

APPENDIX 1A

History of Hope End Park by George Demidowicz

Hope End Park Parkland Management Plan. **Final Report**
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A History of Hope End Park

Early History

Hope End Park lies in the extreme south west corner of the ancient parish of Colwall, Herefordshire (Fig 1). There were several houses at Hope End. To avoid confusion the present Hope End House (unlisted), constructed in the early 1870s and much reduced by fire in 1910 will be designated, Hope End House II. The latter was built following the demolition of the earlier Moorish-style *Hope End House*. Its site together with the surviving stable/service block, statutorily listed grade II as Hope End Hotel, now occupied as a dwelling and no longer a hotel, will be referred to as Hope End House I. An earlier house, demolished by the mid eighteenth century, called *Halls*, was also situated somewhere at this site.

The park is associated with an estate of the same name but with a considerably longer history, and whose origins and extent remain obscure. In the thirteenth century Hope End appears to have been part of a much larger territory known as Hope. In 1279 the prebendary, Master Henry de Newark, received a grant of 'free warren' on his demesne in 'La Berton and Hope', that is the right granted by the Crown to the lord of the manor to hunt small game such as rabbits and birds on his demesne land.¹ La Berton (The Barton), later known as Barton Colwall or the Barton Court estate, had been established some time earlier to support one of the prebendaries of Hereford Cathedral, the prebendary being an official in the cathedral administration.² The histories of Hope End and 'the Barton' will be found to be closely linked, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The territory known as Hope can possibly be identified with a large area of land controlled by the Barton estate which occupied a greater part of the south and west of Colwall parish. In Old English Barton means barley or corn farm, but by the early Middle Ages the term was used to refer to a demesne farm or outlying grange. Once the prebendary estate was established, it is possible that 'The Barton' with its quite specific meaning came to supersede the more general topographical name of Hope covering the wider estate. The Barton not only contained demesne land directly managed by the prebendary or his bailiff but also a large area of peasant tenancies, later known as copyholds or customary holdings.

The documentary sources suggest that the name Hope retreated from the relatively flat area around the upper reaches of the Cradley Brook to the valley in which Hope End House and Park now lie. Hope in Old English means a small enclosed or blind valley and must refer to the present Hope End valley. Deeds datable to about 1300 refer to the place Hope as in the 'road leading from La Berton to Hope' and in personal names, e.g., Elured de Hope, Richard, son of Robert de Hope and Robert, son of Robert de Hope.³ Hope may not only have been a territory but also an identifiable settlement, perhaps situated where the Hope End valley opens up into the much flatter land of the Cradley Brook near Lower Lodge.

Medieval deeds also provide evidence that an open field system operated in the area of The Barton and Hope referring to fields such as *West Field*, *South Field*, *Windmill Field* and *Comball Field*.⁴ There are frequent mentions of 'selions', the long narrow individual strips of peasant ploughland, also known as 'lands'.⁵ The open field system was not confined to the

wide valley of the Cradley Brook but also penetrated as part of Westfield a considerable distance into the Hope End valley, despite the more difficult terrain. In 1349 a deed refers to two selions at '*Westfield at Uffcombe*'.⁶ *Uffcombe*, now a lost name, lay close to *Lavenger Bank*, a field recorded in the tithe survey as occupying the steep south slope of the Hope End valley immediately west of Lower Lodge (Fig 2).⁷ The open fields of Colwall were not enclosed and consolidated by Act of Parliament, as in many parishes in the late 18th century, but by piecemeal enclosure through private agreements over a much longer period, a process which was still incomplete by the time of the tithe survey in the early 1840s. The shape of the enclosed fields shown on the map and field names such as *Long Lands* reflect the former presence of common fields, with one field, *Great Rodyatt Field*, still remaining as open field strips. These strips lay to the north of Lower Lodge with their western ends rising up slope towards the present Lodge Wood. If it appears that the lower reaches of the Hope End valley were cultivated as a part of an open field system and thus given over to arable, the appearance of the upper part of the valley in the medieval period remains unknown. Later evidence indicates that this area was held in free tenure; it is possible that it was 'waste' or uncultivated land cleared through 'assarting' by freemen who created enclosed fields held in 'severalty' or private ownership. Such clearance may have given rise to a medieval farmstead near the site of the Hope End House I, but there is no evidence for this.

The earliest known references to Hope End date from the sixteenth century. Thomas Holder and his son Thomas of 'hopende' are recorded in 1577.⁸ William Holder was described as being of Hope End in 1598.⁹ The use of the name Hope End here could be interpreted as designating just a dwelling or a dwelling with its surrounding farmland or estate. As suggested above the farmstead, as it existed at this time, may have had its origins in the medieval period, but, if so, it cannot be certain that it was located at the site of Hope End House I. The Holder family appear to hold land in the area until at least the third quarter of the 17th century (Widow Holder of Hope End 1603, William Holder of Hopend, buried 1655, Ales (Alice) Holder of 'Hoppend' buried 1674).¹⁰ By the 17th century, however, the Holder family, were not the only inhabitants of Hope End. At least four more families were described in the parish registers as being of Hope End (John Gilding of Hopend 1661, Elizabeth Gilding, wife of John Gilding of Hopend 1667, John Gilding of Hopend 1670, William, son of John Gilding of Hopend 1676, Roger, son of Anthony Baldwin of Hopend 1668, Elizabeth, wife of John Preece of Hopend 1668, Elizabeth, John and Margaret Preece of Hopend, 1683, Francis Pyfinch of Hopend, 1678). To this list must be added another family the Wheelers, for John Wheeler, yeoman, of 'Hopend' left a will in 1678.¹¹

The many families living at Hope End in this period needed to be accommodated somewhere in an area that is relatively deserted today with only three dwellings in the whole valley (excepting Lower Lodge). They may have lived together in a small nucleated settlement or hamlet perhaps situated below Hope End I where the valley broadens and turns from north-south to east-west. This location is close to the area of open fields and there is evidence of a separate farm (*Laffingers Farm*, see below) surviving somewhere in the valley as late as the eighteenth century.¹² An alternative explanation is that the farmsteads lay scattered along the valley including the area above Hope End I or over an even wider area (see below).

It is significant that copyhold land belonging to the Barton Colwall estate lay within the area of open fields that occupied the eastern end of the Hope End valley. Its extant manorial court books date from 1716 but record earlier transactions.¹³ The owners of the Hope End estate in the 18th century (Prichard, Lambert, Tempest, and see below) held some of this Barton Court copyhold land, which Basil Prichard had acquired in stages in the early eighteenth century.¹⁴

At two courts he was given licence to pull down two messuages (houses) (1700) and one cottage (1714) ‘without forfeiture’.¹⁵ The Prichards were steadily extending their Hope End estate at this time, which included not only removing the farmsteads of the previous tenants but also consolidation of the associated scattered strips of land. Some of these lay in a field called *Hope Field*, whose location is unknown. The process of consolidation was also achieved by exchanges of land, which reveal the extent of the intermixing of holdings in the area for Basil Prichard gave up strips of land deep within The Barton /Barton Court estate in fields called *Ruckmoor* and *Long Lands* (Fig 2).¹⁶ John Gilden (Gilding), recorded at ‘Hopend’ in the late 17th century, or perhaps a relation, was involved in exchanges of land at *Rodyate* (later *Rodyatt Field*, surviving as an open field at the time of tithe survey, see above), *Westnap* and *Washalls Cross*.¹⁷ *Westnap* (*Westnap Bow*, 1766) was located to the south of the road that leads from Petty France farm to Wellington Heath, a distinctive triangle of land on the boundary with Ledbury parish, south of *Old Lands* (Fig 2).¹⁸ *Washalls Cross* can be identified as the crossroads at Petty France.¹⁹ It is, therefore, worth considering that the use of the name Hope End was not confined to the present Hope End valley but extended southwards into the valley that rises above the Petty France farm towards Wellington Heath and beyond to the boundary of Ledbury parish. Hope End farmsteads may have been located at *Washalls Cross*, now Petty France.

In the absence of any large-scale maps of the area before the nineteenth century it is impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the pattern of settlement and fields, the fragmentation of ownership caused by the survival of open fields and the distribution of arable and pasture. It is clear however that a significant degree of depopulation took place in the creation of the Hope End estate, whether this was of a scatter of farmsteads or of a larger nucleation.

Halls

A marriage settlement of 1701 is the first to describe the house and land at Hope End I in any detail.²⁰ By this date it was in the possession of the Prichard family, who appear in the parish registers of Colwall from the 1590s but with no apparent links to Hope End up to this time.²¹ John Prichard and his wife, Susannah (nee Spencer) had only one son, Basil, born in 1674, who married Susannah Skipp of Ledbury in 1701. Arrangements were made for the division of the property between the parents and the newly-weds for successive lives. It was described as the ‘scite of the manner [manor] mesualty, messuage or farm called Halls and the mansion house wherein John Prichard now doth dwell’. There was also a ‘place where the dwelling house antiently stood’. The convoluted and obscure legal description may have exaggerated the contemporary status of the house, but it was certainly no mere farmstead for it also had a dovecote and fishponds. Its land lay to the south and extended from Loxter common [to the north-west] to a common way ‘leading from the Frith towards Hopend [to the south east]’. This was not a single consolidated block of land but consisted of several parcels measuring about 40 acres and ‘lying amongst and intermixed with certain customary lands and tenements’.

John Prichard had purchased land in Wellington immediately over the boundary with Ledbury in the area of the present Hope End Farm. The common way leading to Hope End can be identified with the present track that leads off the road from Wellington Heath and Loxter to Petty France farm. This private track descends into the Hope End valley, reaching the bottom at the point where it changes from a north-south to an east-west orientation, a location already suggested for a settlement called Hope End. The common way, however,

could then have led on northwards to *Halls*, which is not called Hope End in the Prichard marriage settlement although within twenty years it was to be known by both names (see below).

The 'mansion house' contained the following rooms allocated to Susannah, wife of John, the Little Parlour, Chamber over the kitchen, the closet there adjacent, the chamber over the hall, one half of the Great Cellar 'in the mansion house or dwelling house', the kitchen and backhouse. By implication there was at least a hall and maybe a small cellar and a great parlour together with other rooms in the part of the house given over to Basil and his wife Susannah. Susannah senior also had access to a little stable and loft, a pig house, a cider or malt mill with a chamber over to store fruit for making cider perry, a dove house and fish ponds. She could take half of the young doves and half the fish in the ponds. Apart from a garden where herbs were cultivated there was also an apple and pear orchard. There is no evidence of park at this time.

This is a substantial establishment, exemplified by the presence of a dovecote and fishponds, and reflecting the lower gentry status of its owners. John Prichard described himself in the marriage settlement as a gentleman. William Prichard, possibly his father, is entered with one of the lowest values in the 1663 Militia Assessment for Colwall.²² A William Prichard who died in 1667 is described as 'of Lockstarre', (Loxter), suggesting that he lived above and not far from Hope End at the boundary with Ledbury. It is possible that John trained locally as an attorney, providing him with sufficient income to acquire a freehold estate such as *Halls*. This provided the necessary passport or entrée into the ranks of the gentry.²³ His son, Basil, and grandson, George, followed the same career, the latter with the advantage of a more formal education.

The dovecote and fishponds at *Halls* were, however, probably not constructed by the Prichards but by the previous owners, the Hall family. This numerous and wealthy Ledbury family were local landowners and engaged in trade as vintners, merchants and clothiers.²⁴ There is no direct evidence for which branch of the family gave it name to *Halls*, but it has been concluded that it was the *Halls of Bullen*, an estate to the south of Ledbury town. In terriers of the Barton/Barton Court estate dating from 1674 and 1719 some of the same scattered strips have a Robert Hall, Gent, and John Hall recorded as bounding owners respectively.²⁵ The only identifiable Robert Hall at this time was Robert Hall of Bullen (1629-1691). The estate then passed through his son John, who died in 1711, and his grandson, also John, who died in 1727.²⁶ The Prichard settlement of 1701 refers to land purchased in the Wellington area of Ledbury by John Prichard from, amongst others, Elizabeth Hall, who was probably Elizabeth, wife of Robert Hall. The *Halls* estate probably represents the expansion of the Bullen Hall landed interest from Ledbury into the neighbouring borderland of Colwall parish. It is also worth noting that both Basil Prichard and his son George, born in 1704, married into the influential and prominent Skipp (Skyppe) family of Upper Hall or Overhall, Ledbury, George Skipp (1633-90), father-in law of Basil, having trained as a lawyer at Balliol College and Gray's Inn.²⁷ Apart from revealing an interesting and probably significant professional connection between the families, such intermarrying confirms the close landownership links between the Hope End area and Ledbury.

John Prichard of 'Hopping' was buried at Colwall church on 23 December 1715, the entry in the parish register being the first known reference to John living at Hope End. His will, made the previous September, continues to describe his worldly estate as 'the scite of my Manor or

Mensuality of Halls'.²⁸ The will confirms that the estate was to pass to his son, Basil, under the marriage agreement of 1701. John's wife Susannah died less than eighteen months later, in April 1717 and she was recorded in the burial register as 'Susan of Hoppend widow'.

A document of 1731 is the last to record the estate of *Halls* at Hope End. Listing ancient dues of oats owed annually to the lords of Hanley Castle, the Hornyolds, 'Basell' Prichard, Esq., was recorded as paying them for 'Halls' and also, remarkably, for the Barton.²⁹

In the previous decade Basil Prichard 'attorney', had taken on at least three apprentices - in 1725, 1726 and in 1730. Robert Bright, apprenticed in 1730 at the age of sixteen, was eventually articulated to Basil in 1735. Robert was son of a local landowner, Henry Bright of Brockbury, who had died in 1726 and it was his widow, Mary, who placed her son with the local lawyer, Basil.³⁰

The Prichard estate was increased under a marriage settlement made in 1728, a few days before the wedding of George Prichard and his first cousin Jane Skipp, daughter of his maternal uncle John Skipp and another grandchild of George Skipp, the lawyer. Under this settlement, however, it was John Skipp who transferred his Lintridge estate in the parish of Dymock, Gloucestershire, to the Prichards and no Hope End property was involved. Like his grandfather George had undertaken a formal education in law, admitted to Lincoln's Inn in May 1721, matriculating from Merton College, Oxford in March 1722, and recorded as a practising barrister at Lincoln's Inn, London in 1727.³¹

The first park and a new house

With Basil and George both practising lawyers and neither having any siblings to share the family estate, the Prichards accumulated considerable wealth. They decided to abandon the farmhouse or mansion at *Halls* and build a new residence. Clearly the old dwelling house did not reflect their social aspirations. The date of the new building's construction is unknown but it was likely to have been during the lifetime of Basil, who died in 1749, and before the death of his wife Susannah, who died in 1733. A deer park was laid out around the house and first appears on Isaac Taylor's 1754 map of Herefordshire, providing a possible *terminus ante quem* to the building of the house itself (Fig 3). The new house was built to the south-east of *Halls* and commanded a better view. There is only one known image (Fig 4), published in 1795.³² This shows a three-storey Georgian house of seven bays with vertically sliding sash windows, the only decorative element being a centrally-placed pedimented doorway supported on columns. Behind a plain parapet the hipped roof appears to be double-pitched with tall chimneys rising from the parapets. Land rises steeply to the left and no other buildings are shown in the woodland backdrop. Deer can be seen grazing on the front lawn and a drive curves from right to left to arrive at the main door.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the deer park, expensive both to establish and maintain, became a fashionable means for the aspiring gentleman to display his wealth and status. John Macky, travelling through England in the early 1700s, remarks on the 'abundance of Gentlemen's Seats...each with their little Parks stocked with Deer'.³³ The animals were valued aesthetically and kept primarily for ornament rather than for the hunt. The deer park had of necessity to have a palisade fence or pale, perhaps raised on a bank above an internal ditch. The fence is shown conventionally on Taylor's 1754 map and at this small scale cannot be relied on to provide an accurate depiction of the new park's shape.

The account hereafter is at variance with the traditional interpretation of the house at Hope End I, which claims that the Prichard house was reduced to two storeys and converted to a stable block after Edward Moulton-Barrett built his extravagant new Moorish-style house, which was completed by 1815. This interpretation can also be found in the statutory listing description.³⁴ The implication is that the Prichard house still stands at Hope End I, but with its top storey removed. This report, however, offers an alternative explanation, namely that the new Prichard house and the Moulton-Barret house were one and the same, the Moorish architecture merely a re-cloaking of plain Georgian facades.

Basil Prichard wrote a will in 1744, which was proved 1749, but no record of his death has been found. The will is singularly brief considering his profession. There is no confirmation that a new house had been built. His landed estate unhelpfully described as, 'Messuages, Houses, Lands, Tenements...' was left to his only son, George.³⁵ George, describing himself as of Hopend, then quickly agreed to an exchange of land with his neighbour, Richard Brydges of Old Colwall, another of the many exchanges that took place in this period between local owners to simplify the mosaic of holdings.³⁶

George and Jane Prichard's first child was a daughter, Jane, baptised on 28 November 1729. Just over a year later Jane gave birth to son, George, who died young in 1747. There is no record of any other births to the Prichards so Jane became the only heir to the Hope End estate. Jane's marriage to Henry Lambert in Bristol in 1763 was bitterly opposed by George.³⁷ Henry Lambert was a naval officer, a second lieutenant, who saw service in the Mediterranean during the Seven Years War.³⁸ He was discharged on half pay as the war was coming to an end, leaving his ship in Plymouth in July 1762. In just less than a year he had married Jane, the heiress to Hope End. It was not the match that George had desired, the marriage taking place in Bristol without his knowledge or approval.

Despite his furious disapproval George did not disown Jane but ensured that Henry Lambert would not inherit Hope End. George died in September 1765, not at Hope End, but in La Rochelle, France.³⁹ He had made out a will earlier in April with no mention of his wife, presumably dead.⁴⁰ Describing himself as of Hope End his lengthy will appointed three trustees to administer his estate on behalf of his daughter, Jane, despite the fact that she was of age and in her mid-thirties. Much of the land was tenanted and farmed by William Morgan and the trustees were charged with ensuring that he remained undisturbed during his tenancy. Some useful information is provided on specific parts of Morgan's holding which included the fish ponds, 'excepting the Great fish pond', implying that there were smaller ones. A little garden adjoined his 'dwelling house' which had a stable attached to its east end. He also had access to a mill house and kiln house for making cider and perry and drying and bagging hops 'that shall grow on the premises'. It would appear that Morgan's farm buildings were those that had formerly been part of *Halls*, the house, farm and farm land given over to tenants, while the Prichards concentrated on their profession. No mention is made of the deer park.

Henry Lambert and his wife, Jane, were not allowed to live at Hope End and their daughter, destined to be an only child, was born in 1764 in Monmouth. After George Prichard's death, they 'entered upon the estate', but in April 1767 Jane died, Henry remaining in possession and receiving, it was claimed, 'the rents and profits'. A dispute inevitably broke out between the trustees and Henry Lambert which was referred to Chancery, the outcome of which is unknown.⁴¹ Fortunately accounts were made up as part of the evidence for the case and they

cover the period 1767-1773.⁴² Henry Lambert began to owe rent from Lammas 1767 (13 Aug) on:

Lands in hand Occupied by the Testator [George Prichard] with the Mansion house and Paddock since occupied by the Infants Father [Henry Lambert] valued at £80 per annum exclusive of the Mansion house and paddock.

It is tempting to assume that the land held in hand consisted mainly of the deer park. The use of the phrase 'Mansion house' supports the proposal that the Prichards built the house illustrated in Fig 4. It is extremely unlikely that Henry Lambert built the house, with no legal hold on the Hope End estate and to accommodate only him and his very young daughter.

The accounts included an annual rental in which Henry Lambert owes £80. Richard Wood had taken over the main farm (Morgan's Farm) from William Morgan and held this and other land at £107 per annum. There was another farm, *Laffingers Farm*, which had been taken over by Henry Lambert until a new tenant could be found. It was a small establishment (£13 13 p.a.) located lower down the Hope End valley, presumably near the *Lavenger* fields situated on its south slope (Fig 2). This was probably the last of the many *Hopend* farmsteads recorded in the 17th century, although the estate drew small rents from a further five cottages. Five separate small plots of land rented to five tenants, including Robert Harcourt of the Barton/Barton Court, completed the estate. By January 1773 Henry Lambert had amassed £440 of rent arrears for the mansion house and land he occupied and £61 8s 6d for Laffingers farm for which no tenant had been found.

In 1771 Henry Lambert had married a second wife, Catherine Parker, the fourth daughter of John Parker of Saltram House near Plymouth. The small household of two increased to three and no doubt Catherine took charge of the upbringing of the young Susannah, then aged seven.

Susannah came of age and inherited the Hope End estate in 1785. Henry Lambert may, like her grandfather, George, have faced his daughter's marriage with some trepidation, having himself eloped with an heiress. As fate would have it Susannah fell for a bounder, this time an impoverished aristocrat, Sir Henry Tempest, fourth baronet of Tong in Yorkshire.⁴³ Many sources repeat the error that this was Sir Henry Vane-Tempest, whose estates lay in County Durham.⁴⁴ The wedding took place on 24 January 1791 at St Marylebone Church, a notorious destination for eloping couples. On 27 January Sir Henry wrote gleefully to a relative that his 'ancient house is raised from the dust' and on 15 March Susannah signed over her entire landed and personal fortune to her new husband.⁴⁵ In full control of the estate, Henry's new son-in-law 'used him very ill and turned him out of Hope End'.⁴⁶ This included Catherine, who must not be forgotten, and so began the necessary rebuilding of the ancient house at Barton to make it fit for a daughter of the lords Boringdon of Saltram House.⁴⁷

Fortunately for the study of Hope End, Sir Henry Tempest commissioned a written survey of the estate, dated July 1791, which was accompanied by a map, now lost.⁴⁸ For the first time we have the dimensions of the park, which was slightly over 38 acres (38a 0r 20p). The description is the fullest in the 1791 deed:⁴⁹

All that Capital Messuage or Tenement called Hope End, with the Buildings Barns Gardens Stables Fish ponds and Rivers together with the Park or Paddock to the Capital Messuage or Tenement adjoining and belonging...

This description clarifies that the ‘Paddock’ mentioned in 1767 is coextensive with the park and that the acreage also included the footprint of the house and farm complex alongside. But without a map the exact location of the park, estimating its size at about 36 acres, is not easy. Did it entirely surround the house and farm or was it oriented in a particular direction? If a circle 36 acres in area is drawn around the house site such a circumference would extend only as far as Hope End II and the walled garden (Fig 5). The disadvantage of the park entirely surrounding the farm is that it would directly divorce it from the cultivated land in its immediate vicinity, such as the apple and pear orchards which would not be sensible to incorporate into a deer park. An orientation that would work is one to the east, south-east and south of the house, occupying the entirety of the valley slopes in this direction up to their highest contours. This alternative is shown in Fig 6. This area accords with two fields marked on the 1812 tithe map, one of which was called ‘Park’ (Fig 16).⁵⁰

Apart from the park there were twenty-seven fields forming a compact grouping in all directions from the house and five at the eastern end of this main holding intermixed with the land of the Barton/Barton Court and Petty France farm. With no map it is difficult to locate most of the 27 fields accurately, but it appears that the numbering sequence begins near Loxter Hill (*Gold Acre*) and moves in a clockwise direction to finish near the starting point at *Great Caffington*, identifiable as *Canington* on the tithe map (Fig 2). Three orchards appear in the sequence, *Clover Orchard*, *Earles’s (Heels) Orchard* and *Cockshutt or Upper Heels Orchard*. These were probably located to the north-west of the farm on the slopes towards the present walled garden and Hope End II. The Colwall part of the estate measured nearly 248 acres (247a 3r 8p). If the land in neighbouring Ledbury at Wellington is added the total acreage reaches nearly 478 acres. The survey confirms that the cottages lay in Ledbury on the road that led to Wellington Heath, near Loxter. Of great significance is the fact that there was little identifiable woodland on the Colwall part of the estate which leads to the conclusion that most of the woodland that appears on the nineteenth century maps was planted or was allowed to grow during that century. Nevertheless the Hope End landscape had a sylvan appearance, the result of a dense network of field hedgerows incorporating many standard trees. In addition narrow hanging woods may have developed on the steepest slopes in some of the fields.

The first description of Hope End (1796) is to be found in one of the earliest guides to Malvern.⁵¹

In a retired valley on the west side of the parish of Colwall... is Hope-End, the seat of Sir Henry Tempest, Bart. This is partly a modern structure, rather large and commodious, some of the apartments are highly finished. It is nearly surrounded by small eminences, and therefore does not command any distant prospect, except to the southward, nor is that very extensive; but this defect is compensated by the various and beautiful scenery that immediately surrounds this secluded residence. In front of the house are some fine pieces of water; on the banks are planted a variety of shrubs and evergreens, which, in conjunction with the water, look very ornamental. The deer park, which is a small but pleasant tract, lies on the ascent of the adjacent eminences, whose projecting parts, and bending declivities, modelled by nature, display much beauty. It contains an elegant profusion of wood disposed in the most careless but pleasing order. Much of the park, and its scenery, is in view from the house, where it presents a most agreeable appearance.

In the deer park is an ash of remarkable growth, which is now in an improving state. It is the largest I have ever seen, and perhaps the largest in Britain.

It is unlikely that Sir Henry Tempest made significant alterations to his newly-acquired estate. He is notorious for having abandoned his wife for his married cousin, Mrs Sarah Graham.⁵² It is probable therefore, that during his ownership, which lasted until 1809, the park remained a small part of an estate that was predominantly agricultural in function and appearance. The Tempests enjoyed society, especially the company of actors and actresses, for Sarah was married to Aaron Graham, manager of Drury Lane theatre. An actress, Harriot Mellon, is stated to have met Sir Henry Tempest and his wife Susannah at the house of Mr Graham in 1798, having been introduced to him by the famous actor, Richard Sheridan.⁵³ Sir Henry eventually became involved in property development in the new and fashionable suburb of Highgate and built a house called Holly Lodge, which he leased in 1809 to Miss Mellon, who later married Thomas Coutts, the banker.

How much time the Tempests spent together at Hope End is unknown. Sir Henry might have abandoned his wife as early as 1799, on the birth of his daughter Ellen with Sarah Graham. Henry Lambert remained unreconciled to Susannah despite her humiliation and refused to see her, even on his death bed in 1814.⁵⁴ At her own death in 1821 she was living at Shrub Hill on the east side of Worcester. Sir Henry sold the Hope End estate in 1809 and purchased Thorpe Lea House, Egham, near Staines in Surrey with the proceeds, setting up home with Sarah Graham and their daughter.⁵⁵

Land tax records for this period provide details of the tenants of Sir Henry's land, including, it is assumed, the main farm buildings. They do not help in identifying the occupants of the house or whether the park was being carefully managed. In 1793 the tenants were John Bray and James Preece, who were replaced by John Lissiman and Caleb Hankins from at least 1801 to 1804. Caleb Hankins 'and others' are recorded as tenants from that time up to the sale in 1809.⁵⁶ The Prichard's park still appears to have been stocked with deer. Deer are shown grazing on the front lawn in the 1795 view (Fig 4), although their presence in this precise spot may have been artistic licence, and the deer park was mentioned in the Malvern guide the following year. Deer are also known to have been in the park in 1809 (see below)

The Moulton-Barrett house

The arrival of new owners in 1809 heralded a major transformation of the house and garden. Edward Moulton-Barrett, the owner of many sugar plantations in Jamaica, was born on a family plantation on the island but educated and married in England.⁵⁷ Edward would have remained a relatively unknown Herefordshire landowner and Hope End an obscure corner of a Herefordshire parish, had it not been for his daughter, the poet Elizabeth Barrett-Browning (1807-1861). She lived at Hope End between the ages of three and twenty-six and was much inspired by her beautiful surroundings, which underwent major changes between 1809 and 1815.

In May 1809 Edward Moulton-Barrett was negotiating the purchase of Hope End from Sir Henry Tempest. His wife, Mary, wrote:⁵⁸

With respect to *Hope-End* we are just as when I last wrote. They have not agreed in the price, tho' the treaty is still on foot, and I still think will end to Edwards wishes—he is delighted with the place. There are deer in the Park, & it is surrounded with fine hills

covered with *wood*— A Stream runs through it—forming a Cascade— Nothing in short *Ever* was so picturesque & beautiful—there are 475 Acres, £27,000 asked, Including house, *furniture*, (*which is old*) as it stands. Edward offers £24,000. I think they may meet *half way*, tho' it is at present the plan to *stand firm*.

The family moved in in the autumn of 1809 and Edward immediately set about refashioning the house. Published accounts to date assert that an entirely new house was built in front of the Prichard mansion, which was then reduced in height to two storeys and converted into a stable.⁵⁹ A contemporary account however suggests that the existing house was retained and underwent 'improvements' to its appearance:⁶⁰

Edward as happy as possible quite delighted with his purchase—it is a Beautiful place— Nature has been bountiful in the scenery— which is grand & extensive—this situation is rather retired, too much so for most young men, but just the thing for the present owner—who is up to his chin in brick & Mortar— When the improvements (which are intended to be made) are finish'd it will be very handsome—the House is very Indifferent.

Fortunately two photographs of the Barrett house have survived and careful study of them leads to the conclusion that the earlier house was not partially demolished and converted for use as a stable but re-cloaked 'in a most outlandish and flamboyant Eastern style reminiscent of Constantinople in its heyday' (Figs 7 and 8).⁶¹ One photograph shows the south-east elevation containing the main entrance, the other the north-east elevation facing the pool.

Edward Moulton Barrett employed the Scottish landscape gardener and horticulturist, John Julius Loudon (1783-1843) to design his house. Loudon did not consider himself 'a practising architect', but in the early days of his career he 'did occasionally act in this capacity'.⁶² Hope End, variously described as Moorish, Turkish or Oriental in style, is an extraordinary example of one of his few forays into the building design. In his considerable published output he only referred twice, and this briefly, to his work at Hope End.

In Herefordshire, the property of H. [sic] M. Barrett, Esq, where extensive improvements on the house and grounds are now [1812] executing from my designs.⁶³

It is important to emphasise that Loudon is referring in 1812 to 'improvements on the house' and not to the design of an entirely new one. In his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* published ten years later in 1822 he added that the grounds at Hope End were 'highly romantic by nature and well wooded'.⁶⁴ Confirmation of Loudon's role at Hope End is provided by a comment made by an elderly neighbour of Edward Moulton-Barrett writing to Robert Browning in 1888:⁶⁵

I have often heard Mr. Barrett say, that his architect ran away to 'rebuild Moscow'

Loudon left England in March 1813 for a grand tour of Europe, arriving in Moscow, devastated by the Napoleonic invasion, in March 1814. He returned to England in September 1814.⁶⁶

Some doubt was later cast Loudon's role in the house, attributing the design to the exotic taste of the owner, Edward Moulton-Barrett:

...J.C. Loudon was called in to do the gardens and park in 1822 and may have put a few finishing touches to the house, although Mr Barrett is thought to have planned it himself.⁶⁷

Apart from the incorrect date, Loudon's work being datable to the period 1810-1813, any doubt that Loudon was involved as 'architect' is dispelled by the existence of drawings that were published as long ago as 1984 but have been hitherto unknown in the literature of architecture and of parks and gardens (Figs 9 and 10).⁶⁸ These are to-scale elevations, unlikely to have been drawn by Edward Moulton Barrett and are very similar in style to the elevations of a new house and stable at Garth, near Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, which Loudon designed in 1809-1810, immediately before his work at Hope End (Fig 11).⁶⁹

Colvin's scathing remarks reintroduce the role of Edward Moulton-Barrett but only as the instigator of the exotic style and not as the actual designer.⁷⁰

...a most eccentric building, coarsely designed in a pseudo-Moorish Style, presumably at the owner's behest, but certain resemblances to Garth confirm Loudon's responsibility for the architecture.

If the owner was responsible for the suggesting the style, inspiration elsewhere was severely limited and not specifically 'Moorish'. Samuel Pepys Cocksedge had designed the house at Sezincote, Gloucestershire, in Indo-Islamic style, substantially complete by 1807. The Royal Pavilion at Brighton was inspired by Sezincote, but its remodelling or Indianisation by John Nash for the Prince Regent was not begun until 1815 when Hope End was more or less complete. The 'pseudo- Moorish Style,' is in fact unique for any building at this time and did not set a trend.⁷¹ The design was clumsy and reflected the difficulty in re-facading an existing early eighteenth century house with all the Moorish elements of ornamented turrets, columns and domes, ogee arches and a minaret.

The evidence for the re-facading of the existing house is as follows:

1 Both the Prichard house and the Moulton-Barrett house had seven bays on the entrance frontage (facing south-east). The three-storey entrance porch designed for the Barretts had to be two-bays wide for aesthetic and practical reasons. With seven bays the porch could not be centrally placed, as would be the case in a new build, but is positioned asymmetrically to the right of the elevation.

2 The early design (Fig 10) intended to preserve all the vertically-sliding sash windows of the original house including the smaller windows on the second floor. A sketch drawing, dated about 1850, shows ogee arches added to the ground and second floor windows, leaving the first floor windows unchanged (Fig 12). The only photo of this elevation shows the same arrangement (Fig 7) with the porch obscuring the first bay to its left.

3 The poolside elevation (north-east) (Fig 9) on the early drawing shows that it was intended to preserve two bays of original windows on the first and second floor. All these were, however, completely removed and replaced by a single large oval window on each floor (Fig 8). The rear extension, presumably the domestic offices and service wing, (north-west elevation) was intended to be heightened and re-facaded, but was left at its original two-storey height together with its vertically-sliding sash windows.

4 The image of the Prichard house (Fig 4) shows a steep slope to the left. The Moulton-Barret house has the same slope descending towards it. This artificially-cut scarp was created by the Prichards to provide a more favourable site south-east of Halls, their existing house and home farm, for their new residence.

5 The present house (formerly the stable/service block) is a poor candidate for the house built by the Prichards. It is a multi-period building with at least five different roof structures. If the Prichard house had been merely reduced in height by one storey, it would have been sensible to lay aside what would have been a double-pitched roof and re-erect it. Fig 13 shows that the two-storey part of the stable had two different widths in the late 1940s. A significantly narrower wing extends westwards, creating a dog-leg in the rear elevation (north) which also appears to be blind at first floor level. This angle was occupied by a single storey mono-pitched building with an L-shaped plan, so that one arm projected into the rear yard. This still survives today but the other arm was demolished and replaced by a two storey infill. This later infilling explains why two turrets today are trapped as half sections in exterior walls, when originally they were attached to two corners of the building on the rear elevation.

On the assumption that the Prichard and Moulton-Barrett houses shared the same footprint, then the present house, formerly a stable and service block, might always have been a service building. It was not built in one phase, but reached its present footprint, without the two-storey infill, in the early 1810s as the then five corners were embellished with five corner turrets. It is possible that, as part of the work to the main house, Edward Moulton-Barrett had an existing stable/service building extended westwards. This would explain why this end of the building has cut into the slope, the west elevation partly below ground. The eastern end with an original double-pile hipped roof running from the front to the rear elevation lies on level ground and may represent the original part of the stable/service building. There would then have been at least three separate extensions to reach the footprint of the early 1810s.

The alignment of this building, roughly east-west, was at variance with the Prichard/Moulton-Barrett house, which stood to the south-east on a north-east south-west alignment. As a result the yard between the house and the stable was roughly triangular, the west side allowing the space for Loudon to design an entrance arch with a clock tower over. The orientation of the stable block is of significance for it reflects the orientation of the original home farm buildings of Halls, buildings that remained standing and in use behind the Prichard house until the arrival of the Moulton Barretts.

The refashioning of the house took about five years (1810-1815) and Loudon may only have seen the early phases of work. Following his European Tour from March 1813 to September 1814 and it is possible that he returned to Hope End to see the house finished and internally refurbished in great contrast to the earlier decor. It is possible that he handed over his proposed drawings to Edward Moulton-Barrett, reflecting his earlier scheme to retain most of the original Prichard vertically-sliding sash windows.

Work had begun by October 1810 as Edward Moulton-Barrett was observed ‘up to his chin in in brick & Mortar.’⁷² In March 1814 the Moulton-Barret children wrote to their grandmother:⁷³

we have not any room but *this* to dine & sit in the library being painted. Some of the brass ballustrades are put up, & the Elegance of the hall, really reminds one of the

Arabian nights tales. *I think it is beautiful and unique— The Drawings Rooms, now, are the only part of the house that exhibits brick walls interior.*

By February 1815 the house was complete enough to invite local landed families and friends for an ‘Event in the records of Hope End’ that had had ‘no parallel....for the last 4 Years.’ Mary, Elizabeth’s sister noted the reaction of the guests.⁷⁴

...most lavish they all were of admiration of the house and furniture, which are indeed very *unique* and striking...

In December 1816 the young but precocious Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett, aged only nine, writing to her uncle expressed the opinion that: ⁷⁵

Hope End was very much improved and is much altered, indeed I do not think you will know it again...

Other Loudon buildings

Loudon not only radically redesigned the appearance of the mansion house but also attempted stylistically to integrate the service buildings at the rear. The main farm buildings (Halls) were removed to an entirely new site to the south-west, in Loxter just over the parish boundary with Ledbury. The new farm appears on the 1813 enclosure map of Ledbury so had been constructed by this date.⁷⁶ The new buildings were arranged around four sides of a rectangular yard, the farmhouse at the western end enjoying a view and with space for a garden. The complex was called The Farm in 1831-3 and Hope End Farm by 1848.⁷⁷ In 1812 Loudon published a book on the laying out of farms which included this type of regular layout.⁷⁸

The move probably brought about the demolition of most of the farm buildings on the original site of Halls, including the farmhouse or mansion house. These had been located west of the stable block in an area which, in the late twentieth century, was recolonised by a new set of buildings.

The shifting of the farm was clearly prompted by the need to create a more picturesque environment at the rear of the house. There was still the necessity for a stable, however, and the existing building may have been extended to include coach houses and other facilities. As mentioned above, Loudon had five turrets erected on the five corners of the building, which was bounded by walls laid in circular pattern.

These walls gave Loudon the opportunity to build more turrets and a minaret and have survived to the present day. A curving wall defines the west side of the yard between the house and the stable and contains an arched entrance with a clock tower above. Another wall runs in a straight line from the south-east corner of the stable to the end of the curving wall to create a segment-shaped enclosure embracing the archway and clock tower (Fig.25) This regularised the shape of the stable yard, but created an awkward area of walled ‘dead space’ to the north of the gateway. A building occupied most of the area between the tower and the southern end of the segment, to which was attached a massive pier with an ogee-shaped coping, paired with another to form an alternative entrance into the stable yard and allow access to the yard at the rear of the house (Fig 14). This second pier defines the beginning of the wall that runs along the south-east side of the yard, reflecting the orientation of the house.

It is not known if any earlier buildings stood to the north of the stable block, although it seems unlikely. The land rises steeply and Loudon's creation of a high curved wall enclosing a yard on this side required the ground be excavated. As the wall curves away and slightly inwards from the turretted corner of stable block it retains increasingly more ground, returning southwards to the western gateway into the yard. The surviving minaret is situated on the eastern perimeter of the wall where buildings were erected against the inside face. Their original use is unknown.

Loudon was clearly fond of the circle as a design element at this period in his career and its use at Hope End must have added even further to the quirkiness of the whole ensemble. Only a year or two before he had designed a circular stable in neo-Gothick style at Garth, near Welshpool (Fig 11). He published drawings of it in 1812, when undoubtedly he was involved, or recently involved, at Hope End.⁷⁹

Loudon's Park at Hope End

Loudon is better known as the 'father of the English garden' than as an architect, but his work on the landscape at Hope End has left little trace in the documentary record.⁸⁰ As a consequence it is extremely difficult to identify with any certainty any overall design or its individual elements. The statutory listing of the park and garden states that 'The main elements of Loudon's picturesque landscape in the small valley to the east of the house survive', but most of these elements have been shown above to have already existed.⁸¹ It states that 'A sinuous pool was created immediately north of the house by damming the Cradley Brook', but fish ponds are recorded as early as 1701 (see above). Loudon may have altered and extended the bodies of water, of which there are two surviving, the smaller above the larger, by heightening dams but this cannot be certain. Farther up the valley two much smaller pools were evident in the mid-nineteenth century, one of which is still discernible today as a dry bed (Fig 29). It is claimed that 'Immediately south of the *new house* (author's italics) the limestone valley side was cut back to form a rock face and to open up the view east.' But again it has been demonstrated that this cutting back of the slope to create a scarp was carried out in the early eighteenth century to provide space for the Prichard's new house and to open up the view.

Again we can be more certain of Loudon's building activity than of any alterations to topography and hydrology. The listing description offers a date of c.1750 to the kitchen garden, but there is no mention of it in the 1791 survey.⁸² If anything can be attributed to Loudon, other than the alterations to Hope End House I and its ancillary buildings, then it is the creation of the walled kitchen garden at some distance from the house. If he intended to create a Picturesque landscape in the immediate vicinity of the house, then the removal of not only the home farm buildings but also of any kitchen garden close by would make sense. His canvas would have eliminated intrusive elements, allowing longer perspectives over new and old planting to create a picture of wild and romantic irregularity.

The survival of a map of Colwall, drawn in 1830 but copied from a smaller-scale plan of 1812, is the first to provide any details on the appearance of the Hope End estate. The 1812 plan is fortuitous as it coincides with Loudon's commission, but this map is of too small a scale to show buildings accurately (Fig 16), although the pattern of fields is correctly depicted.⁸³ There is no kitchen garden and, if it is Loudon's, it is yet to be laid out. The large number of buildings shown at Hope End, despite the imprecision, suggests that they once

stretched northwards up the present steep slope to a single building within its own enclosure. The home farm has also yet to be removed, though this may be imminent.

The map provides a layout of fields for the first time. It is clear that the twenty seven fields surveyed in 1791 had been roughly halved in number. More important is the identification of two fields as 'Park', one to the east of the house, significantly known as *The Lawn* on the 1842 Tithe map, and also perhaps taking in an area to the south of the house bordering *Whitelands*. The other, measuring about twenty five acres and connected to both, occupied all of the north slope of the valley to its opening out into the vale of Cradley Brook. 'Park' is lettered here in the same way as 'E M Barrett' written alongside it, demonstrating that by this time the park had been extended, perhaps under the hitherto unrecognised initiative of Loudon. The map also marks the long drive from the house down the valley to a cross roads but there is no indication of a Lower Lodge at its eastern end. Much of the drive, before it turns northwards to the house, appears to be a more ancient hedged road that connected the cross roads with the road from Petty France to Loxter. There is no sign of the present drive between the Upper Lodge and the house nor of a building on the present site of the lodge.⁸⁴

Lower Lodge was constructed by the Heywoods, who purchased Hope End from the Moulton-Barretts in 1832. Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett remained curious about the changes that were taking place at her beloved former home. In 1834 she wrote to a former neighbour who lived at Old Colwall:⁸⁵

I should like to hear something of Hope End: whether there are many alterations, & whether the new lodge of which I heard, is built. Even now, the thought stands before me sometimes like an object in a dream, that I shall see no more those hills & trees which seemed to me once almost like portions of my existence

If there is a paucity of sources for Loudon's architectural work at Hope End, they are almost silent with regard to his park or garden design and planting. All we have is his own brief footnote commenting on 'extensive improvements to the house and grounds.'⁸⁶ In the main text on the page he refers to 'romantic seat among the Malvern Hills [sic], near Ledbury', but only in relation to the planting of fruit trees and hops, which were laid out 'both in quincunx⁸⁷ and in natural form, like groups and thickets, through the park'. Presumably the fruit trees and hops were already there to be observed, but it is interesting that the three orchards known to have existed in 1791 were probably not planted in serried ranks as in more recent practice.

Many years later in 1889, George Moulton-Barrett, wrote to his brother-in-law, Robert Browning, confirming that 'Loudon at that time an eminent landscape gardener laid out grounds...'⁸⁸ This is the only reference that has been found in the huge extant Moulton-Barrett-Browning correspondence available both in publications and on the internet. Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, a prolific writer on many subjects as well as a poet, makes no mention of Loudon. Understandably perhaps as she was very young when he arrived at Hope End, but any later family reminiscences with regard to Loudon's contribution to the grounds at Hope End were not repeated in her correspondence. She was captivated by environment of Hope End and it undoubtedly provided inspiration for her early poetry. One of her most famous poems, *Aurora Leigh*, was not, however, written until 1857. Here she nostalgically recalls the view from her room:

I had enough there of the lime, to be sure,-

In an earlier poem, *The Lost Bower*, written in 1843, Elizabeth described a garden arbour hidden in the wood above the house at Hope End.⁸⁹

*And the ivy veined and glossy
Went enwrought with eglantine;
And the wild hop fibred densely,
And large-leaved columbine.
Arch of door and window –mullion, did right
sylvan entwine.*

There is one substantial feature in the garden that could be attributed to Loudon. Marked distinctly on the tithe map of 1842 on the east bank of the tail of the main pool where it twists to the north-east and narrows is a rock-cut dry 'channel' encircling an ovoid 'island' (Fig 25). Immediately above it a footbridge can be seen crossing the stream which flowed from the smaller upper pool into the main pool; the bridge is still in the same position today. The eastern side of the rock-cut 'channel', cut artificially into the hillside, presents a high steep and craggy face and is the sort of feature that Loudon at this stage in his career may have conceived, seeking to create the 'roughness of texture and ruggedness' beloved of the Picturesque movement.⁹² Closer examination of the earlier 1831 sale particulars plan, however, reveals that there was once a true island at the tail end of the main pool and the water filled rock-cut channel bounded its eastern side (Fig 22). The rock face emerging out of the water would have provided the ideal setting for the wild, irregular planting that was then

favoured. The stream below the bridge forced to descend steeply between the pools is possibly the location of the cascade mentioned by Mary Moulton-Barrett in 1809 (see above).

A series of paintings and drawings, most of which were executed by the Moulton-Barrett children, have survived. The focus is on the house, usually from a viewpoint across the main pool (Figs 15, 17-20), and the impression given is of an exotic Oriental building sitting uncomfortably in a temperate sylvan English landscape.⁹³ Unfortunately the artistic quality is not high and the rendition of architecture is sketchy, particularly around the stable block, but nonetheless they form an important corpus of evidence on the appearance of the house and landscape at this time.

With the increasing popularity of Malvern as a spa resort, guidebooks began to be written which include description of neighbouring 'noblemen and gentleman's seats.'⁹⁴ An early author, Mary Southall, published in 1822, borrowed most of the 1791 description (see above), but added:

From the windows on one side of the house, is a very large projection of rock, which the taste of the owner [E. M. Barret, esq] has highly ornamented, with a fine collection of plants. There is a subterranean passage, from the house, leading to the garden.

There is no reason to believe that the Moulton-Barretts did not continue improve and alter the park and grounds around Hope End after Loudon had finished his work. Robert Browning, writing in 1887, maintained that Edward Moulton-Barrett 'had a fine taste for landscape-gardening, planted considerably, loved trees...almost as much as his friend, the early correspondent of his daughter, Sir Uvedale Price...'.⁹⁵ The 'large projection of rock' is either the scarp that overlooked the house on the south-west side or the artificial crag that overlooked the upper part of the main pool next to the rock-cut 'channel' (see above). If the planting was no more than ten years of age then it could have been created by Loudon, for whom craggy slopes were ideal as a Picturesque backdrop. Edward may have later followed suit perhaps with the help of Uvedale Price.

The subterranean passage was probably constructed with the remodelling of the house and must have been reached through the cellars (see below, sale particulars 1831). It is now known that the ice house to the west and upslope of the stable/service block was in existence by 1821, but not when it was built. It may have been some time before as 'the shrubs about the ice house will soon form a forest in their own way'.⁹⁶

For various reasons including the damage caused by slave rebellion on Edward Moulton-Barrett's plantations in Jamaica, the family began to suffer acute financial difficulties and the mortgages that were owed on the Hope End estate were foreclosed. Another possible cause of financial failure might have been the huge expenditure laid out not only on improving but also on extending the size of the estate. In 1831 it measured almost 469 acres compared to 248 acres in 1791. The additional acres were principally in Coddington. The sale of the estate in July 1831 caused great distress to Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett who had no desire to leave her beloved home. The auction took place in London and in 1832 Elizabeth identified the antiquary Thomas Heywood as the purchaser.⁹⁷

The 1831 sale particulars describe the house as 'erected in the Eastern Style of Architecture and may justly be considered a chef d'oeuvre'. The extensive carriage drive led 'through the grounds, which are laid out in park-like style...' to the house, the detailed description of

which is the first to be encountered in the documentary record. Suffice to note here the ‘elegant double staircase lighted by a dome’ the latter visible in Figs 15, 17-20

The sale particulars provide not only a detailed description of the Moulton-Barrett property but also the earliest known extant plan dedicated to the Hope End estate (Figs 21 and 22).⁹⁸ Although relatively large in scale (c.1:5000) it is sketchily drawn and inaccurate in detail, as in the relationship of the house to the stable/service block and in the footprint of the house itself for example. The plan is very useful, however, in confirming the existing buildings and the extent of the park at this time. Neither the Lower nor the Upper Lodge is marked. A roughly triangular-shaped area to the north and north-east of the house stretching to Oyster Hill is stippled and named *Home Park* (60a 0r 20p). A large field to the south and south-east of the house is named *South Park* (90a 3r 13p), but is not stippled. The sale particulars reveal that ‘various Alterations have taken place on the Estate, by the removal of Fences and laying various Fields together...’ This action would explain how these large park fields were created, both much larger than the c.36 acres of park recorded in 1791 (see above).

The whole estate was held in hand by Edward Moulton-Barrett. The sale plan clearly shows that the home farm (Halls) by Hope End I had been removed and a new farm built ‘at a convenient distance’ just over the boundary in Ledbury parish. The ‘well-constructed farm yard’ included a bailiff’s house, which explains how Edward was able to manage and cultivate such a large acreage, the majority of it meadow/pasture (270a 3r 25p) or woodland (110a 1r 35p). The plan shows the house and stable/service block but no other buildings nearby. Apart from two four-stall stables, the stable/service block also contained a harness room, two coach houses, a wash house, brewery, laundry and cellars.

In 1791 most of the estate’s old woodland lay in Ledbury and Coddington, with only *Frith Wood* (4a 3r 5p) in Colwall.⁹⁹ By 1831 the acreage of woodland in Colwall had increased by 30 acres, all described as plantation, presumably intentionally created rather than allowed to develop through secondary regeneration following the abandonment of pasture or arable. Some of the woodland on the map was not numbered, its acreage thus uncalculated and may have developed naturally on steep slopes. A plantation had been established to connect the walled garden to the house and another descending south-eastwards from the house between the pool and the steeply sloping valley side opposite. These plantations were probably more ornamental in nature with exotic or fashionable species ornamenting the grounds around the house.

Although there was no lodge at the end of the main drive where it reached the road from Petty France farm to Old Colwall and Colwall church, there was an entrance gate on the south side of which, just within the grounds, stood a chapel/ schoolhouse with a cottage alongside. The present neo-Gothic Lower Lodge was built on the north side of the gate by the Heywoods soon after the Moulton- Barretts left in 1832 (see below).¹⁰⁰ It is not known when the chapel/schoolhouse was built on the Hope End estate, but presumably it was by Edward Moulton-Barrett, a devoutly religious man. In her diary Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett records walking on Sundays down the drive to attend the chapel, usually in the afternoon after a service at Colwall church in the morning.¹⁰¹

The sale particulars provide more information on the park and gardens. The ‘subterraneous passage’ noted above, led from the house to

extensive gravel walks through a Shrubbery, Ornamented with Magnificent Timber Trees, thriving Evergreens, and Parterres of Flowers etc;

The reference (Fig 23) to 'parterres of flowers' rather than 'borders', implies that the flowerbeds were laid out in a formal scheme.

The walled kitchen garden ascribed to Loudon is described as

A capital productive walled garden, clothed with choice fruit trees, fully stocked and cropped; an erection at the back, with flues for heating the grapery, and small greenhouse;

A gardener's cottage is not specifically mentioned in the sales particulars but a building later identified as the gardener's cottage (1868) appears on the plan. This may be the 'gardener's tool shed' itemised with the 'outer garden'.

The omission of any reference to a deer park is significant. The sale particulars refer to 'Pleasure Grounds'; there is no park, but the 'extensive carriage drive leads through the grounds which are laid out in a park-like style'. This would be *South Park*. Although there were deer in the park in 1809 when the Moulton-Barretts arrived, it would have been sensible with all the new planting to remove the deer. Robert Browning confirmed many years later that Edward Moulton-Barrett had 'discontinued keeping deer in the park.'¹⁰² Certainly at the very end of the Moulton-Barret period the park had no deer for Elizabeth comments sadly on the proposed eviction of farm animals (but not deer) from the park.¹⁰³

I hear that he has been written to about his sheep & cows which have hitherto remained in the park & are now to be turned out.

The Moulton-Barretts themselves finally left Hope End for Sidmouth, Devon, in August 1832 and in the same month the animal stock of cows, sheep, pigs and farming equipment at Hope End Farm was put up for auction.¹⁰⁴

The Heywoods

Thomas Heywood (1797-1866), who bought Hope End in 1832, was the son of Nathaniel Heywood of Heywood's Bank in Manchester.¹⁰⁵ He was a partner in the bank, also called the Manchester Bank, from 1818 to 1828 when he left the business. He was a noted antiquarian, closely involved in the local history society, known as the Chetham Society and edited several of its volumes. He lived at Swinton Park in Blackburn and the remarkable library of local history books that he accumulated there was sold and dispersed in 1835, a few years after his arrival at Hope End. Presumably Heywood had made sufficient money as a banker to retire and establish himself as a country squire. It is not known why he chose to buy an estate many miles from the town of his birth. He had married Mary Elizabeth Barton in 1823 and their daughter, also Mary Elizabeth, is renowned as the founder of the Mother's Union. They had another daughter, Margaret, and a son, Thomas. An infant son, John, died at Hope End in 1833.¹⁰⁶

The Heywood period fortunately coincides with three large-scale maps, the tithe map 1842 and two estate maps, 1848 and 1867 (Figs 24-29, 34). The tithe map has three versions, the original field survey in the TNA, a printed version in Hereford Archives and a conveniently

redrawn version with field names by Geoff Gwatkin.¹⁰⁷ These compensate for the lack of any Heywood estate records, such as annual accounts and correspondence.

The TNA field survey map is the largest scale in scale and therefore holds the most detail, including the most accurate footprint of the Moorish house, its relationship to the stable/service block at the rear and the positions of the turrets, the minaret and the gateposts (Fig 26). Two small buildings lie to the west of the stable/service block in an area that may have been part of the original home farm (*Halls*), but which was apparently clear of buildings in 1831.

The area of woodland is mapped with a higher level of accuracy than on the 1831 sale particulars plan (Fig 27). As well as the three earlier plantations focussed on the house (including *Lanterns Wood*, identified in 1831), a fourth has been planted to the north-east. This like *Lanterns Wood* is a linear ‘hanging’ woods located on a steep slope. The plantation which rises westwards from the house includes a clearing round the ice house in then twists to the north and widens to surround the kitchen garden on the south, west and north. Here the trees are only planted as a thin perimeter belt. The 1831 plantation south-eastwards of the house is defined as a shrubbery on the tithe map, which clearly reveals the large lawn that lay within it stretching from the principal frontage of house downwards between the pool and the steep scarp. A distinct salient of open ground penetrating the south boundary of the shrubbery/plantation points to a circular garden building (gazebo/shelter?) standing on the south bank of the pool. There are a number of much smaller plantations, rounded or sub-rectangular, both to the north and to the south of the house, those on the south already in existence by 1831.

The tithe map is the earliest known accurate survey of the water at Hope End and confirms that the lowest and largest pool was probably greatly enlarged from its original form as a fish pond. It lay close to the house, filling the lowest part of the valley. The lengthening and broadening of the pool farther to the south-east had to ignore the natural curve of the valley southwards in order to preserve a single body of water. The alignment of the existing pool was continued along the contour line. This required a dam to be constructed on the south-west side so that the extended pool found itself perched above the valley bottom. In the wider valley below are dry channels that relate to either the original stream course or safety overflow channels from the new pool. The alterations at the upper end of the pool to create an island and rock face have been discussed above. By the time of the tithe survey the rock-cut channel on the east side of the island was dry.

The tithe map shows for the first time two much smaller pools higher up the valley, the third almost connected to the second.

The field names recorded in the 1842 tithe apportionment reveal that the park had been extended to the west (field no.915, formerly *Loxter Fields*, 1831) so that ‘park’ fields surrounded the house on all sides (Fig 28).

In hand				
909	<i>The Lawn</i>	15a	2r	36p
919	<i>Park</i>	15a	0r	32p
920	<i>Park</i>	10a	3r	16p
921	<i>Park</i>	1a	0r	38p

Tenant: Joseph Ragster

870	<i>Upper Park</i>	44a	1r	36p	
907	<i>Lowes Park</i>	44a	1r	4p	
915	<i>Park</i>	17a	1r	21p	new (<i>Loxter Fields</i> 1831)
Total		149a	0r	0p	

Despite the addition of the former *Loxter Fields* (915), the total acreage of the park was less in 1842 than in 1831. The reason for this was partly the creation of the small plantations in 919 and 920 and partly the smaller acreage given for 915 in 1842 (29a 2r 17p (1831) 17a 1r 21p (1842)). Of the total of just over 149 acres classified as ‘park’ fields over 100 acres were tenanted, the remainder held by Thomas Heywood in hand. The land in question had the appearance of a park consisting of large pasture fields scattered with mature trees either as individual standards or in clumps. Without deer, which do not seem to have been reintroduced, there would be no need to provide the expensive and labour intensive perimeter barrier of park pale, bank and ditch to prevent escape. Assuming Thomas Heywood and his tenant used the park as pasture for sheep or cattle, the usual fencing would suffice to contain the grazing animals and prevent damage to the estate’s plantations.

Certain features on the tithe map can be ascribed to the Heywood period: the Lower Lodge (906) at the start of the long main drive from the south-east (discussed above) and a school (914) re-located from opposite the new Lower Lodge to the end of the shorter drive leading south-westwards to the public highway and Hope End Farm. Thomas Heywood donated land and stone for a new church and parsonage at Wellington Heath and the consecration took place on 15 July 1841, the procession assembling at the ‘lodge house.... in the spacious school-room recently erected there...’¹⁰⁸ The tithe survey lists no tenant in the school-house (lodge house) as the school-room was managed directly by the Heywoods and so it may not have functioned as lodge at this time. The former school-room forms the rear part of the present dwelling house (Fig 30).

In 1848 Thomas Heywood commissioned a map and survey of all his Herefordshire estates (Fig 29).¹⁰⁹ At this date they measured just over 1128 acres in total, with only 265 acres in Colwall and the rest in Ledbury, Coddington and Bosbury. In Colwall Thomas Heywood held just over 100 acres in hand and the tenant of Hope End farm, William Chichester, a little over 160 acres. The acreage of the park fields was divided in the same way as in 1842 between Heywood and his tenant and all, as earlier, listed as pasture. Heywood had probably spent a considerable amount of money in enlarging his estate to well over twice the size of the Moulton-Barrett estate in 1831.

The 1848 map is attractively water-coloured but it hardly differs from the 1842 tithe map and is in fact based upon it, reproducing its acreages and field numbers and cannot be used to assess any changes that took place, except for tenancy. Only two Colwall owners bound the estate, Reynolds Peyton of Barton Court and James Martin of Old Colwall. Fossilised fragments of former open fields are evident east of the Lower Lodge but to the north the *Great Rodyatt Field* still survived as an open field with selions intermixed in ownership between Heywood, Peyton and Martin. In 1837 small fragments of glebe land within the area belonging to the Rector of Coddington had been exchanged for a single piece of land in Coddington belonging to Thomas Heywood in a further act in the long process of consolidation.¹¹⁰ The Upper Lodge was still being used as a school house.

It was in the Heywood period that a local artist, Philip Ballard, painted Hope End House (I) and its environs. He was brother to Stephen Ballard I, who lived in Colwall, and uncle to Stephen Ballard II, who purchased the Hope End estate in 1946 (see below). Two of his watercolours are reproduced here, one of the classic view from the south-east across the pool, the other more unusual in being a more distant view from the east with deer populating the foreground, the latter an exercise in artistic license (Figs 31 and 32).¹¹¹ Also illustrated is a very fine engraving by Thomas Way (1837-1915), date unknown, depicting only the front elevation of the house deep in its sylvan landscape, its viewpoint high on the slope above the pool (Fig 33).

Thomas Heywood, F. S. A., died suddenly after an attack of whooping cough on 20 November 1866 at his house at Hope End, aged 69. He had taken a long walk the previous day. His funeral took place on 24 November in the church that he had built in Wellington Heath.¹¹² His wife, Mary Elizabeth, was bequeathed all his goods and chattels, the mansion house and some of the land that had been held in hand for life, but for some reason Mary relinquished her life interest to her son Thomas Heywood II, who decided to sell, having set up home at Ocle Court, Ocle Pychard, Herefordshire with his second wife, Sophie.¹¹³ The sale took place on 24 July 1867 and the particulars accompanied by a plan provide the most detailed information on the Hope End estate to date (Fig 34).¹¹⁴ The estate had increased slightly in size to just over 1217 acres (1217a 3r 21p). The Hope End 'mansion erected in the Eastern style of architecture, with minarets' was 'beautifully placed in the centre of a park of about two hundred acres with lodge entrances at either side'. The park is described as 'beautifully undulated... studded with stately forest trees of large growth and ornamental clumps' with 'a fine sheet of water fed by springs, stocked with the most rare aquatic plants, well stored with carp, tench, perch and other fish'.

It is likely that the park is being defined again by its appearance or aesthetic appeal, namely that of large areas of open grazing land devoid of hedgerows within which trees are either clumped together, stand alone as standards or form an avenue. It is, however, only named as such ('*The Park*') in the area between the two lodges and to the south of the house, probably for cartographic convenience. The single avenue can be seen on the map in field 920 aligned in a roughly northerly direction. Many of the single standards probably originated as hedgerow trees particularly in field 907 (*Lours Park* formerly *Lowes Park*). In contrast to 1848, however, not only are *Lours Park* and *Upper Park* held by the tenant of Hope End Farm (Thomas Hawkins), but also all the other 'Park' fields to the west, north and east of the house (nos 915, 919, 909). 'Park' field 920 with its avenue of trees was tenanted separately and called '*Old Park*'. This was connected to another field called '*Old Park*' lying over the boundary in Coddington, which formed part of the tenancy of Coddington farm. It was the only field with such a name on the farm and it possible that as early as the Moulton-Barrett period, it had been taken into the park and held in hand, but under Heywood eventually leased to his tenant farmer. Today this park field is better known as Oyster Hill.

The work of Loudon as a landscape gardener is acknowledged but not all the trees that are listed could have been the result of his planting as, for example, the *Wellingtonia Gigantea*, a species which only arrived in this country from California in the 1850s.

A 'beautiful lawn and pleasure grounds laid out with singular taste by Loudon, and planted with choicest specimens of Abies, Cedar, Cupressus, Perciperus, Pencistuja, Wellingtonia Gigantea, and other rare trees and shrubs'

The pleasure grounds are identified as the earlier plantation surrounding the walled kitchen garden (916). They included a 'ladies' flower garden and shrubbery of great extent' and also an orchard. This is the area that contains a row of six older and still remaining sweet chestnuts. A fernery is listed which was probably located by the pool.

The area around the house held in hand by Thomas Heywood had shrunk to 61 acres since 1848. Apart from the curtilage of the house and adjacent pool (just over 8 acres) and the pleasure grounds (just over 5 acres) it consisted almost entirely of woodland, consisting of the plantations on the 1842 tithe map and some older woods such as *Frith Wood*. Thomas Heywood appears to have been entirely preoccupied by the direct management of woodland, for the land which he held in hand elsewhere on the estate in Ledbury, Coddington and Bosbury was also exclusively covered in trees. Out of a total of over 212 acres held in hand, only about 15 acres were not woodland.

The present Hope End House I, as it existed at the time, was described in some detail:

Five-stall Stable, very lofty double Coach-House, Harness Room with Fire Place, Loose Box and Straw House; Five-stall Stable, very lofty, and extending over the Coach-house and Harness Room, already described, is a Granary and Three Servants Bed Rooms

The circular yard to the north was called the 'Outer Yard' but the large number of ancillary rooms and buildings listed, including a Dutch Barn, would imply that some of these were situated in the yard immediately to the west.

The walled kitchen garden (1a Or 33p) was 'clothed with choice fruit trees, fully stocked and cropped. The 'outer garden' contained two vineries, a green-house, a stove...and a mushroom-house. Immediately outside the north-east corner of the kitchen garden a three roomed gardener's cottage stood beside an orchard.

The Upper Lodge was still in use as a 'School House'.

The sale plan was the result of new survey, but it continues to use the field numbers of the 1842 tithe map.

The Hewitts

The estate took some time to find a buyer. It was still not sold in 1871 when the census recorded two households in the main house, Louisa Pillham, the housekeeper, with her four sons and three daughters and an agricultural labourer, Thomas Johns, and his wife and six children. The two families were presumably living in the servants' quarters. The Worcester Journal, dated 17 May 1873, informed its readers that that:¹¹⁵

The Hope End estate has lately been purchased by C. A. Hewitt Esq., and he has determined to pull down the old mansion, which lies low and damp and build a larger one on a bank not far from the old one.

It further revealed that a ceremony had already taken place on 7 May to lay a foundation stone at the new site, so work had already begun on the new house (Hope End II). It was estimated that it would take two years to build and cost £30,000. The mansion was to be built

in 'Elizabethan style' with sandstone to be quarried on the estate and faced with Bath stone. The architects, Habershon, Pite and Fawkner of London were proud of their design and submitted an engraving and a ground and first floor plan to *The Builder*, which published them with a small commentary on 8 November 1873 (Figs 35 and 36).¹¹⁶ The building contractor was Mr Tongue of Plumstead, London.

(James) Charles Archibald Hewitt was born in Ireland in 1837 and was the great grandson of James Hewitt (1712-1789) Lord High Chancellor of Ireland and the first Viscount Lifford of Donegal, although the family originated from Coventry.¹¹⁷ His father, John Pratt Hewitt, born in Lifford, Donegal in 1796, was brother to the 3rd Viscount and as the Honourable and Reverend J. P Hewitt officiated at the laying of the foundation stone for his son's new house at Hope End.

Hewitt's decision to demolish the existing house may not only have been because of its low damp situation, shaded for hours from the sun, but out of dislike for its Moorish style. The house attracted much attention and many visitors for its exoticism, but it was not to everybody's taste and Thomas Heywood's son, Thomas II, elected not to live in it, preferring Ocle Court at Ocle Pychard, Herefordshire. Alfred Watkins, on his wanderings through the estate in the late nineteenth century, met someone who had helped to pull down the Barrett mansion, with its cast-iron tops to the domes, and solid thick walls which had to be blown up with powder. 'It would have lasted longer than the new house will now', he said prophetically.¹¹⁸

Although local sandstone and Bath stone were used to build the new house, the rubble of the old house may also have been re-used in the wall cores. The site today lies at its original ground floor level with external walls showing clearly as parch marks in the grass in dry summers. Some of the rubble was probably also disposed of by tipping into its extensive cellars.

With no estate records such as accounts and surveys, undoubtedly destroyed in the fire at Hope End II in 1910, it is difficult to assess any development of or changes to the park and garden during the Hewitt period. Charles Hewitt's public life is better known: deputy-lieutenant of the county of Hereford for forty years, a Conservative member of Herefordshire County Council (Ledbury Urban District) established in 1889, chairman of the Ledbury Bench of magistrates for 30 years and for nearly forty years chairman of the Ledbury Board of Guardians.¹¹⁹ He was also involved in 'church matters and the temperance movement'.¹²⁰

A busy life of politics, public service and the dispensing of justice may not have left much time for estate management and the amount of time Hewitt devoted to this is unknown. Fortunately the Ordnance Survey conducted its 1:2500 (25-inch) mapping of the area in 1885 and also produced a 6-inch map, essentially a reduction of the larger scale survey (Figs 37-39).¹²¹ The 6-inch carries almost all the detail of the 25-inch map with the addition of stippled shading denoting the extent of the park. This extended in all directions from the new house, which stood close to the western boundary running along the top of the ridge, and coincided with all the 'Park' field names of the 1842 tithe survey. It shared a boundary on the north-east with the park associated with Old Colwall.

The OS maps are the first to show a great number of individual trees scattered across the park. The 1867 map also depicted individual trees but it is not certain what proportion of

those in existence at the time were plotted. The greater number of trees on the OS map reveal that a proportion of them were situated on former field boundaries and trackway lines but these trees do not appear on the 1867 map.¹²² The OS surveyors tended to record mature trees rather than saplings, so the conclusion, excluding field and former road boundaries, is that a large number of trees were planted in the park during the Heywood period and earlier, even though the south part of this area was a farm tenancy based at Hope End Farm. The consequence of this tree planting was the blurring of the outline of the tree clumps that can be seen on earlier maps beginning with the 1831 sales plan and the avenue of trees to the north of Hope End House I marked on the 1867 map. In view of the fact that much of the park was not directly managed by Heywood but by his tenant, then the assumption must be that the sapling trees needed to be protected in their early years if the land was grazed by the tenant's cattle and sheep. Such a regime of tree planting must therefore have been agreed as part of any tenancy agreement. To the south and east the tenant's grazing stock was confined in large fields over 40 acres in size (*Lowes/Lours Park* and *Upper Park*) amalgamated from smaller fields before 1831. Their boundary hedges were removed leaving only standard trees to continue to grow in order to create an open 'parkland' aspect. The next stage involved increasing the density of standard trees by new planting.

Closer to the house on areas held in hand the OS map reveals that a large number of conifers had been planted. They line the approach drive from the Upper Lodge to both the new house (Hope End House II) and the stable block. The largest stand of conifers was located on the steep slope between the new house and the old stable/service block. A third group lay below the site of the demolished house along the driveway between the steep scarp to the south-west and the pool to the north-east. Some of these trees were identified by species in the 1867 sale particulars (see above)

The site of the new house high on the valley side above its predecessor required excavation of the slope, the cut and fill process enabling the creation of a level platform with a terrace below. Like the earlier house it was oriented north-east to south-west but enjoyed a wider and more distant prospect.

Comparison of the 1885 OS 1:2500 map with the next edition (1903) shows that relatively little change had taken place at Hope End as far as can be judged at the scale of the map (Fig 40).¹²³ A 6-inch version was also revised in 1903 (Fig 41). A pheasantry had been established to the west of the walled garden. The names of some of the woods has been recorded reflecting field names recoded as early as the 1791 survey (see above); *Lantern Grove* (*Lanterns* 1791), *Whitelands Coppice* (*Whitelands* 1791).

A small square-shaped building standing next to the pool on the lower lawn had disappeared and two small islands had been created in the pool linked by footbridges to both banks. The planting in the tree belt surrounding the walled garden had been considerably thinned and the fruit trees within the enclosure removed. A more formal garden with a dense network of paths had been created between the large pool and the smaller one above, partly in the area where a stream, possibly a cascade, previously connected the two pools and partly on the ovoid 'island' around which the rock-cut 'channel' circled. A narrow cutting the width of a footpath had been excavated through the rocky cliff and a bridge built over the 'channel' to connect the two gardens together. A culvert would have needed to replace the open stream or cascade. Water appears to emerge immediately below the bridge and enter the tail of the main pool.

Another alteration was made in this area after 1903. With no further editions of the OS 1:2500 scale maps before the war and in between the wars it is difficult to determine when the present stone-lined channel leading to a 'plunge pool' or deep basin contained by high brick walls was constructed. Dry now, the water was presumably intended to cascade out of the channel into a small rectangular basin which then overflowed to form a body of water retained by the side and end brick walls. The floor of the basin falls steeply towards the end wall where excess water would leave by an overflow pipe and discharge into the main pool below. Steps lead down into the basin which were repaired in the 1980s when a stone screen with an elaborately moulded doorway and balustrade above was constructed across the basin (see below).¹²⁴ The original structure was probably constructed between 1903 and 1910 when a disastrous fire at the Hewitt mansion brought a sudden halt to any garden building works on the estate with little done after this until its sale in 1946 (see below)

Whatever changes had taken place within the park at the beginning of the twentieth century, little could compare to the dramatic events of the early hours of Saturday morning 2 April 1910. Fire broke out in the neo-Jacobean mansion that had been home to Charles Hewitt for 35 years. Mrs Morris, a lady's maid, discovered the fire at 1.20am, where it had taken hold in the roof over the maidservants' quarters on the second floor. The alarm was quickly raised and everyone managed to leave the building without injury, many only in their 'night attire'.¹²⁵ The fire spread gradually downwards and despite the efforts of local inhabitants and the arrival of the Ledbury fire brigade at 2.20am it destroyed most of the house, except for the north-east service wing. The house had, in fact, been built with tanks in its tower, each containing 1,600 gallons of water in readiness for just such an outbreak, but the ferocity of the flames made access to them impossible and the 'steaming cauldrons' eventually collapsed to the ground dangerously spilling hot water. The only water supply then available was the pool a hundred feet below and at some distance away, which was used to protect the service wing. There was time, however, to rescue valuables such as furniture, china and pictures from the ground floor but sadly the only remains of the Moorish house, including panelling and inlaid mother-of pearl double doors, removed from there to the new house, perished in the flames. Important estate records were also consumed, stored in cupboards that could not be moved. Estate accounts in particular are notable by their absence and their loss has resulted in the gaps and uncertainties in this history of the park.

News of the fire attracted great crowds the following day from as far away as Ledbury, but they were not allowed near the house to prevent any looting. A large number of photographs were taken and drawings made of the tragic scene which accompanied the local and national press reports (Figs 42 and 43). These took the opportunity to elaborate the accounts of the fire with not quite accurate histories of the earlier houses and their inhabitants including the Moulton-Barretts, Sir Henry Tempest and Henry Lambert. The association with Elizabeth Barrett-Browning was given prominence, including quotes from her poetry relating to Hope End, and the fire was reported even as far away as India.¹²⁶

Charles and his son, John Wilfred, and daughter-in-law, Florence Mabel, were the only members of the Hewitt family in residence at the time, along with about twelve servants. Charles was seventy five years old and moved out to New Court in Colwall in May, where he died suddenly in October.¹²⁷ He was buried at Wellington Heath church on 4 November 1910.¹²⁸

John Wilfred Hewitt moved into Hope End Farm where in April 1911 he was recorded as a 'barrister-at-law (retired) now managing Estate and Farm for his mother'.¹²⁹ His mother, Jane

Harvey Hewitt, had moved into a boarding house at Hove, Sussex, and was 'living on her own means'. The county local history society, the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Group, visited the area in late August 1911 and were accompanied onto the 'beautiful' Hope End estate by John Wilfred where: ¹³⁰

There was only one jarring note, and that was the present pitiable and deplorable state of the one-time elegant mansion in its well-wooded park of about 900 acres....only the blackened, bare walls with huge heaps of debris remained, except for the kitchen and servants' quarters, which were intact.

John Wilfred informed the party that the family was as yet undecided over the rebuilding of the mansion. The newspaper report concluded that 'The gardens contain some beautiful trees and conifers'.

John Wilfred was the second son and we only learn of the whereabouts of the eldest, Harald Charles Harvey in 1913 when on 19 June during the running of the Gold Cup at Ascot he jumped out onto the race course in front of the horses with a suffragette banner in one hand and a revolver in the other. The incident was widely reported in local and national papers, 'Gold Cup Outrage', made even more sensational by the fact that he was the heir to the Hope End estate and 'son of one of the most respected gentlemen of the district'. ¹³¹ One of the lead horses knocked him to the ground and he was badly injured by the galloping horses who could not avoid him, suffering a fractured skull. His behaviour was blamed on mental instability and not on the suffragette campaign, being manic or 'eccentric on religious matters', but other newspaper reports reveal that that was passionate about many causes, including rights for women and vehemently opposed to racing, gambling, shooting and fishing. Such attitudes could not have endeared him to his father, or his 'roving disposition'. Although educated at Cambridge he left the country after graduating in 1895 and became involved in unsuccessful ventures in South Africa, Australia and Canada, returning to the Cape colony to fight in the Boer War as a trooper. He returned to England and spent £10,000 setting up some of his father's tenants as farmers near Vancouver. He had no desire to inherit his father's estate and relinquished his rights to his younger brother, John Wilfred, immediately after their father's death.

It is through the testimony of Hope End tenants who were more sympathetic to his mental state and quixotic behaviour that we discover that Harold was not disinterested in estate matters: ¹³²

He was passionately fond of the outdoor life. While stopping at Hope End he made several plantations and was never happier than working amongst the labourers...he spent the whole of one winter planting and making rockeries and ponds... He used to breed wild ducks and was very fond of all animal life...He never enjoyed England and was against class distinctions...

It is no wonder that a man who held what can only be described as progressive, socialist views was tormented by the prospect of life as a member of the landowning class. One can only guess what the response of John Wilfred was to the 'Ascot Outrage' and generally to his brother's behaviour and political outlook. As the second son, he has been trained in law with no expectation that he would inherit the estate. Harold, however made no secret of the fact that he considered 'his younger brother as more suitable to be the squire'. ¹³³

Harald managed to recover from his injury and, as far as can be ascertained, left Hope End for good, his wanderlust taking him to New York in 1920 and departing from Hamburg in 1923. He died in 1936 in Breen near Weston-super-Mare.¹³⁴

This more detailed profile of the reluctant heir to the Hope End estate at least gives some context to the almost complete absence of any information on the management of the Hope End estate in the period 1910 to c.1940. There is no known estate plan and the Ordnance Survey did not undertake another 25-inch survey of the area until after the Second World War. The lack of any documentary evidence for this period cannot be blamed on the fire. It is therefore not known precisely when John Wilfred renovated the surviving part of the Hope End mansion and moved there from Hope End Farm but it appears to have been in the period immediately following the First World War. Alfred Watkins stated in 1926,¹³⁵

‘This house...was destroyed by fire in April, 1910, only part of it being reconstructed some years later in keeping with post-war tendencies by his son...who now occupies it.’

In 1934 J. Wilfred Hewitt was listed at both ‘The Home’ and Hope End Farm.¹³⁶

He apparently showed no hesitancy in following in his father’s footsteps becoming a JP, deputy chairman and chairman of the Herefordshire Quarter Sessions, chairman of the Ledbury magistrates and from 1919 was a member of Herefordshire County Council and in 1936 elected alderman.¹³⁷ Unlike his father, however, he became involved in the representation of farming interests as a leading figure for many years in the Herefordshire National Farmers Union, eventually appointed as vice-president of the National Farmers Union in 1939.¹³⁸ This rise into the higher ranks of agricultural politics would suggest that Hewitt adapted well to his change in career from barrister to landowner and farmer. One would expect therefore that this was paralleled by the good management of his estate of well over 1000 acres, including the park, but there is no evidence to support this. On the contrary, the description of the estate in 1946 when Stephen Ballard purchased it after the death of John Wilfred, reveals a period of neglect, at least during the latter years.¹³⁹

On 12 August 1946 John Wilfred died of a heart attack at his home in the converted remains of the Hope End mansion.¹⁴⁰ He had been unwell for some time causing him to resign from his public offices.¹⁴¹ His only child, his son James, had died at the age of ten in 1924 and his widow, Florence Mabel, long outlived him dying in 1964. The Hope End estate was put up for sale on 26 November 1946. It is only through the sale particulars that we discover that during the Hewitt period the estate been reduced in area by just under a half (from just over 1217 acres to nearly 690 acres (43.3%)) (Fig 44).¹⁴² All of the Bosbury estate (The Grange and The Slatch (Farm) and most of Coddington (Coddington Farm and Woefields Farm) had been disposed of. The Grange had been sold to Samuel Willcox as early as 1869 and the rest at an unknown date.¹⁴³

The advertisement for the sale declared that the estate comprised:¹⁴⁴

the small Residence with two Lodges, in the most charming scenery surrounded by magnificently timbered grounds and Park Lands over 185 acres...

As a result of the reduction in the size of the estate the park now formed a greater proportion of the total acreage (1867 27%, 1946 14%). It could not be hidden, however, that the estate

has suffered from years of neglect and the sales particulars reminding buyers of the association with Elizabeth Browett-Browning stated:¹⁴⁵

The charming scenery which inspired many of her poems is still there, perhaps to an even greater extent, as, years of neglect of the once beautifully kept Parks and Gardens have told their tale, the magnificent trees, including giant Cedars, Wellingtonias, Conifers of many varieties, Chestnuts and Oaks, are still there and of much greater growth.

In the circumstances the trees had indeed been allowed to grow and mature, but the 'years of neglect' would have devastated the previously well-tended pleasure grounds and shrubberies and the walled kitchen garden. It is possible that the process had begun soon after the fire when the badly damaged house was uninhabited. The sale particulars reveal that John Wilfred converted the service and servants' quarters into a 'small residence' containing a hall, dining room 'large lounge' and kitchen on the ground floor and three main bedrooms and a bathroom on the first floor. When he finally moved into the converted remains in the early 1920s, the deterioration of its immediate surroundings might have been arrested for a while.

.By the time of the sale the sorry state of the grounds was obvious. Stephen Ballard II (1866-1952) purchased the majority of estate (Lot 1) at the auction for £31,500. Small peripheral fields and cottages (Lots 2-9) went to other buyers. Stephen was the son of the canal and railway engineer, Stephen Ballard I (1804-1890), responsible for the building of the Hereford to Worcester railway, including the tunnel through the Malvern Hills, and the construction of the panoramic Jubilee Drive. He eventually became a major landowner in Colwall responsible for many philanthropic works including the Workman's Hall and the Temperance Hotel.¹⁴⁶ His grandson, Stephen Ballard III (1902-1996) wrote a detailed account of his father's purchase of the Hope End estate and of its subsequent development, an extremely useful source of information on the garden and park after the paucity of sources for the Hewitt years.¹⁴⁷

There was not much sign of his previous prosperity, Mr [Wilfred] Hewitt, had become a recluse and the 23 acres of garden round the ruins of the burnt out mansion were a wilderness, so much so that woodmen had to be employed to enable his coffin to be taken through the tangle of tress to his burialthe land around the house was infested with rabbits and brambles and his small herd of sixteen cattle were fifteen years old and had become his friends and he would not allow them to go to market... The stables were ruinous covered over in ivy.

Wilfred had apparently decided to leave the Hope End estate to his nephew, Anthony Hewitt, son of his younger brother, Cecil James Hewitt, but, according to information obtained by the Ballards, Anthony died in 1943 when his civilian aircraft was shot down by German planes over the Bay of Biscay. He was a passenger with Leslie Howard, the English actor, director and producer and for this reason, coupled with speculation on whether it was a spying mission, this particular flight (BOAC 777) has attracted considerable attention.¹⁴⁸

The Ballards

Stephen Ballard II purchased the estate as much for the value of its timber as for its land value. Building materials were in short supply after the war and timber was priced at a

premium. He obtained possession in February 1947 and began the great task of restoration and clearance. The home farm (156 acres), established in the Moulton-Barrett period just over the boundary in Ledbury, was sold to a Wellington Heath farmer, Mr Lusty, leaving 513 acres in hand.

The winter of 1946/7 is well-known for its severity and Stephen kept on the five Hewitt men who had worked the estate and set them to clear ivy from the gardener's cottage near the walled garden. It had disappeared completely from view having not been lived in for fifty years. In 1947 it was made habitable for a new keeper. Though the servants' wing of the Hewitt mansion had been converted and re-inhabited, the burnt out ruins of the main house still stood beside it and, with the help of a bulldozer and dynamite, were levelled in 1948 (Fig 45). Patricia, Stephen Ballard's eight-year-old daughter pushed the plunger for the charge.¹⁴⁹ Stephen's cousin, Philip G H Ballard and his wife, Nancy, moved into the converted wing of the Hewitt mansion when it had been made fit to live in by the end of 1947. The neglect of the estate in the later Hewitt years is reflected in the fact that 200 fallen trees were sawn into firewood blocks. The winter caused more damage to the trees as hungry rabbits 'barked scores of trees and killed them'. 720 rabbits were shot on average during the years 1949 to 1951.

The pool was dredged of two feet of silt with the help of a bulldozer and drag line underneath which its clay lining was discovered (Fig 46). The driveway below along the valley to the Lower Lodge had long been abandoned and allowed to grow over. Its metallised surface was probed with a crowbar, cleaned off and re-stoned with limestone from the Ballard's Bank farm in Mathon. By the end of 1951 'all the good timber that could be spared had been felled and sold'. The oak of Hope End was destined for the repair of the House of Commons roof destroyed in 1941 and 'such good trees' were 'very scarce' in the size required, 20 feet in length and 20 inches by 15 inches square.

The two storey stable/service block was next to receive attention during this period with the intention of converting it into a hotel. After the war the only way consent could be obtained for building materials was to demonstrate the ability to earn dollars and 'Americans were very interested in EEB [Elizabeth Barrett-Browning] and her American connections'.¹⁵⁰ A photo taken in 1947 shows the state of dereliction of the building (Fig 47). At this time there were only five windows at first floor level on the south elevation and two more were added on the left hand side during the conversion work. On the ground floor a round-headed doorway and a tall window lighting both upper and lower floor levels were altered to match the sash windows on the upper floor. A pentice roof was then erected against the east and south elevations, the one on the south interrupted by a gabled timber porch to the main entrance (Figs 48-49, 51). The two wide coach-house doors on the right hand side of the south elevation were converted to a double casement and all the elevations painted white.

The crescent on the minaret [at the rear of the stable] had been used as target practice by game shooters and was reset facing Mecca. The Clock Tower was likewise pitted with shot and the metal dome had fallen into the room below with circular windows. The clock workings had been removed sometime before [by the Moulton-Barretts] to St Annes in Jamaica

The work was only partially completed when Stephen Ballard II died in September 1952 (Fig 50). Stephen Ballard III inherited his father's estate, which was included beside Hope End

a number of farms in Colwall (Colwall Farm, Park Farm) and Mathon (Bank Farm, Model Farm).

In 1953 the ruinous 'Old Hall', as it was called, or school room at Upper Lodge was converted into a dwelling. A false ceiling hid the roof structure and the floor was raised as the building was not tall enough to accommodate two storeys. In 1955 Mr Grey, a wholesale grocer from Worcester, took over the tenancy of Hope End II from Philip Ballard and carried out extensive repairs. Mr Grey attempted to set up a shooting syndicate to operate over the whole of the Ballard estate but with little success.

No work had been done to the stable/service block since 1952 and it was decided to convert it into a cold store for apples grown at the Ballard's Grovesend Fruit Farm in Colwall. A new two-storey infill replaced the part of the L-shaped mono-pitched building attached to the north-west corner of the stable block. As a result the stable block now stood two-storeys high on a rectangular footprint. The refrigeration machinery and tanks were installed on the ground floor of the infill and the apples were stored on the floor above and in the former stable where a floor was inserted. For insulation the stable windows on the south elevation were bricked up and the interior walls tarred and lined with cork. The east end of the building, except for a log room on the south side (former coach-house), was not used. The store had a capacity of 400 bushels of apples (1 bushel: about 125 apples) and was ready for use for the 1955 crop. The capacity of the store was increased to 120 tons in 1957 and was used until 1961/1962 when Grovesend Farm ceased production.

Stephen Ballard III produced a plan in the early 1950s with tenancies shown by different colours (Fig 52).¹⁵¹ It is clear that the long relationship between Hope End Farm and the large park fields to the south and east of Hope End I had persisted well into the twentieth century. Mr Lusty, by then owner of the farm, continued to lease *Upper Park* (162) and *Lowes Park* (152) a large area of the 'parkland' landscape. Mrs Agnes Traill Dean took over as tenant in 1955.

In 1957 Stephen Ballard realised that he had insufficient capital to continue to develop the Hope End estate and offered it for sale by private treaty through the agents Jackson-Stops of Cirencester. The Ashdown Property Company contracted to purchased it for £30,000 excluding the house, stable and 23 acres, retained by Stephen Ballard. Ashdown promptly put the estate up for auction, presumably with the intention of making a profit by breaking the estate up into eighteen lots.¹⁵² Their estate measured about 317 acres including land in Coddington and Ledbury, the sale taking place in Colwall on 22 March 1957. Neighbouring farmers and tenants purchased the lots either at the auction or privately, thereby fragmenting the Colwall section of the Hope End estate, which had formed a consolidated whole from at least the late 18th century.

The sale particulars mentioned the connection with Elizabeth Barrett-Browning and the demolished 'fantastic pseudo Oriental mansion', repeating almost verbatim the description of the 1867 sale particulars.

The charming scenery [which inspired Elizabeth] is still there and the parks and Grounds today are studded with many magnificent trees, including giant Cedars, Wellingtonies [sic], Conifers of many varieties, Chestnuts and Oaks.

Many of these trees were in fact in the area retained by Stephen Ballard and the remainder in the 'parkland' would no longer be under a single controlling hand. The current fragmented ownership of the registered park is a legacy of the 1957 sale

The sale particulars plan and the Ballard plan are comparable in their tenancy information, except that Mr Lusty at Hope End Farm had been replaced by Mrs Agnes Traill Dean (Fig 53). The area retained by Stephen Ballard formed a roughly a T-shaped area of land (hatched blue and pink on the plan) and measured approximately 32 acres with the building curtilages. Stephen decided to buy back the 'top park', presumably lot 6 which added another 18 acres to the severely reduced Ballard Hope End estate (total c. 50 acres). The woodland on the estate was not divided into lots but sold separately to Harry Wragg & Co and eventually passed to the Economic Forestry Group.¹⁵³

In 1962 about the time that the stable/service block ceased to be used as an apple store, Stephen Ballard noticed on a visit that smoke was rising from a chimney in the building (Fig 54). He discovered that squatters had moved in. They were the Padley family, all five of them members of the Worcestershire Naturalists Club. They offered look after the garden as a nature reserve, a proposal that Stephen responded to with enthusiasm, but understanding that it needed to be managed in a more formal way eventually persuaded Malvern College to take it on a lease.¹⁵⁴ Whatever structure and formality had characterised the gardens around Hope End I in the nineteenth century had been erased by the neglect of the later Hewitt years. The garden had grown into an overgrown wilderness of sufficient interest to be maintained and studied as a nature reserve. In 1967 the lease was renewed for another seven years. The involvement of Malvern College and the visits of its students to the nature reserve ceased about 1975 when Patricia Hegarty, who had inherited the estate, began to clear the overgrown vegetation and remove trees (see below).

Hope End House II

In 1965 a Mr Carey who had taken over the lease of Hope End II from Mr Grey, purchased the house and a curtilage of just over 5 acres for £4,000. The Careys then sold to Christopher Lister, who rented the house to Charles and Liz Fenn. Christopher Lister had also purchased Hope End Farm which came with a large area of the former Hope End park to the south of Hope End I. He subsequently sold Hope End II to Sharon and Peter Maiden in 1993¹⁵⁵ The Maidens, developing a bed and breakfast venue, obtained planning permission in 2002 to build a tower and conservatory at the south-west end of the house.¹⁵⁶ The tower is distinguishable from the original house and its rock-faced stonework by its distinctive dusty rose-pink render (Fig 55). In 2012 the house was sold to Alice Morgan and Martin Marcus, the present owners.

The Walled Kitchen Garden

The walled garden had equally been neglected with the rest of the grounds. Small plots bounded by box hedges were used for growing russian comfrey for Wilfred Hewitt's herd of goats. All that was left of the greenhouse was its skeletal frame and only labels survived of the many varieties of pear and apple trees that used to grow against the walls. For the first few years the garden was let to a Mr Morgan of New Court nursery, Colwall, but he gave it up when he grew older as his sons were not interested in taking over.

The garden was then taken on by the Ballards themselves, who planted 250 pear trees of the Comice variety, but which ‘turned out to be quite useless’. The ground was cleared and replanted with strawberries which had to compete with the Comfrey for a year or two until it was finally weeded out.

Around the year 1962 the walled garden was leased to Ron Hill of Wellington Heath who successfully grew potatoes. To enable this new crop to be grown one of the original doors in the wall was widened to allow tractors to pass through (south-east corner).

The Hegartys: Hope End House I and grounds

In 1971 the much shrunken core of the estate of about 45 acres was made over to Patricia, Stephen’s only daughter, (now Hegarty). The daunting task that confronted Patricia and her husband is best described in her own words.¹⁵⁷

I had always been in love with this charismatic place which my father very generously made over to me in 1971 but was a little at loss as what to do with it. However with my husband, John [Hegarty] we set to on a lengthy and extensive restoration of the Stables, the Park and the Walled Garden in 1976 and created what my Grandfather has intended, a small Hotel which ran for nearly twenty years.

We ran it as a relaxed rural retreat with an emphasis on local and home produced food from the garden, which was a little unconventional at the time. The...garden was restored to full production. We remained a very small concern running it ourselves until 1997 when we reluctantly retired.

In 1975 the stable/service block (Hope End House I) was listed Grade II as the ‘Hope End Hotel’ along with the minaret, boundary walls and gate piers on the north side (Grade II*) and the stable yard gateway, boundary wall and offices to the south (Grade II) all for group value.¹⁵⁸ It was not until 1986 that Hope End Park was entered onto the Register of Parks and Gardens (Grade II) (Fig 56).¹⁵⁹ It is unfortunate that the list entry for the registered park refers to the Hope End Hotel as the former [Prichard] house, dating from the mid eighteenth century, and reduced from three storeys to two and converted to stables after the Moorish house was built by the Moulton-Barretts. The earlier list description for the Hope End Hotel, however, avoids any mention of this drastic and unlikely course of action. Hope End House II is not statutorily listed.

The Hegartys were certainly ahead of their time in running a restaurant and hotel promoting local home produce during an era of more exotic globally sourced fare and increasingly processed mass-produced food. Patricia was not satisfied with establishing a niche market in an isolated valley in Herefordshire, but felt that what she had achieved needed to be publicised much farther afield. In 1988 she published a book entitled, *An English Flavour Recipes from Hope End*, describing the principles of her cookery with well over a hundred recipes divided according to the four seasons.¹⁶⁰ The book revealed that John Hegarty, a ‘reluctant solicitor’, was a longstanding member of the Soil Association, when the movement for organically produced food was still in its infancy and yet to penetrate the supermarkets.

Patricia's book contains a helpful 3-D view of the kitchen garden identifying how the fruit, vegetables and herbs were laid out in the various beds on the densely cultivated acre plot (Fig 57). The view shows a new greenhouse constructed on the site of the one built as part of Loudon's design. This had been heated by flues built into the central part of the north wall increasing the width here to 3 feet. Within the greenhouse itself this wall was punctuated by a series of arched alcoves above a projecting raised brick platform

The Hegartys' conversion of the former stable/ apple cold store into a hotel/restaurant and partly into their own home was the first time the building had been put to formal residential use. The Padley family, squatting with consent, had lived in the eastern end at the rear but they moved out when the Hegartys starting repair and building work (Fig 54). The openings on the south elevation blocked for the apple store were reopened and new sash windows were installed, those on the ground floor made to match the existing larger original window to the right of the main entrance (Fig 58). The porch and the pentice roof on the south and east elevations were removed. The east elevation, which had been rendered to cover frequent alteration, had additional windows inserted and the render painted light brown. The north or rear elevation was also radically re-fenestrated with new sash windows inserted into previously blank walls or replacing much smaller relatively new casement windows on the first floor (Fig 59). Stephen Ballard II had painted the remainder of building white and this was renewed by the Hegartys. In the early 1980s, however, they had the coating removed from the south elevation by sand blasting, which has revealed more clearly the many phases of construction and alteration.

Two more staircases were installed in the building and a new kitchen set up in the former refrigeration room. As the hotel business prospered, more bedrooms were needed, reducing the accommodation available for the Hegartys to one room, so that, in 1990, they built a new house for themselves (Lantern House), in the yard to the west of the hotel. In the late 1980s urns were placed on the corner turrets and on the gate posts to the north yard. These were originally ornamented with tall tapering cast iron finials topped by small balls (Fig 60). In the 1980s John Hegarty had an alcove constructed in the north wall of the circular north yard with an ornamental pool below (Fig 61). The building against the east side of the yard was originally used as an ancillary kitchen but was subsequently converted into the 'Minaret' bedroom as part of the hotel suite. The triangular area between high walls attached to the south side of the clock tower was roofed over and converted into a garden room with a row of windows piercing the west wall.

As part of the works in the grounds in the 1980s John Hegarty repaired the 'plunge pool', restoring the water supply along the stone channel from the upper pool. Water once again fell into the small rectangular basin to overflow and fill the main pool, whose curving approach steps were rebuilt. A major change to the structure was made by building a stone-faced wall forward of the rear back wall with an ogee arch and surmounted by a balustrade with moulded balusters ('The Grotto') (Figs 62 and 63). The interior face was constructed of blue-brick. John also installed a scalloped basin on the back wall of the 'Grotto' surmounted by a dolphin sculpture, tail up and head-down, its mouth wide open and presumably originally designed as a water spout, but redundant in its new position (Fig 64). Water reached a level just below the basin where flowed out into the main pool below. 'The Grotto' pool was deep enough for small carp to thrive and water lilies to grow.

A substantial change was made to the upper part of the main pool. A new dam was built to connect to the 'island' below the rock face. Here a 'Temple' eye-catcher was constructed with

an entablature supported on four Doric columns, but no roof (Figs 65 and 66). A brick wall connected the rear two columns pierced by an opening in front of which was placed a stone urn on a square pedestal. At the other end of the pool the Hegartys erected five classical columns on one of the small triangular islands. On its east bank a stone plaque was erected with one of Elizabeth Barrett-Browning's poems inscribed on one side.

Much less is known about the management and removal of trees in the garden area around the site during the Ballard/Hegarty occupation. As described above, when Stephen Ballard II acquired it in 1947 the whole estate had been neglected for many years and the gardens had grown into a dense impenetrable thicket. If a tree died, it was left to fall and decay, a photograph taken in 1947 shows Stephen standing by a long-dead tulip tree (Fig 67). A more distant shot in the same year shows that, despite the inevitable losses, the grounds were still covered with ornamental trees, the tall narrow conifers most distinguishable. A magnificent cedar tree blocks the view of the dilapidated stable block, the lawn below unmown and the skeletal trunk of fallen tulip tree just visible behind (Fig 68) .

This wild scene did not change very much until the Hegartys took over Hope End I and its grounds in the early 1970s when it was enjoyed as a nature reserve leased to Malvern College.¹⁶¹ A comparison between the 1946 RAF aerial photo and one of 1996 reveals the thinning-out process carried out between these two dates particularly to the west, south-west and south-east of the house (Figs 69 and 70). These areas coincide with the home plantations numbered 1 and 2 on the 1831 sale particulars map (Fig 22). The most obvious loss is the narrow belt of trees around the walled kitchen garden. The hanging woodland on the steep slopes of the plantation and on the east side of the pools, however, shows little sign of thinning.

There is no formal record of any trees removed from these areas since 1947 or indication that any remain from the significant Loudon period. Since 1998 it would appear that trees have been removed only because they were diseased, dangerous or fallen. Physical dating in the field might, however, be useful in identifying any survivors of the Loudon planting or before and of subsequent ornamental tree planting regimes. Aerial photos and early OS 1:2500 maps will indicate where trees have been felled, but not necessarily their species and age. Any eighteenth or early nineteenth century formal shrubbery layouts have probably been lost.

The Dafferns and Lewis's

In 1998 the Hegartys sold Hope End House I and the walled kitchen garden to Nicholas and Marie Daffern. The new owners subsequently sold off the kitchen garden to the Honourable John Donovan who obtained planning permission to build a new house against the north internal wall on the site of one of the later greenhouses built by the Hegartys and retaining the greenhouse they had built on the original site against the heated wall (Fig 71). Permission was granted in November 2005.¹⁶² The proposal was not without controversy as the neo-Georgian 5-bay house was significantly larger than the original gardener's cottage, situated just outside the walled garden.¹⁶³ It is clearly visible from the right of way above descending from Oyster Hill to Loxter. The house and walled garden were subsequently sold to General S W Michael Rose and Angela Rose, the present owners.

Marie Daffern supported the cause of organic cultivation and maintained the kitchen garden but after the sale and the construction of the house the compartmentalised planting in the

garden was abandoned. The fruit trees and the borders under the walls were retained and most of the rest of the area converted to lawn.

In 2005 the Dafferns obtained consent for various works to the house and its environs. Most of these were minor but a substantial change was made in the yard on the north side of the house.¹⁶⁴ Loudon had constructed a curved wall enclosing this yard with a service building on the east side, latterly used by the Hegartys as a hotel bedroom (see above and 1842 tithe map detail). This building was demolished in c.2005.

The Dafferns sold Hope End House I and the surrounding grounds to Mike Lewis and Jan Robinson in 2005. During their occupation the 45 acres bought from the Hegartys had been reduced to about 35 acres by the sale of the walled garden and land to the north of Hope End House II.

The 'Lower Park'

The two large fields on either side of the main drive from Lower Lodge (98 acres) were sold in 1957 possibly to the sitting tenant of Hope End Farm, Mrs Agnes Traill Dean. She died in London in 1967 and her estate passed or was sold to Christopher Lister.¹⁶⁵ The early large scale 1:2500 OS maps (1885, 1903) show a parkland landscape with large number of trees either in clumps, in rows (former hedgerows?) or as standards generously dotting the two large pasture fields. An examination of the RAF 1946 aerial photos reveals that this landscape had essentially survived up to the purchase by Stephen Ballard II in 1947 (Fig 69).¹⁶⁶ Aerial photographs dating from 1999 reveal that the vast majority of the trees had been removed by this date, leaving only about ten mature individuals still standing. By this date a number of plantations had been established by Christopher Lister.¹⁶⁷

A rectangular plantation north of the abandoned carriage drive to Lower Lodge, much larger than the former quarry that was absorbed within it.

Two larger plantations, one rectangular, the other triangular, bordering the road from Petty France to Loxter/Hope End Farm. They are divided by a re-established private driveway which leads down from the road to connect with the line of the abandoned carriage drive to Lower Lodge. This respects an ancient trackway that appears on the 1812 map of Colwall, recreating a cross-roads with the public highway (Fig 16). Lower down the driveway and partly bordering the abandoned carriage drive is another smaller triangular plantation.

Today they have all developed into dense maturing woodland. These new plantations could be regarded as some sort of compensation for the loss of the parkland trees but provide a totally different landscape (Fig 72).

This land with Hope End farm was subsequently sold to Roger Allsopp, the current owner.

The 'Upper Park' and Oyster Hill

The removal of trees in this area between 1946 and 1996 has been less drastic than farther to the south, but it is known that distinctive Scots pines were cut down from Oyster Hill.¹⁶⁸ This area, measuring 46 acres, formed lot 11 in the 1957 sale particulars and had been kept in hand by the Ballards. It is at present into the ownership of the Maidens, formerly of Hope End II,

but now of Coddington vineyard and partly coincides with the area covered by the original deer park in the late eighteenth century. Field work may reveal the remains of the deer park banks and ditches.

Woodland

The woodland that appears on the 1946 and 1957 sale particulars plans has changed little in shape to the present day, except for the southern boundary of Dumbleton Wood, which has been straightened by removing two southerly projecting salients. There is no information on how this woodland has been managed since 1946 but the stability of the boundaries suggests that relatively few trees have been removed. The woods' existence since at least 1831 would lead to the conclusion that this is mature woodland that may be near the end of its life. It is not known whether there has been any replanting in the last two hundred years.

Most of Dumbleton Wood and Lodge Wood is owned by Allan Lloyd with Roland Trafford Roberts of Old Colwall owning a small part of the former. The Maidens own Cockshute Wood, whilst Lantern Wood belongs to Mike Lewis and Jan Robinson.

George Demidowicz

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- ⁴ Barton Court, p 3
- ⁵ HARC, AA26/II/4-5, 12-13, 21, 23-4
- ⁶ HARC, AA26/II/23
- ⁷ Copy of the 1842 tithe map of Colwall, 1842 by Geoff Gwatkin (1997); an exchange of land between the Hope End estate and the Barton Court estate before 1729 included 'Three Parcels of Land in Laffenger through Uffcome Meadow', HARC, AA26/III/24.
- ⁸ HARC, AA59/A2, f. 69; James P Bowen, Alex Craven with Jonathon Comber, *The Victoria History of Herefordshire Colwall* (2020) p.38
- ⁹ HARC, 9/3/77
- ¹⁰ HARC AA26/III/10; Colwall parish registers
- ¹¹ HARC, X2/5/15
- ¹² The National Archives (subsequently TNA), C12/90/12
- ¹³ HARC, AA26/I/1-3; although changes in ownership had to be recorded at the manorial court with entry fines and heriots having to be paid, such land was bought, sold and leased independently as if freehold.
- ¹⁴ The Bridges family of Old Colwall also held Barton Court copyhold land in the area of Petty France Farm.
- ¹⁵ HARC, AA26/I/1-3, recorded at the court held on 25 April 1766
- ¹⁶ HARC, AA26/II/23
- ¹⁷ HARC, AA26/II/23
- ¹⁸ HARC, AA26/I/1, 25 April 1766
- ¹⁹ HARC, AA26/I/1, 6 March 1766; at this court a parcel of pasture was described as lying to the north of the 'kings highway from Wellington to Washalls Cross'.
- ²⁰ HARC B38/184-185, 11-12 Aug 1701; R17/10748, 1701
- ²¹ Parish register entries: John Prichard married Ann Hyll on 26 November 1590
- ²² M A Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments of 1663*, (1972) p. 94
- ²³ His legal training may have been obtained through apprenticeship in a local firm rather than through formal education. It was claimed that 'the original Pritchard was a dish turner, who by his stealth and industry, made a fortune, and apprenticed his son to an attorney'. In the record consulted 'dish turner' may be a misreading of 'attorney', a more likely occupation for the Prichards of Halls, Allan H Bright, 'Colwall and the Neighbourhood', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club*, (1923) Vol for 1921-2, p. 182; letter from Allen Bright to Mrs Raynor Wood. 30 Nov 1933, HARC, E27/1/1.

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²⁶ C H Mayo, *A genealogical account of the Mayo and Elton families of Wiltshire and Herefordshire and some adjacent counties...* (1908) pp. 65-6

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³⁸ *Barton Court*, pp. 32-35; more details of the 'fatal marriage' between Jane Prichard and Henry Lambert are to be found on pp. 29-31

³⁹ TNA, C12/90/12

⁴⁰ TNA Prob11/913/373; TNA, C12/90/12; Jane's death is recorded in the Chancery bill.

⁴¹ TNA, C12/90/12

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⁴⁴ Most recently: Timothy Mowl Jane Bradney, *Historic Gardens of Herefordshire*, (2012), p. 155, subsequently, Mowl and Bradney

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- ⁶⁸ The Brownings' Correspondence, figures p. 6 and 26; the drawings appear in the first volume of a monumental series of letters published in the USA relating to the life and poetry of Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, having reached its 27th volume in 2020
- ⁶⁹ Loudon 1812, Plates XXXIX between pp. 104 and 105; the north-east elevation has a date in the corner that appears to be 1815, but may possibly have been changed from 1810
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- ⁷¹ Mowl and Bradney, pp. 155-6, have suggested that the house is similar to Coleorton House in Leicestershire, designed by George Dance junior and built between 1804 and 1806. What look like minarets, however, are in fact slim, hexagonal turrets in keeping with the neo-Gothic style of the house (subsequently, Mowl and Bradney).
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- ⁷⁸ Loudon, 1812 p. 73 (Kenton Farm, Harrow and Stanmore)
- ⁷⁹ Loudon, 1812 p
- ⁸⁰ <https://www.parksandgardens.org/news-events/john-claudius-loudon>
- ⁸¹ historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000276; the listing description written in 1999 is repeated almost verbatim in David Whitehead, *A survey of the Historic Parks & Gardens of Herefordshire*, (2001) p. 216, and may be the principal source for the description (subsequently, Whitehead).
- ⁸² HARC, F84/21
- ⁸³ HARC, CH56; unfortunately the inaccuracy of the buildings on the map is revealed by comparing those at Barton Court with the 1842 tithe map and later OS maps.
- ⁸⁴ The listing description suggests that this is a mid-eighteenth-century building.
- ⁸⁵ Letter from Elizabeth Barret-Browning to Julia Martin, 19 Dec 1834, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 493; Julia Martin, living at Old Colwall, would have noticed the construction of the lodge on the road from Old Colwall to Ledbury.
- ⁸⁶ Loudon, 1812, p. 98
- ⁸⁷ Quincunx: a group of five laid out in a rectangle with one in the centre.
- ⁸⁸ Letter from George M-B to Robert Browning, 15 April 1889, MS 682 01 02 23, Eton College Archive
- ⁸⁹ Letter from Elizabeth B-B to Hugh Stuart Boyd, 21 Feb 1843, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 1157
- ⁹⁰ Edward Malins, 'Indian Influences on English Houses and Gardens at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', *Garden History*, Vol 8, No 1, (Spring 1980) p. 65.
- ⁹¹ J.C. Loudon, *Observations on the Formation of Useful and Ornamental Plantations...* (1804) pp.214-215, quoted in Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, (1995), p. 160
- ⁹² Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson, *Parks and Gardens*, (1993), p. 78
- ⁹³ MS 681 04 03, Moulton-Barrett collection, Eton Library; Altham collection, Armstrong Brown Library, Baylor University, Waco, Texas
- ⁹⁴ Mary Southall, *A description of Malvern and it's [sic] concomitants; including a guide to the drives, rides, walks and excursions*, (1822), p. 155.
- ⁹⁵ *Poems* by Elizabeth Barrett-Browning (1887) Preface by Robert Browning
- ⁹⁶ Letter from Mary Moulton-Barrett to Elizabeth M-B, Sept 1821, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 135
- ⁹⁷ Letter from Elizabeth M-B to Hugh Stuart Boyd, July 1832, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 455
- ⁹⁸ 1831 Sale particulars and plan, Hegarty private collection; Advertising bill reproduced on p. 265, *Barretts of Hope End; advertisement*, 3 Aug 1831, *London Courier and Evening Gazette*

⁹⁹ HARC, F84/21

¹⁰⁰ Whitehead, p. 216, posited that the Lower Lodge was a Loudon design of c.1812, repeated in the listing description (1000276), but giving the slightly later date of c.1815; Mowl and Bradney, p 158, follow the previous two sources in suggesting Loudon, but also offered up two more possible designers, John Nash and Humphrey Repton, purely on stylistic grounds.

¹⁰¹ *Barretts of Hope End*, p.10 and Sunday diary entries; Karen Dulmamn, *Religious Imageries The Liturgical and Poetic Practices of Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, Christina Rossetti, and Adelaine Proctor*, (2012) p. 25; Richard S Kennedy, Donald S Hair, *The Dramatic Imagination of Robert Browning a Literary Life*, (2007) p. 123

¹⁰² *Poems* (1887), Preface by Robert Browning

¹⁰³ Letter from Elizabeth M-B to Hugh Stuart Boyd, 15 Nov 1831, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 432

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Elizabeth M-B to Hugh Stuart Boyd, 13 Aug 1832, The Brownings' Correspondence, no 460; 15 Aug 1832, *Hereford Journal*

¹⁰⁵ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Heywood_\(antiquarian\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Heywood_(antiquarian));

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13191?rskey=I6htZo>

¹⁰⁶ 7 Aug 1833, *Hereford Journal*

¹⁰⁷ TNA IR30/14/52; HARC, R41 and AK40/44; www.geoffgwatkinmaps.co.uk

¹⁰⁸ 28 July 1841, *Hereford Journal*

¹⁰⁹ HARC, K19/1

¹¹⁰ 12 April 1837, *Hereford Journal*

¹¹¹ Philip Ballard also engraved a another view across the pool towards the house, drawn originally by 'Mrs Heywood', possibly wife of Thomas Heywood, this time with sheep in the foreground; original in RIBA library, no 83531; Thomas Way (1837-1915) engraving, original artist unknown, courtesy of Mike Lewis.

¹¹² 5 Dec 1866, *Blackburn Standard*

¹¹³ Will of Thomas Heywood, proved 15 December 1866, <https://www.gov.uk/search-will>

¹¹⁴ Sale particulars Hope End estate 24 July 1867, courtesy of Mike Lewis; sale particulars and plan, British Library, Map 137.a.1.(8.); 16 May 1867, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*

¹¹⁵ 17 May 1873, *Worcester Journal*

¹¹⁶ 8 Nov 1873, *The Builder*; ground and first floor plans in possession of author

¹¹⁷ George Demidowicz and Stephen Price, *King's Norton A History*, (2009) p. 98; James Hewitt owned a water mill in King's Norton which he renamed Lifford mill, today called Lifford Hall.

¹¹⁸ *Alfred Watkins' Herefordshire in his own words and photographs with a biographical introduction by Ron & Jennifer Shoesmith*, (2012), p. 107, subsequently Alfred Watkins; Alfred Watkins, 'Elizabeth Barret and Hope End', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, vol for 1924, 1925, 1926 (1928) p, 106

¹¹⁹ <http://old-ledbury.co.uk/charlesahewitt.htm>

¹²⁰ 25 Oct 1910, *Gloucester Citizen*

¹²¹ OS 1:2500, sheet Herefordshire XXXVI.9, surveyed 1885, published 1887; OS six-inch, sheet, Herefordshire XXXVI SW, surveyed and published 1886

¹²² The former road forming a crossroads with the trackway to Frith Wood and the road from Petty France to Loxter disappears of the maps from 1812 to the end of the nineteenth century to be reinstated again in the twentieth century.

¹²³ OS 1:2500, sheet Herefordshire XXXVI.9 revised 1903, published 1904

¹²⁴ Mowl and Bradney, p. 157; it is suggested by the authors that the 'Chinoiserie entrance to the Grotto-Cold Bath' is of some antiquity comparing it to the 'Regency' brickwork of the stable block, but it dates from the Hegarty period at Hope End in the 1980s.

¹²⁵ 9 April 1910, *Hereford Times*, *The Ledbury Guardian*

¹²⁶ 29 April 1910, *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*

¹²⁷ 25 October 1910, *Gloucester Citizen*; 29 October 1910, *Hereford Times*; <http://old-ledbury.co.uk/hopeend.htm>

¹²⁸ 5 November 1910, *Hereford Journal*

¹²⁹ 1911 Census 2 April

¹³⁰ 2 Sept 1911, *Hereford Times*

¹³¹ 20, 21 June 1913, *Birmingham Mail*; 26 June 1913, *Burton Chronicle*; 21 June 1913, *Daily News (London)*; 27 June, *Western Gazette*

¹³² 21 June 1913, *Lincolnshire Echo*; 21 June, *Hartlepool Daily Northern Mail*

¹³³ 21 June, *Hartlepool Daily Northern Mail*

¹³⁴ ancestry.co.uk; England and Wales National Probate Calendar, 1936

¹³⁵ Alfred Watkins, p. 106

¹³⁶ *Kelly's Directory of Herefordshire*, 1934

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- ¹³⁷ 17 Aug 1946, *Gloucester Journal*
- ¹³⁸ 24 December 1938, *Evening Standard & West Midlands Observer*
- ¹³⁹ HARC, AW86/2
- ¹⁴⁰ Ancestry.co.uk
- ¹⁴¹ 17 August 1946, *Gloucester Journal*
- ¹⁴² 4 November 1946, *Gloucester Citizen*; HARC, AW86/2
- ¹⁴³ Janet Cooper, *The Victoria County History of Herefordshire*, (2016), p. 24; no newspaper advertisements have been found for the four farms.
- ¹⁴⁴ 4 November 1946, *Gloucester Citizen*
- ¹⁴⁵ Historic England Archive, SB00325
- ¹⁴⁶ Pamela Hurlle, *Stephen Ballard 1804-1890 "One of Nature's Gentlemen"* (2010)
- ¹⁴⁷ HARC, AW86/2
- ¹⁴⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BOAC_Flight_777; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leslie_Howard; the Ballard account incorrectly names the equally famous Trevor Howard as one of the passengers, HARC, AW86/2
- ¹⁴⁹ Patricia Hegarty, 'Personal memories of Hope End', *Colwall Village Society Newsletter*, (February 2020) (subsequently Patricia Hegarty (2020).
- ¹⁵⁰ Patricia Hegarty, (2020)
- ¹⁵¹ HARC, AW86/3
- ¹⁵² Historic England Archive, SB00487
- ¹⁵³ Merged with Tilhill (now Tillhill Forestry) in 1990; <https://www.forestry-memories.org.uk/picture/number4932/>
- ¹⁵⁴ Ralph Blumenau, *A History of Malvern College 1865-1965*, (1965) p. 167
- ¹⁵⁵ HARC, CN37/287
- ¹⁵⁶ Hereford County Council, DCN020482/F
- ¹⁵⁷ Patricia Hegarty, (2020)
- ¹⁵⁸ Historic England, list entries: 1082142, 10821413, 1349711
- ¹⁵⁹ Historic England, list entry: 1000276
- ¹⁶⁰ Patricia Hegarty, *An English Flavour Recipes from Hope End*, (originally published 1988, republished 1996)
- ¹⁶¹ David Armitage remembers that a machete was necessary to plot a course through the grounds, pers comm.
- ¹⁶² Hereford County Council, DNE052135/F; it was registered as an amendment to an earlier planning permission obtained by the Hegartys to extend the gardener's cottage into the walled garden.
- ¹⁶³ <https://councillors.herefordshire.gov.uk/documents/s7618/6%20DCNE%202005%202041%20F%20-%20KITCHEN%20GARDEN%20HOPE%20END.pdf>
- ¹⁶⁴ Hereford County Council, DNE050789/L
- ¹⁶⁵ Ancestry.co.uk web site
- ¹⁶⁶ HARC, CO35/3/363-365, 456, flown by RAF 11 July 1946
- ¹⁶⁷ Google Earth, historic aerial photos; Patricia Hegarty, pers comm.
- ¹⁶⁸ Mr and Mrs Hegarty, pers comm.