figure (an ecclesiastic?) with his right hand raised within an arched niche. To the left is the vestige of a further niche, with left hand raised. Bryant draws attention to the facial similarity to the 'round, beardless prominent ears, flattish nose of the figure of Abraham in the south porch of Newent church, only a few miles to the east in Gloucestershire, and gives the date, 'first half ninth century'.

***Ewyas*:** After Upton one has to turn to the west of the county, to the extensive area of Ewyas Lacy where, although English post-Conquest settlement was based on Longtown with its formidable Lacy castle, the Welsh elements in its culture remained strong. Mark Redknap and John Lewis, in *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, provide an additional dimension by their discussion and analysis of early Welsh, Latin and even Irish elements, examples and their inscriptions. In 1536 the Act of Union incorporated Ewyas into England, and thus Herefordshire, but only in 1852 were its 12 parishes transferred from the diocese of St David's to that of Hereford, to be attached to Weobley deanery.

***Clodock*:** The church is the sole dedication to Saint Clydog ap Brychan, *fl.* 500?, ruler of Ewyas. Clydog's name appears in a charter of the *Book of Llandaff* of *c.*750. Behind the pulpit a small sandstone slab bears an inscription within a rectangular framework: 'This tomb preserves the limbs of Budic [as in Boudicca] … the wife of Guinnda, a dear spouse, who was herself …'. Bryant and Redknap/Lewis agree a tenth/eleventh-century date.

***Llanveynoe*:** Here the church is dedicated to Saint Beuno, d. 642?, for whom the only extant *Life* is a Welsh text of 1346. He was brought up in Powys, at Berriew on the banks of the Severn, but educated at Caerwent. On his return to Berriew, hearing English being spoken on the east bank, he moved to Gwynedd, where he converted King Cadfan. He established his *clas* at Clynnog Fawr on the north coast of the Lleyn peninsula, where, with his grave and well, it became the centre of his cult. For Bowen 'there are more churches dedicated to him in north Wales than any other saint', and he is 'the counterpart of St David in the south.'

Bryant describes five monuments at Llanveynoe. (1) is an incised cross-slab, the top of which has broken off. It bears a two-part inscription. On the arms and head are the sacred monograms XPC (Christ) Ω (Omega) and IHS (Jesus). To the right of the cross is HAERDUR (h) FECIT CRUCEM ISTAM (Haerdurh made this cross). Redknap and Lewis point out that similar monogram cross slabs can be seen at St David's and St Edren's, Pembs. J. Romilly Allen wrote in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1902) 238-9 that Mr G. Trafford 'supplied me with a photograph of the stone and the particulars relating to its discovery'; the cross-arm was complete. Bryant assigns the cross-slab to the ninth/tenth century. (2) is a crucifixion panel, some 50 by 22 ins, on which Christ crucified has been cut. With Redknap and Lewis, who comment on the linguistics and refer to similar figures in Wales and Ireland, Bryant gives a 'tenth- or eleventh-century' date.

George Marshall and Alfred Watkins, eminent members of this Club, both showed considerable interest in Llanveynoe church and its monuments, making detailed enquiries as to their probable origins. The former served as Club Secretary for many years and on his death left Breinton Springs to the National Trust. Here a 12th-century mound was the site of a fortified dwelling occupied by the Cathedral Treasurer. The latter, who acted as Club Photographer, invented the Watkins exposure meter. His *Old Straight Track* (1925) passed through several editions and was reprinted in 1987.

In 1929 Watkins lectured to the Club on 'Tenth century crucifixion and emblem stones at Llanveynoe' (*TWNFC*, 1929, cviii-ix, 204-6). He pointed out that the first two stones were 'built flush into the interior of the south wall of the nave…in an enlargement of the nave in 1912'. Afterwards a member, Mr Guy Trafford, 'recollected…that he was present at the first digging up of one of the stones—that with the inscription—and put the date at about 1888. It was found just outside the churchyard wall on the north side, and he took a photograph of it at the time and asked the men to take care of it. This was after the first restoration of the church in 1877.' In 1930 Watkins reported that a mason who worked on the restoration of the church had 'dug up human remains in raising stone a score of yards west of the present churchyard', confirming his impression that 'the tenth century stones came from an early burial ground a little west of the present church.'

Bryant's (3) is a short-arm cross, now standing south of the church, with a groove some 3" wide, ¾" deep running down the centre of its full length. Bryant refers to similar examples in Wales, and suggests a date 'probably tenth/eleventh century'. In 1929 George Marshall recalled how in 1908 he had seen 'a stone in the shape of a cross with a groove running down the centre' lying in the churchyard; a recent visit by him confirmed it was still there, although hidden by long grass. This prompted Watkins to return to Llanveynoe. On Watkins' third visit the cross was dug out and, with the help of the Vicar and another person, erected temporarily, close to the stone seats on the south of the church. His remarkable photograph of the standing cross in his book *The Old Standing Crosses of Herefordshire*, published by the Club, clearly shows the deep groove down the back which he suggests had probably been used as a water gutter. The cross was still lying in the churchyard when recorded by the RCHM inspectors *c*.1929 as 'a plain shaft and head … 6 foot long.'

Numbers (4) and (5) are a pair of carved stones 'set externally into the south and north walls of the nave'. Bryant points out that 'such cross slabs with simple incised or pecked linear crosses are notoriously difficult to date'. It is probable that these stones were originally grave markers in the cemetery west of the church and subsequently used when the nave was enlarged. Watkins noted (*TWNFC*, 1930, 53) 'a simple incised Latin cross on a stone built into the restored church-wall on the right of the new porch,…the whole rudely cut, the stem not being straight.' The dimensions he gives, 19" long and 8" wide, do not conform to those given by Bryant for (4), 24.6" by 8.3"; but the latter's photograph shows that the stem of the cross is not straight. Bryant suggests it is 'possibly sixth century, but probably seventh to ninth century'. He also points out that this cross has been broken off at the base 'probably indicating it was originally set in the ground' and that (5), like (4), was also 'designed to be set in the ground.' This being the case, they were probably both discovered in the field to the north of the church and re-used in 19th- and 20th-century work on the church.

The earliest of the Llanveynoe inscriptions, on a stone by Olchon House, is attributed by Redknap and Lewis, on the basis of its letter-forms, to the sixth century. It is known only from

a partly intelligible sketch of the text made by the antiquary, Edward Lhuyd, *c*.1698, and now housed in the Welsh National Library, Aberystwyth. The sketch is illustrated by Redknap and Lewis, pp.531-2, who comment on the letterforms of the text in capitals, which was read by Nash-Williams as *Iacit in hoc tumulo … parentis*. When Macalister sought to find the stone in 1937 with the aid of the parson, an elderly resident remembered it had remained by the road side, exactly where Lhuyd had reported it, until 'it fell victim to some disciple of Macadam like so many other ancient monuments of all sorts.'

Crossing over into the Wye valley, at ***Clifford***, on a barn at Lower Court Farm, are two parts of a cross-shaft or panelled cross.

Corpus X provides a series of Appendices to its entries. For Herefordshire, Appendix A gives details of 'Stones dating from Saxo-Norman overlap period or of uncertain date': Adforton, the Bromyard panel next to St Peter and his cross, Cradley, Garway, Kenderchurch and Llangarron;

B, 'Stones wrongly associated with pre-Conquest period';
C, 'Lost stones for which no illustration has survived'; and
D, 'Sundials alleged to be of pre-Conquest date'.

This volume, with its analysis of the Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture of the five counties, is a remarkable achievement by Richard Bryant. As well as the detailed description and discussion of all listed items, he has provided a considerable number of the 798 illustrations which are of great value to the lay reader. A copy of the volume has very kindly been donated to the Club's library by Brian and Joan Thomas.

Richard Bryant will give the 2013 F. C. Morgan lecture on 19 October.

The Business and Household Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys, Spinster of Hereford, 1638—1648
ed Judith Spicksley, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, NS XLI (2012) £90.

The first comments on Joyce Jeffreys' text, 'A New Booke of Receights of Rents Anueties and Interest moneys begining at St Mary day 1638 written at Heryford, at John Fletchers howse', now BL MS Egerton 3054, were published by John Webb in *Archaeologia* 37 (1857) 189-223. This caught the attention of F. R. James, whose Presidential Address to the Club in 1922 was 'The Diary of Joyce Jefferies, a Resident in Hereford during the Civil War', *TWNFC* (1922) xlix-lx. Judith Spicksley has now published the full text of Joyce's original manuscript, which details her receipts and disbursements from April 1638 to March 1648.

Joyce was the daughter of Henry Jeffreys of Ham Castle in the Teme valley, Worcestershire, and Anne daughter of Thomas Barnaby of Bockleton, Salop. Anne was the widow of John Coningsby of Neen Solars, Salop, by whom she had two children, a daughter Katherine and a son Humphrey, who evidently grew up in a close relationship with his step-sister Joyce. He appointed Joyce his executrix prior to his death under unknown circumstances on his fourth trip abroad; she delayed proving his will for seven years. Humphrey left her and his mother a 100-mark (£67) annuity each, and to Joyce an interest in various lands and properties, including the manor house at Neen Solars. She was also a beneficiary of her

mother's will and that of her cousin, Sir Thomas Coningsby, to whose wife Phillippa she had been a 'perpetual Companyon' at Hampton Court and the family house in Widemarsh Street. Thomas was frequently away from home in consequence of his political and military roles.

For many locals, the details given of Joyce Jeffreys' life in Hereford during the Civil War, when the city changed hands four times, is compelling reading, especially the account of her property in the extremely vulnerable area outside Widemarsh Gate, when the earl of Leven and the Scots army retreated from the city in June 1645. In particular, she was obliged to sell off her new house there, 'which stood me in above £500'. She sold a great deal of squared timber at the saw pit which, with glass and 'all other appurtenances', raised a mere £50.

However, Judith Spicksley shows that Joyce's business and household accounts are of much more than local interest. As she explains, 'historians interested in the credit market everywhere will find useful insights in her business and moneylending activities'. Besides a copy of the text, Spicksley provides a comprehensive introduction. She does not merely discuss Joyce Jeffreys' business dealings and money-lending activities, but gives details of her annual receipts and disbursements, with tables and figures analysing her total annual receipts and disbursements, the length, number and size of her loans, and the location of her borrowers in distance from Hereford. Of 134 loans in the years 1638-47, over 50 were for a year, but 14 extended for ten years. As to the size of these loans, the majority, 56%, ranged from £11 to £50, but several were over £100.

As Professor Christopher Dyer points out in his Foreword, because of Dr Spicksley's work, 'Jeffreys can join that select band of seventeenth-century individuals – such as…Pepys – whose personal writings tell us so much about the society and economy of that period.' Judith draws attention to such wider matters as patterns of Joyce's consumption, including her particular weakness for London clothing; she had her own London tailor. By contrast, she sold her old and used items of hardware at Hereford fair, and part-exchanged old candlesticks, and even old chamber pots, for new ones.

Some of Joyce's interests are revealed by her purchase of books. These included *The Actes of the Great Alexander*, 2s. 8d.; *The Famous History of Herodatus*, 3s.; *The Life of Mary, Queen of Scotland and her death untimely*, 2s.; *A new book of Mr Prinn, Doctor Bastwick and Mr Burton's trobles* (their noses were slit, and they had the initials 'S. L.', for 'Seditious Libeller', burnt into their cheeks in 1633), 2s. 2d.; also annual almanacs, and *A little boke of astrolagye*, 6d. She also bought 'a pickture of the Earle of Straford & the Arch Bushop Lawds and some other picktures of their sect' in 1641, and the following year 'a picture of the yong Prince of Orainge, William of Nassawu and his wyfe…Mary daughter of King Charles', 2d.

Another section deals with medical knowledge and practice. Judith notes details of one ounce of tobacco bought at Worcester for 1s; and 'for cariage of 3 pownds of tobacko from my cosin from London to Herifford', 4d. Expenditure on tobacco and pipes was probably for curative reasons, as it was recommended for a wide range of ailments. She also bought a copy of *Hygiastion*, or 'the right way of preserving health into old age, advocating a certain moderation of our meat and drink'. She paid 6d. for a copy of *The phoenix of these late times: or the life of Mr Henry Welby*, who for his last 44 years 'neither dranke wine nor eate flesh'. For Spicksley, Joyce 'may have gained most pleasure from her assorted collection' of animals, especially dogs, and caged birds.

One trusts that the above gives some indication of the wide range of interests to be found in Judith Spicksley's excellent edition of Joyce Jeffreys' Household Accounts. It is, however,

extraordinary that the British Academy and OUP should provide a map that is nearly 20 years out of date, showing the short-lived and hotly contested merger of the historic counties of Hereford and Worcester.

Judith Spicksley will lecture on this subject to the Club on 1 March 2014.

Joe Hillaby

Wellington Quarry, Herefordshire (1986-96) Robin Jackson & Darren Miller, (Oxbow, 2011) and ***Ariconium, Herefordshire,*** Robin Jackson, (Oxbow, 2012).

Robin Jackson is well known to the Club and in recent times has come from Worcester, where he is County Archaeologist, to provide vivid and articulate accounts of his work on the Rotherwas 'Ribbon' and, more recently, Wellington Quarry (See Proceedings above). It is a credit to his diligence (and his publishers, Oxbow) that he has also produced two very readable volumes on his work in Herefordshire. These are two very different books, which successfully bridge the gap between the specialist scholar and the amateur enthusiast. In both books it was necessary for the author(s) to bring together a series of excavations and an immense amount of fieldwork, usually by different people, to blend the results into a seamless whole.

Wellington Quarry is the more traditional archaeological report where the excavator sets out his evidence for the long history of a few undistinguished fields in central Herefordshire that just happened to be quarried for gravel in the late 20th century. This sort of run-of–the-mill watching brief could have easily resulted in a brief note in the county Sites and Monuments Record, but Ron Shoesmith spotted some stonework in 1986 after a large area of the site had already been quarried without record. This resulted in an English Heritage-funded project and the archaeologists struck lucky, finding a Roman farmstead with origins stretching back to the Neolithic and forward into the Dark Ages – in all perhaps, 8000 years of history.

Much of the earlier part of the report is concerned with dating and defining the character of the early landscape. From the organic deposits in the Palaeochannels (ancient river beds) a very good pollen sequence was found, 'the first and most detailed for Herefordshire', which indicated that *c*.6000BC Wellington was surrounded by lime forest, which disappeared *c*.2000BC with the arrival of the first farmers. This information, and much more, is shown in diagrams and the authors are keen to elaborate its meaning with discussion and comparison. It is to be expected that the core of the book describes the different stages of the excavation and the general reader soon learns to seek-out the interpretation and discussion sections with eye-catching sub-headings such as 'food resources', culture and symbolism', 'seasonality' and 'regional parallels', which contain all the interesting nuggets.

For this reader the interest picks up with the Roman and medieval sections, written by Darren Miller. Here there are structures to be seen and a fine reconstruction drawing by Steve Rigby. Even the specialist reports – after a few pages of potsherds – provide much of interest. For example, Elizabeth Pearson discusses the grains associated with a Roman corn-drying oven, which involves some thoughts about diet and whether the inhabitants were just consumers or producing grain for the market. Sadly, the discussion about the Mercian mill has been postponed until the publication of the next Wellington volume.

The second book on *Ariconium* is definitely an essential reference book for all readers of these *Transactions*. The much-maligned Hereford and Worcester County Council sponsored the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey in the early 1990s and the results were published

by Hal Dalwood in 1994, who pin-pointed the serious state of *Ariconium*. The scheduled area only included a small proportion of the historic site and, with no management agreements, modern agriculture—including potato cultivation—had led to massive erosion and 'considerable damage' to the archaeological remains. Ironically, one result of this was that artefacts were being brought to the surface, resulting in much informal archaeological attention but with little coherent evaluation of the finds and even less professional intervention to secure the long-term preservation of the site. The *Ariconium* Project of 1998 to 2003 set out to rectify this, not through further excavation but to summarise and evaluate over 100 years of spasmodic archaeology. An erosion and deposition history of the site was carried out by Tom Lloyd of ADAS. All this was designed to provide context for further action to preserve the site.

Few stones—literally—have been left unturned to recover the huge corpus of finds that the site has produced in recent decades. Early excavation reports have been revisited, Jack's, for instance, in these *Transactions*; private collections of pottery and coins have been located; metal detectorists have been interviewed and particular attention has been paid to the rescue work carried out by the Dean Archaeological Group, inspired by the late Bryan Walters, who kept an eye on *Ariconium* during its recent and darkest days. All this has been analysed by specialists who, in varying degrees, have tried to provide some evaluation.

This mere historian, once again surprised himself, by finding the pottery report by Steven Willis a model of its kind with wide ranging discussions, which eventually help define *Ariconium* as neither an urban site nor a rural one! Basically, it appears to have been a straggling and amorphous industrial centre devoted to smelting iron, which was worked by smiths elsewhere. The key attraction was the availability of fuel, particularly coppiced hazel and oak, cut with 8 to 9 years growth. The author of the charcoal section suggests that the management of the woodlands in the Roman era probably ensured the survival of the Forest of Dean as we know it today. In section 5 of the report all the specialists pool their findings and with the help of Robin Jackson, produce an excellent synthesis.

Thus, whilst *Ariconium* remains 'one of the most important Roman sites in Herefordshire and the region as a whole', it falls outside the conventional framework of Roman Britain. Perhaps one of the most significant conclusions reached is that, in the late Iron Age, it 'has much in common with sites regarded as *oppida*'. Little new light, however, has been thrown on the end of the 'town'. It flourished until *c*.350AD and, from the evidence of high status artefacts found in some areas, it must have attracted the late Roman elite, which may help to explain its association with the district of *Ergyng* in the Dark Ages. The archaeologists are certain, however, that there is no artefactual continuity and suggest that nearby Eccleswall is the place to look. This volume will remain the starting point for all future research into *Ariconium* but let us hope that the measures to protect the site are put in place as soon as possible.

David Whitehead

Index, 2012

In the index, illustrations within the text are indicated by italic page numbers. Plates in the coloured section are indicated with the plate number in bold italics.

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Plate 1.1. A delightful watercolour of washerwomen above Wye Bridge, Hereford, painted by Edward Dayes (1763-1804) in 1793, now in the Hereford Museum collection. The details of the rigging of the barge in the foreground, and the typical curving lines, are clearly seen. (*Derek Foxton*)

Plate 1.2. An idyllic view of Hereford, with the Castle Wharf in the centre. Note the stepped mast on the moored boat. A coloured aquatint published by the celebrated Francis Jukes in 1797, taken from a watercolour by Edward Dayes. (*Derek Foxton*)

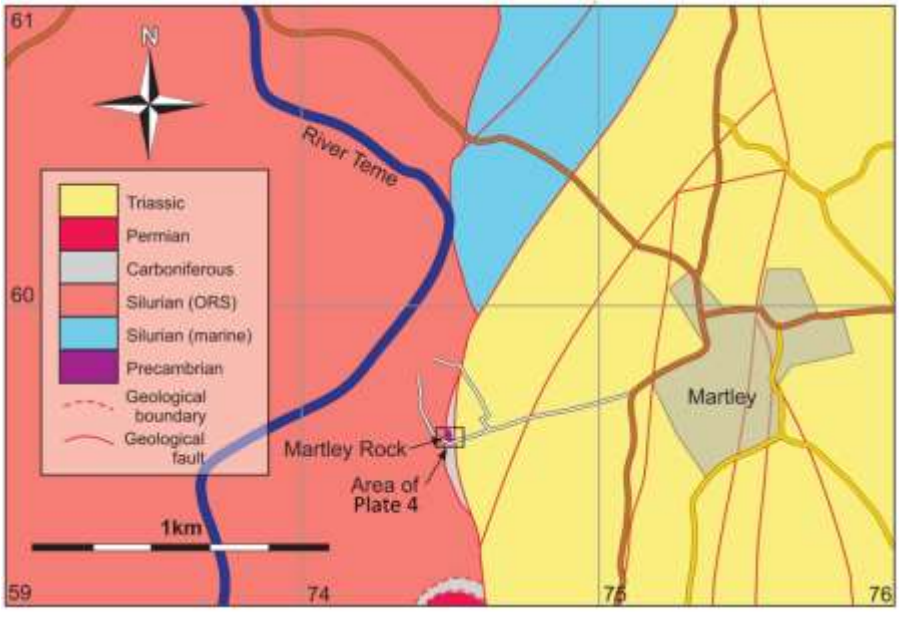

Plate 2.1. Location of Martley Rock and generalised bedrock geology of the area based on BGS data

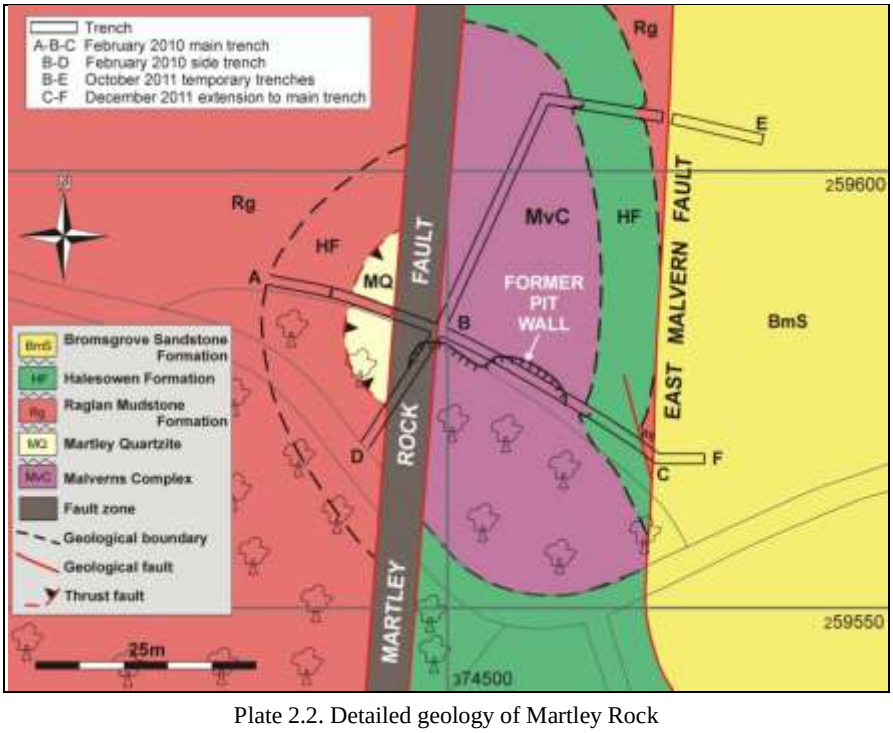

Plate 2.2. Detailed geology of Martley Rock

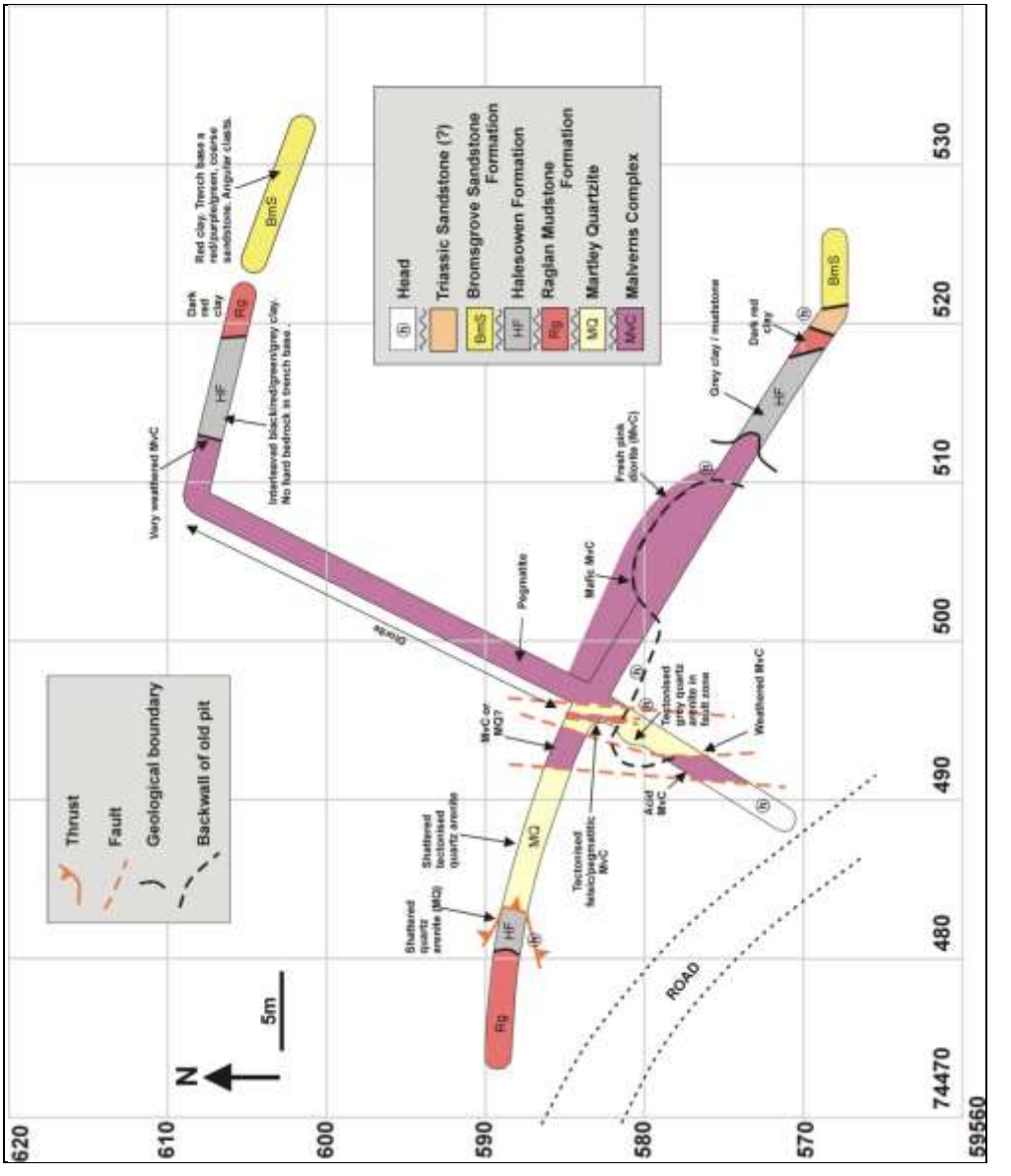

Plate 2.3. Plan showing the trenches and their geology

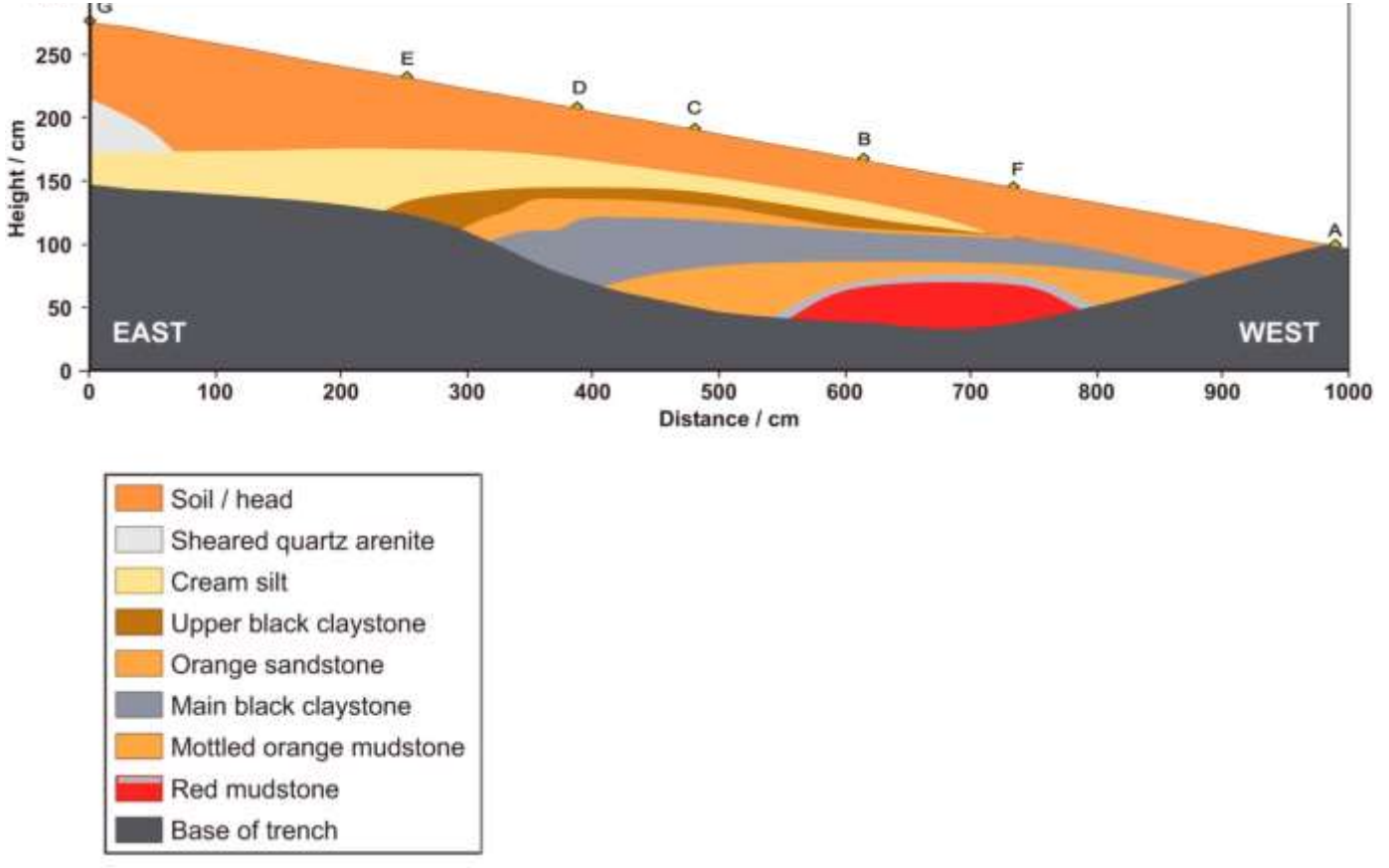

Plate 2.4 Detailed sections of the south wall of the west section of the main trench

Plate 2.5 Wall of the disused Martley Pit in the main trench. Meta-igneous rocks of the Malverns Complex are exposed in the pit wall by the steps and in the rockhead pavement excavated above. View of the main trench looking north-west. (Moira Jenkins)

Plate 2.6. Shattered quartz arenite (Martley Quartzite) thrust over green mudrocks (Halesowen Formation) in south wall of the main trench. Compass is 10 cm long and 6 cm wide. (William Barclay)

Plate 2.7. Tectonised quartz arenite (Martley Quartzite) in Martley Rock Fault Zone in north wall of the side trench. Hammer is 32 cm long. (William Barclay)

Plate 2.8. Red Carboniferous sandstone draped over the edge of the Malverns Complex in the October 2011 temporary trench. East is to the left, the width of the frame is about 0.4 m. (John Payne)

Plate 2.9 Composite view (continued on the opposite page) of the south face of the west end of the main trench showing multicoloured sandstones, siltstones and claystones of the Halesowen Formation resting unconformably on red clay of the Raglan Mudstone Formation. (John Payne)

Plate 2.10. Red Carboniferous silty sandstone passing upwards into olive-grey fine silt in the October 2011 temporary trench. Note the sharp but very irregular boundary with dark grey clay above. View of the south face of the trench, looking south-west. The depth of the trench is about 1 m. (John Payne)

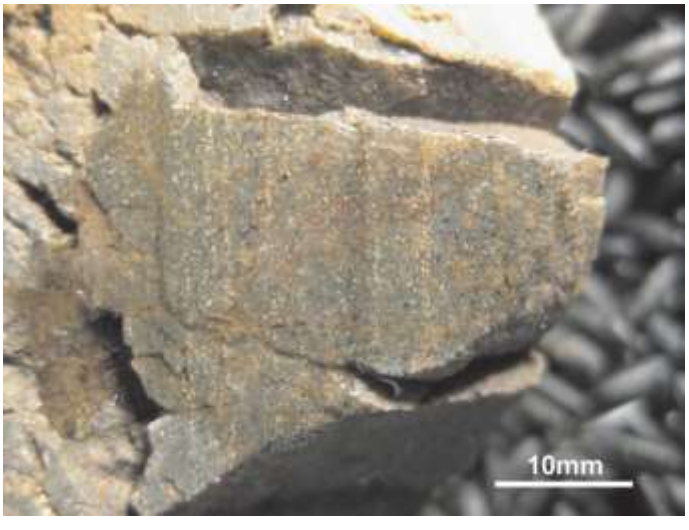

Plate 2.11. Clast from the 'cream silt' near the west end of the main trench, showing lamination picked out by white feldspar crystals. (John Payne)

Plate 2.12. Pink and green sheared meta-igneous rocks of the Malverns Complex (on left) thrusted and folded over Martley Quartzite (to right) in side trench. The green rock is a sheared meta-igneous schist. This locality lies within the Martley Rock Fault zone and may be the exposure that led Groom to postulate the presence of a thrust folded into a plicated anticlinal structure. The spirit level is 60 cm long. (Sue Hay)

Plate 2.13. Late Carboniferous orange and black mudrocks of the Halesowen Formation exposed in the central section of the western trench. (Natalie Watkins)

Plate 2.14. Members of the Woolhope Club (Geology Section) working on section measurements in the side trench. Photo: Natalie Watkins

Plate 3.1. The central corbel of three, placed at the apex of the Pembridge chancel arch, formerly supporting the Rood cross, and perhaps depicting the face of Christ.

A short inscription can just be seen carved rather crudely along its top edge

Plate 3.2. The sole surviving medieval armorial bearing at Pembridge, painted over the wall-painting in the south transept

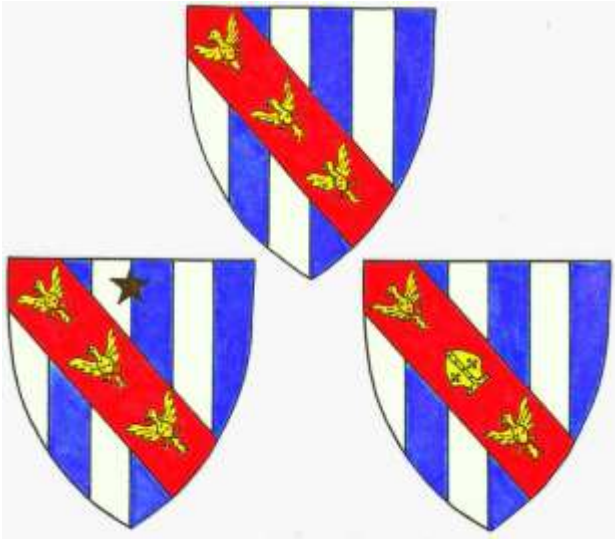

Plate 3.3. A reconstruction showing the putative three differenced versions of the Grandison arms from the north transept

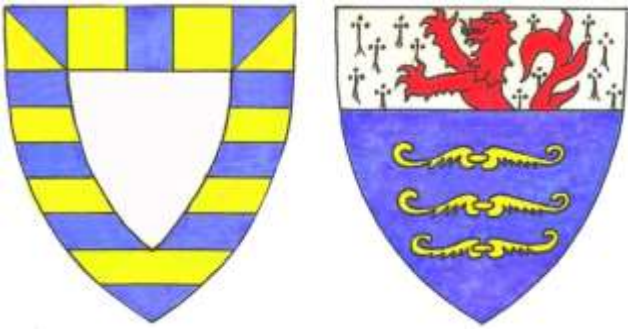

Plate 3.4. A reconstruction of the Mortimer / de Geneville arms

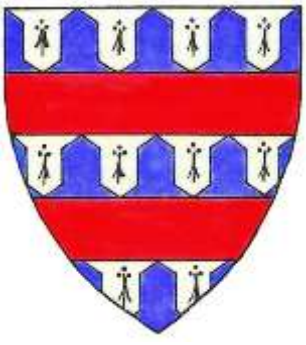

Plate 3.5 A reconstruction of Hugh de Breusa's coat of arms

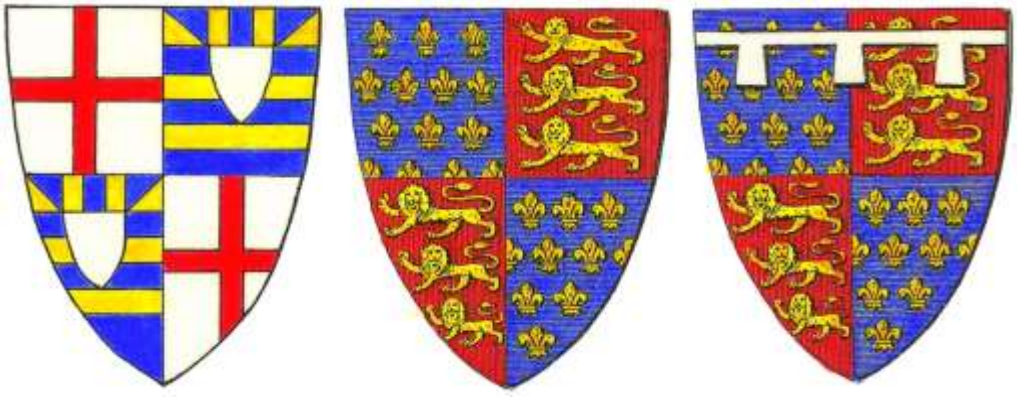

Plate 3.6. A reconstruction of the three coats of arms from the east window of the chancel at Pembridge

Plate 4.1. ‘A Survey of the Mannor ’ (Eastnor) by John George, 1726. (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.2. The east view of Castleditch (centre, above the church) with the Georgian park beyond *c.*1790, watercolour sketch, probably by Simon Fisher of Hereford (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.3. Castleditch with the new late Georgian range on the right, watercolour by Simon Fisher (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.4. Smirke's perspective watercolour of the proposed Eastnor Castle, from the north-west, showing the overtly defensive character of the approach to the building (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.5. Lowther Castle, Westmoreland, a watercolour by John Buckler, 1814 (Private Collection)

Plate 4.6. Smirke's perspective watercolour of the north-western view of Eastnor Castle, set against the Malvern Hills, *c*.1812 (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.7. Smirke's south-western view of the castle, showing the planned conservatory and the new rock garden (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 4.8. The north-east view of the castle with the lake creeping into the view in the left hand corner (Eastnor Castle)

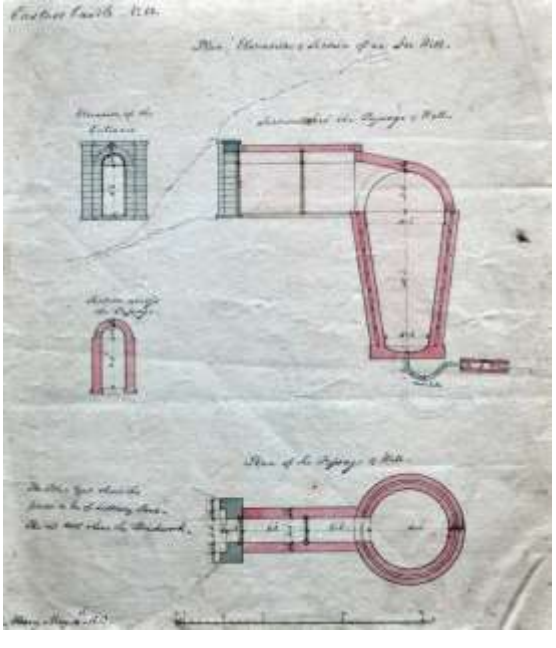

Plate 4.9. Plan 62 –'Plan, Elevation and Section of an Ice House' – dated 4 May 1813 (Eastnor Castle)

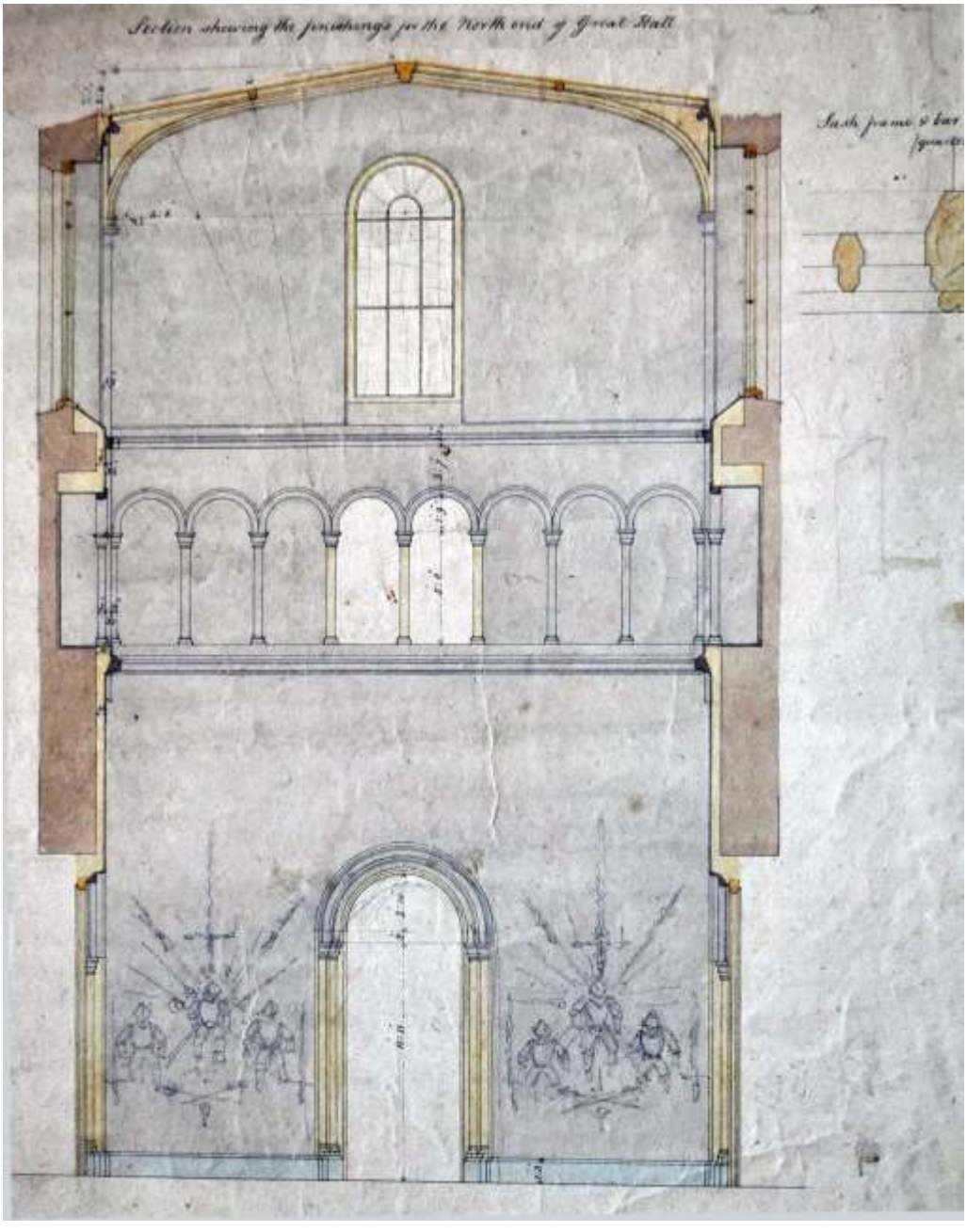

Plate 4.10. Part of Plan 173 – 'Section shewing the Finishings for the North end of the Great Hall' – dated 7 February 1818 (Eastnor Castle)

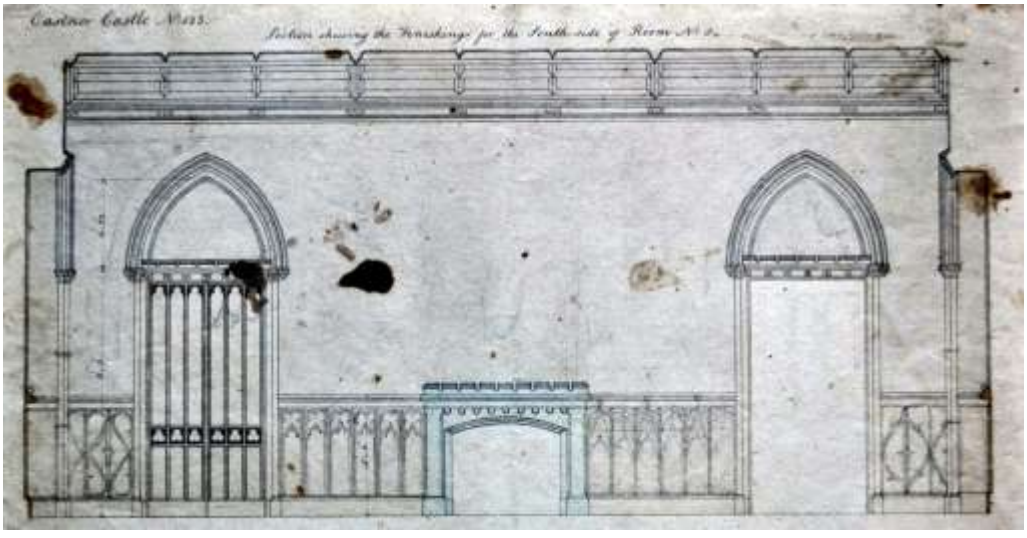

Plate 4.11. Part of Plan 123 – ‘Section shewing the Finishings for the South Side of Room No. 8’ (Dining Room) – dated 6 May 1814 (Eastnor Castle)

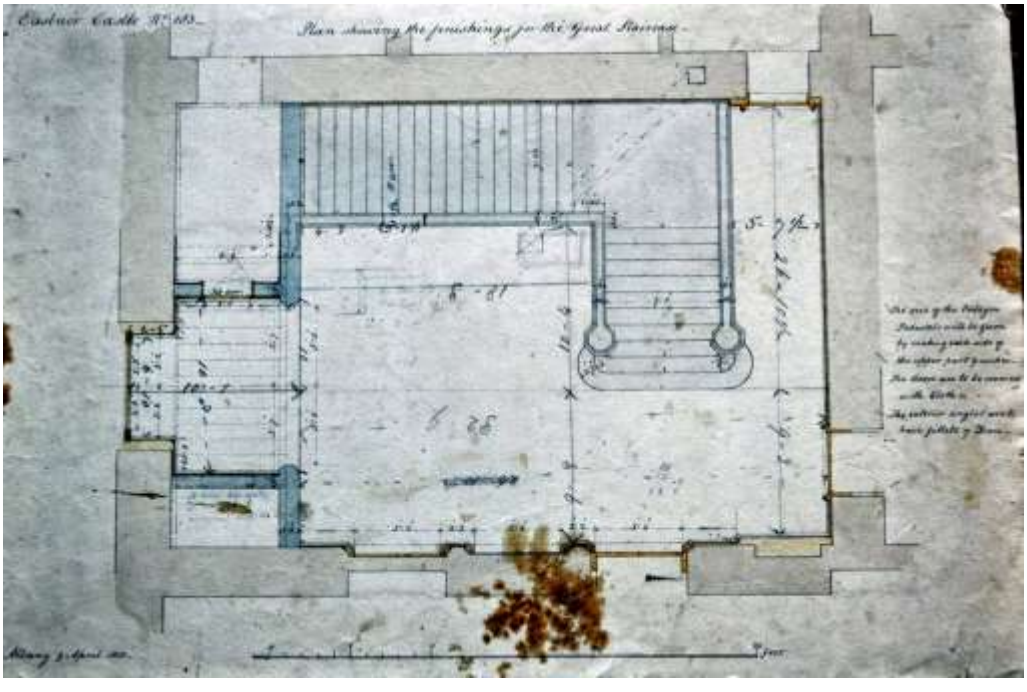

Plate 4.12. Plan 183 - ‘Plan shewing the Finishings for the Great Staircase’ – dated 3 April 1818 (Eastnor Castle)

Plate 5.1. Harewood Park lake as it was in 2012, looking to the north-east

Plate 5.2. Edgar's well-head and the Georgian 'bath'

Plate 5.3. Harewood: evaluation trenches in January 2012, looking east along the south edge of the lake

Plate 5.4. Romano-British boundary ditch revealed at Leen Farm, Pembridge

Plate 5.5. Lower Brockhampton from the east with the moat in the foreground and the pretty gatehouse (tree-ring dated to *c*.1542–3) on the left. (Jennifer Shoesmith)

Plate 5.6. The fills within the ditch section at Eaton Camp

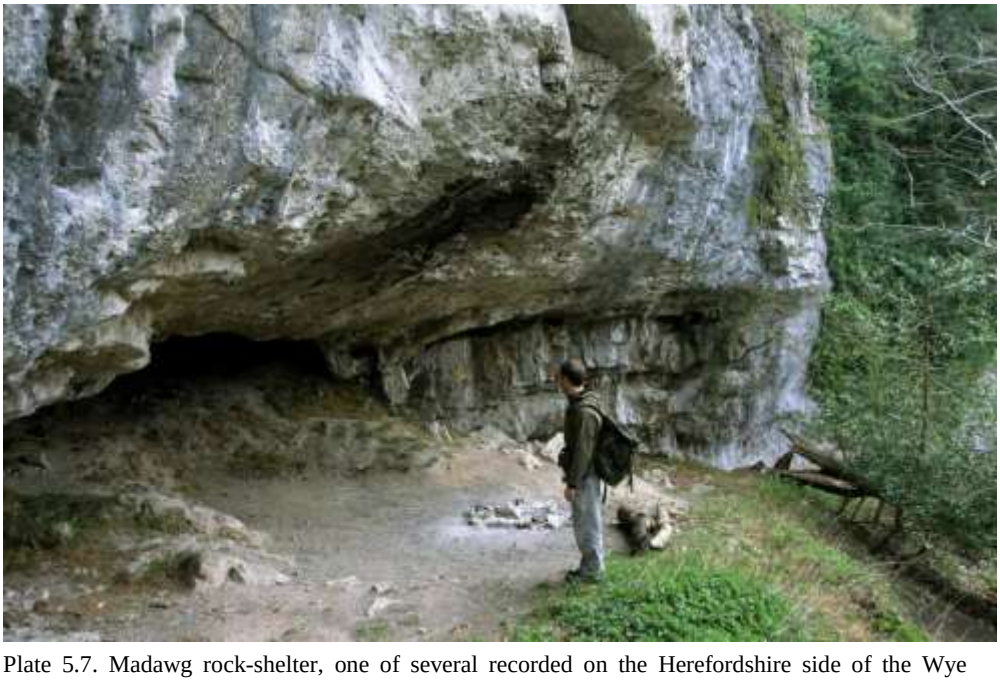

Plate 5.7. Madawg rock-shelter, one of several recorded on the Herefordshire side of the Wye Gorge