

THE HISTORY OF BARTONSHAM MEADOWS

‘Sweet Bassom Meadows! how the sound
Recalls anew my boyish hours”

Anon, quoted in ‘J of Manchester, Hereford Times, 1862

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This account of Bartonsham Meadows brings together research on their history and ecology done largely by members of the St James & Bartonsham History Group, writes Jeremy Milln.

The Meadows have been grazed by a milking herd for as long as anyone can remember and, for the past century, farmed by the Matthews’ family of Eaton Bishop. The land which is owned by the Church Commissioners, was leased to the Matthews in 1920 for three generations: John William, Thomas Stanley and John Edward, who now has the final tenancy. The current generation brings this agricultural tenancy with the Church Commissioners to a close, as it will not be inherited by John’s son Paul Anthony.

An easy relationship between the Matthews family - particularly Stan and his son John - and local people ensured that the landscape, botanical and historical qualities of the Meadows were appreciated and cherished by generations of people living close to the centre of Hereford. Indeed long before the Matthews took the tenancy, John Price in his *Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (1796) was able to write:

“There is another pleafing walk by the Wye side, round the Bartonsham Meadows, which is much frequented in summer. Here may be feen the remains of entrenchments thrown up during the civil war in the reign of Charles the First.”

The fact Hereford still has a 120 acre working farm with its own dairy within a stone’s throw of the City Walls is remarkable. It is thanks to the fact that, being in the flood plain, development for housing stopped abruptly at the Row Ditch, the scheduled ancient monument that marks the frontier of the City’s growth reached by the 1850s. Beyond the ditch the land is low-lying and, with the exception of an area taken out of it by the Victorians for the Treatment Works, survived intact - complete with a rich archaeological legacy.

Then, early in 2019, an area on the west side of the farm close to the river was let to an arable contractor, Mr Philip Whittal of Clehonger, who decided to grow maize there. The dairy cattle remained on the reduced acreage of pasture, but in early February 2020 much of the rest of it was ploughed and sown for a cereal crops. The land had last flooded extensively in October 2019 and it seemed a risky strategy. Sure enough by the 16th February 2020 the land was again inundated, much of it remaining under water for two weeks. While the damage to roads and homes across the County was being assessed in the aftermath, few seemed to notice the damage done to the land at Bartonsham with great quantities of the exposed and vulnerable soil, built up over

hundreds of years, simply washed into the River Wye, together with the slurry and muck from the cattle yards.

‘Bartonsham, the watery demesne farm of Hereford’s earliest church’

In early March 2020, once the waters had receded, the cattle left the farm and the remaining pasture was sprayed off and ploughed, completing the conversion to arable. By the middle of March, with the spread of Covid-19, most people became confined to their homes. The environmental catastrophe unfolding at Bartonsham, where an ancient landscape was being expunged and the waters of the Wye polluted, temporarily became a secondary concern. This then is the rich story of Bartonsham, the watery demesne farm of Hereford’s earliest church, told by those who know it best. It should be taken to inspire us all to try to rescue it for the benefit of the people of the parish as it was always intended to be.

1. The ownership of Bartonsham

Bartonsham and its meadows rank as one of the key elements in the city of Hereford’s history. Historian David Whitehead:

By the mid-13th century there was a prebendal estate of Bartonsham, which was endowed with lands in the parish of St Owen. In 1866 these were transferred by Prebendary Hopton to the Church Commissioners for the endowment of the new church of St James. The extent of the estate is unknown – did it include Bartonsham Farm?

The creation of prebendal estates occurred after the Norman Conquest and it seems likely that Bartonsham had an earlier history quite distinct from the Cathedral.

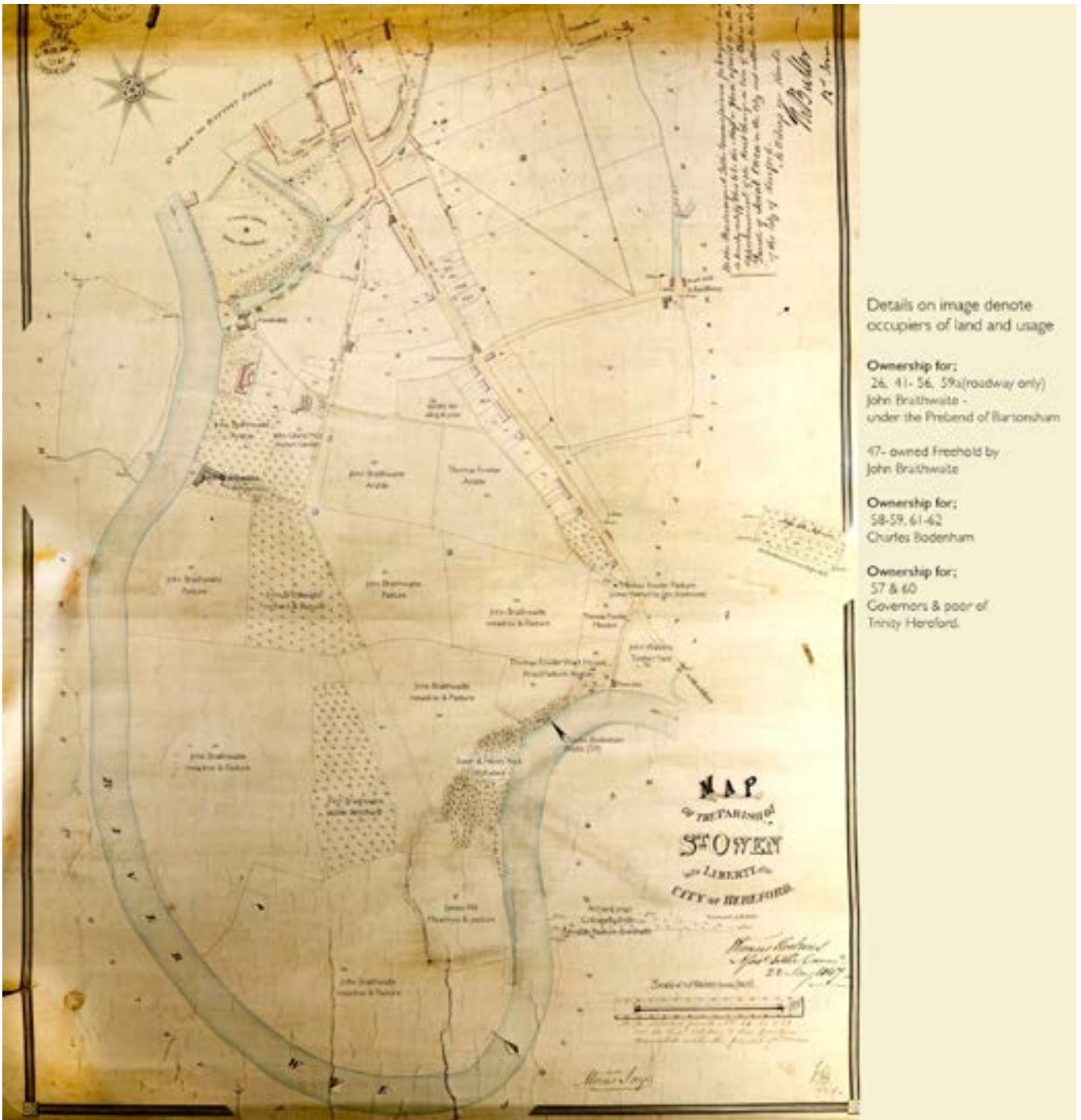
The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names (2004) states that ‘barton’ or in Old English beretun or baertun was ‘a corn farm, an outlying grange, a demesne farm, especially one retained for the lord’s use and not let to tenants.’ It also adds that the name implies a settlement which was originally a component of a larger unit. After 1066 this appears to be one of the many estates around the city of Hereford collectively forming the patrimony of the church. On the west side of the city there was another ‘barton’ remembered today as Barton Road.

At Bartonsham the arable lands that produced the corn, i.e. the barley, may have come from the present meadows, since the Wye was probably better mannered in the distant past. On the other hand, the arable lands may have been at the south-eastern end of the Port Fields, which surrounded the immediate hinterland of the early city. The suffix ham or hamm can either be a generic name for ‘homestead’ or just as frequently, a water meadow e.g. like the ‘hams’ that surround Pershore on the Avon. The ham element here distinguishes this ‘barton’ from the western ‘barton’ on the other side of the city.

‘Bartons’ often surround an ancient church or a royal centre. For example, at Gloucester the royal palace at Kings Holme to the north of Gloucester, a well-documented and excavated site, is surrounded by a royal estate called Barton Regis and formed a separate administrative unit in the shire of Gloucester. There is no sign of Bartonsham in the Episcopal Acta VII-Hereford 109-1234 of Hereford Cathedral although Barton on the west side of the city is frequently mentioned. However, if we look in the cartulary of St Peter’s Abbey in Gloucester, which administered the priory of St Guthlac, found in the Bye Street suburb (Commercial Road) in

the Middle Ages, we find Bertanesham recorded as one of its properties. Also in the same source the parish church of St Owen, has also come into the hands of Gloucester Abbey via St Guthlac's.

'Bartonsham was the home farm of ... the royal palace



The Bartonsham Meadows flood plain pictured on the 1847 tithe map of St. Owen.
Digitized at the National Archives by David Lovelace.

The numbers in the various fields refer to entries on the tithe survey 'apportionment' which gave details of ownership, tenant, land use etc. (These will be at Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre)

Thus, it seems Bartonsham was part of the ancient patrimony of Hereford's earliest church; one that pre-dates the foundation of the cathedral and around which the royal liberty of Hereford - 4,820 acres today - was established, outside the later jurisdiction of the shire. Archaeological evidence shows that burials in the vicinity of the original church on Castle Green extended back to c.700 AD – and probably earlier since the excavations in the 1970s were never bottomed. Bartonsham was thus, the home farm of St Guthlac's and also the royal palace – mentioned in Domesday Book - which the Mercian kings attached to it. This in turn, after 1066, became the royal castle.

Following the death of the Bartonsham tenant during World War 1, the tenancy passed to Edward Matthews, a dairyman from Whitecross. [See The Bartonsham Dairy]

2. The Water Meadows

The Bartonsham Meadows lie nestled in a bend of the Wye. As a flood plain it was, and is, regularly washed over by winter floods to emerge in spring enriched with a layer of fertile, riverine silt. Natural flooding puts the necessary nutrients in the ground for good grazing and hay at no cost.

But was it also a water meadow? Water meadows are, or were, carefully managed to maximise the benefits of a rich pasture, what one Grosmont farmer called his 'butter meadows'. Skilled water 'drowners' were employed to create and manage the ridges, furrows and ditches that irrigated the meadows. This brought forward the grazing season and kept the grass growing during dry weather.

Research by landscape archaeologists suggest Bartonsham's fields were managed as water meadows, the source of their floodwaters being linked to the milling industry.

David Whitehead and David Lovelace are joint authors of Herefordshire Water Meadows

The extensive area of river-side pasture to the south-east of the city's castle and cathedral, the Bartonsham Meadows, was separated from the arable lands of the city's Portfields by the Row Ditch [see later], traditionally regarded as a military entrenchment.

Aerial photography and more recent Lidar (laser scans of the landscape) have revealed a system of ridged earthworks covering the meadow(s), which have usually been regarded as ridge and furrow. However, the Ditch runs from the Wye, just below the Castle Green at Bartonsham Farm, across the meadows to the Wye again at Eign, cutting off a large area of alluvial grassland.

Until the late 17th century mills occupied a weir ... at Bartonsham; it therefore seems very likely that the Row Ditch was a carrier for an irrigation system on the Bartonsham Meadows supplied by excess water impounded for the mills, which, in 1697, had a weir five feet high and a lock.

The mills were subsequently demolished to make the river navigable.

Similar flood plains sometimes served as a functioning water meadow. A functioning water meadow, explains David Lovelace, required a controlled water course, often one provided by the waters emerging from a mill pond, the so called tail-lead. (There was a strong link between water meadows and mills – as at Lugg Mill). There is, as yet, no evidence to suggest the Bartonsham meadows were fed in this way. More research is needed before any further evidence is destroyed.

3. Bartonsham's mills

The milling industry was central to the city economy. And once again Bartonsham Meadows had a crucial part to play.

The use of waterpower to grind corn was pioneered by the Romans and probably brought to Herefordshire in the first century. Mills were used to mechanise laborious repetitive tasks, the first was 'the daily grind' of hand milling grain using querns to make flour. The Normans enforced 'Stoke Rights' and banned querns, the landlord requiring his tenants to use his mill to grind their corn instead. Then followed the fulling of cloth which involved 'walking' the cloth in tubs of cold water with fullers-earth or stale pigs' urine. Fulling mills first appeared in the 13th century alongside iron forge mills.

By the end of the medieval period the local mill was well established as part of the fabric of feudal society. There were at least ten mills operating within the city limits at this time.

Local brooks powered most of the mills. Eign Brook, for example, drove four including one at the southern end of the brook (its entrance was on Eign Mill Road), which was already operating at the time of the Norman Conquest.

The Hereford Mills, as they were known, were a much larger concern. They stood on a large weir near to what is now Bartonsham Dairy and stretched across the river diagonally for approximately 125 metres towards Putson Manor. This supplied water by a long leat to the Hereford Mills. There may have been a second leat on the Bartonsham side that irrigated the lower meadows. Once again, further research is needed before all evidence is lost under the current arable regime. The weirs were made by driving stakes into the gravel bed, with fresh willows woven between, making large gabion baskets filled with stone and sand. The willows would take root to strengthen the weir. Large weir stones can still be seen at low water. In 1396 repairs to the weir took 54 days. The 1.5 metre high weir also contributed to the Castle defences by insuring the river maintained a good depth in front of the Castle in summer.

At the time of the Domesday Survey (1086) the Hereford Mills operated two corn mills. They were acquired by the Dean and Chapter in 1355 and by the late 14th century one had been converted to a fulling mill. Ecclesiastical accounts mention salmon and eels caught in putcher traps, hatches on the weir, the fulling of cloth, milling wheat, oats, malt and maslin (mixed rye and wheat) and sales of hay, nettles and withies from the Meadows. The income generated (and the fact that the mills could operate all year round, even when small brooks dried up) outweighed occasional flood damage.

By the time of Henry VIII, the Mills had expanded to two corn mills and two fulling mills with six stocks. The thriving cloth trade, based on local, high-quality Ryeland wool, competed favourably with Flemish and Italian cloth makers and surplus corn capacity benefitted the city's bakers. However, some time between 1527 and 1535, Henry VIII had the Mills' destroyed. Why? Was the weir removed to improve navigation? Was it in revenge for the Dean and Chapter's continued support of the Catholic faith during the Reformation? Or were jealous wool trade rivals to blame at a time when the wool trade accounted for 80% of all England's exports? Whatever the cause, the Hereford Mills were re-built during the reign of the Catholic 'Bloody' Mary Tudor in 1555.

In the mid 1660s we find the weir being rebuilt in stone (probably taken from the now demolished Castle) by the Wye Navigation, who added a flash lock to allow barges through to the city wharfs. Hereford never regained its competitive edge in the cloth trade and by 1696 the then owners of Rotherwas, the Bodenhams, heavily in debt through Civil War fines, were grateful to receive £750 in compensation for the weir's demolition by the Wye Navigation. The weir was dismantled in 1701.

Another mill, closely associated with the Meadows was the Bone Mill in Outfall Road. The horse-powered mill, which appears on the 1847 tithe map, [see above] was similar to a cider mill, but with two edge runner stones opposite each other. and The Bone Mill rendered down the occasional farm beasts that died on the Meadows (animal bones were a rich source of fertilizer) and Checkley's John Bunn remembered visiting the yard with his mother in the 1930s to collect lights (lungs) for cat food.



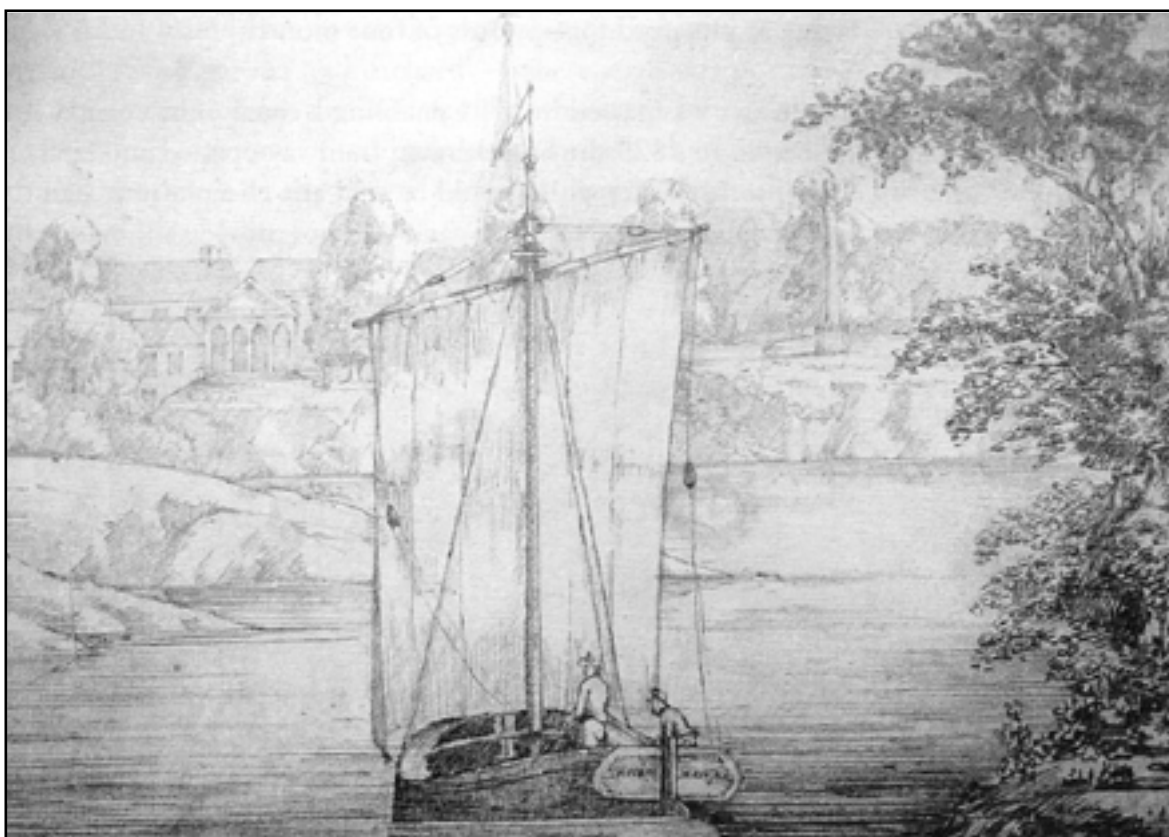
This is the only map showing the location of the Hereford Mills – marked as “Old Mill”. It is dated 1779 by Robert Whitworth and is a survey of the Wye to improve the navigation by adding pound locks, note the red channel. The scheme was never implemented.

4. The Row Ditch

The Row Ditch runs along the north edge of the Meadows, recently separated from the fields by a fence.

It is an ancient feature which first appears in city records in a mid-12th century document on general inquisitions. These judicial assemblies, also known as moot or meeting points, were held at various locations around the city including the King's Acre, and 'at a tree nigh to the Rough-ditch' at Bartonsham. Local juries were empanelled to meet at such sites to rule on disputes and transgressions.

The Rough Ditch may have been associated with the Hereford Mills, but it was also closely associated with the entrenchments of the Scottish army which laid siege to the Royalist-held city during the Civil War. It has statutory protection as a Scheduled Ancient Monument.



A barge by Bartonsham Meadows in the early 19th century

From Heather Hurley's 'Herefordshire's River Trade Craft and Cargo on the Wye and Lugg'

5. River traffic at Bartonsham

Weirs such as the one sited on the west side of the Meadows severely hindered river traffic. Heather Hurley in her *Herefordshire's River Trade Craft and Cargo on the Wye and Lugg* notes the eccentric 'Water Poet' John Taylor, undertaking a boat trip on the Wye in 1641 and complaining about the weirs that 'debarred of all passages with boats'. They included the 'Bondnam Weare' near Rotherwas House, downstream from the Meadows. In 1677 Andrew Yarranton (*England's Improvement by Sea and Land*) reported the Wye to be 'a navigable river unto the City made by Art, but imperfect at present' and Hereford's citizens had to wait until 1728 before a proper wharf was built in the city by Joseph Trumper and Philip Symonds for 'Trows, Boats, Barges and other Vessels'.

Bartonsham was to play a key role in the river trade, as Heather Hurley notes:

It may have been due to lack of water at the wharves near Wye Bridge that a wharf began to operate from 1790 at Eign. The wharf was situated on the north bank at a sharp bend of the river where up to eleven men were hired for hauling the Fly, Dick and Industry barges during the autumn of 1790. On 19 January 1792 one ton of coal arrived for John Powell of Eign, and 2s 6d was paid to the men for drink. Later in the year further amounts of coal were delivered to Eign for Mr. Powell, Mr Thomas and Mr. Gwatin. Lime was also unloaded at Eign between 1802 and 1812 for Mr. Watkins and James Jones.

The Eign wharf was accessible from the road and by 1843 was occupied by the Bone Mill, mentioned earlier, and timber yard just a few years before the building of the Hereford, Ross and Gloucester Railway disturbed the site. (The arrival of the railways in 1854 led to the

collapse of the river trade.)

To the east of the Eign Brook, a lane led to a landing stage used by the ferry as well as the wharf. For the weary hauliers and bargemen there was the opportunity of a drink of cider or beer from the Whalebone Inn at Eign before continuing to Putson on the opposite bank.

Eign Wharf not only served as a landing point for coal and other goods coming up from Bristol, it was also the boarding point for passengers. People could board the boats to go down river to Chepstow.

Fishing

‘Followers of the gentle craft still find ample occupation in the salmon fishery of the Wye, though the prince of fishes is no longer plentiful as formerly, when it was considered necessary to insert the indentures of a Hereford apprentice, a clause providing that he should not be compelled to live on salmon more than two days a week.’

Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire, H. Thornhill Timmins, 1892.

Marsha O’Mahony, author of River Voices, reports that, within recent memory, an afternoon’s fishing on the Wye at Bartonsham could land an angler a decent draught of salmon, the ‘gentry fish’. Apocryphal tales of the Wye ‘churning with salmon’ abound. Gentle craft, noble sport, the Wye has tempted and teased huge numbers of a very particular audience to our river banks. It has entertained royalty, politicians, captains of industry, senior military personnel, and at the other end of the social spectrum, poachers. It is a different scene today: salmon numbers are dropping and game fishing slips down the angling hierarchy. Filling its place is coarse fishing. The Canary Bridge, said one, is a ‘godsend, no more dodging trains’ to get to the fishing grounds. (The Canary Bridge was renamed in 2020 in honour of the munition workers of both world wars who would cross the river by the railway line to reach the Rotherwas munitions works.)

Jack Catchpole was one of the coarse fishermen: ‘You used to get your fish weighted in at the Brewer’s Arms and you sold them. It was the official weigh-in for Hereford Anglers. I used to go to the Eign and when the sun came up you could see all these little red dots where all the men were smoking; postmen coming off night-duty, railway people, all sorts. Before the Brewer’s, the Hereford Anglers had their AGMs upstairs at the Whalebone Inn’.

At low river a stone landing stage can be seen where a footpath leads down from the old Whalebone Pub (now the Veterinary surgery) to the river. Adjacent to the footpath is the Eign Brook which comes into the Wye here. Previously this had been canalised as far as Eign Mill (about 200m), presumably to take barges from the river to the mill. From Hereford Archaeology: Monument. Monument type: WHARF (Post Medieval - 1540 AD to 1900 AD)

6. Civic swimming at The Bassom

In September 1913 air ace Bentfield Hucks offered flights aboard his 80 horsepower Gnome Blériot monoplane on the Bartonsham Meadows.

The £5 flight tickets were expensive (even the generous railway wages paid around only £2.10s a week) and most people were content to enjoy that other traditional attraction: river bathing. Indeed most Herefordians learned to swim at the ‘Bassom’.

In May 1915 with the country at war, the Hereford Times reported that, with the river in 'a splendid condition, being both fresh and of a comfortable temperature, the advent of summer weather saw bathing commenced in the Wye at the Bartonsham Bathing Station, maintained by the Town Council, being opened on Tuesday.'

People from south of the city would make their way over the Wyeside Meadow (later the Bishop's Meadow, gifted to the city by the Church Commissioners on a 999-year lease in 1915) and crossing the new Victoria Bridge to Bartonsham.

In the first week of the season the station attracted 369 bathers 'including 30 ladies on Thursday afternoon'. Lifeguard Reuben Bromage was on river watch with Tom Preece 'in charge of the boat' and bathers not only enjoyed the facilities of a new open air annex, but also the sight of a host of young soldiers out of khaki: 'Every morning the swimming members of the Royal Army Medical Corps in training at the Barracks, parade for a river bathe, and at least 50 enjoy the matutinal plunge at the Bartonsham.'



Geoff Gwatkin's superb map of field names as they were in the mid 1840s, writes Ian Broom. Most of the meadows were held in the name of John Braithwaite, Prebend of Bartonsham, except for the un-named field (no.57), opposite the slip and now the Eign Water Treatment Works, which was held by the Governors & Poor of Trinity Hospital.

7. Round the bend

By the 17th century, according to Graham Roberts in *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, Hereford was past its prime and poverty stricken. Keeping the wells and pumps clean was impossible with residents 'emptying pissepots and other stinking excrements to ye greate annoyance of the neighbours'. Typhus, diarrhoea, smallpox and typhoid were common and life expectancy was short.

Luckily, cholera did not reach the city in the mid 19th century, but it turned out to be the 'best of all sanitary reformers'.

In 1853 a four-day inquiry by sanitary inspector Thomas Rammell revealed, among other things that that most cesspools were likely to seep into well water; that drains discharged directly into brooks, with the Castle mill pond and moat 'the most glaring evil'; and that river water at a ha'penny a bucket was considered soft, made a good cup of tea and made tea leaves go much further.

The council acted quickly and in 1854 appointed Timothy Curley, civil engineer, to carry out the recommendations made by Rammell. 'I witnessed such scenes of filth and uncleanness in this city, as I did not before believe could exist in a civilised community ... the floors of several privies being inundated by the semi-fluid contents of the cesspools; in some cases they are too filthy to be entered.' (Curley's map and plans, including the city drainage plan for the city can be seen in the Town Hall.) Initially Curley's sewers discharged into the Wye (it wasn't until 1970s that all discharging of untreated sewage finally stopped), but in 1885 work started on Bartonsham sewage treatment works.

In 1918 the national Institute of Sanitary Engineers held their annual conference in Hereford when, after a meatless meal at the Green Dragon (it was still wartime) they paid a visit to the sewage works which was much admired. Note was taken of the neighbouring withy (willow) beds, the withies being made, on the premises, into fruit baskets for the corporation's markets.

After the Second World War engineering work started on a new sewage works to serve the city's 50,000 population. The work was delayed by substantial flooding in the first few weeks, but eventually, after the river was dredged to reduce flooding, a large embankment was built to protect the site, an outfall dam made from copper with the more erodible pipes protected inside was constructed and a gravel bank was formed by the culvert apron near the outfall.

Finally in 1978 work on a new plant and pipeline designed to carry most of the dry weather sewage to the Rotherwas site was started.

8. The Bartonsham Dairy

Herefordshire saw more of its traditional milk meadows put to the plough to grow corn than any other county in England or Wales. The Bartonsham Meadows, however, seemed to have escaped destruction and when the Church Commissioner's tenant died around 1916, Whitecross dairyman Edward Matthews stepped in.

Edward Matthews had emigrated to America to work as a steam engine driver. Returning home when the American Civil War broke out, he drove engines on the Cardiff to Liverpool line until he was injured in an accident. He quit the railways, bought a milking cow called Old Brownie for £14 12s 6d. and began selling milk down Whitecross Road from a wheelbarrow. His son John William Matthews took over, running the business until 1948. His grandson, also John Matthews, took up the story:

Grandfather had taken the tenancy of the little 120 acre Bartonsham Farm, just by the bend of the river, from the Church Commissioners in the early twenties. John also moved from Whitecross to the back of the Booth Hall where they set up a milk shop. My father, Thomas 'Stan', and his two brothers were born there. Stan joined the RAF in the war, flying Liberators, Lancaster and Wellingtons, and when he came back in 1946 he took over the farm, milking 70 or 80 cows by hand. We had a parlour at Bartonsham and Dad had half a dozen people, Land Girls at first then later men to milk all these cows.

'Hand-milking, on the stool, head in the flank'

Land 'Girl' Doris Went was employed in the dairy. 'We started at six, hand-milking, on the stool, head in the flank and away to go! Then we delivered the milk with a can and a cart pulled by a horse called Tommy.'

After John Matthews left school in 1955 the business grew, assisted by his son Paul. By 2000 they were running four milking herds, buying in milk from another six or seven farms and delivering milk as far west as the Welsh Valleys and north up to Church Stretton. In 2020, however, the herd was sold and the grassland ploughed and put down to arable. Within weeks much of the crop was destroyed by flooding.

9. A pleasant walk

Two public rights of way and one permissive path exist across the Meadows and even today there are differences of opinion over the use of unadopted paths across the Meadows. The rights of way, as parishioner William Preece discovered, were often in contention.

Christine Earl's research of the Hereford Times for April 16 1862 unearthed Mr Preece's testimony:

About 70 years ago, a person named Yeats held the Bassom estate; he attempted to stop up the pathway next the river, leading to the Whalebone at Eign; this was resisted by the inhabitants of Hereford, and the Churchwardens of the parish, and other persons, of whom I was one went to the Bassom and removed the obstacles. Within a short time Yeats stopped up the path way again, and again we assembled and opened it; Yeats then gave up all opposition to the public passing there. After Yeats, a person named Moor lived at the Bassom, he had married Yeats daughter, I was intimately acquainted with him, he lived there many years – I think more than 20, he never attempted to interrupt the public passing through the meadows during his occupancy. Of late years Mr Braithwaite, during his possession of the Bassom farm, twice stopped up the pathway; I assisted Captain Blair, Mr Tully and others to force a passage, and we obliged Mr Braithwaite to acknowledge the public right by his giving up his attempt to stop the right of way.

William Preece could recall 'when the first stone of the Infirmary was laid' and a wall that then existed next the river.

I also recollect a branch of the river passing on the Hereford side 'Withy-bed' at Eign, now belonging to Mr Bodenham of Rotherwas; the public path in question ran by the side of this branch. I am now in my 88th year; I have during my life taken much interest in the parochial business of St Owens and have from time to time passed along this path; I have been there with the rev Mr Jennings, the rev Mr Freeman, and many other parishioners, and I can positively declare that a right of foot-way has always existed on the brink of the river through the Bassom meadows to Eign.

The battle of rights of way along the river were not yet over. There had been a controversial footpath through the Infirmary gardens to the 'Bassom' Meadows and while some considered it detrimental to the patients' health, others thought a good walk important for the citizens. As the old Castle Mill on Mill Street was to be demolished in 1881, there was much debate over the future of the land. Eventually it was decided to move the pathway from the Infirmary grounds to run over the demolished mill land alongside the river under a new infirmary wall.

Contributors:

Ian Broom, Mo Burns, Christine Earl, Nic Howes, Heather Hurley, Bill Laws, David Lovelace
Jeremy Milln, Marsha O'Mahony, Fran Morgan, Andy Tatchell, Linda Ward, David Whitehead

Further reading

Herefordshire's River Trade Craft and Cargo on the Wye and Lugg, Heather Hurley, Logaston Press

Herefordshire's Home Front in the First World War, Bill Laws, Logaston Press

Herefordshire Water Meadows David Whitehead and David Lovelace (www.h2om.uk)

River Voices, Marsha O'Mahony, Logaston Press

The Shaping of Modern Hereford, Graham Roberts, Logaston Press