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D Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, **iii**, 1959, 489-90
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D. & R. Cromarty, *The Wealth of Shrewsbury in the Early Fourteenth Century: Six Local Subsidy Rolls 1297 to 1322. Text and commentary.* 1993, ISBN 0 9501227 5 0, 125 pp. £13

Shrewsbury is fortunate to have six local subsidy rolls, a number greater than for any other town. They record the assessment of the taxpaying population's wealth from 1297 to 1322. The rolls consist of lists of names followed by inventories of taxed goods, a summation of their values and then the tax due as a fraction which the crown demanded. The authors have looked into the historical background of the taxes at local and national levels, and have used the evidence of the inventories to discuss the social structure of the town and its economy.

U. Rees (ed.), *The Cartulary of Lilleshall Abbey*, 1997, ISBN 09501227 6 9, 237 pp. £25

The Society has already been indebted to Una Rees for the two earlier cartulary editions, those of Shrewsbury abbey and Haughmond abbey. Lilleshall abbey was an Augustinian house lying in the wooded area to the north-east of Shrewsbury. It was never a very wealthy community, and its income was diminished by the large numbers of travellers it was obliged to succour. This volume has entailed a great deal of work in searching for the originals of the charters and collating the two. In addition to the charters there are also documents relating to taxation, a rental of the abbey's properties in Shrewsbury, and items relating to the abbey's attempts to augment its revenues by appropriating some of its churches. This gives only a small indication of the range of the contents, which represent the archives used by the abbey officials in their dealings with their estates and legal business.

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ROMANO-BRITISH KILNS AT MEOLE BRACE (PULLEY), SHROPSHIRE

By C J EVANS, W E JENKS AND R H WHITE

with contributions by L. Bevan, J. Cowgill, R. Gale and R. Ixer

CONTENTS

1. Summary

An emergency excavation of a Roman pottery production site and iron-working site was undertaken by one of the authors (WEJ) within the easement for a pipeline. The kiln was located at a point c. 200m from the known Roman roadside and industrial settlement at Meole Brace. Two interconnected kilns were excavated that produced a substantial group of Severn Valley ware oxidised and red colour-coated wares. Some tools were associated with the wasters and these artefacts and the structure of the kilns themselves offer an insight into late Roman pottery production in the hinterland of Wroxeter.

2. Introduction

In April-May 1998, work was undertaken by contractors commissioned by Severn Trent Water Ltd to install the Bayston Hill to Weeping Cross stage of the Shrewsbury Groundwater scheme. This involved laying a substantial water main between those two locations, a process that required stripping an easement of c.8m width and excavating the pipe trench by machine. No provision for archaeological work was required as part of the planning consent as although the pipeline passed near the known Roman site at Meole Brace, it was thought to lie some way beyond the occupied area. The line of the easement was monitored in a private capacity by one of the authors (WEJ) as part of his long-term project to study the history of the area. He had gained permission to survey the easement from the contractors and the authors are extremely grateful for their cooperation throughout the work. Once the kilns had been located, excavation was carried out, largely between late May and early June and was completed before the pipe was laid.

After the excavation, it was suggested by Severn Trent's archaeological consultant, Iain Ferris, that an assessment report on the site be prepared with a view to possible funding of a report by Severn Trent Ltd. This report concluded that the small assemblage of pottery dated to the latter half of the 4th century (Evans and White 1998). The kiln products included a range of Severn Valley ware forms together with red colour-coated table-wares. The assemblage represents one of the latest known Severn Valley-ware kiln groups, and defines a new possible source for late Roman colour-coated wares in this region. As such the assemblage was of local and regional importance and on this basis the final report was commissioned.

3. Structural report

3.1 Site location

The kilns were located close to the south-east edge of a Romano-British roadside settlement at Meole Brace (Hughes 1994), at the brink of a short slope down to the west bank of the Moneybrook, a small tributary of the Rea Brook (SJ 4896 0957) (Fig. 1). The banks of the Moneybrook have exposed the local soils of the vicinity. These are predominantly deposits of reddish, slightly sandy clay intermixed with deposits of gravel, sand and Keele Beds sandstone. Such deposits are characteristic of the largely locally derived glacial till that marks the underlying solid geology. This solid geology nonetheless imposes an influence on the landscape in that the Moneybrook may well be exploiting the interface between the Upper Carboniferous sandstone and shale beds on which the Roman settlement is situated and the much older and harder Pre-Cambrian Longmyndian (Wentnor Series) siltstones of Sharpstones Hill that lies to the east. The results of glaciation are also echoed in the numerous kettle-holes that are historically known from the area, some of the larger of which, indeed, still survive to this day (e.g. Bomere and Shomere Pools – Leah *et al.* 1998, 60-1). The kilns were located 12 metres to the south of an existing right of way that leads from Lower Pulley, across the Moneybrook and thence over Sharpstones Hill towards Wroxeter. The close association of this lane to the kiln may be evidence that this route was Roman in origin, and, certainly, there must have been a route that linked the Meole Brace roadside settlement with Wroxeter and this may well have crossed Sharpstones Hill (White, forthcoming).

3.2 Circumstances of discovery

During mechanical stripping for the easement of a pipeline that formed part of the flood relief scheme from Bayston Hill to Weeping Cross in April-May 1998, one of the authors (WEJ) noted a number of features peripheral to the known roadside settlement. Two features in particular were isolated. The first, a dark sub-rectangular hollow that lay some 5m north-east of the kiln site, produced some Roman pottery. A number of possible structural features, including postholes, within and around this feature hinted at a structure here that may have been a workshop associated with the kiln. Alternatively, this may have been a local quarry hollow from which the clay was derived either for the pottery within the kiln or for the kilns themselves. In either case, the late dating of both this hollow and the kilns suggests their contemporary use. The second feature is the kiln complex itself. This was initially identified as a roughly circular area 1.5m in diameter of partly-fired

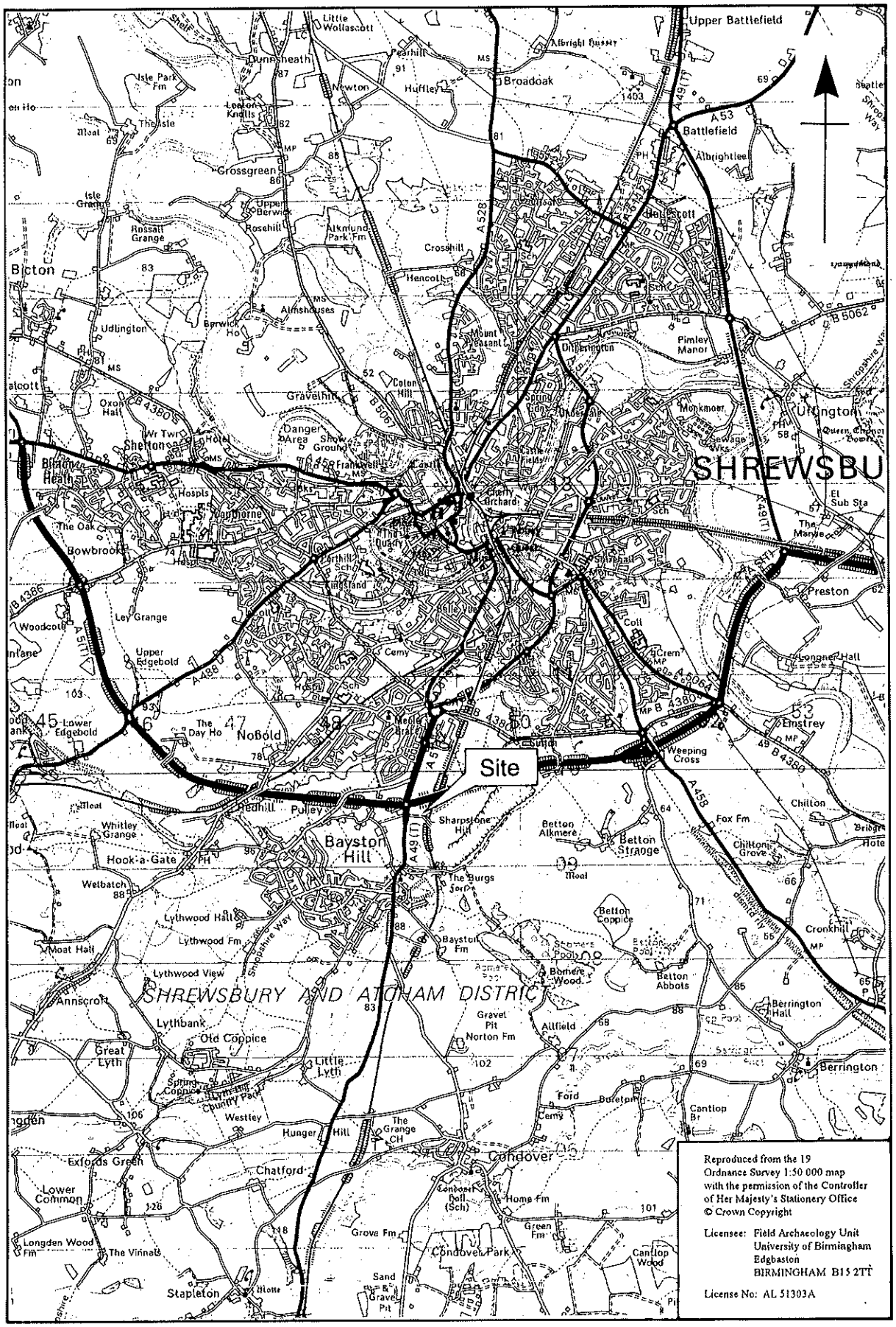

FIGURE 1 LOCATION PLAN

clay within a gravelly area. The occurrence of apparent iron-working debris and the burnt clay lead to its initial identification as an industrial site, perhaps a bloomery. Area stripping and extensive cleaning of the feature produced the plan of kilns and stokehole within which was a large amount of Roman pottery and kiln debris.

3.3 Excavation

Kiln 1

The kiln chamber was completely below ground level and was roughly beehive-shaped (Figs.2, 3). It was 0.85m deep and was sub-circular in plan with dimensions of 1.2 by 1.6m. An irregular roughly-built and off-centre pillar 0.65m in diameter stood within the chamber (Fig 5). This would have supported the firing platform. The pillar stood on the solid red clay natural and was constructed of clay-bonded stones infilled with loose earth and rubble with its exterior plastered in clay. There is a suggestion that the chamber and the central pillar were used on at least two occasions. The chamber cavity was 0.25 to 0.37m wide and 0.65m deep. It was raised 0.25m above the ramped flue (Fig. 4). Its fill contained wasters and residual pottery on the floor. The clay platform remained *in situ* at the back of the kiln and was pierced by two 80mm vent holes about 400mm apart. Presumably the remainder of the platform had been destroyed when the kiln was emptied for the last time, or collapsed as the kiln weathered after abandonment. The flue was constructed of large irregular sandstone and conglomerate blocks set in clay to form a stone-faced lining. Some of the stones had been fractured by the intense heat, which would have resulted in the frequent rebuilding of the flue. The section of the flue suggested that at least three relinings took place. An antler found in the base of the lowest may have been a crude tool for raking out the embers.

The stokehole was about 3m long but reconstruction of its precise original form had been compromised by later restructurings for the second kiln and the bloomery. The floor was sloping so that ashes could be raked easily onto the brink of the Moneybrook while the loose gravel sides had been stabilised by lining the flue with yellow sandy clay, leaving a step on the north side. This was eroded by the construction of kiln 2. Large deposits of dumped fired red clay were probably the residue of flue and roof repairs.

FIGURE 2 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE EXCAVATED KILNS. *Photograph:* R. White

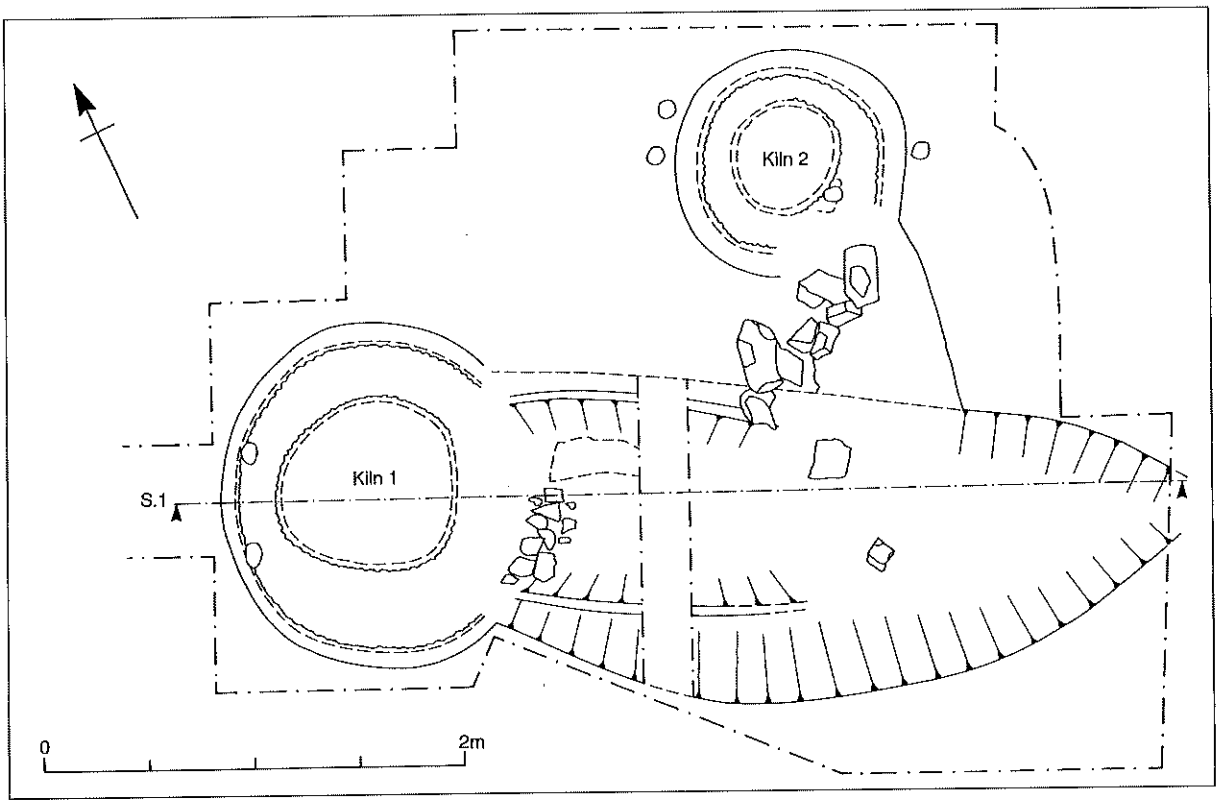

FIGURE 3 PLAN OF EXCAVATED KILNS. *Plan:* W. E. Jenks

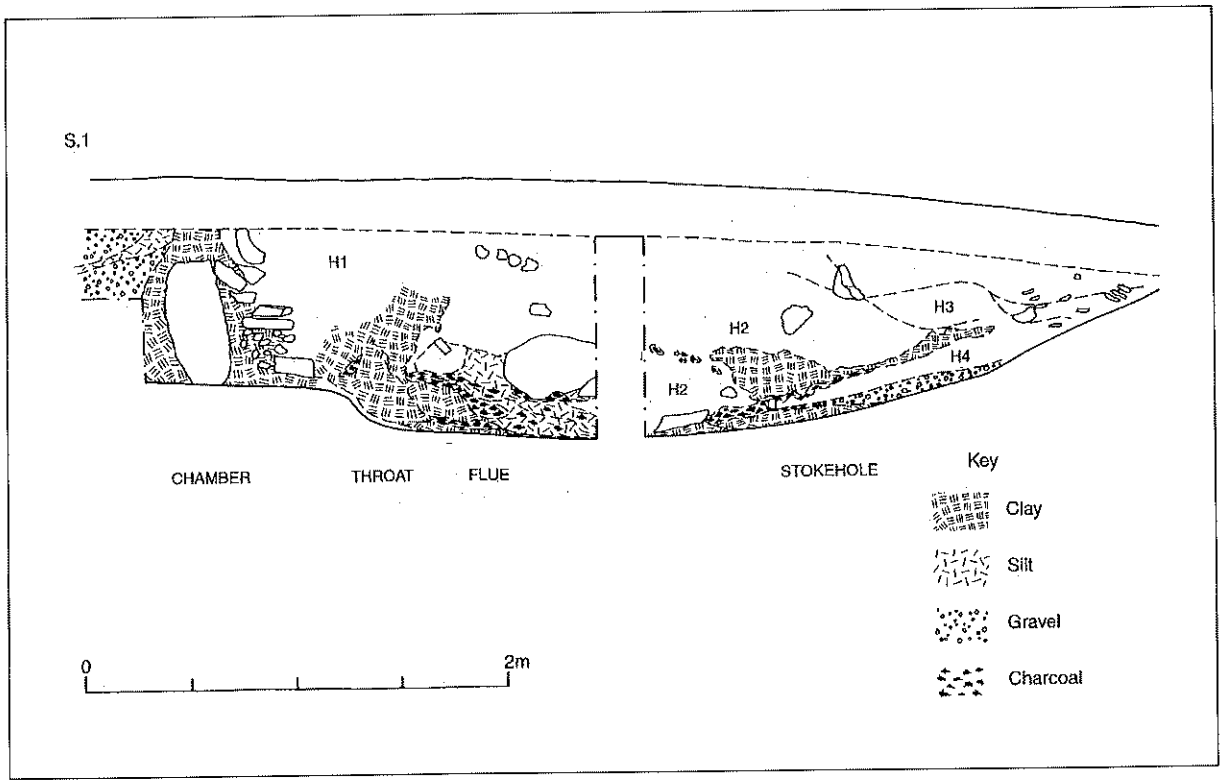

FIGURE 4 SECTION THROUGH KILN 1. *Drawing* W. E. Jenks

FIGURE 5 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CENTRAL SUPPORT IN KILN 1.
Photograph: R. White.

Kiln 2

This feature was not fully excavated as it was possible, with the kind co-operation of the developers, to slightly re-site the pipe trench to avoid this feature enabling its partial preservation *in situ*. Even so, the kiln was half-sectioned which demonstrated that the truncated chamber (c.0.6m deep) had lost both its platform and dome, a feature that it shared in common with kiln 1 (Fig. 2). This is presumably due to post-Roman activities, notably ploughing. The lining of the chamber was in good condition containing similar amounts of wasters to that seen in kiln 1. The stokehole used was common to that of kiln 1 and the central chamber contained a central column similar to that seen in kiln 1. Final demolition in addition to removing the platform and dome had severely damaged the flue, but even so evidence of multiple firings was still present.

Kiln 3

Evidence for a third kiln was limited to an extension of the trench to the east (Fig.6; not shown on plan). There are no details of the feature and no certain structural elements. On balance, therefore, this may be a later disturbance with redeposited kiln debris within it. If so, it may perhaps be associated with the ironworking activity rather than pottery production.

Bloomery

The sole evidence of this feature was the substantial number of small pieces of industrial waste lying at the surface and in the top levels of the stokeholes (Fig. 10). Absence of charcoal at the kiln levels also suggests a surface-mounted furnace. Further deposits of similar industrial waste were observed nearby, south of the lane, but no smelted or wrought iron remained. It was also noted that the top of this feature had been disturbed in modern times, perhaps through the actions of metal-detectorists who are known to frequent the field.

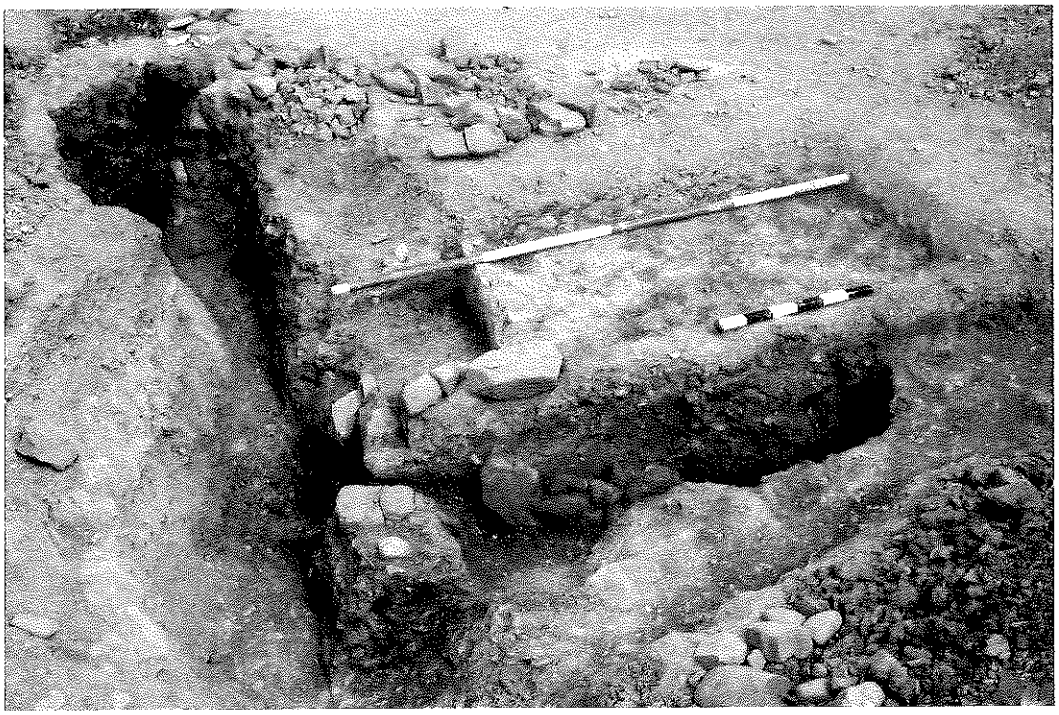

FIGURE 6 PHOTOGRAPH OF EXTENSION WITH 'KILN 3' (FOREGROUND). *Photograph* M. Stokes.

4. The Roman pottery *by C. Jane Evans*

4.1 Introduction

A total of 1048 sherds of pottery was recovered during the excavation, weighing 8.4kg. Most of the pottery was associated with the kilns, apart from 46 sherds found in an adjacent hollow. More than half of the assemblage came from kiln 1 (Table 1). The pottery was not *in situ* and appeared to have been dumped into the kilns when they went out of use. No complete vessels were represented and most sherds were fairly fragmentary with a low average sherd weight. It seems likely, however, that the group represents the products of this or a neighbouring kiln. A range of fabrics was represented (Table 2), but the majority was locally made in a limited range of forms (Table 3). The evidence from the kiln debris also confirms that the kiln was used for the production of oxidised wares, and was constructed from similar clays.

Kiln	Location	Qty.	% Qty	Wt. (g)	% Wt.	Av. Sherd Wt. (g)	Rim EVE	% Rim EVE	Base EVE	% Base EVE
1	Chamber	248	24	2681	32	11	190	24	159	31.5
	Chamber top	26	2.5	215	3	8	20	3	0	0
	Dome	1	<1	15	<1	15	6	<1	0	0
	Stokehole	125	12	1536	18	12	147	19	226	45
	Stokehole top	183	17.5	833	10	4.5	45	6	13	2.5
Total Kiln 1		**583**	**56**	**5280**	**63**	**9**	**408**	**52**	**398**	**79**
2	Dome/Dome top	61	6	585	7	9.5	31	4	50	10
	U/S	29	3	146	1.7	5	27	3	0	0
Total Kiln 2		**90**	**9**	**731**	**9**	**8**	**58**	**7**	**50**	**10**
1/2	Stokehole	56	5	332	4	6	59	7.5	6	1
	Baulk	55	5	460	5.5	8.4	59	7.5	37	7
	U/S	4	<1	34	<1	8.5	6	<1	0	0
Total Kiln 1/2		**115**	**11**	**826**	**10**	**7**	**124**	**16**	**43**	**8**
3	Chamber	22	2	281	3	13	64	8	0	
	Stokehole	13	1	197	2	15	16	2	13	3
Total Kiln 3		**35**	**3**	**478**	**6**	**14**	**80**	**10**	**13**	**3**
2/3	Stokehole	39	4	179	2	4.5	22	3	0	0
Total kiln 2/3		**39**	**4**	**179**	**2**	**5**	**22**	**3**	**0**	**0**
1/2/3	'Slag'	4	<1	80	1	20	0	0	0	0
	Stokehole	136	13	498	6	4	10	1	0	0
Total Kiln 1/2/3		**140**	**13**	**578**	**7**	**4**	**10**	**1**	**0**	**0**
Hollow		**46**	**4**	**306**	**4**	**7**	**80**	**10**	**0**	**0**
TOTAL POT		**1048**		**8378**		**8**	**782**		**504**	

Table 1: Summary of the pottery by kiln

Common Name	Timby et al. Code	Archive Code	Description/references
Severn Valley ware	SVOF	O02.2	Standard oxidised fabric, unsourced: Tomber and Dore 1998 SVW OX 2, 149, Plate 122; Webster 1976, Rawes 1982
	SVO	O02.1	Coarser variant, oxidised
	SVR	G04.1	Coarser variant, reduced
'Wroxeter' ware, oxidised	WWO	O04.1	Similar to SVO but abundant quartz; Tomber and Dore 1998 WRX OX, 178, plate 149a-b
'Wroxeter' ware, reduced	WWR	G06	Reduced variant of WWO
'Wroxeter' mortaria	MWWO	M07f	Oxidised mortaria, fabric similar to SVO; Tomber and Dore 1998 WRX OX, 178, plate 149a-b
South-east Dorset Black-burnished 1, BB1	BB1	B01	Tomber and Dore 1998 DOR BB 1, 127, plate 100; Williams 1977; Seager Smith and Davies, 1993
Late shell tempered ware	CALC	J01	Tomber and Dore 1998 ROB SH, 212, plate 177
Oxfordshire red c.c. ware	OXFRCC	C07	Tomber and Dore 1998 OXF RS, 176, plate 147
Oxfordshire red c.c. mortaria	MOXFRC	M04a	Tomber and Dore 1998 OXF RS, 176, plate 147; Young 1977
Oxfordshire white mortaria	MOXFW	M04b	Tomber and Dore 1998 OXF WH, 175, plate 146a-b; Young 1977
Mancetter-Hartshill mortarium	MANCH	M02	Tomber and Dore 1998 MAH WH, 189, plate 157a-d; Hartley 1973, 143-47
Samian	SAM	S0	

Table 2: List of fabrics represented

Common Name	Fabric Name	Qty.	% Qty.	Wt. (g)	% Wt.	Average sherd Wt. (g)	Rim EVE	% Rim EVE	Base EVE	% Base EVE
Severn Valley ware	SVO	946	90	7451	89	8	627	80	441	88
	SVOF	34	3	213	2.5	6	31	4	51	10
Reduced variant	SVR	7	<1	40	<1	6	11	1.5	0	0
Total Severn Valley ware		*987*	*94*	*7704*	*92*	*8*	*669*	*85.5*	*492*	*98*
Sandy, oxidised ware	WWO	22	2	217	3	10	36	5	0	0
Sandy, reduced ware	WWR	7	<1	72	<1	10	19	2.5	0	0
Wroxeter mortaria	MWWO	1	<1	35	<1	35	9	1	0	0
Total Local wares		**1017**	**97**	**8028**	**96**	**8**	**733**	**94**	**492**	**98**
South-east Dorset BB1	BB1	21	90	176	2	8	17	2	0	0
Late shell tempered ware	CALC	5	<1	52	<1	10	20	2.5	12	2
Oxford red c.c. ware	OXFRCC	1	<1	9	<1	9	0	0	0	0
Oxford white mortaria	MOXFW	1	<1	47	<1	47	12	1.5	0	0
Mancetter Hartshill mortaria	MANCH	2	<1	65	<1	32	0	0	0	0
Total Traded ware		**30**	**3**	**349**	**4**	**12**	**49**	**6**	**0**	**0**
Samian	SAM	1	<1	1	<1	1	0	0	0	0
Total Imported		**1**	**<1**	**1**	**<1**	**1**			**0**	**0**
TOTAL POTTERY		**1048**		**8378**		**8**	**782**		**504**	

Table 3: Summary of the Roman pottery assemblage by Fabric/source

4.2 Methodology

The pottery was recorded in full using the standard BUFAU Roman pottery recording system, described in the project archive. This was cross-referenced with the fabric and form series for the Baths and *Macellum* at Wroxeter (Timby *et al.* in press), and the Baths Basilica (Symonds 1997). Precise form types and broad vessel classes (for example bowl, flagon, *mortarium*) were both recorded. Other characteristics noted included decoration, evidence for manufacture (wasters) and repair (rivets and rivet holes). No evidence for use was identified. The assemblage was quantified by sherd count, weight and EVE (Estimated vessel equivalent). Rim and base EVEs are both presented in some tables, but only rim EVEs are used for quantifying forms. Most of the pottery was fairly abraded. All forms thought to be kiln products have been illustrated, together with non-kiln products that provide useful dating evidence.

4.3 Dating of the kilns

The kilns probably date to the latter half of the 4th century, although a later date cannot be ruled out. The dating of the kiln is entirely reliant on the pottery. The circumstances of excavation unfortunately precluded any scientific dating on site. Only one of the other associated finds was datable (Cat. No. 1), and this is residual.

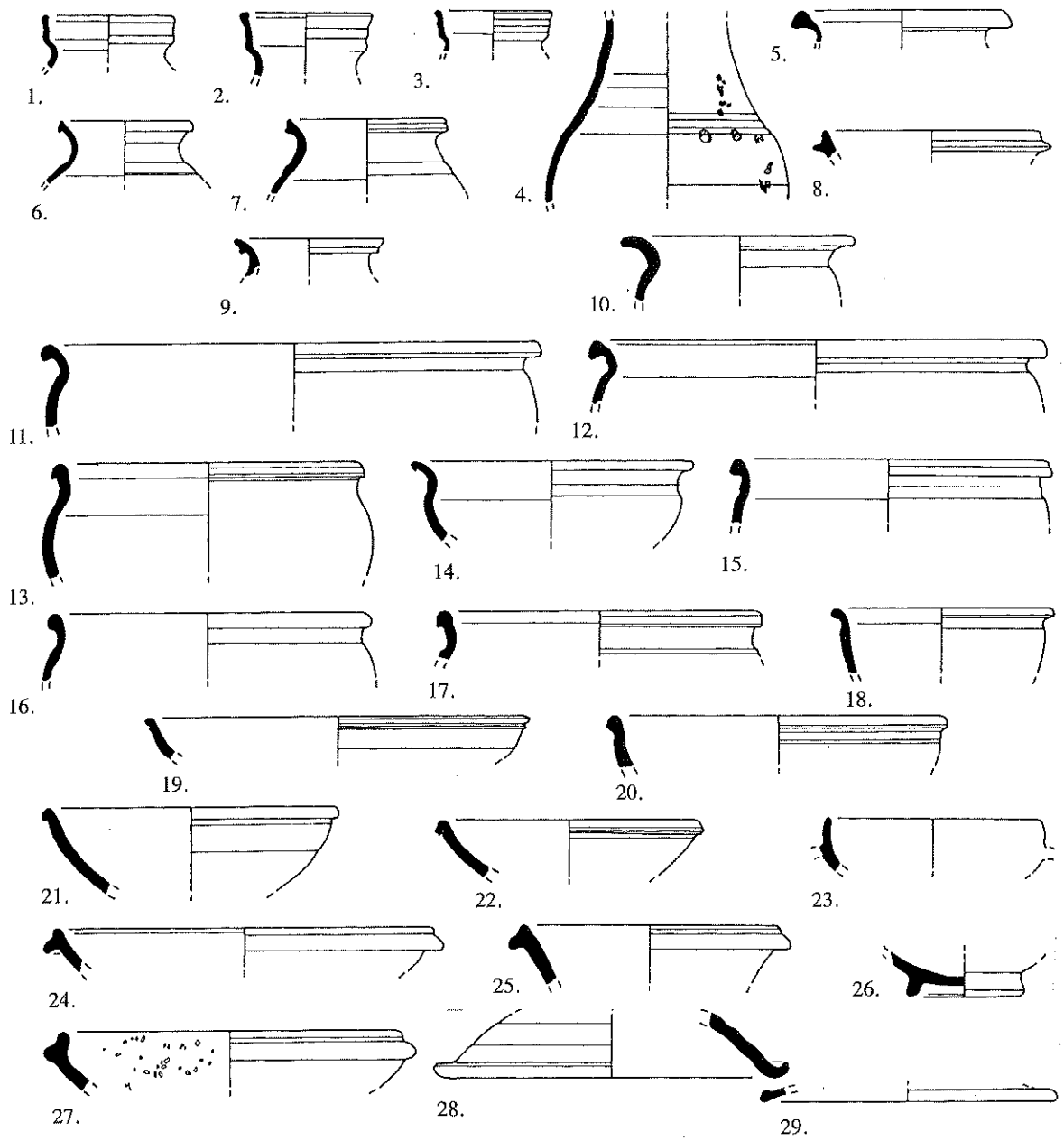

FIGURE 7: KILN PRODUCTS (SCALE 1:4).

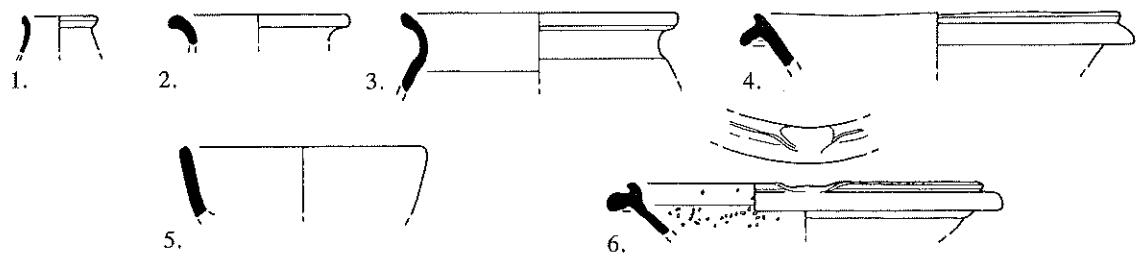

FIGURE 8: NON-LOCAL AND RESIDUAL POTTERY (SCALE 1:4).

The kiln products included a number of forms broadly dated elsewhere to the late 3rd to 4th century (Fig. 7, 4, 7-9, 11, 14-19, 25), as well as a range of less-diagnostic types. The production of colour-coated wares supports a 4th century date; the forms are similar to Oxfordshire types that were not commonly found at Wroxeter until the 4th century. A *tpq* at least in the 4th-century is indicated by diagnostically late traded wares. The rim of a late Roman shelly-ware jar was found in the chamber of kiln 3 (Fig. 8, 3), and a typically-4th century Oxfordshire *mortarium* rim came from the stokehole of kiln 1 (Fig. 8, 6). Most of the traded wares, however, came from the hollow alongside the kiln, or 'top' layers that could post-date the infilling of the kiln. The hollow, for example, produced a late Roman, BB1, flange-rimmed bowl (Fig. 8, 4). A post-4th century date is possible for some of this material, but cannot be proven. Late Roman shelly wares first appear at Wroxeter in late 4th century contexts, but were increasingly common there in the latest phases (Symonds 1997, fig. 366, fig. 372). The evidence of repair on the BB1 bowl (Fig. 8, 4) is also characteristic of the latest Roman phases at Wroxeter (Barker *et al.* 1997, 218, table 16). Such repair is first noted there in contexts dated c AD 367-450 (op. cit. 240) but is most common in contexts dated between c. AD 500 and 660. Webster dated the end of Severn Valley ware production to 'some time about the end of the 4th century,' suggesting that kilns in the upper Severn basin could have continued in use longer than those to the south (Webster 1976, 44). The evidence from the Meole Brace kilns need not contradict this and the possibility that production may have continued later is tantalising.

4.4. The Kiln Products

On the basis of fabric, and some of the forms, the Meole Brace kilns can be regarded as a Severn Valley ware production site. The main fabric represented was slightly sandier than the standard Severn Valley ware fabric (SVOF), which was only present in small quantities. Small quantities of an even coarser, oxidised variant were also noted (WWO). This was used for typical Severn Valley ware forms, such as a pulley-rim jar, and also for BB1 copies (Fig. 7, 25). This sandier range of fabrics is typical of the Severn Valley ware found in the Wroxeter area (Evans 1994, 78), whereas the finer, standard fabric is typical of the lower Severn Valley region. This perhaps reflects an overlap between the Severn Valley ware and Cheshire Plain pottery traditions at this northern limit of Severn Valley ware production. Small quantities of reduced pottery were produced (SVR, WWR). The former are almost certainly misfired, occurring in forms that are typical of the oxidised ware (Fig. 7, 19). The latter, however, could have been deliberately reduced to copy BB1 (Fig. 7, 10).

The range of forms produced can be compared and contrasted with the products of other known Severn Valley kilns. The assemblage is best paralleled by pottery from other peripheral production sites, rather than those at the centre of the Severn Valley area, as standard Severn Valley ware forms are produced alongside more specialised vessels (Webster 1976, 38). Jars, predictably, were the most common vessel class produced. Narrow-mouthed jars were more common than wide-mouthed jars (Table 4a), and usually had bifid or hooked rims (Table 4b, JN2.01, JN20.01, JN2.02). These rim types have been found at other kiln sites around Wroxeter. Examples of both are published from the Tern-Severn kiln site excavated by Houghton (Houghton 1964, fig. 25. 5-7, 10), and hook-rimmed jars are included in the pottery associated with the Bell Brook kiln site (Faiers and White forthcoming). Wasters in similar forms were also noted at the Meole Brace and Duncote Farm sites excavated in advance of the Shrewsbury bypass (Evans 1994, 91, fig. 36.11, 14, 18). The Meole Brace kiln group, however, does not include the jars with slashed-pulley rims noted at the other Wroxeter sites (Houghton 1964 fig. 25.1; Faiers and White forthcoming; Evans 1994. fig. 36.15-17). The significance of this is uncertain.

More specialised production was indicated by the proportion of tablewares present, and the use of colour-coating. Bowls, flagons and beakers were all more common at Meole Brace than at the Malvern, Newland Hopfields kiln (Table 4c). Newland Hopfields is the only Severn Valley ware kiln for which fully quantified data has been published, and is situated at the heart of the Severn Valley area. The bowls produced at Meole Brace were copies of samian types, whereas the Newland Hopfields kiln produced generally larger and more utilitarian types. A number of footring bases were noted at Meole Brace, again reflecting the greater investment in time and skill. Although much of the pottery was very abraded, 13% of the sherds by count displayed evidence of a red or brown colour-coat. This mainly occurred on the bowls, flagons and beakers but two colour-coated jar rims were also noted. Some of the colour-coated vessels also had white painted dots, for example a beaker (Fig. 7, 4) and the flange from a bowl (not illustrated) similar to one published from the A5, Shrewsbury by-pass excavations (Evans 1994, fig. 37. 31). There is a tradition of more specialised pottery production in the Wroxeter area, going back to the military origins of its pottery industry. Colour-coats are noted on the early 'Wroxeter wares' recorded from the Wroxeter baths and *macellum* (Timby *et al.* in press, fabrics WWO, WWR) and on the Rhaetian-type mortaria produced, for example, at Bell Brook (Faiers and White forthcoming). Red slip and white paint was noted on later Severn Valley ware from the Wroxeter baths basilica site (Symonds 1997, 273, fabrics R1, R2),

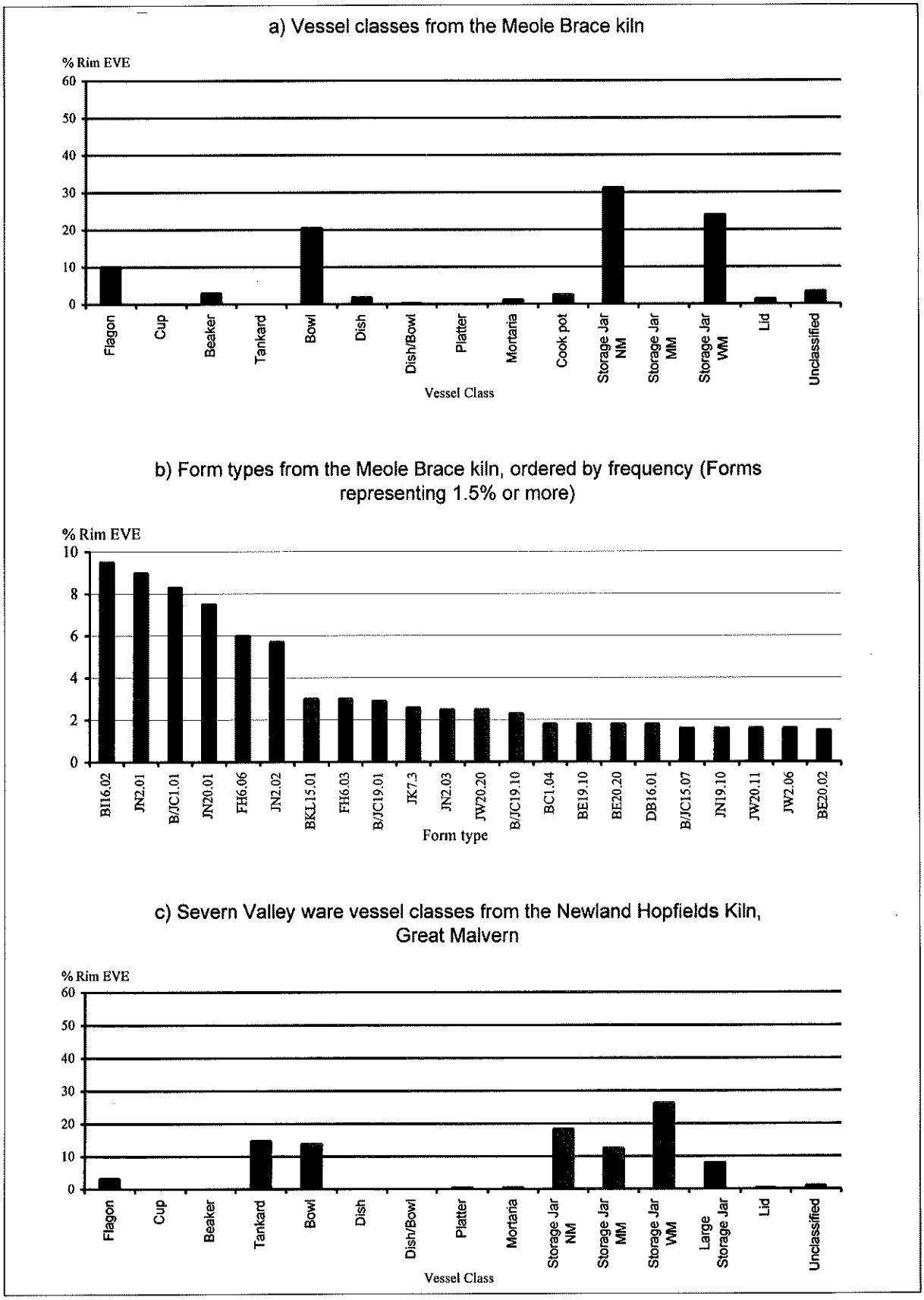

TABLE 4 ANALYSIS OF FORMS PRODUCED (% RIM EVE):
(A) VESSEL CLASSES FROM THE MEOLE BRACE KILN;
(B) FORM TYPES FROM THE MEOLE BRACE KILN, ORDERED BY FREQUENCY;
(C) SEVERN VALLEY WARE VESSEL CLASSES FROM THE NEWLAND HOPFIELDS KILN, GREAT MALVERN.

where it was thought to be imitating Oxfordshire wares. Wasters in red colour-coated ware were noted at the Tern-Severn kiln site (Houghton 1964, 107), and the use of red/brown colour-coat and white paint is also recorded from Meole Brace and Duncote Farm (Evans 1994, 77-8). Further afield, colour-coated wares were produced at the late 1st to 2nd century Severn Valley ware kilns at Shepton Mallet, Somerset (Scarth 1866), and possibly also at a postulated 3rd to 4th century kiln at Marley Hall, just west of the Malverns in Herefordshire. This late production of colour-coated wares, in the tradition of the Oxfordshire potters, is paralleled by the South-Western colour-coated wares and colour-coated wares found at Alcester (Lee *et al.* 1994, 8), and by the products of Hartshill kiln 6 (Swan 1984, 101).

As well as the Severn Valley ware jars and colour-coated table wares, a few copies of other traded wares are represented. A version of an Oxfordshire *mortarium* type was found in the chamber of Kiln 1 (Fig. 7, 27), and copies of BB1 jars were also noted (Fig. 7, 10).

It is worth noting that tankards are not represented in the Meole Brace kiln assemblage. The significance of this is, as yet, uncertain. They are one of the most characteristic and widely distributed Severn Valley ware forms. They have been noted at nearly all the other known production sites, with the exception of the Malvern, Hygienic Laundry site (Peacock 1967) and, interestingly, the Wroxeter, Tern-Severn site (Houghton 1964). At Newland Hopfields, Malvern tankards were one of the most common forms produced (Table 4c; Evans *et al.* in press). Tankards can, in fact, sometimes be the one characteristically Severn Valley ware form produced at the peripheral kiln sites; for example Perry Barr and Sherifoot Lane in the midlands (Hughes 1959; C. Jane Evans, personal information) and Shepton Mallet, Somerset (Scarth 1866).

4.5 Catalogue

4.5.1 Kiln products (Fig. 7)

Cupped-mouth flagons (not a Webster type)

The grooved collared rim is paralleled by a ring-necked, cupped-mouth flagon first noted in later 2nd century contexts at Wroxeter (Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 140 type F4.7). The Meole Brace flagons, however, have much shorter necks, curving out almost immediately below the rim. Details of the rim vary, some having two grooves (Fig. 7.2, 3) and some one (Fig. 7.1).

1 1FH6.06. With a dark red slip externally and internally. SVO. Kiln 1 stoke hole
2 FH6.03. With an orange-red slip externally and just inside the rim. SVO. Kiln 1/2 BK
3 FH6.031. Similar to a type noted in Severn Valley ware fabric R1 at the Wroxeter baths basilica (Symonds 1997, form 530, 273, 304, fig. 353.69) and Gillam type 9 dated AD 140-180 (Gillam 1968, fig. 2.9), but with a shorter neck. The illustrated rim has a red colour-coat internally and externally. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber

Miscellaneous Beakers (not a Webster type)

4 BK. Two sherds from the neck and shoulder of a decorated beaker. The sherds are very abraded but have vestiges of white painted dots over a red slip, perhaps copying 3rd-century, Nene Valley types (Howe, Perrin and Mackreth 1980, fig. 5, 49, 50). A late 3rd to 4th century date is perhaps more likely for the illustrated vessel, based on the dating for over-slip decoration on Nene Valley colour-coats (*ibid.* 8). No parallels are known to this author for the combination of form and decoration in Severn Valley ware. However, red or white paint was noted on Severn Valley ware fabrics R1 and R2 at the Wroxeter baths basilica (Symonds 1997, 273), where it was thought to be in imitation of Oxford types. SVO. Kiln 2/3 stokehole

Narrow-mouthed jars with thickened rims (Webster 1976, class A)

5 JN19.10. Triangular rim, a 2nd to 4th century type (Webster fig. 1.4; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 146. JN4.3). SVO. Hollow, 0056

Narrow-mouthed jars with hooked rims (Webster 1976, class A)

6 JN20.1. A 2nd to 3rd century type (Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 146.JN4.4; Webster 1976, fig. 1.6). SVO. K1 stoke hole

Narrow-mouthed jars with pulley rims (Webster 1976, class A)

A 3rd to 4th century type (Webster 1976, fig. 3 10-13; Timby *et al.* 2000, fig. 147, JN4.6-8; Symonds 1997, type 482, figs. 352.62-4, 354.100), known to have been produced elsewhere at Wroxeter (Houghton 1964, fig. 25.6, 7, 10)

7 JN2.01. Grooved rim, slight cordon at base of neck. SVO. Kiln 1 stokehole
8 JN2.02. Lower bead making pronounced flange. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
9 JN2.03. Upper bead more pronounced. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber

Cook-pot forms

10 JK7.3. Copy of a BB1 type, with a rim diameter greater than the maximum diameter of the body. This is a form dating from the later 3rd century onwards (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, fig. 122 type 3). WWR. Hollow

Wide-mouthed jars or bowls with short necks and hooked rims (Webster 1976, class C)

Dated by Webster to the 4th century (Webster 1976, fig. 6.31, fig. 7.32, 33). The form is known from a 3rd to 4th century kiln site at Malvern, Worcestershire (Peacock 1967, figs 3.52-4, 4.55-60) and was noted at the Wroxeter baths basilica site (Symonds 1997, form 360, 298, fig. 351.45 and form 380, 299, fig.352.51). A similar form is published from the Old Bowling Green site, Droitwich, Worcestershire from a mid-3rd to late-4th century context (Rees 1992, 38, fig. 28.13)

11 JW20.10. Slight shoulder, rim and shoulder near-equal girth. SVO. Kiln 1 stoke hole
12 JW20.11. Pronounced shoulder, rim and shoulder near-equal girth. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
13 JW20.20. Rim pushed down to form a very slight hook. The shoulder is slack and of wider girth in relation to the rim. SVO. Kiln 1 stoke hole
14 BE20.02. Small jar or bowl of narrow girth with a splayed neck. SVO. Kiln 3 stokehole
15 BE20.02. Rounded, folded-down rim, with heavy tooling on the neck. Very similar to a vessel published from the Wroxeter baths basilica (Symonds 1997, form 360 fig. 351.43. SVO. Kiln 1 stoke hole

Wide-mouthed jars or bowls with short necks and thickened rims (Webster 1976, class C)

Probably contemporary with 11-15 above

16 B/JC1.01. Bowl or jar with a beaded rim and a slack shoulder. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
17 B/JC15.07. Bowl or jar with an angular, sharply tooled rim and a pronounced shoulder. SVO. Kiln 3 chamber
18 BE19.10. Small bowl with an everted, triangular rim. With pale red slip externally and internally. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
19 BA2.03. With a grooved or 'bifid' rim, similar to types published from Wroxeter (Timby et al. in press, fig. 155. B7.4). The sherd has a brown colour-coat and was probably misfired. SVR. Kiln 1 stokehole

Hemispherical bowls with bead rims (Webster 1976, class I)

20-21 Reminiscent of samian form Drag. 37, a type produced from the 2nd century on (Webster 1976, fig. 9. 61; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 155. B7.2; Symonds 1997, form 300, 297, fig. 351.35). 22, a shallower form, reminiscent of samian form Drag. 31.

20 BC1.01. With a red colour-coat. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber top
21 BC1.02. With a red colour-coat. Burnt. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
22 BC1.04. With a crudely folded-over rim. Slightly reduced. SVO. Kiln 3 chamber

Flanged or 'Segmental' bowls (Webster 1976, class I, J)

23 BI16.02. Bowl with a flange set well below a plain upright rim, copying samian form Drag. 38. This form was widely copied in colour-coated wares from the 2nd century through to the 4th (Webster 1976, fig. 9. 63 or 64; Symonds 1997, form 200, fig. 350.11; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 156. B12.8). The flange is broken on the illustrated vessel, which has a dark brown colour-coat. SVO. Kiln 1 dome
24 BI8.06. Bowl with a flange just below the rim, perhaps derived from samian form Curle 11 or Drag. 38 (Webster 1976, fig. 10. 65; Symonds 1997, form 180, fig. 350. 8; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. B12.41). Similar forms were produced at the Newland Hopfields kiln in Worcestershire (Evans *et al.* in press, bowl type 3, fig. 28. BT.43). The illustrated vessel has a stubby, slightly down-curving flange. The surface is very abraded but traces of red colour-coat survive. SVO. Kiln 2 dome top

Flanged, conical bowl

25 BI8.25. Copy of a BB1 type dating from the late 3rd century on (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, fig. 124 type 25; Symonds 1997, form 160, 295, fig. 357. 134-7; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 159. B24.2). WWO. Kiln 1 stokehole

Footring base

26 BS35. The precise form of the bowl from which this comes is uncertain, although it is almost certainly from one of the samian copies discussed above. Comparison with published Severn Valley ware bowls is restricted by the fact that these do not often have bases surviving. Footring bases are known on some Severn Valley ware bowls (Webster 1976, fig. 10.66; Evans *et al.* in press, fig. 28. BT43). They are, perhaps, more commonly associated with tableware forms (Webster Classes I and J), than the larger bowls produced (Webster Classes F, G). Even amongst the tablewares, however, they are by no means ubiquitous; a number of published examples have flat or slightly re-tooled bases (Webster 1976, fig. 10.65; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 156. B12.52; Symonds 1997, fig. 350. 9, 12). The illustrated base has a red colour-coat. SVO. Kiln 1 stokehole.

Mortaria

27 ME8.09. *Mortarium* with an upright rim and a stubby flange, similar to bowl 24 above. No good parallels for the form are published from either the Wroxeter baths basilica or the baths and *macellum* site. It is possibly a copy of Oxford *mortarium* form M22 (Young 1977), the principal Oxford type produced from *c.* AD 300. SVO. Kiln 1 chamber

Lids

28 LAB7.01. With an up-turned, curving rim (Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 168.L1). SVO. Kiln 1 chamber
29 LAB1.01. With a thickened, triangular rim (Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 168.L2). SVO. Kiln 1 chamber

Non-Kiln products

Most of the non-local pottery came from layers that were above or not directly related to the kilns. They could represent domestic rubbish dumped by the potter, or pottery associated with subsequent activity. The hollow to the side of the kiln produced thirteen of the twenty one sherds of BB1, and the only sherd of Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware represented. Two of the late shelly-ware sherds came from the chamber of Kiln 3, but the others came from the chamber top of Kiln 1 and the dome top of kiln 2. The Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria came from the dome top, two sherds from Kiln 2 and one was associated with the metal-working debris. The single sherd of samian came from the Kiln 1 stokehole top.

4.5.2 Non-local and residual pottery (Fig. 8)

1 BKL. Small ovoid or globular beaker with an everted rim, similar to a range of 1st -century military types noted at Wroxeter (Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 142). Probably residual. SVO. Kiln 2/3 stokehole

2 JN1.01. Fragmentary, slightly beaded rim from a narrow-mouthed jar. A late 1st to mid-2nd century type (Timby *et al.* in press, fig 146.JN4.1; Webster 1976 A2). Probably residual SVO. Hollow, 0056

3 JM15.01. Very abraded sherds from a triangular-rimmed jar. This was the most common 'calcite-gritted ware' form found on the baths basilica site (Symonds 1997, form 441, fig. 359. 172), and is a typical late 3rd to 4th century type (Brown 1994, fig. 29. 165, 173 and fig. 34. 239, 241, 243). CALC. Kiln 3 chamber

4 BI8.25. Conical, flange-rimmed bowl. A form dating from the late 3rd century on (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, fig. 124 type 25; Symonds 1997, form 160, 295, fig. 357. 134-7; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 159. B24.2). The illustrated vessel has a repair hole. BB1. Hollow

5 DB16.01. Plain rim dish, a type produced throughout the Roman period (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, fig. 123 type 20: Symonds 1997, form 100, 293, fig. 356. 112-5; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 160. D3). BB1. Kiln 1 stokehole

6 ME8.08. *Mortarium* rim, with spout. A Young type M22, with an upstanding rim and a squat flange folded close to the body, the principal Oxfordshire *mortarium* type from *c.* AD 300 (Young 1977; Timby *et al.* in press, fig. 165. M10.2). MOXFW. Kiln 1 stokehole

5. The kiln debris and other fired clay *by C.J. Evans*

Type	Count	Weight (g)
Dome plate	21	165
Kiln lining	41	2943
Flue lining	1	127
Total kiln debris	*63*	*3235*
Misc. fired clay	80	258
Brick/tile	5	729
Total fired clay	**148**	**4222**

Table 5: Quantification of kiln debris

4.2kg of fired clay was recovered from the kilns, excluding the small quantity of hearth lining mixed in with the slag and discussed below by Jane Cowgill (Table 5). The kiln debris was fragmentary but provided some clues about the structure of the kiln. All the debris was oxidised. The bulk was broadly classified as 'kiln lining', although fragments of clay floor or flue are probably incorporated. Finger impressions on one fragment provided evidence that the clay was plastered on by hand, as was the norm (Swan 1984, 32). Twenty fragments had impressions of burnt-out, wooden, structural supports. These were mainly thin withies but three fragments had larger impressions ranging from 45 to 70 mm across. This type of reinforcement was usually used on the underside of raised oven floors and their supports, or around the flue arch, but has occasionally been found on the lining (*ibid.*). Twenty one fragments with abundant organic (grass) temper were classified as dome-plate. This would have formed the temporary capping of the kiln superstructure, necessary to prevent excessive heat loss during firing and was often done with turves plastered with clay, resulting in the characteristic grass impressions. The clay used in the kiln structure was similar to that used for the pottery, as would be expected if the same local clays were used for both. Two 'fabrics' were represented, one similar to the Severn Valley ware (SVOF/SVO) and the other to the sandier pottery fabric (WWO). The coarser 'fabric,' which represented 85% by weight of the material classified as 'kiln lining,' sometimes included larger pebbles up to 30mm across and may represent unprocessed clay. The coarser inclusions, and the larger pebbles in particular, would in fact have helped bind the clay together and prevent shrinkage during firing. A single fragment in this 'fabric' was identified as flue lining. It was virtified on one surface and had obviously been near to the most intense heat. The less-sandy 'fabric' may represent more maleable, levigated clay. This may have been chosen when wet clay needed to be plastered on, as it was noted on the dome plate and eleven of the twenty fragments with wattle or withy impressions.

A couple of fragments of brick and tile were found in the kilns. These may have been used to reinforce the structure in some way but could equally be unrelated to the use of the kiln. The largest, from Kiln 2, was part of a brick 43mm thick, in a fine, micaceous fabric similar to Whitley Grange fabric 1 (Erica Macey pers. comm.). It was broken on three sides and broken or trimmed on the 4th (extant length and breadth, 105mm by 92mm). Part of a slightly-curving signature survived towards the edge that may have been trimmed. A small fragment of box flue tile in a similar fabric was found in the stokehole of Kiln 1. This had keying on the surviving surface. The remaining brick or tile fragments were very small, abraded and therefore undiagnostic, but were in a similar fabric. The only other clay object recovered was a small, concave disc, 12mm in diameter. This could, perhaps, have been used as a spacer during firing, but could just be a small gaming counter. A number of very small fragments, with an average weight of 3g, could only be classified as 'fired clay.'

6. Associated Finds *by Lynne Bevan, with petrological identification by Rob Ixer*

6.1 Introduction

The only diagnostically-Roman material in this small collection was a fragment from a blue-green bottle with a date range from *c.* AD 43-end 2nd century and a joiner's dog. Most of the other finds, the lead, copper-alloy and other ironwork, are also of probable Roman date by association but only one of them was sufficiently distinctive for an artefactual parallel to be sought. While a Roman origin is possible for the worked stone, the potential stone rubber, the worked pebble and the triangularly shaped object could equally be of prehistoric origin. Despite the small and uncertain nature of the assemblage, the importance of the possible identification of tools associated with manufacture of pottery (Evans below) demands their illustration, although precludes further analysis at an artefactual level or in spatial terms.

6.2 Discussion

A fragment of Roman glass came from the top of the stoke hole of Kiln 1 (not illustrated). The base fragment is from a blue-green bottle of probable square form, a type of bottle with a long date range from *c.* AD 43-end 2nd century (Price and Cottam 1998, 195).

Seven items of metalwork were found, none of which warrants illustration. These comprised three iron nails, from the chamber of Kiln 1, and an unstratified layer associated with Kilns1/2; a joiner's dog, found associated

with the slag; two unidentified objects, one of iron from the Stokehole top of kiln 1, and one of copper-alloy and iron from the central column of kiln 1; and a small fragment of lead sheet from the top of the stoke hole of Kiln 1. The joiner's dog or staple, a long, blade-like object with two arms, one set at each end, such as was used on Roman sites to secure timbers (Manning 1985, 131). This heavy-duty example has a close, but unprovenanced, parallel in the Romano-British collection in the British Museum (*ibid.*, plate 61:R52). The mixed copper-alloy and iron object comprised a fragment of folded, copper-alloy sheet fused, either deliberately or accidentally, to a corroded lump of iron. This might represent a now fragmentary object, or two objects becoming fused together post-depositionally but the degree of damage precludes a more accurate identification. The other object was a small unidentified strip of iron. Of this material, only the joiner's dog (No. 1) is identifiably Roman, although the other objects might also be of Roman date.

The stone assemblage comprised three worked objects, a naturally rounded pebble, two flint nodules and a fine-grained fragment of siltstone. The latter, from the chamber of Kiln 1, had the consistency of talcum powder. While unworked, the powdery consistency of the rock, which is not local to the site, suggests that it might have been kept for a purpose, perhaps for use in an industrial process (Length: 90mm, width: 60mm, thickness: 20mm). The only other find was an unworked tail vertebra, probably from a cow, found on top of the stokehole of Kiln 1.

6.3 Catalogue (Figs. 9 and 11)

1. Joiner's dog or cleat, now distorted and corroded (Fig. 11.1). Length: 205mm, width: 22mm, thickness: 3mm. Associated with the slag.

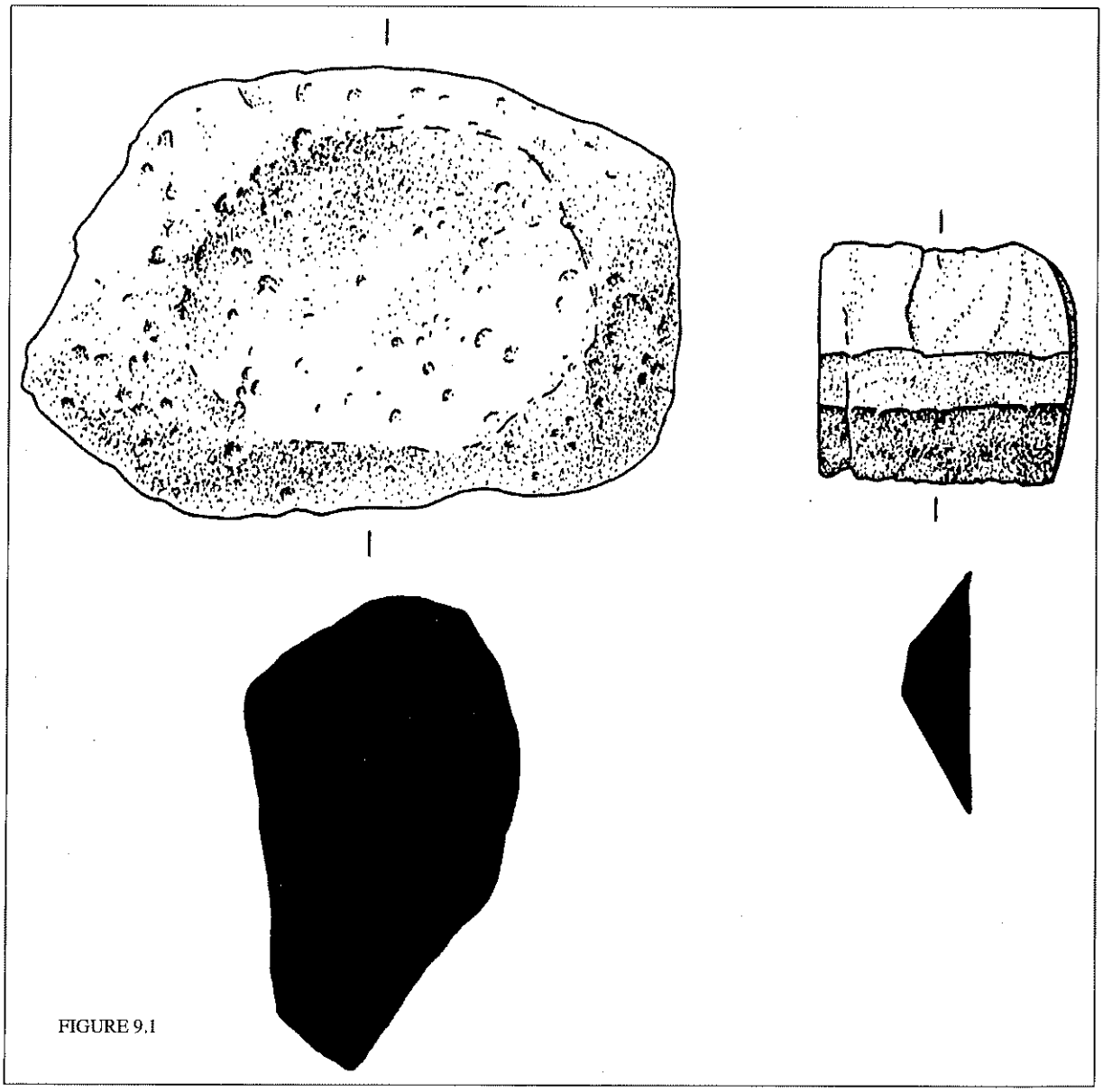

FIGURE 9.1

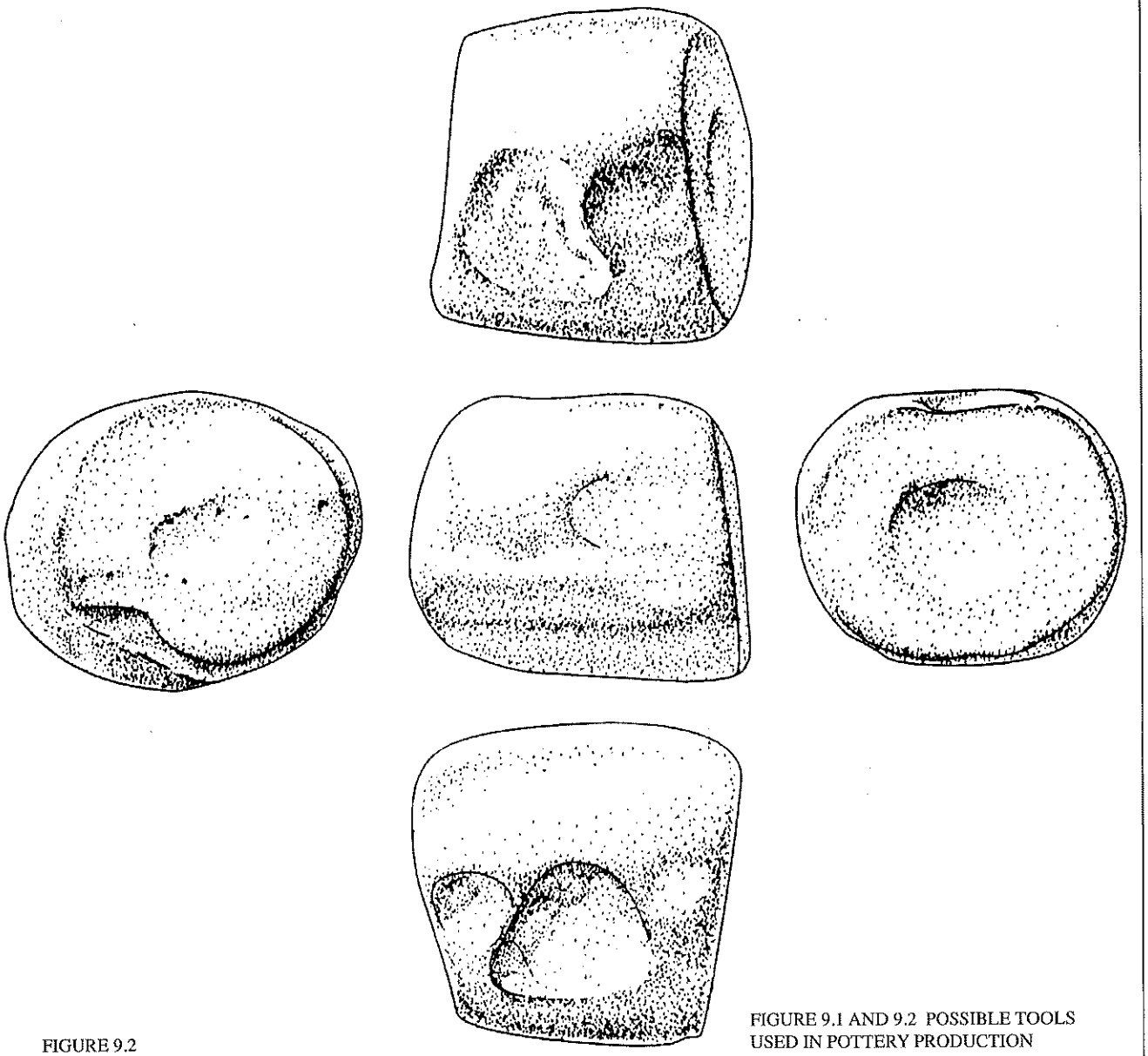

FIGURE 9.2

FIGURE 9.1 AND 9.2 POSSIBLE TOOLS USED IN POTTERY PRODUCTION (SCALE 1:1).

2. Deliberately-shaped piece of porphyritic lava with a marked depression on one surface which is most likely to have resulted from being used as a rubbing stone within a domestic context (Fig. 9.1, Fig. 11.1). The raw material is local to the area and was used for stone axe manufacture in prehistory. This potential rubbing stone might also be of prehistoric date but a Roman origin is equally possible. Length: 95mm, width: 65mm, thickness: 34mm. Associated with the slag.
3. Quartzite pebble of ovoid section, with naturally-flat ends, each of which bears a small depression which was caused either by repeated percussion or by wear from friction (Fig. 9.2, Fig. 11). The small size of the stone argues against its use as an anvil for indirect percussion in flint-working and while it is not possible to be specific regarding the potential use of the object, it might have been employed in a domestic or industrial context for crushing or smoothing processes. Height: 47mm, width: 45mm, width: 35mm. Associated with the slag.
4. Fragment of volcanic ash, a locally-available stone used for stone axe manufacture in prehistory (Fig. 9.1, Fig. 11.1). It appears to have been deliberately-shaped and has a roughly-triangular section. The object, which fits easily into the hand, has a flat base, two sharp edges and a small notch, creating a point at one end. While it might have been a useful tool for cutting into a soft material such as clay, for example, usage in pottery manufacture or decoration cannot be assumed. Length: 35mm, width: 35mm, thickness: 10mm. Stokehole.
5. A naturally-rounded pebble in an indurated, fine-grained sandstone (Fig. 11.1). Diameter ranging from 35 to 38mm. Associated with the slag.

FIGURE 10 BLOOMERY UNDER EXCAVATION. METALWORKING DEBRIS TO RIGHT. *Photograph:* W. E. Jenks

7. The metal-working debris *by J Cowgill*

7.1 Methodology

A total of *c.* 3.74kg (85 pieces) of smithing slags and associated materials were submitted for recording (Table 6). The slag was identified solely on morphological grounds by visual examination, sometimes with the aid of a x10 binocular microscope. They were recorded on *pro forma* recording sheets and the information entered into a Microsoft Access database using the following encoded fields: Kiln; Feature; Bag number; Type; Count; Weight; Craft; Fuel; Condition; Comments. A note of probable fuel type has been recorded when fragments or imprints were incorporated within the slag. Any soil in the bags containing the slag was checked with a magnet for the presence of hammerscale. The catalogue forms Appendix 1.

7.2 The Iron-Smithing Slags and Associated Debris

The types of debris are presented below in Table 6. All of the slag and associated debris was generated by iron smithing, the fabrication of bar-iron into objects, repairs and the recycling of iron.

Type	Quantity	Weight (g)
Hammerscale	*	*
Hearth Bottoms	62	3289
Hearth Lining	1	26
Unspecified slag	5	36
Smithing-slag lumps	7	247
Vitrified hearth lining	11	164

* Present but not quantified

Table 6. The categories of iron-smithing and associated debris by weight and count.

The assemblage is dominated by hearth bottoms, the most common type of slag produced during iron smithing. The majority are small 'proto-hearth bottoms' ranging in size from length: 22mm, width: 28mm, height: 10mm to length: 60mm, width: 70mm and height: 35mm, but most are at the smaller end of the range. (The hearth bottoms form in the hearth just below the tuyere hole through which the air is forced into the fire by a pair of bellows; when removed from the hearth they are torn off the hearth wall. There was, however, no

hearth lining attached to any of the pieces so the location of the 'back' in each instance was judged based upon experience, therefore in some examples the length and widths may be reversed.) They are generally quite dense although some glassy pale green/blue patches were present on a few, sometimes forming an upper surface layer. Flint or stone inclusions were uncommon. All, apart from two, form a consistent group that probably represents the output of a single smithy or smith. The two exceptions (both from bag number 59) were both very abraded and encrusted with iron products and one was the remainder of a very large and dense hearth bottom. Both are clearly distinct from the others and are probably the products of a different, perhaps earlier, smithing episode.

The remaining slags, classified as smithing slag lumps and undiagnostic slags, are associated with the iron working even though they are exceedingly glassy, light, colourful and in some instances resemble large pieces of fuel-ash slag. The certainty that they are associated is due to the presence of identical material within and on the hearth bottoms. The smithing slag lumps are boundary cinder pieces (although none of the slag has been classified as the latter, slag types form a continuum and no true cinder was present).

The vitrified hearth lining can be divided into two distinct groups. There are eight pieces which are composed of conglomerations of large pieces of ?hearth lining. They are very glassy and sandy with, in some instances, colourful surfaces. Smaller pieces of ?hearth lining are incorporated within some of the smithing slag lumps and occasionally the hearth bottoms. The second group are the probable tuyere fragments. These are all quite thin (15 – 27mm), have a vitrified inner face and purple/red back. Two have possible straight outer edges. No tuyere holes survived and none had any slag attached.

Only very small quantities of hammerscale were identified. This was largely due to the slags having been washed and the lack of soils in the bags containing slag. The *c.* 2g of soil in one of the bags numbered 59 contained a reasonable amount of crushed scale; only the plate form was identified but the pieces are very small. Plate scale was also found adhering to a proto-hearth bottom, while spheroidal scale was present on another, both from bags numbered 59.

Charcoal was the main fuel used for the smithing and it was a frequent inclusion or imprint in the slags. Sometimes fairly large pieces were readily identifiable. Charcoal is a clean, high temperature fuel and is therefore ideally suited for iron smithing. This is the standard fuel used in the Romano-British period although coal is occasionally encountered as an additional fuel type in urban and villa contexts. Whether coal was also used at the Meole Brace Kiln Site is, however, less certain although a few small pieces were fairly convincing inclusions in some pieces of slag. What appeared more common were pieces of clinker, probably partially burnt coal, which occurred much more frequently although another source for this could be found.

7.3 Discussion

The largest group of slag, bag number 59, was found on the surface and top levels of stokeholes and was probably contemporary with the backfilling of the kilns and stokeholes with the pottery (pers. comm. C. Jane Evans). The fresh and unweathered appearance of this group, the presence of hammerscale and the survival of the light and fragile pieces of 'slag' and smithing slag lumps suggest that this group may represent a primary dump from smithing activity nearby. If it is a secondary dump the pieces have not been trampled or left on a contemporary surface for any great length of time. The hearth bottoms are small and compact which suggests a number of possibilities. They could be the result of an itinerant smith undertaking only small amounts of work on each visit although the size of the group and its consistency argues against this. The larger the pieces of slag the greater the amount of iron lost during the smithing process, to put the equation simply, and it is possible that if this represents late 4th century smithing a ready and easily accessible supply of iron was becoming less available. Saxon slags tend to be very small and it is debated whether this is due to a limited iron supply or if it is because the smiths at that period were very skilled and, therefore, managed to loose less iron (many Saxon iron objects are of a very high quality). This could be considered a transition group, but too few contemporary assemblages have been studied and this is too small a group for such a bold interpretation.

It is difficult to ascertain how the smiths and potters interrelated, if indeed they did. Pottery production and iron smelting sites are not uncommonly found together but the author knows of no well-documented pottery production site where the iron slags have been classified and confidently recorded as smithing slags. These sites must, however, exist and it is possible, as with the smelting sites, that a relationship developed based on the need for an economical use of fuel, the brash going to the potters while some of the larger branch wood (or its offcuts after the timber was selected) was converted to charcoal for the smith/s.

Only five iron objects were recovered from the site, giving little indication of the type of iron smithing or variety of work that employed this smith/s.

8. Charcoal Deposits

8.1 Introduction

Charcoal, slag and bone fragments were associated with the remains of three Roman pottery kiln features. Charcoal deposits were most frequent in Kiln 1 contexts, and these, together with two samples from Kiln 1/ 2, were examined to identify the type and character of the fuel used and to isolate suitable charcoal for radiocarbon dating.

8.2 Materials and methods

Eight samples were selected for examination. These included handpicked pieces of charcoal and material from bulk soil samples. The bulk soil samples were processed in house by wet-sieving using 0.5mm, 1mm and 2mm meshes.

The condition of the charcoal was variable and while some was rather friable, many pieces were partially or wholly vitrified with consequent loss of structure. All the samples were prepared for examination using standard methods. Fragments from each sample were fractured to expose fresh surfaces to show the transverse (TS), tangential (TLS) and radial planes (RLS). These fragments were supported in washed sand and examined using a Nikon Labophot microscope at magnifications of up to x400. The anatomical structures were matched to prepared reference slides.

When possible the maturity (i.e. heartwood/ sapwood) of the wood was assessed and number of growth rings recorded. It should be noted that measurements of stem diameters are from charred material and, when living, these stems may have been up to 40% wider.

8.3 Results

The results of the charcoal analysis are summarized in Table 7 and discussed in the following text. The anatomical structure of the charcoal was consistent with the taxa given below. It should be noted that some related taxa can be difficult to distinguish with any certainty using anatomical methods, for example, members of the Salicaceae (*Salix* and *Populus*). Similarly, in degraded charcoal, some taxa can be problematical, e.g. *Corylus* and *Alnus*. Classification follows that of *Flora Europaea* (Tutin, Heywood *et al* 1964-80). Charcoal suitable for radiocarbon dating was identified and is listed in the archive.

Broadleaf taxa identified:

Betulaceae. *Alnus* Miller, alder
Corylaceae. *Corylus* L., hazel
Fagaceae. *Quercus* L., oak
Salicaceae. *Salix* L., willow, and *Populus* L., poplar. (These taxa are anatomically similar. Sometimes the type of uniseriate ray allows the taxon to be named but the use of this feature is unreliable, particularly in juvenile wood.)

Sample	Context	Description	*Alnus*	*Alnus/ Corylus*	*Corylus*	*Quercus*	Salicaceae
Kiln 1							
1	31	Stokehole, bottom deposit at door	-	-	-	2r,s,	
35h,v	-						
2	32	Stokehole floor, below kiln 2 cut	-	1	-	4s, 14u	3
3	34	Bottom of door deposit	-	-	2	-	-
5	48	Stokehole bottom deposit	-	-	1	3r,	
3u,v	-						
6	49	Bottom layer of throat under collapsed stones	-	-	-	2s,	
6u, v	-						
7	54	Primary firing SJ 499 0956	-	-	10	13s,r	-
Kiln 1/ 2							
8	29	Stokehole, door deposit top layer	-	-	23	-	-
9	50	Unstratified	4	-	-	-	-

Key. h = heartwood; r = roundwood; s = sapwood; u = unknown maturity; v = vitrified charcoal. The number of fragments identified is indicated.

Table 7. Pulley, Meole Brace: charcoal from deposits associated with kiln features.

8.4 Discussion

Charcoal examined from Kiln 1 was recovered from contexts 31, 32, 34 and 38 (from the stokehole), context 49 (a layer under the throat of collapsed stones), and context 54 (the primary firing). From Kiln 1/ 2 charcoal samples relate to context 29 (the stokehole) and context 50 (from an unstratified layer). Given the contexts the charcoal can almost certainly be interpreted as fuel residues from the pottery kilns. This suggestion is supported by evidence from a number of samples from Kiln 1 which included vitrified charcoal (see Table 7), a condition indicative of high temperature firing (>800° C, J. Prior pers. comm.) when cell walls become plastic and diagnostic details are lost. Vitrified charcoal is glassy in appearance and is often partly or wholly devoid of cellular structure.

From Kiln 1, charcoal deposits directly associated with the stokeholes (contexts 31, 32, 34, 29) and primary firing SJ 499 0956 (context 54) mostly consisted of oak (*Quercus*) and hazel (*Corylus*), while willow/ poplar (*Salix/ Populus*) was identified only from context 32 (see Table 7). In Kiln 1/ 2, hazel (*Corylus*) was identified from context 29 (the top layer of the door deposit of the stokehole), whereas alder (*Alnus*) was identified from the unstratified deposit (context 50). Alder was not recorded from other contexts directly associated with the kilns.

Interestingly, only oak charcoal seems to have undergone vitrification but the reason for this is not clear. Possibly different woods were used for different stages of the firing process or for firing types of clay which required different temperatures or periods of firing. For example, oak logs produce longer lasting fires than some of the lighter-weight woods (e.g. willow, poplar and alder) and would maintain high temperatures for longer periods. Narrow roundwood produces a hot but short-lived heat but can be used in pottery firing to give the temperature of the kiln a quick boost.

It was difficult to assess the maturity of the wood owing to poor preservation of much of the charcoal, however, it was clear that oak consisted of roundwood, sapwood and heartwood. In sample 5 oak roundwood provided a radial measurement of 15mm (estimated diameter when detached from the living tree: 45mm) and included 13 growth rings. The innermost rings were relatively wide, while the outer 4 rings were extremely narrow. Although this pattern could be characteristic of coppice growth (i.e. where the narrower outer growth rings correspond to increasing competition for soil moisture from adjacent fast-growing coppice stools and standards) the evidence was not sufficiently convincing in this instance to verify the use of coppice rods. The evidence does, however, demonstrate the use of relatively narrow roundwood, together with oak wood of sufficient maturity to have developed heartwood, although the presence of heartwood does not necessarily implicate particularly wide roundwood or cordwood (the initiation of heartwood is very variable and can start in wood as young as 15 years). On the other hand it could be substantially older, perhaps from large billets or trunk wood. Oak heartwood is denser than sapwood and provides higher energy fuel (Tillman and Amadeo 1981).

8.5 Conclusion

Charcoal deposits closely associated with the use of the pottery kilns were attributed to fuel residues. Samples from Kiln 1 indicated the use of oak (*Quercus*), hazel (*Corylus*) and willow/ poplar (*Salix/ Populus*), and from Kiln 1/ 2, hazel (*Corylus*). Alder (*Alnus*) was identified from an unstratified layer associated with Kiln 1/ 2. Fuel from these taxa consisted of narrow roundwood and, probably, oak poles or cordwood (including heartwood). Evidence from the charcoal residues was insufficient to substantiate the use of managed woodland to provide wood fuel. The frequency of vitrified oak in samples from Kiln 1 confirmed that the feature had been used for high temperature firing.

9. Discussion

9.1 The Meole Brace kilns in their regional context

The Meole Brace kilns are an important new addition to the small group of known production sites associated with the Romano-British Severn Valley ware industry. The circumstances of discovery, however, highlight the chance nature of kiln studies. Although Severn Valley ware dominates Romano-British assemblages from Shropshire in the north to Gloucestershire in the south, only a handful of production sites have been excavated. Of these, only one has been the subject of extensive excavation, placing the kiln in its context alongside associated features such as a well, floor surface and levigation ditches (Evans *et al.* in press). Although this was not possible at Meole Brace, the site still provides a significant body of new evidence.

The bulk of the pottery used at Wroxeter is assumed to be locally produced yet very little is known about the structure or extent of this local industry. A few kiln sites have been located in the Wroxeter area but many more must survive undiscovered. A kiln had been suspected in the vicinity of Meole Brace since wasters were found

during excavation in advance of the Shrewsbury bypass (Evans 1994, 91). These included double-lipped jars and hooked-rim jars, similar to the products of the Meole Brace kiln, but also a typically-mid-to-late-2nd century handled jug (Evans 1994, fig. 36.3), attesting earlier production in the vicinity. In the 1960s a production site was discovered at the confluence of the rivers Tern and Severn, to the north west of Wroxeter. This was dated to the mid-4th century on. A large quantity of pottery, including wasters, was excavated (Houghton 1964) but no kiln was found. A number of forms similar to those at Meole Brace were produced, including colour-coated wares. More wasters were noted at Duncote Farm, another site on the route of the Shrewsbury bypass, situated to the north-east of Wroxeter. Evidence there indicated a kiln in production in the latter half of the 3rd century (Evans 1994) producing wide-mouthed, hooked-rim jars and double-lipped, narrow-mouthed jars with slashed decoration. Another production site, at Bell Brook, is mentioned by Morris in his 1935 guidebook to Wroxeter. A Mr Jackson excavated two kilns on the site in 1929, both containing fragments of 'a large quantity of mortaria made from red clay' (Morris 1935, 15). Subsequent fieldwork in the 1960s and 1990s recovered sherds of pottery, including wasters, that are thought to be the products of these kilns (Faiers and White forthcoming). Possible kiln products included late-1st to early-2nd century reed-rimmed bowls, typical Antonine Rhaetian-type *mortaria*, and jars with frilled pulley rims. If these are all Bell Brook products, then kilns must have been active in the vicinity over a long period of time. The only other kiln known in the Wroxeter hinterland is the brick and tile kiln at Ismore Coppice (Houghton 1961).

Meole Brace is the first pottery production site in the Wroxeter area where kiln structures have been recorded. It is difficult, however, to fit the kilns neatly into existing typological or chronological categories, based on existing evidence. The kilns appear to have been sub-circular with a single flue, a free-standing, central pedestal and a solid clay vent-holed floor (above). In this respect they are reminiscent of the 4th century Mancetter and Hartshill kilns (Swan 1984, 101). By the 4th century, however, when the Meole Brace kiln was built, the single pedestal kilns at Mancetter/Hartshill had generally been replaced by larger, double-pedestalled types. The incorporation of stones into the structure is also typical of the Mancetter/Hartshill kilns (*ibid*). The use of a grass-tempered dome plate, however, is not; only one kiln at Mancetter/Hartshill had evidence of this. This, in fact, is more characteristic of the Oxfordshire industry, where it appears to be a local indigenous survival (*ibid*, 103). The single Mancetter/Hartshill kiln with dome plate had such close parallels with 4th century Oxfordshire kilns, in its structure and products, that it was thought to have been built by a migrant Oxford potter. The evidence from the Meole Brace kiln does not support such an hypothesis here, however. The colour-coated forms produced may be influenced by Oxfordshire wares but the kilns lack the two diagnostic, structural features of the late Oxfordshire kilns; clay corbels on the furnace wall and a tongue-support. More kilns need to be studied before a typical Severn Valley ware kiln can be defined. The kilns so far excavated range widely in date: for example the late-1st to early-2nd century kiln at Shepton Mallet, Somerset (Scarth 1866); the late-2nd or early-3rd century kiln at Newland Hopfields, Worcestershire (Evans *et al.* in press); and this late 4th century kiln at Meole Brace. They are also spread over a wide geographic area. Based on this limited evidence, however, the Meole Brace kilns do seem to fit into the existing pattern, with peripheral Severn Valley kilns tending to be more sophisticated than the single chambered types at the core of the area (Evans *et al.* in press, 73). This may reflect the fact that these potters were producing more specialised forms alongside a range of more typical, Severn Valley ware types. Scarth, for example, illustrates a solid clay vent-holed floor in the Shepton Mallet kiln (1866), and the Sherifoot Lane kiln in the West Midlands is thought to have had a permanent floor supported by bricked arches (Nichol forthcoming). Of course, nothing is known about the later-Roman, Severn Valley ware kilns, in Malvern for example (Peacock 1967), which could have evolved considerably by the time the Meole Brace potter was at work. A late-3rd to early-4th-century kiln excavated in Caldicot, Gwent (Barnett et al. 1990, kiln II) appeared to be producing some Severn Valley ware-related forms in a reduced ware, alongside BB1 copies and a range of other forms. This was of a sub-circular, updraught type, also with a central pedestal. There was no evidence there for an oven floor, however. Swan interprets it as a single-chambered kiln (Swan 1984, 115), although this interpretation is questioned in the later excavation report (Barnett *et al.* 1990, 124).

Potter's tools are another important area of study when researching the technology of pottery production, although these are not common finds. Most tools may have been made of wood, which rarely survives. Tools would also have been very portable and need not have been discarded when kilns went out of use. Relatively little, therefore, is known about this aspect of production (Peacock 1982, 59; Swan 1984, 50-2) and any additional evidence is of value. Where tools have been identified, relatively few appear to be specialist tools. Less-diagnostic fragments of stone or bone with signs of wear are far more common (Peacock *ibid.*; Swan *ibid*). A number of stone and iron items were recovered at Meole Brace, although none could be securely identified or dated (above). Some of these, however, could well have been used in the forming or finishing of pots (Fig. 11).

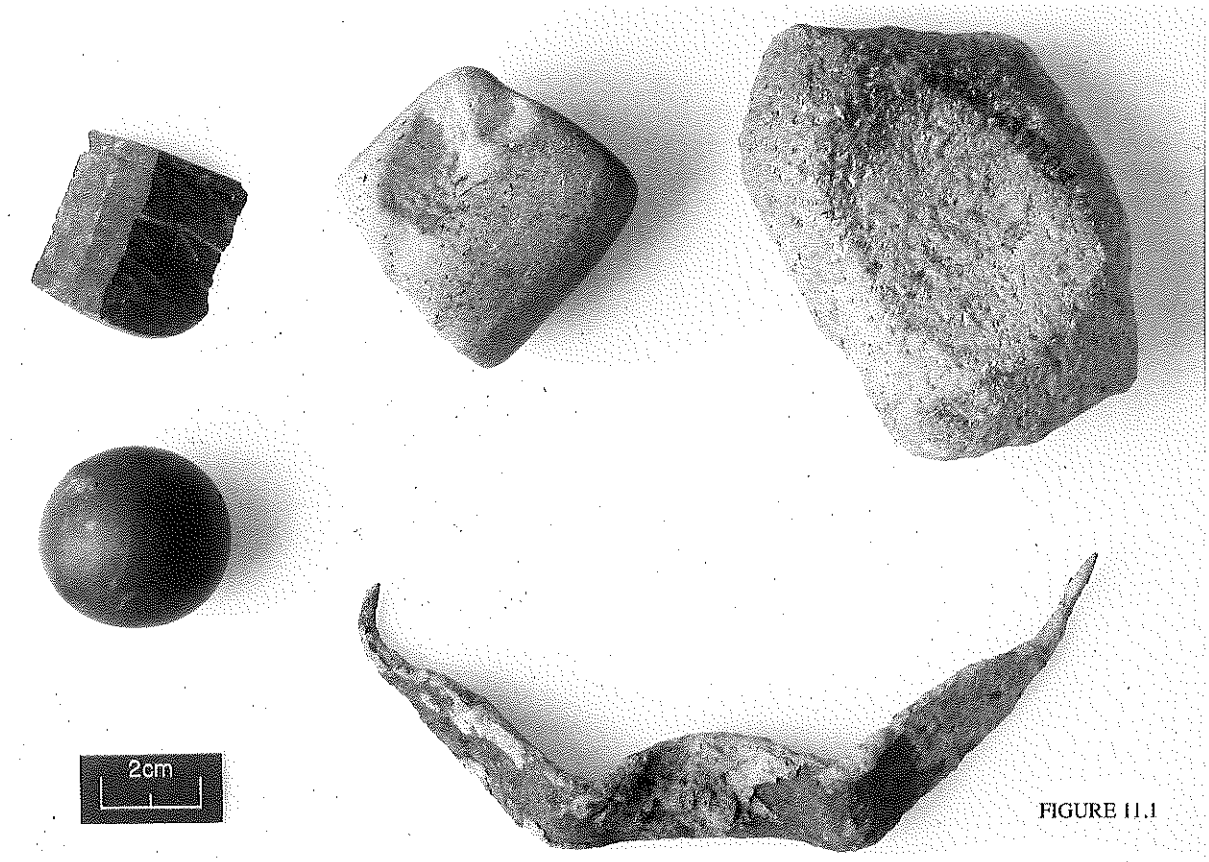

FIGURE 11.1

FIGURE 11.1 AND 11.2 PHOTOGRAPHS OF POSSIBLE TOOLS USED IN POTTERY PRODUCTION AND A DEMONSTRATION OF A SUGGESTED USE OF ONE OF THE TOOLS.

FIGURE 11.2

Of particular interest is the hollowed, quartzite pebble (Fig. 9.2, Fig. 11.2). This is ideally shaped for use as a pestle; the hollows at either end allow a secure finger hold if the stone is being rocked backwards and forwards (Marie Tuffreau-Libre pers. comm.). This could have been utilised to grind the pigment for the red colour-coat used on some of the pottery, although no pigment residues were evident. Such tools have not commonly been noted on pottery production sites in Britain. At Pompeii, however, a number of simple, stone pestles have been identified, associated with the crushing of pigments used in wall painting (*ibid.*). The lava fragment identified as a rubbing stone could, perhaps, have been used in part of the process, but its function is less clear (Fig. 9.1, Fig. 11.1). The spherical pebble (Fig. 11.1, Cat. 5), which is smooth and fits well in the hand, would be an ideal tool for burnishing. It should be noted, however, that all three of these stone 'tools' were associated with the ironworking debris rather than the kilns themselves. Another possible tool is a deliberately-shaped fragment of volcanic ash found in the stokehole (Fig. 9.1, Fig. 11.1). This could have been used for trimming clay. Two flint nodules were recovered, neither of which appear to have been worked. Flints, however, are often found on kiln sites so their presence may be significant. An iron dog or cleat (Fig. 11.1, Cat. 1) associated with the slag may have been produced on site and need not have been used in pottery production. It could, however, have been used as a scraper, to trim off excess clay during the finishing process or to produce incised decoration. Iron instruments are rare, but known examples do include scrapers (Peacock 1982, fig. 26).

9.2 Conclusions and suggestions for future study

The Romano-British pottery industry in the Wroxeter hinterland is significant at two levels. First, it contributes to research into the regionally important Severn Valley ware industry. Second, it contributes to research into Wroxeter itself, and thus to much wider debates on the economy and culture of Roman Britain. The Wroxeter pottery industry, for example, has a long history of specialist production. The first, 'military', potters produced forms with continental origins, vessels such as the flagons, cups, bowls and *mortaria* necessary for a 'Romanised' lifestyle. Specialised production continued in the 2nd century, with the production of Rhaetian-type *mortaria* and other colour-coated wares. The evidence from Meole Brace, and Houghton's Tern-Severn kiln, shows that this tradition continued into the late Roman period. This is a marked contrast to the Severn Valley ware kilns at Malvern (Evans *et al.* in press) which seem to have produced a narrow range of utilitarian wares. The implication is that Wroxeter provided a large-enough 'Romanised' market to sustain such specialist production over a very long period of time.

There are many aspects of the pottery industry that are poorly understood, all of which could contribute to our understanding of the town's economy. We currently have no idea, for example, how many production sites were required to supply the town in any one period, or how long these production sites were in use. To address this, future survey work could have as a primary aim the location of production sites and other industrial areas. This would allow the spatial/chronological distribution of production sites to be studied. Based on existing evidence, there do seem to be variations in the geographic location of production sites around Wroxeter, and these may have economic or chronological significance. A number, for example, are located near roads; the Meole Brace and Tern-Severn pottery kilns and the Ismore Coppice tile kiln are near the road heading west from Wroxeter, while the postulated kiln at Duncote Farm is near Watling Street, heading north. This would obviously have facilitated the supply of pottery to Wroxeter, but would also have made it easier to supply settlements further afield. Some of the production sites are very close to Wroxeter, for example the Bell Brook site just outside the defences on the northern edge of town, while others are further away. Significantly, the furthest away is this late Roman Meole Brace kiln, perhaps reflecting a broader trend towards rural rather than urban pottery industries at this date (Millet 1990, 165, fig. 52).

The Meole Brace kiln is one of only three Wroxeter kilns to have been excavated, and the only one for which any records survive. We know nothing about the layout of the potter's workshops, although the nearby hollow offered a tantalising promise of associated structures. It is not known whether, for example, they represent household or larger-scale production. Future excavations would need, therefore, to take account of the associated features. Investigation of the kiln structures themselves could provide information regarding the origins of the potters, and allow technological developments through time to be assessed. Further excavation of kilns would also provide an opportunity for scientific dating which, combined with full quantification of the kiln products, would improve the dating of the pottery. Scientific methods could also be used to better define the fabrics. The characterisation of Severn Valley ware is a recognised problem (Tomber 1980, 119; Evans *et al.*, in press.) that needs to be tackled if the marketing of Wroxeter pottery is to be understood. This could be addressed through a research programme of scientific analysis of the clays through X-Ray flourescence spectroscopy (XRF) and further petrographic analysis by thin-sectioning. If this was successful it would then be possible to identify Wroxeter products elsewhere and assess the proportions of Severn valley ware in Wroxeter that were locally made or traded from elsewhere.

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BRIDGNORTH TOWN CLERKS FROM 1525–6 – 1974[1]

By J F A MASON

These notes are the result of a search of the Bridgnorth Borough Records made many years ago with other objects in view, including the history of the office of recorder in that town. In an article on that subject it was noted that in and about 1490 Thomas Horde (d. 1498) is described as *Senescallus* of Bridgnorth; there seems no reason at present to amend the opinion then expressed, that this Thomas Horde, as steward of Bridgnorth corresponded to the later recorder rather than to the later town clerk.[2] The town clerk of Bridgnorth is first mentioned in 1523; the town clerk is first named in 1525-6. In a complaint to Wolsey as chancellor, the defendant (John Broke) was alleged to have begun an action of debt against the plaintiff (John Bradeney of Worfield) 'by the counsell, comfort and speciall unlawfull ayde and helpe' of Humphrey Smyth, 'Towne Clerk of Bridgnorth foresaid and stuard of the corperat Towne Court' of the same town; the action was begun before bailiffs Richard Horde (who in 1528 was described as recorder of the town) and Thomas Hadnall.[3] These two were elected bailiffs in September 1525 for the year 1525-6. The succession of town clerks from 1537 is established by the borough archives (now in Shropshire Records and Research Centre), which copies of the patents appointing town clerks in 1713, 1746, 1752, 1781, and 1836, that of 1836 was issued to J. J. Smith on his re-appointment following the Municipal Corporations Act.

In the 16th century the official is called by various titles: *clericus, communis clericus, clericus ville*, 'Town Clerk', and 'steward'. The history of the office in Bridgnorth in that century presents, by later standards, some anomalies: Nicholas Holt was elected town clerk on 1 September 1545 ('by the twenty-four [Aldermen] withe all the commyn Burgesses and Comyne of the Town of Bridgnorth') when he still had four weeks to run of his term of office as bailiff; he was later again elected bailiff while still town clerk, and in fact held both offices when he died. Francis Horde (of the Middle Temple), younger brother of the two MPs for the town, son of the town's first known recorder, and great-grandson of the late-15th-century steward Thomas Horde, also held the offices of bailiff and town clerk at the same time. The grant of the office in reversion was forbidden in 1594.

In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Commissioners reported as follows upon the Bridgnorth town clerkship:

> The Town Clerk is appointed by the Bailiffs and the burgesses paying scot and lot. His duty is to attend the common hall, and to record the proceedings. He is prothonotary of the court of record and proceedings. He acts as clerk to the magistrates and solicitor of the corporation, and attends the coroner on the holding of inquests. The salary of the Town Clerk is £21 per annum. His emoluments, derived from every source connected with his office, average about £150 per annum.[4]

There is little calling for comment here, except that the word 'appointed' reads a trifle oddly since the commissioners' informant, J. J. Smith, had himself been appointed after a contest in 1821 (J. J. Smith 87, Henry Vickers 19, Thomas Gitton 16). (The other contest known is that of 1753: J. Colley 100, John Bell 21).[5] The non-resident Bridgnorth burgesses had no vote in the election of a town clerk (and the residents no voice in the election of the recorder). On at least three occasions a town clerk was succeeded by his own clerk: Owsley had been Hincks' clerk – Hincks left him his law-books.[6] Roger Haslewood was clerk to his father and predecessor William; Cooksey was Hubert Smith's clerk. As in the case of the recorder, the election of a town clerk would doubtless have been subject to royal confirmation in any charter issued to Bridgnorth by James II in 1688.[7]

The salary specified when the office was filled in 1581 was one mark (13s.4d.) per annum, the recorder receiving four marks; but the town clerk's salary was increased for the benefit of Joseph Smith and confirmed as a regular out-going of the corporation by a common hall order of 18 May 1815 which put the town's finances in (temporary) order. J. J. Smith himself seems to made the maximum profit from his fees, which included 2s.9d.

(6s.3d. after 1826) payable to him by every newly-admitted burgess; Smith was lampooned as 'Doublefee' in 1830 in a 'squib' issued by the politicians opposed to his own patrons.[8]

Two at least of the town clerks made presents to the town: Hincks gave it a mace in 1676, which was exchanged in 1745 for one of the two present maces of the corporation; Hubert Smith gave the town in 1872 a seal embossed with the newly adopted though unofficial 'arms' of the borough. The borough possesses portraits of the first two Smiths.

The corporation oaths included one to be taken by the town clerk.

The Act of 1835 made little difference to the office – though J. J. Smith was temporarily dismissed from the clerkship of the peace in 1837 by three magistrates (all Whigs) on account of advice given by him which had resulted in the irregular appointment of special constables at the 1837 general election and a subsequent attempt to levy a rate for their payment. The definitive appointment of a full-time town clerk was not made until 1943; until 1930 and from 1938-43 the incumbent maintained a private practice in the town as a solicitor in the traditional manner, and in earlier times some confusion was the natural result.

A few impressions of town clerks before 1887 may perhaps be allowed, based partly on the records which they cared for, or at least had in their custody. Many of the town clerks before the present century can be identified with the town or district: the Haslewood family has long been associated with the town itself, Wannerton and Warter came from Worfield, Ridley and Horde from Astley Abbotts, Hincks from Sutton near Wolverhampton. The Smith family (father, son and grandson) enjoyed the longest tenure: J. J. Smith held the office longer than any other town clerk and for 51 years was able to indulge his erratic notions of filing and his underdeveloped sense of distinction between the business of his practice and that of the corporation; Hubert Smith was the town clerk best known to the general public as the author of works on the gypsies and the innocent party in a much-publicised divorce suit.[9] Lancelot Taylor was probably the least efficient, but fortunately for the preservation of the borough's records had the shortest tenure: the implications of a comment in the borough archives that one set of papers was 'supposed to come to Mr. Lancelot Taylor's hands and lost' seem to be borne out by other hints. Steven Totty and William Haslewood both did valuable work from the point of view of future research: Totty, besides being blessed with a delightfully clear handwriting (quite commonly found on Shropshire deeds of his period) put the town court records on a proper footing and preserved valuable materials from destruction in the great Bridgnorth fire of 1646; William Haslewood compiled what his two predecessors had failed to compile: an up-to-date Burgess Book listing all the burgesses living in 1714. (Haslewood was paid at a rate of 3d. per name entered). The enrolment of burgesses and the custody of the list of their names was among the duties which gave the town clerks much political importance: in 1640 we find Totty written to by a prospective parliamentary candidate for the town (Henry Frederick Thynne), and for much of the 18th century William and his son, Roger Haslewood were firm and influential supporters of the Whitmore family interest there. (A separate room was kept available for William Haslewood at Apley Park.) Still later Joseph Smith was for many years a friend of Isaac Hawkins Brown, MP for Bridgnorth from 1784 to 1812, who paid tribute to him in his will.

The first part, down to 1693, of the following list of the town clerks has been compiled from SRR BB/F/1/1/1, 2 and 3 (the first, second and third 'Great Leet Books' of the borough); from 1712 to 1821 the next six appointments or elections are recorded in the borough's 'Common Hall Order Books', SRR BB/1/1/2-7; the dates of the remaining appointments have been obtained from the *Bridgnorth Journal*. The contents of the Common Hall Order Books are entered in chronological order, but not those of the Leet Books; accordingly the page references for the appointments entered in the Leet Books has been placed in brackets immediately after the date of the appointment of a town clerk. The names of deputies have been added where these have come to notice.

LIST OF TOWN CLERKS

Name	*Date*	*Reference*
Humphrey Smyth[10]	1525-5	See first paragraph
John Wannerton by	1537	F/1/1/1, 36r (p. 72)
Nicholas Holt[11]	1545	F/1/1/2, p. 395
John Wannerton	1550	F/1/1/2, p. 563
William Fowlks	1555	F/1/1/2, p. 419
Francis Horde[12]	1558	F/1/1/2, p. 429
Thomas Dolman	1559	F/1/1/2, p. 432
Francis Horde (2)	1562	F/1/1/2, p. 442
deputies: Thomas Crompton, John Baker		

Thomas Russell	1572	F/1/1/2, p. 479B
deputies: Thomas Adams, Thomas Savage		
John Blakeway	1581	
Richard Ridley	1626	
Steven Totty	1633	
John Warter	1653	
Thomas Hincks	1673	F/1/1/3, p. 878
John Owsley	1693	
Lancelot Taylor	1712	
William Haslewood	1713	
Roger Haslewood	1746	
George Colley	1752	
deputy: Thomas Page		
Joseph Smith	1781	
John Jacob Smith	1821	
Hubert Smith	1873	
deputy: J. H. Cooksey		
James Hughes Cooksey	1887	
Harold Arthur Edward Gardner	1930	
Elwyn Price	1937	
John Riseborough	1943	
William Duncan Mackintyre	1948	
Stanley Francis Jago	1952	
John Kenneth Banks	1957	
William James Caulcott	1964	
Thomas Nicholls	1967	
Mrs. J. B. Wright	1974	
Alan Knill	1977-9	

I owe the opportunity to compile the list, and many enjoyable discussions of the administration of the borough, to the kindness of the town clerks between 1948 and 1967 who granted me the privilege of regular access to the records of the borough. The late Mr. W. J. Caulcott was particularly helpful.

Under the Local Government Act of 1972, Bridgnorth became a 'rural borough' in 1974; as a result of a fire in the borough offices on 22/23 January 1979[13], the records of the borough of Bridgnorth were transferred to the custody of the county archivist in Shrewsbury later in 1979.

1 I am most grateful to Mr. G. C. Baugh who kindly checked references for the final draft of this article, and to members of the present Town Clerk's staff (esp. Mrs. V. Legge of Six Ashes) who helpfully provided the dates since 1967.
2 *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, **LIV**, 1953, 181-2.
3 P.R.O. C1/464/52.
4 *Parliamentary Papers* (1835), **XXV**, 1781; cf. S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government...*, **II**, 324 ff.
5 There is some interesting information on this election in BL Add. MS 32, 326.
6 P. C. C. 95 Coker.
7 *TSAS*, **LIV**, 1953, 177-8.
8 MS consulted at Orsett Hall, Essex, by the kindness of the late Sir Francis Whitmore.
9 The article by M. Petty, 'Bridgnorth Borough - Lifetimes of Loyal Service', *Salopian Recorder*, **xxvii**, 6-8, provides an appreciation of Hubert Smith and a remarkable photograph of him and of the accumulation of files in his office at 60, High Street, Bridgnorth.
10 Smyth may have been of the family which held land at Morville and Bridgnorth, later outstripped in wealth and influence by the Whitmores and Actons. In the same century the Whitmores' predecessors, the Hordes, provided one town clerk.
11 The record of his appointment 'in as ample wise as any man hath occupied the office before his time' suggests awareness of the anomaly that he was already bailiff, but does not prove that the office of town clerk was already of long standing.
12 Town clerks from Holt to Horde inclusive were also described as 'steward', and Dolman and Horde as 13 See *Shropshire Star*, 23 Jan. 1979. The office was then held in turn by: A. G. Matthews (formerly town clerk of Wenlock), 1979-80; P. A. Butler, 1980-2; and Mrs. K. James from 1992.

THOMAS HUNT OF SHREWSBURY AND BOREATTON 1599–1669

By BARBARA COULTON

Thomas Hunt, alderman of Shrewsbury , emerged into public life in his native town in dramatic circumstances in the summer of 1642. A petition from the town to the House of Commons dated 16 July stated that many volunteers had 'entered themselves to be exercised in military discipline' under the command of Thomas Hunt but that the sheriff, John Weld, had tried to stop these activities. The petitioners prayed that the mayor, Richard Gibbons, 'may be enjoined to encourage such exercises' and to join with them in making provision 'for the better guarding of the town by warding, watching, and providing arms necessary for defence.'[1] Defensive measures had been undertaken by the borough council from early in the year when concern was expressed at the disorders of volunteers for Ireland going through the county to Chester. The trouble was greater than this however: in February parliament passed a Militia Ordinance in defiance of the king who by 19 March was making York his base. During the summer months parliamentary militia troops were being exercised in various places, including Shrewsbury. The petition received by the Commons on 17 July was answered two days later by a warrant of indemnity:

> Whereas divers well-affected persons of the Town of Shrewsbury, in the County of Salop, have of themselves, as volunteers, under the leading of Thomas Hunt, Esquire, one of the Aldermen of the said Town, exercised themselves for the service and defence of his Majesty and this Kingdom ... the said persons shall have authority of both Houses of Parliament, for the security and indemnity, for their said training ... under the leading of the said Thomas Hunt, [to] assemble themselves in Companies to train and learn and exercise themselves in the use of their Arms, and Order of marching, at such convenient times, and in such places in the said Town and Liberties thereof, as shall by them be thought fit for that purpose.[2]

Who then was Thomas Hunt and what in his background had brought him to be an active supporter of parliament on the eve of the civil war?

Thomas Hunt, baptised at St. Alkmund's on 25 December 1599, was the first son of Richard Hunt, burgess and draper, and Eleanor, sister of Shrewsbury-born Rowland Heylyn, a wealthy member of the Ironmongers' Company of London. The vicar of St. Alkmund's from 1598 until 1607 was Humfrey Leech, an eloquent anti-Calvinist who later left the Church of England for Rome.[3] An associate of Leech was the Rev. Ralph Gittins, the third master of Shrewsbury School when Thomas Hunt moved from the preparatory accidence class to the third school in December 1609. Gittins came from a family at Middle which was known to Richard Gough: 'Ralph was brought up a scoller, and indeed his naturall Genius inclined him thereunto...Hee had a naturall facility to poetry.' But, Gough wrote, 'how hee lost his place I cannot tell'. In fact he was dismissed by puritan bailiffs, despite the intervention of the anti-Calvinist bishop of Lichfield, Richard Neile (1610-14).[4] The prolonged battle over Gittins must have enlivened the schoolboys' progress through their humanist curriculum; the Hunt family, godly Calvinists, would have been troubled by these events in parish and school. Richard Hunt was bailiff in 1613-14; it may have been then that plans were begun to ensure the provision of godly preaching in Shrewsbury: in 1614-15 his brother-in-law Rowland Heylyn of London offered the council an annuity for a lectureship (for an unbeneficed preacher) at his former parish, and Hunt's, St. Alkmund's.[5]

With the help of William Rowley, wealthy brewer and draper, a suitable man was found–Julines Hering. Educated at Coventry School and the puritan Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he had as mentors for his study of divinity and his preaching two eminent radical preachers: Humfrey Fen of Coventry and Arthur Hildersam of Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Hering and his family were settled in Shrewsbury by 1617; a daughter, named Christian after her mother, was baptised at St. Chad's in February 1618. One of Hering's sisters-in-law was married to Oliver Bowles, minister of Sutton in Bedfordshire; before that he had been a tutor at Queen's College,

Cambridge, where his former pupil John Preston was now a tutor. Shropshire-born Thomas Ball wrote that Preston's students came from all parts:

> but the Politicians assured, it was some inclination unto Puritanisme, a name now odious at Court, for it could not be, (said they) that he should let so faire an opportunity miscarry, ifhe had not something else in view.[6]

The next generation of godly Salopians went to Cambridge: Roger Rowley was admitted to Emmanuel in July 1616 but Thomas Hunt, his brother Rowland, their cousin Thomas Nicholls, and Humphrey Mackworth (heir to an estate at Betton Strange, in St. Chad's parish) went to Queen's College, where Preston was, at various dates between September 1616 and Easter 1622. Rowland Hunt entered Queen's at Easter 1622 but moved that October to Emmanuel–just when Preston became master there, indicating that it was Preston who drew the group to Queen's .[7]

On the death of Shrewsbury's public preacher, William Bright BD of Emmanuel College in October 1618, the borough council agreed that Richard Hunt should take letters to 'Dr Chasterton', presumably Laurence Chaderton, master of Emmanuel, asking that he choose a learned divine for the town; Emmanuel had been founded to train godly preachers. The public preachers in Shrewsbury had since the inception of the position in 1580 been resident at Drapers' Hall, leased to them by that company; but now, when Richard Hunt was warden, the place was offered to Julines Hering. The new curate of St. Mary's, and public preacher, Samuel Brown, was given a generous allowance for a house nearby; the rest of the Hering children were baptised (and two buried) by Brown, their father being described in the register as preacher or minister of God's word. For their part the Hering family, 'puritan ' but not separatist, attended the services at St. Mary's; Hering preached twice weekly at St Alkmund's; and private meetings were held at houses such as Rowley's Mansion, and Drapers' Hall. At Queen's College the young Salopians would have been able to meet Hering's friend Arthur Hildersam when Preston entertained him and other suspended ministers, whom he encouraged 'to go to Prayer with his Pupils, a boldnesse not adventured on by any other'.[8]

The next stage of the education and politicisation of the group from Shrewsbury took place in London. Thomas Hunt graduated BA in 1621 and MA in 1624; in 1627 he was admitted to Gray's Inn, a year after his younger brother Rowland who became a barrister in 1637. Roger Rowley and Humphrey Mackworth also went to Gray's Inn, Rowley being called to the bar in 1631. The influence of the Cambridge preachers was important here too: Richard Sibbes had been deprived of his university posts but was chosen preacher at Gray's in 1617; Preston retained his mastership while succeeding John Donne as preacher at Lincoln's Inn in 1622. These two inns were strongly puritan although, Wilfrid Prest asserts, 'all four houses undoubtedly served as a propaganda base and general nexus for puritan clergy and laymen'. Lincoln's and Gray's Inns were involved in the scheme for buying up lay impropriations in order to place puritan preachers in towns; Rowland Heylyn, one of the Feoffees for Impropriations, purchased the advowson of St. Alkmund's.[9] Thomas Nicholls did not enter Gray's Inn, probably because his father's death in 1622 necessitated his presence in Shrewsbury and participation in civic life, alongside his uncle Richard Hunt. In 1627 Thomas Hunt married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Owen of Woodhouse, sheriff of Shropshire in 1618. Their son Rowland was baptised in May 1629; a daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1630.[10]

In September 1629 Rowland Heylyn made his will: the first provision was for St. Alkmund's–he left the advowson and tithes to the care of Richard Sibbes and William Gouge (another celebrated preacher) and the other Feoffees, 'who have vowed their endeavours faithfully to employ such moneys as they shall be entrusted with for the regaining of impropriations to the church of god for his glory and the good of his people'. The Feoffees entrusted the management of the profits to Richard Hunt, described as 'a puritan' in the petition of Thomas Lloyd, vicar of St. Alkmund's, in December 1634: 'Hunt, by direction of the alderman [Heylyn] and the feoffees, paid the 50£ per annum, till within these two years, to two puritan preachers (nonconformists) that lived remote from this parish ... the vicar is left to make the best he can of his poor living', said to be worth £10 a year at most. Heylyn left his Shropshire properties to Thomas Nicholls; manors in Staffordshire to Thomas Hunt; and his London house to Rowland Hunt. The will was proved in February 1632, the month when the alderman died.[11] During the following year evidence was being collected for a case against the Feoffees whose activities Bishop Laud of London wished to stop; his ally in this was Peter Heylyn–grandnephew of Rowland. The case was heard in the Court of Exchequer in February 1633 and judgement given against the feoffees. Later that year Laud became archbishop of Canterbury .[12]

Laudian persecution forced Julines Hering to leave Shrewsbury early in 1635, although the Drapers asked him to return to preach the word of God amongst them. There was also a dispute between the bailiffs and the Laudian master of St. John's College, Cambridge, William Beale, over the appointment of a successor to John Meighen who resigned the headmastership in September 1635. There was direct conflict with Laud and the king over the choice of a new curate at St. Chad' s in 1637. Official records spoke of the town's contentions and divisions, one

faction being described as the party of Thomas Nicholls.[13] We do not know what part if any Thomas Hunt played in these disputes but Humphrey Mackworth gave legal advice and helped frame petitions. A later deposition by him, relating to Laud' s trial, summarised the sequence of contentions: Thomas Owen, the town clerk, had informed Archbishop Laud that the opposing party in Shrewsbury were 'puritans'; Owen was said to be 'very malicious against religion', while Mackworth described his own side as 'the well-affected" and "the religious party'. [14]

In Shrewsbury on 12 May 1642, when Thomas Lloyd of St. Alkmund's died, William Rowley and others wrote immediately to Julines Hering at Amsterdam and to Sir Robert Harley, MP for Herefordshire, at Westminster. They hoped that Harley would use his influence with Lord Keeper Lord Littleton so that Hering could be appointed: 'Much good was done by his ministry here ... it will be glorious that the banished (little less it was) be recalled'. The letter to Harley was also signed by Humphrey Mackworth, Thomas Knight and Thomas Hunt. Richard Hunt had died in 1640 and Thomas was an alderman by 1642. Hering did not return (he died at Amsterdam in 1645). By July 1642 Thomas Hunt was busy training the Shrewsbury militia. Conrad Russell lists twenty-two towns other than London which recruited volunteers for parliament before the raising of the king's standard in August, among them Shrewsbury.[15] Both sides mustered at Shrewsbury at the beginning of August, the royalists led by Francis Ottley and Francis Newport. Newport's father, Sir Richard, turned the scales when he opted to wear Ottley' s colours in his hat. Even more decisive was the arrival of the king and his forces in Shrewsbury on 20 September; after holding court there for three weeks Charles was at Bridgnorth on 14 October, when he declared Nicholls, Mackworth and Hunt traitors.[16]

These three men were among those named as the Salop Parliamentary Committee in April 1643. Thomas Nicholls, however, became tenant of an estate in Hertfordshire and fought in the militia regiment of that county, becoming colonel.[17] The lawyer Humphrey Mackworth operated in London, at Coventry (where he was a member of the Warwickshire Committee), and in Shropshire; at the beginning of September 1643 he and Thomas Mytton led the Shropshire contingent from London, ahead of the earl of Denbigh, commander in the Midlands. Thomas Hunt was active in Staffordshire as well as in Shropshire where a base was established at Wem; this was done with the help of the Cheshire commander Sir William Brereton. That autumn Hunt and Mackworth met the preacher Richard Baxter at Coventry; Baxter described Hunt as 'a plain hearted, honest, godly Man, entirely beloved, and trusted by the Soldiers'. Baxter went as temporary preacher to the Wem garrison; Andrew Parsons was appointed in London to go to Wem where he was to remain for twenty years.[18]

Thomas Hunt, aged nearly forty-four, was now heavily engaged in military action. On 21 October 1643 Brereton reported to parliament that Mytton, Mackworth and Hunt had held Wem with only three hundred men against attacks by Lord Capel, until relieved by the force from Nantwich. Some weeks later there was activity by the parliament troops at Hodnet, east of Wem; the owner Henry Vernon was absent in Paris. Mrs Susanna Dicken wrote to Vernon ' s brother: 'The country is all on a flame; .the Parliament forces have seized all my master your brother's means here at Hodnett– ... The chief men with us of the Committee are Colonel Mitton, Mr Mackworth, Mr Lloyd [Andrew Lloyd of Aston], and Mr Hunt'.[19] Capel was replaced at the end of 1643 by Lord Byron who had reinforcements returning from Ireland, but the small force at Wem continued to resist the royalists; Prince Rupert replaced Byron in February .The desperate situation of the Wem garrison was referred to in numerous reports and letters in spring 1644; Thomas Hunt was also engaged in actions in Staffordshire. That spring, as Wem was threatened, Mytton retreated to London; when he returned in May he took part in the siege of Oswestry , of which garrison he was made governor (this was his part of Shropshire); Hunt replaced him at Wem where he was probably already acting governor.[20] After royalist defeats, the Salop Committee at Wem made plans to take Shrewsbury .The strategy was devised by the professional soldier Lieutenant-Colonel Reinking who was assigned command by Hunt and his colleagues at Wem; one of these was his brother-in-law Leighton Owen. They asked help of Brereton, confiding to him their mistrust of Mytton ('who carries himself crossly towards us on all matters'); they did not include him in their plans but he joined the party when Shrewsbury was taken in the early hours of 22 February 1645. Hunt and Owen were among the signatories to a letter to parliament on 24 February: 'It hath pleased God miraculously to deliver the town of Salop into our hands'; Colonel Reinking deserved 'much honour'[21]

By April Humphrey Mackworth joined his colleagues at Shrewsbury. There were numerous royalist garrisons to be reduced in Shropshire and Hunt also helped Brereton in the siege of Chester, acting as one of his commissioners at the surrender on 1 February 1646.[22] Thomas Hunt's brother Rowland, a London barrister, was also in the north-west; he was named in August 1645 as a member of the Committee for Lancashire.[23] During 1645 Rowland Hunt was chosen to be town clerk of Shrewsbury; Mackworth was made recorder; Thomas Nicholls was made mayor. The Committee at Salop chose Mackworth as governor: describing him as 'of known care and fidelity ... a gentleman of a fayre estate, of singular parts, and one who hath engaged himself and his estate as farr as any in this Countrey to further the Publique services.'[24] In November 1645 Thomas Hunt was

chosen as MP for the borough in place of Francis Newport. Newport, an opponent of Hunt since the musters of 1642, had been captured at Oswestry. In July 1644 the Committee at Wem advised that Newport and his friends should be moved from there 'in regard of an especiall respect this place beares unto [them]'; Newport was said to be 'exceedingly potent in the county, and very active in raising men and moneys.' A prisoner at Stafford in July, Newport complained of his removal to Eccleshall Castle, 'where there is noe accommodation in any respect fit for a gentleman'; he wished to be committed to some private house instead of a London prison. He was not released until 1648 when he compounded for delinquency; in that year Lord Newport made his will, complaining that his family was dissolved, his chief house – High Ercall – ruined, and his household possessions sold.[25] The enmity between Francis Newport and Thomas Hunt would have repercussions at the Restoration.

The post-war phase of Hunt's career saw him in the role of godly magistrate and elder of the presbyterian church system established in Shrewsbury in 1647. The family were still parishioners of St. Alkmund's where two more children of Thomas and Elizabeth were baptised: Mary in 1646 and Nathaniel in 1652. The minister at Alkmund's (the appellation 'saint' was dropped) was Thomas Blake of Staffordshire. Thomas Paget, co-pastor with Hering at the Begynhof in the Amsterdam classis, was elected pastor of Chad's in 1646. Samuel Fisher was appointed to St. Mary's. These ministers were among eight named as 'fit to be of the First Classis' in Shropshire; this grouping according to the presbyterian system included thirty-six parishes but there is no evidence of the group as a whole functioning, although the churches in Shrewsbury itself were presbyterian. Thomas Hunt was one of nine town elders; another was his brother Rowland.[26] There must have been tensions within the town as the question of the king's fate became an issue in 1648. Thomas Hunt was one of the MPs excluded from parliament when it was 'purged' of those who supported negotiations with the king; Humphrey Mackworth wrote to Fairfax recommending that any necessary punishment of Charles should be carried out. Thomas Paget wrote a treatise supporting the purge of parliament and the execution of the 'blood-guilty King', citing Biblical examples to support his argument.[27] Paget was unusual among presbyterians in favouring the regicide; like Mackworth he supported the republic and the oath of 1650 to uphold the regime. Blake and Fisher preached openly against the oath and lost their Shrewsbury livings. The two men found a welcome at Middle where the minister Joshua Richardson allowed them to preach; then Fisher moved into Cheshire and Blake returned to his native Tamworth. Humphrey Mackworth, the governor, described Shrewsbury as 'a divided place'. We have no comments from Thomas Hunt, but he was temporarily suspended as a JP in 1653 and did not serve again as an MP. When Mackworth died in December 1654 his son and namesake succeeded him as governor of Shrewsbury, not Hunt (as sometimes stated).[28]

Cromwell became Protector in December 1653; during 1654 ordinances were passed in an effort to reform religion; commissions were appointed to select preaching ministers and to eject those who were unsatisfactory. The Ejectors included clergy and laymen; in Shropshire Thomas and Rowland Hunt were among the assistants to the ministers. Presbyterians had to share recognition with independent congregations and even some sects, although catholics, quakers and unitarians were not tolerated. In 1655 there were royalist uprisings; Francis and Andrew Newport were committed to the Tower on suspicion of stirring up forces against the government. Following the unrest, a new system of regional government was set up: twelve major-generals were to rule in conjunction with local magistrates; they were responsible not only for defence and the militia but also for moral and social reform. The system was in operation until the winter of 1656-57.[29] In October 1655 a Shropshireman, James Berry , was put in charge of Herefordshire, Shropshire and Wales; he was a comrade-in-arms and friend of Cromwell; his letters reveal him as affable and efficient. On 1 December he wrote from Shrewsbury to Secretary of State John Thurloe that he found 'a very faire Concurrence of the Gentlemen of this County' but that there was some disaffection; he advised against imposing a new oath on JPs and new taxes. As to the appointment of a sheriff: 'Doubtless Col. Thomas Hunt is incomparably better than those others in the liste, he hath beene a little dissastisfyed but I hope to perswade him, he hath apeared with us and indeed I thinke him an honest man but am loath to do him the discourtesy to put him to the charge if you can thinke of a fitt man'. Berry did persuade Hunt to take on the onerous office: 'he is an honest man and will doe good', Berry wrote on 5 January 1656. Hunt served as sheriff for some months until the appointment of Edmund Waring of Humfreston, Berry's captain of militia.[30]

While Hunt was sheriff Richard Baxter preached at the Lent assizes of 1656; among his list of writings was 'a Discourse of the Power of Magistrates in Religion, against those that would not have them to meddle in such Matters, being an Assize Sermon preached at Shrewsbury when Coil. Thomas Hunt was Sheriff'. He stressed the need to suppress 'the common sins of Drunkeness, swearing and prophanation of the Lord's day', sins prevalent also in his own town of Kidderminster.[31] In 1650 Baxter dedicated the fourth part of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* to 'my dearly beloved friends in the Lord, the Inhabitants of Shrewsbury'. His connection with the town went back to 1635 when he was impressed by its zealous godly community; his regard for its people led to his helping in the search for a new public preacher in 1652. Francis Tallents, a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge,

and an ordained presbyterian minister came to St. Mary's in November 1652, to begin a long ministry in the town. At Alkmund's Thomas Blake was replaced by the scholarly Richard Heath of Hopesay, another Cambridge graduate (like Tallents and Hunt); he was employed in correcting the Aramaic and Arabic sections of a collection of ancient versions of the Bible–the Polyglot Bible, edited by Brian Walton. Later Baxter remembered Heath as a 'grave minister, moderate, sedate, quiet, religious, eminent for his skill in the Oriental languages.'[32]

Thomas Paget was still at Chad's but Julian's was without a minister; Richard Baxter played a part in attempts in 1656 to bring to the town another popular preacher, already known in Shrewsbury: Henry Newcome of Cheshire. The plentiful correspondence on this matter reveals a good deal about religion and relationships in Shrewsbury , but there was another factor, not mentioned, which may have prompted Thomas Hunt to invite Newcome to the town. Quaker preachers were proving popular in Shrewsbury where a meeting had been set up by townspeople and a family from Cound by 1654. In March and April 1656 Alexander Parker preached in the town; in July Walter Clement found some of the soldiers 'newly convinced' and townspeople coming to meetings: 'they desire a Friend in the Ministry'. The enthusiasm and disruptiveness of these followers of the inner light disturbed orthodox Christians such as Baxter and Newcome.[33] On Tuesday 3 June 1656 Henry Newcome recorded: 'having received a letter from Colonel Hunt of Shrewsbury to come over thither, I now set forward'. Two days later he preached at St. Mary's; on the Sunday he preached twice at Alkmund's. He was made welcome by Francis Tallents and others. 'There were motions made to me, but nothing in any readiness at this time ... I was sensible of the preciousness of the people, and of their affections to me, but I saw the inconvenience of the thing upon many accounts'. Although he was eloquent and moving in the pulpit, Newcome was young and diffident, and somewhat awed by the scholarly ministers and some of their parishioners in Shrewsbury, not to mention the froward Mr Paget who would be his neighbour.[34]

Richard Baxter added his voice, as requested, in September, not without certain indiscretions: 'They have very godly, humble, peaceable, judicious ministers ... [but] it is a thousand pities but such a place as Shrewsbury should have one that hath a lively, convincing, awakening way of preaching'; the ministers would welcome Newcome, and even old Mr Paget might prove 'not altogether so morose as some report him'. (Baxter postponed a personal confrontation with Paget.) Indeed Baxter suggested that as Paget was old and sickly Newcome might soon have Chad's. Thomas Hunt's son Rowland used an argument similar to one of Baxter's: 'our ministers that are likely to abide long with us are better parted for an university than a pulpit', though they were admired for their abilities and piety. Thomas Hunt, Francis Tallents and others wrote more tactfully, and with real affection; the parishioners of Julian's sent a letter by Captain Thomas Hunt (a vintner, not to be confused with his namesake Colonel Hunt). A specific invitation to Julian's came in November: the church was to be repaired and a generous maintenance would be provided for Newcome and his family; but another invitation came, from Manchester, which, despite Newcome's agonising, proved more attractive. Newcome was urged by the people of Julian's parish to keep his promise to visit them; he went to Shrewsbury in December with the support of his friend Mr Langley; both men preached in the town. A severe critic of Newcome was Rowland Hunt, son of Thomas; a graduate of law at Oxford, he had that June been called to the bar at Gray's; his forensic skills were used in his letters. Newcome felt that Rowland Hunt 'had shown [him] no mercy'; but a letter from Tallents 'was compassionate and full of tenderness to me'. Tallents wrote on 1 January 1657: 'Myself and wife commend us most heartily to you and Mrs Newcome, though unknown. Let us be helped by your prayers, that we may be faithful in our places. Farewell, dear Sir, Your hearty friend and unworthy fellow-servant, Fra. Tallents'. Richard Heath also remembered himself 'most affectionately' to Newcome. Thomas Hunt and his wife also remained Newcome's friends.

The religious make-up of Shrewsbury would have resembled that of Kidderminster, as analysed by Baxter: the 'precise, that are rated to be serious Professors of Religion', peaceable, not inclined to the sects; others, 'of competent Knowledge and exterior performances', were neither godly nor ungodly; the tractable but ignorant; those who 'disown our Administration', adhering to the former Church of England; those who neglected all religious duties; the obstinate and the hostile; papists; anabaptists. Shrewsbury also had a strong if small meeting of Friends: in 1657 Richard Davies of Welshpool stayed with them, attending silent meetings and hearing the preacher John ap John who 'spoke as one having authority'. In June that year George Fox visited Shrewsbury, claiming that they had 'a great meeting'; these Friends began to keep a register that year.[35] Those still favouring the Church of England had a sympathetic minister in Zachary Mayne who was appointed to Julian' s on 25 March 1658 to preach a lecture on Sunday afternoons, at a salary of £60. While at Julian's he 'gave no disturbance to the town', but he had doubts about administering the sacraments when not ordained–the anglican divine Henry Hammond of Worcester suggested that Mayne might be ordained by William Roberts of Llanelidan, former bishop of Bangor, but this did not happen; he left after a year.[36]

In the year before he died on 3 September 1658 Cromwell was hopeful that God was still 'favourable unto his land' and would heal divisions; his chaplain John Howe was in correspondence with Richard Baxter and others

about a possible agreement between moderate presbyterian, congregational and episcopal brethren. Such unity became increasingly unlikely after Cromwell's death. Thomas Hunt, a moderate presbyterian, continued in his public role, serving as mayor of Shrewsbury from Michaelmas 1657 to 1658, when he was replaced by John Betton, a royalist. On 26 October the governor, Humphrey Mackworth the younger, petitioned the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, about 'the unhappy state of the town': Betton had turned all republicans out of office and restored as marshal John Tench (who had formerly vowed not to cut his hair until Charles Stuart reigned in England); he had also released Jasper Lloyd, 'ever a bitter cavalier'. Lloyd had been committed to prison by Thomas Hunt 'for speaking wordes against the now Lord Protector'.[37] But it was not the royalists who brought down the protectorate.

Certain army officers, regarding the Cromwells as betrayers of the 'good old Cause', forced the dissolution of the Rump parliament and the resignation of Richard Cromwell in May 1659. The nominal leader of the group was General Charles Fleetwood but a more forceful figure was Colonel James Berry, the probable writer of a letter to the general of the army in Scotland, George Monck, explaining that 'after serious searching of the heart and solemne addresses to the Lord' they had acted to save the Cause and godly interest: 'this hath the Lord wrought'. Similar religious conviction imbues a Declaration: 'we have been led to look back, and examine the Cause of the Lord's withdrawing His wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the Way; that, through Mercy, we might return, and give Him the Glory'. One recollection, that the Long Parliament 'had a special Presence of God with them', led to the recall of that body; not all the formerly excluded members returned – probably not Hunt. This parliament appointed a Committee of Safety, including Berry , who took over government. During this period of rule Edmund Waring (already sheriff of Shropshire) was made governor of Shrewsbury in place of Mackworth; appointed in August, he defended the town against royalist plots.[38]

Waring's fellow sectarians were prominent in the area, notably the Fifth Monarchist Vavasor Powell. A group of 'well-affected in and about Shrewsbury' petitioned that another leading Fifth Monarchist, John Rogers, should be appointed public preacher, being based at Julian's; this was granted on 13 October by the Council of State. The proposed salary of £150 would have made him the equal of Tallents at St Mary's; but the appointment never took effect. By the beginning of 1660 Berry and his party lost power; on 9 January the Council of State ordered Colonels Lambert, Desborow and Berry 'to repair to, and abide in, such of your houses in the country as are most distant from London'; Berry's home was in Lincolnshire. Monck had now brought his army into England and was making for London. In Shrewsbury Waring was replaced as governor by Thomas Hunt; on 28 February the Council of State asked him to deal with complaints from several persons unjustly imprisoned in Shrewsbury by a Thomas Hill.[39] The story of this man provides a colourful anecdote from Richard Gough who called him 'a prodigall drunken fellow, who before the warrs was a pitifull barber in this towne'. His conniving against an officer of Humphrey Mackworth the elder led that governor to describe him as 'a restless spirit ... of so mutinous a disposition that he ought formerly to have been tried for his life'; he was 'exceedingly despicable ... a barber and of scandalous conversation'. He was Waring's lieutenant at Shrewsbury Castle, but 'the Townesmen and Garrison soldiers hated him', wrote Gough:

> one of the townsmen sent for him out of the Castle to drink with him att the Loggerheads, an alehouse hard by; and as soon as he was gon out of the Castle the Soldiers shutt the gate and cast his cloathes and boots over the wall. ..Hill for fear of his life fled away that night and I never heard more of him.

According to Gough this was just before Colonel Hunt was made governor; 'an honest and substantiall burgesse', John Bromley, was made lieutenant of the castle.[40]

The presbyterians were ready to welcome the return of Charles Stuart; Andrew Parsons of Wem had supported the attempted rising by Sir George Booth in Cheshire in August 1659; Newcome and his fellow ministers at Manchester had preached in support. Before then, in April, Thomas Paget had moved from Shrewsbury; he was given the valuable living of Stockport by John Bradshaw, the regicide; Newcome paid old Mr Paget a visit in his comfortable parsonage. John Bryan of Holy Cross was promoted to Chad's.[41] With Paget gone, the clergy of Shrewsbury were all moderates in 1660; they supported Thomas Hunt in his acceptance of the royal pardons offered in April. On 11 May the borough assembly ordered that Charles II should be proclaimed; from 6 to 9 June declarations were made publicly by those accepting the king's pardon on the basis of the Declaration of Breda and affirming their loyalty. Eighty-seven parchment strips survive for Shrewsbury, bearing the signed formal acceptances, witnessed and sealed by a borough official–the governor, Hunt, or the mayor or a former mayor. The proceedings must have been conducted with some solemnity. Charles promised 'liberty to tender consciences', but the religious settlement would be determined by parliament.[42]

With the return of Charles II in May former royalists were in the ascendancy in Shropshire; Francis Lord Newport was made lord lieutenant of the county; one of his deputies, Sir Richard Ottley, became governor of Shrewsbury .On 30 June the House of Lords issued an order, upon information given to it that day: that Thomas Nicholls, Andrew Lloyd, Thomas Hunt and others 'doe detaine divers goods, household stuffe, writings, and

plate belonging to the Lord Newport which were taken from High Ercall, Shrewsbury and other places'; Newport's agents were given liberty to make a search for these goods. Following the search, conducted in July, Thomas Hunt presented a petition to the Commons, that his house had been ransacked 'contrary to the Rights and Liberties of the meanest Commoner'; he prayed to receive 'such rights therein as to your wisdome shall seeme meet'. An inventory listed goods totalling £1377. 18. 9 in value.[43] In Shrewsbury itself, however, the presbyterians still held power, and the ministers remained in the parishes; in October 1661 the town clerk, Thomas Jones, the mayor, Richard Bagot, and the headmaster, Richard Pigot, drew up a new deed of appointment for Francis Tallents at St. Mary's. Jones was one of the town's MPs; born in St. Alkmund's parish in 1614, he was educated at Shrewsbury School and Emmanuel College, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1635; he was town clerk during the years 1660-62. Lord Newport accused him of encouraging the 'factious ministers' in the town.[44]

In fact, the hoped-for religious settlement had not come about although discussions (involving Shrewsbury's friend Richard Baxter) had taken place in 1660, attempting a comprehension of moderate episcopacy with presbytery. Lord Newport's brother Andrew and their cousin Thomas Gower, sent reports from London to their uncle Sir Richard Leveson in Staffordshire. On 23 October Andrew Newport wrote: 'Yesterday a conference was held before the King at the Lord Chancellor's [Worcester House] ... the Presbiterians agreed to an Episcopall government, but they would not have the Bishops have any power but joyntly with the presbiters'. On the basis of the king's Worcester House Declaration the presbyterians drafted a bill when parliament reconvened on 6 November. On 29 November Gower wrote: 'Yesterday the Bill was brought into the House to turn the King's Declaration concerning Church government and ceremonies into an Act; it induced the greatest dispute of any yet ... but was thrown out [180 votes to 154] ... The Presbiter strove as for life'. Andrew Newport also reported this defeat: 'John [Presbyter] is very angry'.[45]

Following risings in London early in 1661 by a small group of Fifth Monarchists, led by Thomas Venner, the government was fearful of more trouble; Lord Newport was determined to suppress all nonconformists in Shrewsbury. Edmund Waring, imprisoned in a private house by the deputy-lieutenants, was advised by Thomas Jones that his committal was unlawful. The opportunity to remove Jones and his allies came with the passing of the Corporation Act of 1661: commissioners would purge the municipalities of former anti-royalists; office-holders would have to take an oath against the Covenant; Jones was replaced as town clerk by Adam Ottley, brother of Sir Richard; Bagot was removed as mayor; Thomas and Rowland Hunt were among the aldermen removed; Thomas Hunt lost his burgess-ship.[46] The Act of Uniformity, which came into effect on 24 August 1662, removed nonconformist ministers from their parishes – including Tallents, Heath and Bryan; Pigot was removed as headmaster.[47]

Presbyterian clergy and laity now had to make their own compromise. The diaries of Philip Henry, ordained by the fourth Shropshire classis at Prees in 1657, give us an insight into their situation; the presbyterians of Shrewsbury and north Shropshire drew together for mutual support. They met at private houses but also attended church services and sermons, avoiding ceremonies to which they objected. Henry's son Matthew wrote a short life of Tallents in which he observed that: 'For the most part, he attended the Public Ministry , and the Liturgy both Morning and Afternoon, and Preach'd only in the Evening, and on the Weekdays; as he had opportunity'. A biographer of Matthew Henry, William Tong (a chaplain to Thomas Hunt's son Rowland) wrote of the gentry families in north Shropshire who used to value Philip Henry's ministry. By 1662 the Hunts had, in addition to their house in Shrewsbury , the estate of Boreatton in the parish of Baschurch: 'the parish out of which that humble good Minister Mr Edward Lawrence was ejected. ..there were several Families of Distinction that held fast their Profession, and gladly entertain'd the ejected Ministers'. Lawrence, however, had been replaced by a young Anglican minister, a fellow graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who was acceptable to these families: 'they had a sober, judicious and peaceable Minister, the Reverend Mr [George] Hudson, yet they often had Sermons preach'd in their own Houses by the Nonconformists that lived near them, sometimes on Week-days, sometimes on the Lord's Day out of the time of publick Worship, and I have often seen some of Mr Hudson's Family, his Wife and Children, present on such Occasions'.[48]

Despite further government measures to separate nonconformist pastors from their flocks (the Five Mile Act of 1665 and the Conventicle Acts) the presbyterians of north Shropshire maintained their community, their worship, and the education of their children – learned ministers shared this service. Thomas Hunt and his son kept up a residence in London where similar groups operated; some Shropshire ministers, such as Andrew Parsons of Wem, moved there. The activities of these people were observed and reported to the government. A London spy named Edmund Potter alleged that 'conventicles, fasts, and meetings [were] held by the Presbyterians at the houses of Col. Hunt, of Shropshire, Mr Benbow, near Laurence Lane, London, etc. ... Col. Hunt's eldest son keeps 30 horses at Shrewsbury ready for service [in a supposed uprising]. Hampden, Baxter, and Dr Manton often meet to confer at a lord's house 17 miles from London, towards Oxford. Col. Hunt has a dinner, called the

parsons' ordinary, at his lodging every Tuesday ... Mr Baxter often preaches at Hampden' s house near St John's, fitted up on purpose, Mr Jacom[be], Mr Whittaker, and Mr Poole at the Countess of Exeter's'. Thomas Jacombe was chaplain to the countess who had a house in Little Britain. Thomas Manton and Matthew Poole held services attended by Richard Hampden, son of the patriot John. Hampden's wife Letitia was sister to William Lord Paget; Rowland Hunt married Frances, a daughter of Lord Paget, in 1665; Hampden's son John went abroad with Tallents as tutor. Members of this circle of gentry and MPs (another was John Swinfen of Staffordshire) would meet at Boreatton in Rowland Hunt's time, Philip Henry attending them.[49]

At Shrewsbury and Boreatton Thomas and Elizabeth Hunt continued to uphold their presbyterian faith while observing the services in their parish churches. On 13 April 1669, as he was on the way to see Hunt in Shrewsbury, Philip Henry heard news of his death the previous day; he recorded this in his diary:

> His death was sudden, he was twice at publique Ordinances the day before, worshipt God with his Family in the evening, and went to bed well as at other times. About two or three in the morning hee wake, was sick, and before five fell asleep in the lord.

Hunt was buried at St Alkmund's on the 15 April, with a sermon preached by Mr Roberts (possibly the man named by Calamy as being at Morton Chapel, Salop); a fast was kept in his house. It is only now, as a widow, that Elizabeth Hunt emerges from obscurity but she was presumably as devout before her husband's death as afterwards. When the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 allowed licences to be taken out for private worship Mrs Hunt's house in Shrewsbury became the centre for Tallents and Bryan to resume their ministry in the town: 'The Congregation meeting in the House of that Eminent Christian, Mrs Hunt', as Matthew Henry noted. In late October 1674 Henry Newcome came with his son Daniel to Shrewsbury:

> I was kindly received by my old friend Mrs Hunt, and preached the next day at their lecture; and upon their importunity, and the great rain, I consented to stay till the Lord's day was past. I preached twice and repeated at night and was abundantly tired.

Elizabeth Hunt died in October 1690; Matthew Henry described her as:

> A great Example in her Place of serious Piety, and all Christian Virtues, lively and unweary'd in the Exercises of Devotion ... very active to promote Religion, and the Power of Godliness, without any regard to Parties.

Upon her death, the Shrewsbury meeting moved to Mr Tallents's house for about a year, 'while they were building and fitting up a very decent Place for the purpose, which they enter'd upon Oct. 25. 1691'. Philip Henry also recorded Mrs Hunt's death. She was buried with her husband at St. Alkmund's.[50]

Thomas Hunt's life spanned nearly seventy years, during which the puritan or godly group in Shrewsbury formed a strong party in face of increasing opposition from the established church. His parish, St. Alkmund' s, reflected the changing pattern of religious life in that period. The influence of his own family and of others, in Shrewsbury, at Cambridge, in London, typifies the puritan experience leading up to the civil war. At that point Hunt emerged into public life and his career henceforth was a further epitome of the puritan situation; it illustrates some of the key issues of the time, and the way in which moderate nonconformists tried to deal with new problems. Elizabeth Hunt's twenty-one years of widowhood bring us up almost to the point where the nonconformists had their own chapel in Shrewsbury. Through the Hunts we can trace one thread of the town's history in the seventeenth century.

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SHOOTROUGH FARM, CARDINGTON, SHROPSHIRE (SO 490964)

By MADGE MORAN

Fred Powell of Wheathill, Burwarton, died on 6 February 1998. He was a loyal member of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society and had a particular interest in old houses. His knowledge of South Shropshire was unique, and Shootrough was one of his discoveries. This paper is published as a tribute to him.

Until its sale in February 1983 Shootrough Farm was a stock-rearing hill farm of 170 acres. The property is situated in the pass between Caer caradoc and the Lawley hills, within the parish of Cardington. The house is T-shaped, with stone, timber-frame and brick visible externally.[1]

The Plan (Fig. 1)

The plan consists of the remains of a two-bay cruck-built hall, which forms the stem of the T, and a later cross-wing built at right-angles to it. Originally there was another unit to the north of the hall. This is clear from the evidence of the ogee-headed doorway in the north-west corner of the dais partition, shown on section C– C1(Fig. 2). The doorway would have led into a solar block of some kind, but whether it was a simple extension in the same plane, or a cross-wing, as at present, is not clear. No firm evidence could be found for a similar extension southwards. Section A– A1(Fig. 2) shows that the framing in the lower end gable wall of the hall includes a cambered collar-beam and two large braces set between the crucks and tie-beam level, in form virtually identical to the service end of Condover Court.[2] It is possible that a cross-passage and service rooms existed beyond this truss, but the nature of the truss components and the steep slope of the land suggest that any third bay beyond would have had a lower roof-line and probably functioned as a byre.

However, it is possible to see from the disposition of the windbraces where they survive and from their housing where they have been removed, that the lower bay of the hall was subdivided in some way, resulting in two half-bays of unequal size (Section X– X1, Fig 1). The lower, wider has one windbrace and may have functioned as a cross-passage; the other half-bay must have had two smaller windbraces halved across each other, scissor fashion. There is evidence for a partition between the two half-bays, and this could have taken the form of a spere-truss. There are other possible interpretations for the half-bays: that with the scissored windbraces may have been a smoke-bay at some time; the end half-bay functioning as a communal cross-passage for the people and the animals in true long-house form.

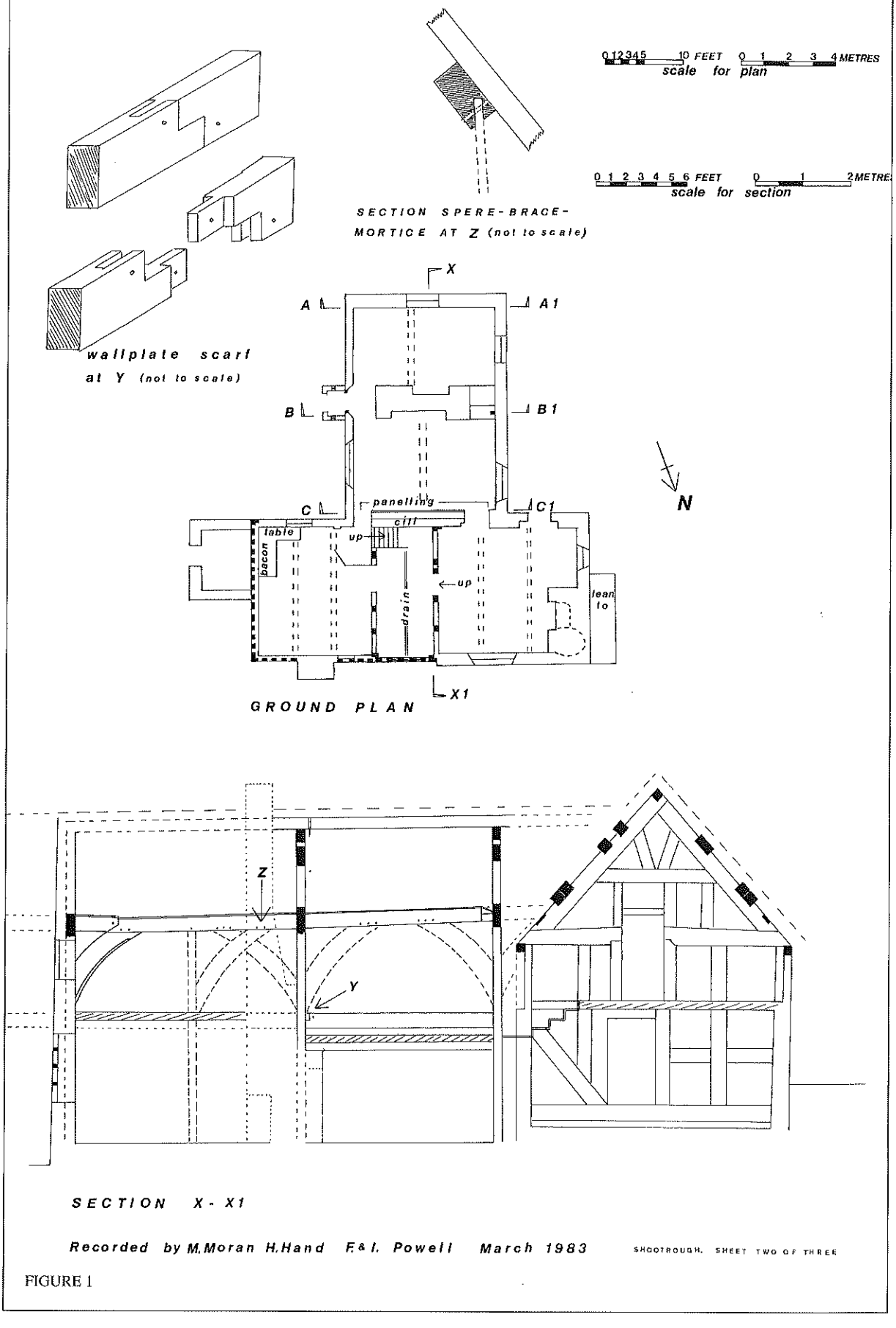
Later, a large chimneystack was inserted between the two bays of the hall and a new doorway was cut into the eastern long wall, thus creating the classical lobby-entrance so popular in the 17th century.

Section B– B1(Fig. 2)

The remains of this truss enable it to be identified as the central truss of a two-bay, open hall. The inserted chimneystack, while producing a lobby-entrance situation, destroyed details of the vertical axis on the truss, but the central section of the cruck blades, most of the collar-beam, and its supporting arch-braces are visible. The arch-braces are set tight into the angle of the blades and the collar-beam, allowing no spandrels, and the joint has eight pegs. Similarly the collar/arch-brace is tightly stitched, and there are four pegs securing the collar/cruck joint.

The edge of the arch-brace is moulded, and the moulding continues onto the cruck blade. A fine point of social distinction between classes is that the moulding which faces the lower end of the hall is a simple quarter-round, whilst that which faces the dais end is double cavetto (See section detail at D, Fig. 3).

Where the cruck-blades join, the classic L2-type apex joint is employed.[3] This is a superior technique, common to most of the crucks in the Condover/Cardington area, where the cruck blades meet in a straight line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SECTION SPERE-BRACE-
MORTICE AT Z (not to scale)
wallplate scarf
at Y (not to scale)
X
A
A1
B
B1
C
C1
X1
panelling
cliff
table
bacon
up
up
drain
lean to
N
GROUND PLAN
Z
Y
SECTION X - X1
Recorded by M.Moran H.Hand F.& I. Powell March 1983
SHOOTROUGH. SHEET TWO OF THREE

FIGURE 1

and are cut to form a Y-shaped cradle to carry the ridge-purlin. The joint is strengthened by a small saddle–piece, firmly pegged into the blades and set tightly into the angle, allowing only the smallest of gaps at the apex. When the inserted ceiling was removed by the first of the new owners, heavy smoke-blackening was present on the upper part of the truss, and the wings of nesting bats had swept the apex area clean.

Section C– C1 (Fig. 2)

Set at the upper or dais end of the hall, this truss has some components which are similar in form to the central truss, for example the crucks are of a similar shape, the apex joint is identical, and the collar-beam is similar. But it was clearly a closed truss, and the ogee-headed doorway in the north-west corner suggests that it gave access from the high end of the hall into a solar unit. Smoke-blackening was present on the southern (hall) side only, and bat wings had made similar swept areas.

When old plasterwork was removed from the upper part of the truss, the pattern of the panel in-filling was revealed. It consisted of oak staves set between grooves in the upper edge of the horizontals and holes in the soffits, with hazel withies (wattles) interwoven between the staves and finished with daub across the surface of the panels.

There was no obvious weathering on the northern side of the truss, confirming that there was indeed a solar end or cross-wing which preceded the present one.

The lower section of the dais truss was lined with panelling which was clearly made for the room. The panels were quite plain with no moulding or mitres, only simple scribed decoration on the rails and muntins. Almost certainly the high seat and table were positioned against the panelling; the lower panel is of slightly different form and would be largely hidden by the high seat, the 'ghost' of which was outlined against the panelling. However, in the course of essential repairs, the second new owners removed the panelling as a temporary measure and this revealed the fixing points for the high seat and wall-paintings on what would have been the dais screen. These are described below (p. 47).

Section A– A1 (Fig. 2)

This truss is different in concept from the others. The crucks are straighter, as is the collar-beam and, as mentioned above, there are two large curving braces between the cruck blades and a low horizontal beam below the tie-beam level. It appears that the crucks were not long enough to meet at the apex, because there was clear evidence for a stop-splayed scarfing joint on each blade.[4] Frequently end cruck trusses are deliberately truncated to allow the roof to be hipped back at that point, to enable the thatch to throw rain-water clear of the gable-end, but at Shootrough the joint detail suggests a shortfall in the crucks and the carpenter's method of overcoming the problem. The gable end has now been restored to what is thought to be its intended form.

The combination of the low beam and the large curving braces suggests that if the house continued originally further southwards, it did so as a single-storied structure. The low beam may, in this instance, have formed one side of a feeding-walk for animals.

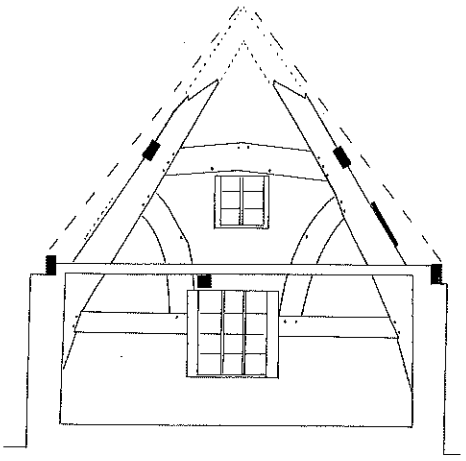
The Cross-wing (Fig. 2)

a. The Exterior.

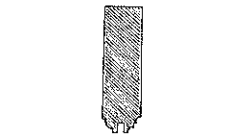
The north elevation of the cross-wing is that which is visible as the road to Cardington completes a hazardous right turn at Broadstonemoor. There are, therefore, elements of fashion and prestige attributable to its siting. However, only a little over half of the elevation is timber-framed, the remainder is built of a random collection of local stones which include Hoar Edge Grit, Soudley banded sandstone, Chatwall sandstone, and a sprinkling of Dhu-stone. As the internal partition wall between the framing and the stonework shows no evidence of having been an external wall, it seems a reasonable conclusion that the two elements are contemporary, the framework employed for the parlour role, and the stonework for the more prosaic kitchen activities. The effect of the expensive close-studded framework with a mid-rail is rather spoiled by the intrusion of a frontal outbuilt chimneystack of no particular merit, and it appears that the real impact of the cross-wing is to be found in the treatment of the eastern gable end. Here herring-bone framework is introduced above the mid-rail, the gable is jettied, the supporting bracket had chamfered edges and a rolled base, and there is an inner and outer tie-beam with elaborate half-round and zigzag moulding on the lower edge. These features are shown on 'Detail at E' (Fig. 3).

b. The Interior.

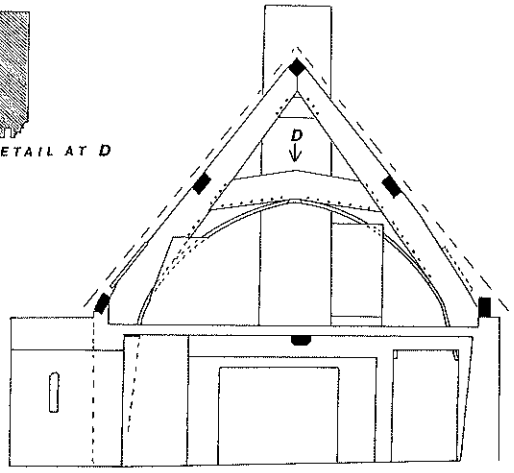
Internally the cross-wing consists of three rooms of unequal size. The eastern-most room seems to have been used as a dairy in latter years, and has a stone bacon-table built into a corner, but it must have been designed and



SECTION A–A1



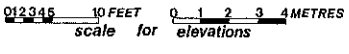
SECTION DETAIL AT D

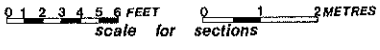


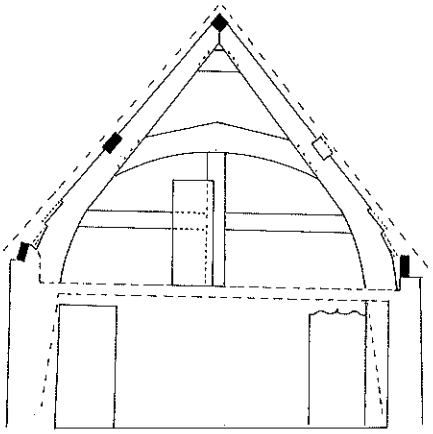
SECTION B–B1

SHOOTROUGH *CARDINGTON*

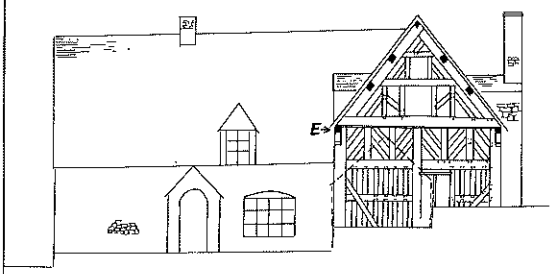
SHROPSHIRE SO 490964







SECTION C–C1



EAST ELEVATION

NORTH ELEVATION

SHEET ONE OF THREE

FIGURE 2

used as a parlour originally. This is evidenced by the inclusion of the fireplace and the presence of wall-paintings. The latter are described below (p.47)

Between the parlour and the kitchen is a small room which has a central drain and no properly framed window. Its original function appears to have been as a dairy. It is interesting that it is contained within the framed part of the cross-wing. Clearly the pairing of parlour and dairy was as traditional then as it ever was.

The third room, the largest of the three and completely stone-built, is the kitchen. It was provided with a fire-place served by an internal chimneystack, but the upper part of the stack has been removed. It also had a washing copper and a stone sink. Still intact is the bake-oven on the northern side of the fire-place, and a cast-iron cloam oven remains in the hearth. The latter is a remarkable survival. It is basically a portable oven, shouldered, flat-topped, and heated by coals piled around it. Usually made of clay and encountered in the Somerset region, the example at Shootrough is unusual in being made of cast-iron. When uncovered it was in a delicate state and the door was missing, but it has been preserved as a feature of the fire-place. Enquiries at Ironbridge Gorge Museum resulted only in the fact that catalogue entries in the hey-day of the ironworks included 'ovens of all kinds'.

When the plaster from the upper part of the end frame of the cross-wing was removed, it revealed that the interstices of the framework were filled with lath-and–plaster, the oak laths set vertically in the rectangular framing, horizontally in the square framing and diagonally in between the V-struts above the collar-beam, all tailored to fit the spaces exactly. The laths were woven between oak staves and then plastered over. The work was clearly intended to be of better quality than the usual wattle-and-daub. The outline of the framing is shown on Section X– X1 (Fig. 1).

Wall Paintings

As mentioned above, two rooms at Shootrough contain the remains of wall paintings. Those in the cross-wing parlour which was later converted to use as a dairy, were uncovered when the plaster walls were removed by the first new owner. Sadly they were badly damaged when wood preservative was carelessly applied. Across the main transverse beam in the end wall was a design of a serpent with its head at one end and its tail at the other, its undulations covering the length of the beam. All the posts, studs and panels in the room were decorated with various motifs; some geometrical in a pattern of vertical and horizontal close coils, some straight lines and some free-flowing guilloche-type border work. They were not in good condition but it was clear that the medium was a black distemper painted directly onto the wood, or onto the plaster panels for the outline, with quite bright red ochre, white and buff used freely for infill. The room must have been very vivid and lively when first decorated.

When the second new owner, in the course of essential repair work removed the panelling from the dais partition wall of the hall, wall paintings were revealed on what would have been the dais screen. The panels in the framework had been removed when alterations were made many years ago; what remained was a pattern on the beams and studs carried out in yellow ochre on a black background. But traces of bright blue and red ochre were also present. The design across the main horizontal beam was of a diamond-pointed outline, not dissimilar to the undulations of the serpent in the parlour, mentioned above, and in each divisions a multi-petalled flower-head. As only half the flower-head occurred in each part, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were completed on the missing panels. Two studs remained, and the paintings on these showed clearly that the design had been applied after the frame had settled and tilted to one side. A vertical line dividing two sections of the design was intended to 'correct' the tilt visually. In one part the motifs included pomegranates, foliage, some tied bundles, and what appeared to be fleur-de-lys. The design was washed over with red ochre and seems to have formed a wide border to the two missing panels, the only remains of which showed a design of foliage done in yellow ochre on a black background. This occupied the other part of the studs.

It is possible that both sets of paintings are contemporary, but those in the parlour were more sophisticated. The latter could date from the time when the parlour cross-wing was added in the early years of the 17th century.

Other features

a. Purlins and Wind-braces

The purlins in the hall range are sturdy but unremarkable components, trenched into the backs of the cruck blades in a conventional manner. On Section X– X1 (Fig. 1) it will be noted that a scarfing joint occurs where the wind-brace meets the purlin, and this had led to speculation that the house continued southwards, but this is not necessarily the case, and as described above (p.43), there seems to have been a general decline in the supply of timber for this end of the structure. The purlins in the room over the parlour in the cross-wing were found to have been cut from a single tree.

The disposition of the wind-braces in the hall range, and the questions raised thereby have been discussed (p. 0) In themselves the windbraces are plain curved members, tenoned and pegged into soffits of the purlins, and either resting on the backs of the crucks or slightly trenched into them.

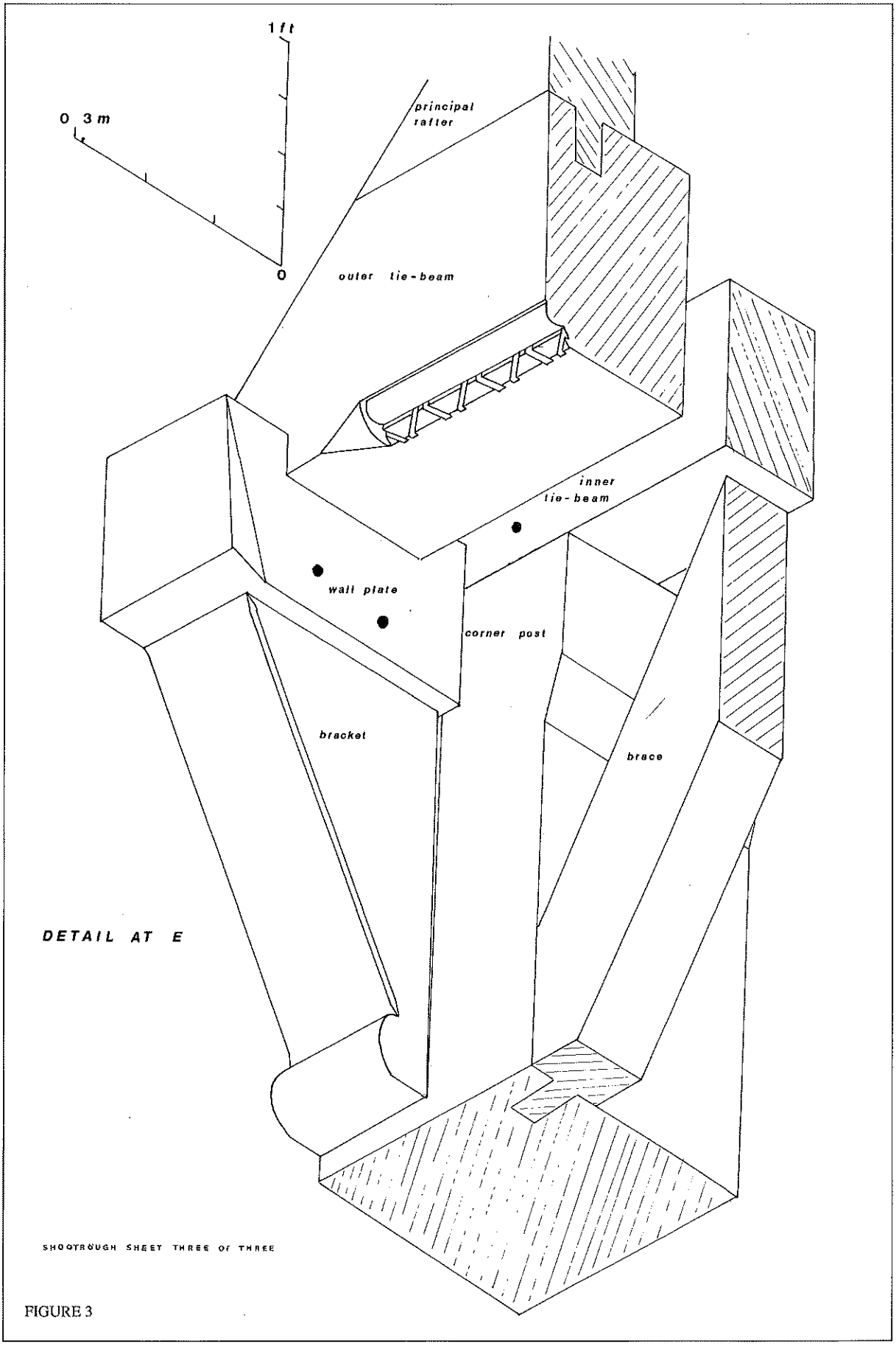

1 ft
0 3 m
0
principal rafter
outer tie-beam
inner tie-beam
wall plate
corner post
bracket
brace
DETAIL AT E
SHOOTROUGH SHEET THREE OF THREE

FIGURE 3

b. Farm Buildings

The farm buildings at Shootrough are numerous, and include a traditional, stone-built barn, stables, shippon, pig-sties etc., but the most interesting survival in 1983 was the row of goose-pens with hen-houses above, located in the traditional position outside the kitchen door. The range was brick-built and accommodated eight geese and a gander. The gander had a larger pen at the end of the row. The range had a tiled roof and the ridge pieces were hewn from solid stone blocks. The goose-pens were dismantled by the first new owner, but it is understood that the materials were saved with a view to re-erection on a new site.

A stable block has been converted to holiday cottages.

c. The Wood Store

Demolished since 1983, but shown in outline on the ground-plan against the eastern, close-studded wall of the parlour cross-wing, was a stone-built projection entered from the front. It was single-storied and resembled a porch, but there is no doorway, blocked or otherwise, giving access to the house at that point through the gable wall, and the proper entrance porch relates to the lobby-entry against the central stack. It seems to have been used as a wood store in latter years, but whether this was always the case is a matter for conjecture.

d. The Scarf Joint

Shown in detail at Y (Fig. 1) is the edge-halved scarf-joint with bridled-butts and two edge pegs. It occurs on the wall-plate of the hall on the western side, and as such is typical of 15th and 16th century scarf-jointing.[5]

Dating Sequence and Summary

In 1995 dendrochronological sampling and analysis was carries out at Shootrough, and this has enabled a building sequence to be established.[6] Several questions remain unanswered at present: was there a continuation of the building beyond the southern end of the hall; how was the lower bay of the hall used; was a spere-truss included and where exactly was the open hearth located? However, with the benefit of dendrochronology the sequence of evolution is likely to be as follows:

1. The linear house on the N.E./S.W. axis, built into the slope of the hill, consisting of a two-bay, open, cruck-built hall with an open hearth, upper end or solar, and with a byre at the lower end: date, 1422.
2. The upper end or solar was removed and a box-framed cross-wing added in its place. This consisted of a parlour, dairy, and a stone-built, heated room which probably functioned as a kitchen: date, 1609.
3. A large central chimneystack was inserted between the hall bays. This may have been part of the improvement programme of 1609, or have taken place shortly afterwards.
4. The byre was removed, the lower hall bay became a parlour, and the upper hall a living room: date, possibly early-18th-century.
5. The parlour in the cross-wing became the larger dairy: date, possibly 19th-century.
6. A triplex grate was inserted into the fireplace of the upper bay of the hall; thereafter this room served as a kitchen/living room. The former kitchen was used for ancillary purposes: date mid-20th century.
7. All kitchen functions returned to the stone-built unit; the triplex grate was removed; the upper bay of the hall became the main living room, and the large dairy was returned to a parlour: date, late-20th century.

Shootrough is a fine example of a medieval yeoman-verging-on-minor-gentry-type house, and if as seems likely it functioned as a longhouse, it merely emphasises the importance of man's capital invested in livestock and the steps taken to safeguard it. In constructional techniques it typifies Shropshire, cruck building at its best, and also shows how farmhouses could be enlarged, brought up to date, and adapted to meet changing circumstances without the need for wholesale destruction. It can be read like a textbook, and the firm dating by dendrochronology supplies an accurate context.

References

1 My thanks are also extended to the present owners, the McNeil family, for permission to publish this paper, and also to Irene, Fred Powell's wife and Henry Hand who helped with the recording work. Henry Hand produced the finished drawings.
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VOLUNTARY EDUCATION 1660–1833: THE SHROPSHIRE EVIDENCE

By ROBERT HUME M.A., Ph.D.

It is usually maintained in the standard histories of education, that the beginnings of systematic voluntary education in England date from 1698, with the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which established a nationwide network of purpose-built charity schools, financed by the subscriptions of tradesmen and shopkeepers. It is further typically alleged, that poor children had the benefit of a range of services offered by the schools, including not merely instruction without payment in the 3Rs and in the Church of England Catechism, but also a free uniform and, more significantly, the prospect of apprenticeship, which would enable them to better their present social position. So runs the normal line of argument, purporting to describe how schools operated up and down the country. However, more often than not, these conclusions are extrapolations from evidence about London schools. The county or regional study is valuable, in being able to add depth to, and provide possible contrast with, such an over-simple general picture.

1

An examination of educational provision in Shropshire in 1660 provides a proper back-cloth against which to put the SPCK's work into perspective. Normally, once credit has been given to a handful of grammar schools founded in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, the next forty years tend to be characterised as a period of inertia. However, in Shropshire's case, there was already provision in twenty-five of its 200 or so parishes in 1660.

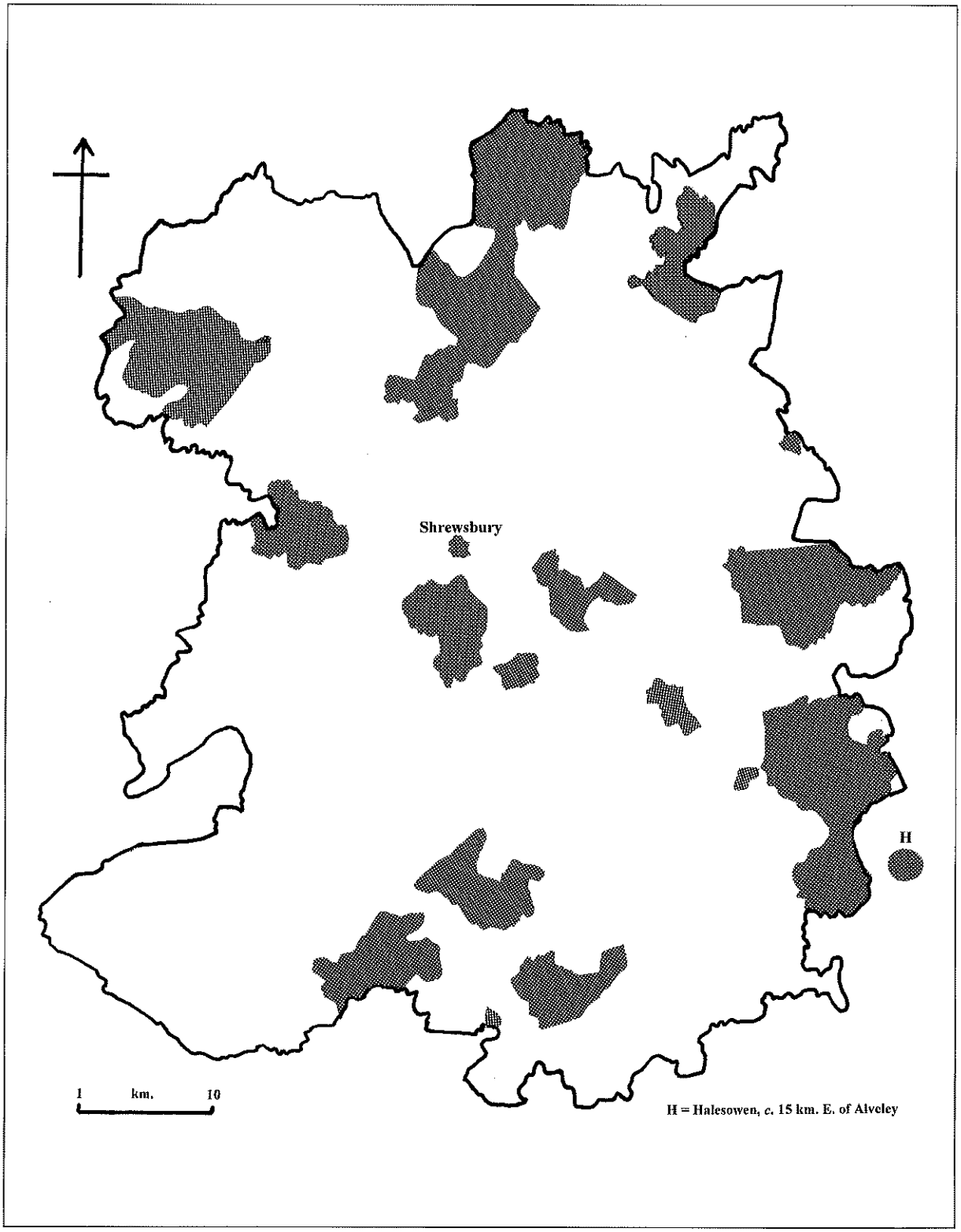
The geographical distribution of these parishes shows a fairly disparate scatter, reflecting as it does the lack of urban agglomerations in the county (See map 1). Nevertheless, the pattern is not entirely random: firstly, schools tended to be present in the more populous parishes: half of those twenty-five parishes with provision at this date had an estimated 1000 or more inhabitants. Secondly, schools could be found in those parishes which had the good fortune to be blessed with a benefactor to education. Schools at Acton Burnell and Barrow had been endowed by benefactors who had made their fortunes in London – in the first instance as a merchant; in the second as a merchant tailor. Tong, on the other hand, was blessed with an old college foundation, established *c.* 1550.

Conversely, the one area of relative neglect in 1660 was the western and south-western part of the county, encompassing the hundreds of Clun, Purslow and Chirbury. Remote and poor, it comprised entirely rural parishes with widely-scattered populations with little interest in a formal school-based education and with insufficient cash to fund education in any case.

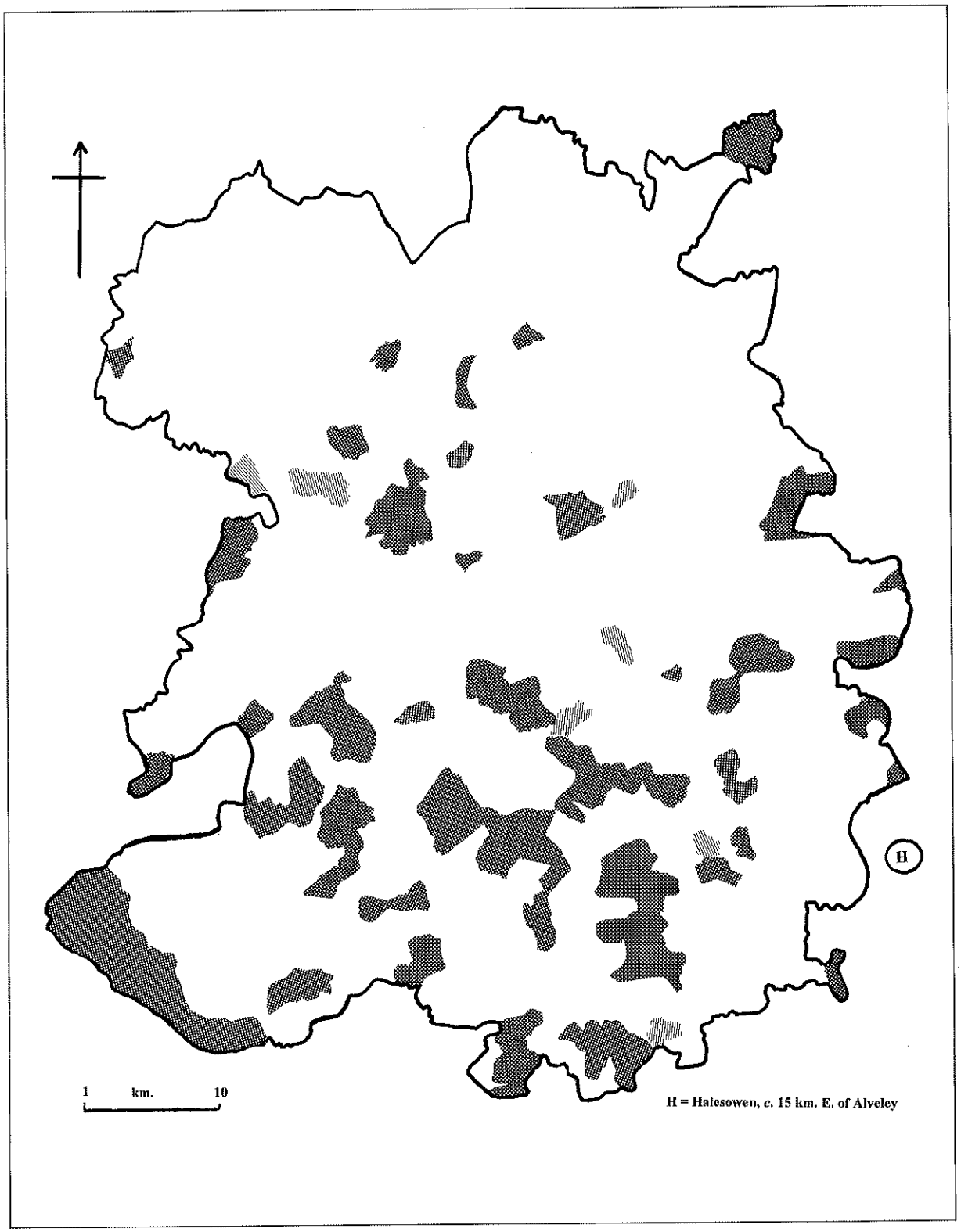
In 1833, on the eve of the first government grant to education, of 228 parishes or their divisions, 176, (i. e. slightly more than three quarters) had weekday educational provision of some type. Sunday schooling was now available in 127 places, i.e. rather more than half. Of those parishes without schools (See map 2), none had a population of more than 680 (Munslow), and most had 200 inhabitants or less. Yet, schools might be present too in quite sparsely-populated parishes at this date.[1]

Was this huge increase in the number of parishes with documented schools between 1660 and 1833 the result of the work of the SPCK at the beginning of the eighteenth century, together with the nondenominational British and Foreign School Society and the National Society a century later? What do the diverse ecclesiastical and civil sources have to yield about the likely source and pace of educational development in the county at this time?

The overseeing function of the Established Church, the records of which provide our main pool of information, had placed the county largely within three dioceses: firstly, the vast and unwieldy diocese of Lichfield & Coventry, into which fell the whole northern part of the county, save for its western extremity; secondly, the



MAP 1 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARISHES WITH DOCUMENTED SCHOOLS, 1660.



MAP 2 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARISHES WITHOUT DOCUMENTED SCHOOLS, 1883.
HATCHED PARISHES: SUNDAY SCHOOL ONLY.

diocese of Hereford, which was responsible for administering the south and west of Shropshire; and thirdly the diocese of St. Asaph in the province of York, into which came nine parishes in the extreme north-west of the county, forming the deanery of Marchia.

Considering each of these dioceses in turn: in Lichfield & Coventry, despite the work of the SPCK there was only a slight number of schools recorded until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, with the mid-century figure dwindling to a mere one or two. Thereafter there was a period of significant growth, though this was already in evidence by 1799, some while before the British and National Societies were established. Such was the magnitude of this activity that by 1833 only five parishes at most in the diocese were without schools.

In Hereford diocese growth appears to have occurred somewhere between 1675 and 1716, with visitation articles of enquiry recording schools in about 20% of parishes in the period 1716-22. Nevertheless, in 1833 this part of the county was the most poorly provided for, with only two thirds of parishes with documented schools. No parishes in the diocese had any connection whatsoever with the British Society before this date, and less than a dozen were in union with the National Society.

The early picture in the deanery of Marchia in St. Asaph diocese is bleaker. Here the only parish with a school on record before 1738 was Oswestry. Between 1753 and 1791 there was no apparent development, in both of these years five parishes with provision of some description being credited in the deanery. However, by 1833 so effective had been the promotion of Bible-reading in Welsh, that a school was reported in each of the nine parishes.

Did the rate of educational development correlate well with the pace of educational philanthropy, or were the new foundations predominantly of a private-venture nature? Prior to 1700 benefactions were sparse; yet, contrary to what is sometimes maintained they were in evidence. The next forty years witnessed a very dense period of donations to education. It was followed, however, by a twenty year span during which almost nothing was given. During these two decades there was also a pitiful number of new schools documented. The period from *c*.1760 until *c*.1790 was characterised by a more regular and even number of contributions. Subsequently there was a smaller flourish, which continued into the nineteenth century. This again coincided with a prodigious growth in the number of parishes with schools, both endowed and subscription. This is not, however, to deny the existence of what was almost certainly a huge increase too in the number of less identifiable private schools at this time, catering for those middle classes with social aspirations and surplus cash.

How did education fare in the period under consideration, as contrasted to other areas of philanthropy? Between 1660 and 1788, a total of 377 benefactions were given towards a variety of charitable activities in Shropshire. Of these, by far the greatest number were given for the relief of the poor in general (though individually these were often very small); thirty-five were deployed for education, and a mere nine were applied for apprenticeships. Taking the sizes of the sums into consideration, and, more exactly, the amounts available towards the different activities in the form of uninvested legacies and annual returns, it emerges that while 83.3% went to poor relief, only 11.8% went to education, and a mere 4.8% to apprenticeships. In Shropshire, in contrast say to the wealthier Kent, the overwhelming concern of benefactors during this period was with the pressing need to relieve the vast numbers of poor. Only a very thin slice of the entire cake was available for the less fundamental activity of education.[2]

For how many children did their endowments help to provide? To what extent did they meet the needs of the various communities at the opening and close of the period under study? What attempts, if any, were made to accommodate changes in the number of children within the community, and with what success? Though provision in many of the rural parishes, such as Barrow and Clungunford, appears to have remained constant between 1660 and 1833 at about 70% of those eligible, the towns in contrast, reveal a very much more complex picture. Some appear to have made dramatic improvements in educational provision. Opportunities at Shifnal, for example, may have risen quite spectacularly, from perhaps as little as 4% in the years after the Restoration to 64% in 1833, by which date there were new National and private foundations, as distinct from the well-established endowed day schools of those rural parishes above. The situation at Newport was only slightly less impressive. Here, provision was being made for somewhat more than 50% of the parish children in 1660, and by 1833, all may have been receiving formal schooling.[3] Indeed, in 1833, largely on account of the adoption of the monitorial system, urban provision generally was very good (in the range *c*.60– 100%): Bridgnorth, 59%; Wem, 82%; Drayton, 82%; Oswestry, 83%; Madeley, 84%; Whitchurch, 100%; and Newport, 100%. When, however, industry played a leading part in the economy of a given parish, and there was consequently a very heavy demand for child labour, the proportion of children educated on a weekday basis at this later date was much more modest: Lilleshall, 39%; Wellington, 30%; and Broseley as little as 22%. Instead, the coalfield parishes found Sunday schools a more profitable arrangement.

In 1799 an interim conclusion can be formed about the effectiveness of the schools in meeting the needs of the various communities in both the dioceses of Lichfield & Coventry and St. Asaph.[4] It emerges that in the market

towns some school places were normally available, though only very few (perhaps sufficient to provide for 0 –7% of those children of an appropriate age). In the industrialised urban parishes there was typically no daily provision whatsoever in 1799. As for the corresponding rural situation, though there seem to have been *some* impressive opportunities e. g. Acton Burnell, 59%; Donington, 61%; and Hadnall in Middle, 88%, almost two thirds of their number had no provision whatsoever (in contrast to less than one third of the urban parishes), with educational opportunity being especially rare in parishes with less than 200 inhabitants. The most significant point to transpire, however, which must not be masked by these details, is that the real period of increasing opportunities for Shropshire children took place after this date, between 1800 and 1833.

Clearly, the computations above are always only highly approximate, especially for 1660 where use is made of uncertain statistics of population. Nevertheless, some attempt to quantify is surely imperative, for without this dimension we have little or no idea of how many children were touched by the educational ideas of the times, operating in an immense variety of learning environments. The second section of this study examines this variety. The whereabouts, size and fate of the handful of large public and endowed schools during this period will be considered first, then the hitherto inadequately treated vast infrastructure of lesser endowed schools, subscription schools and miscellaneous private day schools will receive attention.

2

(i)

In 1660 Shropshire had fourteen major public and endowed schools of the kind habitually receiving individual and exclusive attention by the *Victoria County History*. Their whereabouts closely followed the old centres of population, to the extent that all those places boasting such an establishment had at least an estimated 1,000 people after the Restoration. Of the factors involved in determining their fate, the importance of adequate buildings and of high calibre individual masters feature prominently. The fine classical libraries at Newport[5] and Shrewsbury[6] in particular seem to have been vital in attracting scholars. Conversely, at Bridgnorth the 'wretchedly dilapidated condition' of the fabric was responsible for the marked tail off in boarders from the 120 of the 1830s to 60–70 in about 1850. Repairs might result in a restoration of previous fortunes, as they did at Whitchurch *c*.1790, and at Drayton and Ludlow later in their histories. Possibly more significant were individuals in raising a school's status, as is very evident from the work of the Rev. Dr. James Donne at Oswestry (1796–1833) and even more so that of Dr. Samuel Butler, under whose mastership (1798– 1836) Shrewsbury School became the most reputable in England. On the other hand, the longevity of his predecessor, James Atcherley, or outright neglect as at Donnington, where John Meredith converted the schoolroom into a storehouse, brought in their wake rapidly falling rolls.

For Shropshire, as elsewhere, the preparedness of a particular school to adapt its curriculum to changing needs was another important factor affecting its lot. The original curricula of the more eminent schools in the county at their foundation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prescribed a strictly classical education of Latin and Greek; those sending their sons to such schools envisaging for them an education at Oxford as preparatory to a career in the Church.[7] By the early nineteenth century, however, the curriculum of the grammar schools in Shropshire, in common with those of the rest of the country, had largely been transformed: their classical teaching having long since been undermined by an ever more vociferous demand for a form of learning genuinely beneficial to the economic requirements of the parish, be it industrial, mercantile or agricultural. Such was its effect at Wem, where the traditional curriculum survived intact, that there were no scholars at all in 1799.[8] At Shifnal, where the curriculum was revised, there were no classical scholars when the Charity Commissioners made their visit in 1819,[9] and at Halesowen it was noted how during the previous fifteen years 'no application has been made for this branch of instruction'.[10]

In places the criticism was offset by the introduction of more 'utilitarian' subjects. Exceptionally, writing was being taught at Bridgnorth in 1727. At Halesowen, the statutory English grammar and literature of 1652 had been augmented with both writing and arithmetic by 1821.[11] At Ludlow also, these latter two subjects had appeared by this date,[12] as they had at Shrewsbury, Newport, Wem, and Whitchurch. By 1830 Oswestry Grammar School was offering a particularly extensive curriculum which, in addition to the Classics, included writing, algebra, geometry, and history.[13] As might be expected, grammar schools in rural areas, where families had more modest social aspirations, were forced into discarding their exclusively classical curricula earlier than the urban schools: the school financed by redirected chantry funds at Alberbury supplemented the Classics with reading, writing, and arithmetic in the 1750s.[14] Worfield followed suit a decade later when reading, writing, and accounts replaced Latin.[15] Bitterley's still more radical conversion attracted the grave concern of the Charity Commissioners, its grammar school having sunk to become a reading and writing school 'of the commonest description'.[16]

(ii)

During a corresponding period there were at least 38 schools founded by endowment to teach an English curriculum of reading, or reading and writing, as opposed to the Classics. Were the benefactors to these schools drawn from the genteel sector of society usually claimed? From an analysis of the social status of those making endowments by deed or will towards education, it is clear that the incidence of donations from the ranks of nobility, gentry and clergy over the period as a whole was roughly equal at about 12% from each, and that few, 2%, were made by those of the rank of yeoman. As the period advanced, however, we witness a change in the status of benefactors. For example, whereas only one clergyman gave money to education during the fifty years 1660–1709, numerous did so between 1709 and 1740. During the era in which there was a dearth of benefactors generally (1741–1765), the clergy were completely absent, only to become prominent again between 1766 and 1810, years during which the Church and its bishops were taking a renewed interest in education. The nobility began to donate in 1697 (the Duke of Kingston at Tong) and are (sparsely) distributed throughout the period. The gentry, though present from the beginning, in Shropshire only feature regularly from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Indeed, during the half century 1721–1771 they were absent altogether.

Those who financed education are usually depicted as holding deeply religious convictions and philanthropic principles. What evidence is there that this was the case in Shropshire? The pious intent of Mrs. Broughton in providing education 'in the protestant religion', and instruction in reading and work at Church Aston, was, we are told, 'to help the poor honest Industrious Inhabitants of the said Village who have more children than they are able to provide for...'[17] Some measure of altruism is perhaps also to be found amongst those (albeit few) who donated anonymously, as did those who subscribed to the Sunday schools at Berrington and Bridgnorth.

More persuasive than pietism, though, appears to have been a paternalistic concern amongst benefactors to tend to the welfare of those on their own immediate estates where they were the figurehead. Typical of this interest was the school founded under the will of Sir Richard Corbett at Longnor *c.* 1783, which was designed to serve the poor children of Longnor and the children of tenants on the Corbett estate.[18] The school might well be a symbol of a landowner's authority and influence, as it clearly was at Tong where Mr. Durant had the old almshouse and school taken down and new ones built elsewhere on his land.[19] Different to the above two, Richard Greaves of Culmington, a pupil of John Doughtie at Ludlow Grammar School, *c.*1660 bequeathed the profits from property at Seifton and Culmington for the fraternal support of scholars at Balliol College, Oxford, where Doughtie had spent most of his life.[20]

More generally, paternalism was evident in the overwhelming number of benefactors making educational provision for their native parish, where it was expected that they should duteously take the poorer classes under their protective wing and help alleviate their condition. The rich, asserted Bishop William Beveridge, had been endowed by God with a trust, the failure to execute which was a violation of tenure and would mean that in the next world their lands, so far from being a comfort, would be 'a Torture and Vexation'.[21] A particular bequest would, therefore, very often go beyond simply providing education for poor children, but extend to the parish poor as a whole. It was Jacob Littleford's intention in his will of 1722, not merely to give to the parish of Hughley six shillings a year to maintain a poor child at school, but to bequeath a further four shillings yearly to be distributed among the parish poor.[22] Similarly, only the residue of the profits from Mrs. Broughton's estate were to be applied towards the education of a boy or girl from Church Aston, certain other specified sums being apportioned by the benefactress for bread to be given to the village poor.[23]

In spite of the apparent breadth of their charitable interests, one wonders, nevertheless, whether these landed proprietors could not have done more for the poor. Professor Mingay has observed, that although in absolute terms the sums given were fairly substantial, in relation to the incomes of the donors they were very small.[24] The propertied industrialist, Isaac Hawkins Browne at Dawley Magna, who supported the education of fifteen boys and girls, could have gone much further, as could Lord Gower, who bequeathed a mere £7 a year for the salary of a master and mistress at Lilleshall.

In fact, it would be naïve to draw the conclusion that the motives of all benefactors to education during the period were commendable, and certainly, as many illustrations of self-interest as of altruism or philanthropy can be found. The more far-sighted individuals appear to have realised full well the influence generated by a display of public works. In their appeal for new supporters, the trustees of the Shrewsbury Public Subscription Charity School, for instance, emphasised quite explicitly how contributions would 'reflect so much honour on the benevolent and liberal spirit' of the donors.[25] This less noble motive of self-aggrandisement shows itself most obviously in the desire of a large number of benefactors to perpetuate their own name, either in the title of the school, or in the naming of the scholars. Sometimes this requirement was written into the deed. Richard Dovey, for example, stipulated that the school under his endowment in Claverley should be called 'The Free School of Richard Dovey at Claverley'.[26] Those four boys nominated under Dr. Langford's bequest 'out of such poor and towardlie for learning as are born in the town of Ludlow' were distinguished from the other

scholars at Ludlow Grammar School not only by their wearing special black gowns to church on Sundays, but also by their being called 'Langfordian boys'.[27] At other times it was directed that the benefactor's name be inscribed on some part of the school itself. In 1817, Benjamin Wainwright M. D. endowed a schoolroom and almshouses in Rushbury, and ordered that the following words be cut upon the stone at the front of the building:

> This school and almshouses were built and endowed by
> Benjamin, the seventh son of the late Richard and Mary
> Wainwright of Stanway.[28]

In much the same way, a marble inscription over the door of the school at Bryngwyla in St. Martin's parish paid tribute to its early eighteenth century benefactor, the London merchant tailor, Edward Phillips. A century later, on almshouses next to the churchyard in the same place, a similar plaque was erected, which helped to immortalise the memory of Charlotte, Viscountess Dungannon, whose gift paid for the instruction of poor girls. Alternatively the name was placed at some other suitably public place. Charles Morris (d.1721), whose bequest was to maintain the poor children of his native Selattyn, did 'will and order that there be a small marble monument and subscription set up in the said Church notifying the foundation and uses of the said charity'[29], whilst at Wem it had been agreed from the very first that:

> For the better Knowledge of Benefactors to the said school,
> and for the exciting of others to follow their laudable Example
> in so pious a work...the Names of all Benefactors with their
> several Sums, places of Abode, & Stiles shall...be fairly written,
> & set or hanged up in a large Frame in the said School, there to
> remain for ever.[30]

Perhaps the most candid example of a benefactor's concern to immortalise his own name comes from the county town itself, where the prosperous draper, James Millington, stipulated in his will of 1734 that a portrait of himself be placed in the schoolroom.

A popular alternative was for the benefactors to institute an anniversary sermon in their own memory. The spinster, Eleanor Harris, for example, directed that her trustees should pay yearly to the minister at Baschurch 20s to preach a sermon on the Sunday following the anniversary of her death. This provided a regular opportunity for the main clauses of her will to be repeated, ostensibly 'to the intent that the same might never be concealed or suppressed'.[31] Charles Morris of Selattyn left an identical amount 'for preaching a Sermon upon Candlemas day in memory of the bequest'.[32] James Millington also bequeathed a guinea a year for a sermon to be preached in St. Chad's church, Shrewsbury every first day of August.[33]

Others, though taking no steps to further their own name, nevertheless, tried to secure the welfare of successive generations of their own family. Oswald Smith, second master of Shrewsbury School, who established two exhibitions for Shrewsbury boys at Oxford and Cambridge, was most careful to stipulate 'that any of the testator's brothers, sons or grandsons, or any related to him in that line, who should have been brought up in the said school...should have the preference to any other scholars...[34] At Much Wenlock too, the Rev. Francis Southern gave preference to 'children or poor people among [his] poor relations...' as the proper objects of his charity;[35] whereas the London haberdasher and alderman, William Adams, gave priority of admission at Newport Grammar School to children of certain privileged families.[36]

The nature of the curriculum at these however-charitably endowed schools, in common with that of the public and grammar schools, was also undergoing change; this point has received less attention by commentators. Whereas bequests made during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century tended to require that reading alone be taught, those made after 1750, with very few exceptions, provided for the teaching of writing and often of arithmetic too, seemingly in response to the call for more clerks and better-educated fine craftsmen to work in the towns.

During these same years, the overwhelming early influence of the Church of England came to be challenged. Whereas in 1660, in the very wake of the Restoration, there is no record of any dissenters' schools, at the end of the period distinct nonconformist influence had taken root, both in the principal towns and in those new industrial areas untouched by the traditional rule of the squire and the parson.[37] The teaching of religion in the established Shropshire schools also underwent a change in emphasis during the period. At variance with the usual view depicted, it appears that perhaps little more than 10% of all schools with identifiable curricula during the eighteenth century were using the Church of England Catechism. More remarkable still was the very different extent of its use in the two halves of the century. The 17% of schools founded during the period 1701–1750 in which the Catechism was prescribed fell sharply with the waning of the High Church party, to a mere 5% of schools founded in the period 1751–1800.

(iii)

The noble ideal of Catechetical teaching was that of the SPCK, which promoted a school based on the petty contributions of local tradesmen. These mass subscription schools, intended for the 'secondary' rather than for the indigent poor in town and country alike, were almost entirely urban phenomena in Shropshire; little surprising when in the Shropshire countryside all those below the squire were indisputably poor, and the recipients rather than the providers of any voluntary educational effort. On the other hand, in market towns such as Halesowen, Whitchurch, and above all in Shrewsbury, prosperous tradesmen were at hand to contribute towards the enterprise, and large congregations could be relied upon at the annual charity sermons as preached at Drayton and Newport. However it needs to be stressed that such schools, contrary to popular belief, were a rarity and accounted for probably no more than 6% of school places for poor children in the county during this voluntary phase.

In urban parishes these subscription schools managed to achieve a relatively sustained existence, and have bequeathed lengthy lists of individual subscribers. Both the Shrewsbury Public Subscription School (1708) and Ludlow's Blue Coat School were financed by annual contributions of normally a guinea or half a guinea. The heyday of these schools was over by 1740, and although there was a second peak of fervour at the end of the century, a steady decline in interest can be seen: at Shrewsbury dating from 1823 and at Ludlow from as early as 1798.

Many basically subscription schools attempted to tap other sources of income in what proved to be a vain effort to remain solvent. Ludlow, for instance, derived part of its support from market tolls, and the voluntary school operating at Albrighton in 1722 was partly supported by the lord of the manor from the tolls taken at the fairs.[38] Elsewhere, a sermon could become not merely a supplementary source of revenue, but the only means of staving off bankruptcy, as happened in 1823 at Clunbury, where the parishioners were 'too little alive' to the value of educating the poor.[39] Its more fortunate contemporary, Shifnal, on the other hand, could rely both on voluntary subscriptions and on an annual charity sermon, though it too had to fall back on the occasional charity ball when funds were very low.[40] Elsewhere, concerts were held to raise funds, as at Bridgnorth in June 1789, when a two-day charity performance was staged in aid of the town's Blue Coat School.[41]

Rural experiments with subscription foundered still more quickly than their urban counterparts because support was not sustainable from the middling classes. At Mainstone, in the extreme south-west of the county, subscriptions in 1712 amounted 'to what only will pay for teaching Six Children'.[42] Both there and at Silvington further east, schools were reported in 1729 to have been 'discontinued for some time'.[43] Similarly, most of the contributors to the National School at Clunbury being farmers '& by no means enlightened men', they 'soon grew weary of well doing'.[44]

In industrial parishes too, with their heavy demands for child labour, the proportion of children educated by the end of the voluntary period was much more modest than in urban parishes generally. Instead, the coalfield parishes preferred Sunday schools. Richard Reynolds established the earliest Sunday school in the county at Ketley, where he lamented 'the very want of such means of improvement and civilisation' among the numerous poor children of parents employed in his works. At Dawley, another Sunday school was being supported by Isaac Hawkins Browne and his Old Park Company in 1799.[45] More surprisingly perhaps, the charity schools in St. Alkmund's parish Shrewsbury in 1824 were all Sunday schools, for 'day Scholars cd not be collected, the poor children going so early to the factories'.[46] The advantages of such schools were, above all, that they did not interfere with children's industrial work, and that they were cheap. By 1833 the incidence of Sunday schools was widespread.

What evidence is there that these schools tapped the wealth of the intended tradesmen and shopkeepers? Tables 1 and 2 record the social status of those subscribing to two urban schools *c*.1800.

Table 1. The social status of subscribers to the Blue Coat Charity School at Ludlow 1786 – 1809

Status		Number		Percentage of known
Nobility		3		9
Gentry		14		40
Clergy		3		9
Parish officers (Corporation)		3		9
Professionals:	legal, attorneys	4		
	physicians, druggist	1	7	20
	apothecary	1		
	M. D.	1		
Trade:	maltster	1		
	innkeeper	1		
	ironmonger	1	5	14
	grocer	1		
	painter	1		
Unknown		37		

Table 2. The social status of subscribers to the Public Subscription Charity School, Shrewsbury 1807 –09

Status		Number		Percentage of known
Nobility		7		16
Gentry		16		35
Clergy		5		12
Parish officers		1		2.5
Professional:	architect	1		2.5
Trade:	maltster	1		
	grocer	1		
	upholsterer	1		
	draper/clothier	2		
	mercer	4	14	33
	builder	1		
	brass founder	1		
	glazier	1		
	ironmonger	1		
	miscellaneous	1		
	Unknown	30		

In both communities it is gentry support which is strongest. Indeed, together with the nobility, the gentry formed half of the subscribers at Shrewsbury and Ludlow; certain families, the Corbetts and Owens of Shrewsbury, and the Knights at Ludlow appear to have had a controlling hand. The trading interest, such as it was, was proportionally much greater at Shrewsbury than at Ludlow. The school at Shrewsbury being larger, it had to penetrate the middling ranks much further in search of subscribers. At Ludlow, in contrast, with its fewer and less wealthy tradesmen, the trading interest was really very slight, and here, instead, support was stronger from professional people.[47]

What happened to the children on their departure from these schools? It is commonplace to read in histories of education how apprenticeship by the schools' trustees (compared to the simple binding out of paupers by parish officers) was an automatic sequel after a charity school education: 'the completion of the Charity School plan' in the words of one writer; a means by which 'the SPCK linked school and life' in those of another, and through which poor children were able to better themselves.[48]

The passport to any upward social mobility was the apprenticeship indenture. However, expense of drawing up and stamping the indenture, leaving aside the cost of the premium, was enirely beyond the means of the genuinely poor, and was becoming steadily more expensive throughout the eighteenth century. In view of this, it is quite depressing what an inconsiderable number of Shropshire schools, both endowed, and even more so subscription– based, were able to offer apprenticeship. The service might in fact, be entirely non-existent. Far from atypical were the children of the subscription charity school in St. Chad's parish, Shrewsbury, who in 1722 were simply 'returned to their Parents at 13 yrs of age.[49] In those schools where premiums could be had, only for a small proportion of children were they actually available. Sometimes this limitation was recognised from the outset. It was Mrs. Broughton's will that only when profits should be sufficient were her trustees to put out apprentice the boys of Church Aston.[50] At other times, expedience dictated that this had to be so. Of about seventy boys in the four schools at Shrewsbury in the SPCK's 1711 *Account*, we might reckon (assuming an average stay of about five years) that somewhere around fourteen would have been ready to leave, and so 'eligible' to be apprenticed in any given year; and yet we are told 'That [only] 6 Children were put out Apprentices [in 1711] and about ye same Number ye Year before'.[51] Writing again in 1716, the same correspondent noted that the schools altogether 'mist of ye Benefacon from the town last Year...'.[52] At Chirbury, only some of the poor boys were put apprentice from the school.[53] The story repeated itself at the Free School at Cleobury Mortimer, where the Charity Commissioners observed how the number of apprentices 'generally fall short of the number contemplated by the founder'.[54]

These findings are reinforced by looking at the very substance of the curriculum itself. If, as we might reasonably conclude, the ability to cast accounts was a basic prerequisite for a poor child to be genuinely apprenticed, a necessary admission ticket, as it were, into the ranks of tradesmen and clerks, then this opportunity was inevitably denied the vast majority of Shropshire children prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, due simply to the failure of all but a handful of the county's schools to teach the skill before this date.[55] Only in those schools able to offer the more advanced skills, and possessing specific endowments for apprenticeship fees, could this facility be provided, and then it was nearly always for boys.

In those schools offering social advancement, just how significant in degree was any mobility gained? From an analysis of such limited evidence as survives, it emerges that contrary to what is usually asserted, even in urban parishes, with greater scope for upward social mobility, there was no great disparity between those trades to which children leaving school were apprenticed and the class of family from which they had originally been drawn. Millington's School, Shrewsbury affords good evidence of this:

Table 3. The social origins and apprenticeship of boys leaving Millington's School 1756-76

Date	Name	Father's occupation	Master's occupation
15 July 1756	Thomas Cullis	bargeman and master-waterman	bargeman and master-waterman*
15 July 1756	William Cullis	bargeman and master-waterman	bargeman and master-waterman*
13 July 1758	John Clarke	nailer	shoemaker
11 July 1759	Richard Halin	nailer	nailer*
8 Oct. 1760	Richard Jones	shoemaker	upholsterer
7 Aug 1762	John Morris	matmaker	perukemaker
22 Jan. 1763	Robert Holland	blacksmith	cutler and whitesmith
16 July 1774	Henry Lloyd	carpenter	carpenter*
20 July 1776	Thomas Deakes	shoemaker	shoemaker*
20 July 1776	James Johnson	dyer	dyer*

In spite of the trustees' concern to apprentice children to masters and mistresses 'of good Business and Character', none seem to have significantly bettered themselves by their subsequent employment. John Clarke, son of a nailer, it is true, took his family out of the heavy crafts into the more prestigious clothing crafts, and for Robert Holland and John Morris there was a move in the direction of the finer and more highly-skilled crafts. Nevertheless, six out of the ten boys about whom we have information (* in Table 3), returned to the same trade, all but one being bound out to his own father. Most strongly represented amongst the apprenticed trades were the lowly, laborious heavy crafts. Very few Millington boys were put to retailing shopkeepers, as contemporaries such as Bernard Mandeville had feared, and none entered the ranks of clerks.[56]

(iv)

The most prevalent formal arrangement of all in this voluntary phase, was that in which the parents themselves paid either entirely, or in considerable part, private school fees. At a few of these schools poor children might be taught at the expense of a well-to-do individual, who had endowed an otherwise private school. As these schools needed to keep so few records of their own, details about them are necessarily drawn from newspaper advertisements or chance references in diaries or other autobiographical accounts. The superior establishments normally offered the more genteel classes an extended education embracing the finer subjects: surveying and mensuration, and possibly fencing for young gentlemen, and embroidery, deportment, and frequently dancing for young ladies, most, or all of whom would board under a family arrangement. Due emphasis was always placed on limiting the numbers taken. Typically, twelve pupils were admitted, a number, in the words of Mrs. Short of Newport, at once 'sufficient to excite Emulation, and not too large to prevent a particular Attention to the Morals of each Individual'.[57]

Special subjects designed to fulfil local needs made their appearance in several private schools. In a number of towns along the Severn, for instance, navigation was taught, as it was at Bridgnorth where young men were being instructed at an Academy in 1786. In 1809 at Broseley, one Thomas Bridgman, was offering the subject. Those boarding with George Bagley junior on the Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury, also had the opportunity to master its principles. The peripatetic William Castieau of Uffington offered gentlemen going to sea a very comprehensive course, which included the 'use of globes', geography 'with the best Construction of Maps, Charts, &c', navigation and astronomy, side by side with a crash course on the methods of working amplitudes, azimuths, double altitudes and lunars.

More generally in the county's developing urban centres, specialist trading skills came to be taught. Book-keeping was not only available at Bridgnorth, Ludlow, Oswestry, and Shrewsbury by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but also at Albrighton, Broseley, Shifnal, and Wellington. At Shrewsbury, the scrivener, William Richardson offered the 'Italian Method' of bookkeeping at his school in Shoplatch; and merchants' accounts could be studied at Mr. J. Scott's Academy in Abbey Foregate and at J. Tyler's Academy on Swan Hill.

Several subjects, especially the elegant attainments of French and dancing, catered to the higher reaches of society. Establishments teaching these social graces were abundant in rural as well as in the (non-industrial) urban parishes, by the turn of the eighteenth century. Shrewsbury dancing masters would visit the county's private boarding schools on set days each week. Pre-eminent amongst these was the French émigré, Monsieur Bourlay, who described squarely the purpose of his instruction as being to 'polish the Human Frame, with Grace, Ease, and Elegance, so universally admired in the Beau Monde', and when coupled with French, which he also offered 'in its Native Elegance', was 'so requisite for genteel Life'.[58]

Many of those leaving these private day and boarding schools in both town and country would eventually have joined the ranks of prosperous traders. A Mr. Reynold, who conducted a day and boarding academy in School Lane, Shrewsbury, provided an education for those who had been already taught at classical seminaries, and now, wished 'to be expeditiously prepared for Trade, the Counting House, and Public Offices'.[59] Meanwhile, youths at

Hodnet School were being 'carefully and expeditiously instructed for Trade and Business';[60] whilst at Lilleshall, the Rev. S. Hartley offered an education as would 'qualify Boys for Business and Trade'.[61] More nebulously, the Rev. Francis Salt's young gentlemen at Bridgnorth were 'designed for the learned professions'[62] ; and those of Mr. C. Reynolds at his Shrewsbury academy were promised an education as would be 'requisite to complete the Man of Business'.[63]

(v)

The immense variety of more formal private schools on the ground must not, however, overshadow the most common means of all by which literacy was transmitted in Shropshire, which was almost certainly by a much less structured arrangement. Far from being the permanent institution, surviving independently of the coming and going of a particular individual, it bore closer resemblance to a tenuous relationship between teacher and pupils, forged whenever circumstances suited, and dismantled as soon as they ceased to be so. These latter 'schools' do not normally receive full credit in episcopal records, though there are sometimes indications of their existence. The churchwardens of the parish of Ludford, for instance, reported in their presentment of 1662 that 'we have no hospital, Almshouse, or free-school...Nor any that keep schoole (*except it be some teaching Children to read*)'.[64] The evidence of the churchwardens of Middleton Scriven lends support to our suspicions that these schools formed by no means a minority:

> ...we have never a Schoole master in our parish But only there is a poore man
> with in our parish which is olde & lame & one that cannott doe any thinge
> else towards gettinge him a livelyhood the which I hope is not to be presented
> for teachinge two ore three boyes or childrin the primer.[65]

At Greet there was 'onely a poor woman that teaches to spell and read part of the yeare not worthy ye mentioning';[66] neighbouring Burford had 'one or two petty schools to teach children to spell & read a little not worth ye menconing,;[67] whilst in 1793 at Hyssington, on the Montgomeryshire border 'there is no regular School – but...a person named Whitall a farmere...when he is threshing in his barn...has several Children with him who are learning to read'.[68] The existence of very many of these schools was clearly fleeting: 'we have none at present who teach Schoole', wrote the churchwardens of Silvington in their 1662 presentment; 'wee have none at present who teach Schoole', echoed the wardens of Caynham in the same year. It would seem quite possible that there had been a schoolteacher in both parishes in the not too distant past. At other times the evidence pointing to the transitory nature of teaching is more explicit. In 1689, for example, the churchwardens of Wolstaston presented Daniel Hatt 'for Teaching of Schoole within our Parish of Wolstaston for ye space of one month & a few days out; but he is now passing away from amonge us...'[69]

Providing a still more powerful antidote to the ostensibly very restricted extent of educational provision conveyed in the more usually consulted sources, and hence in the more conventional histories of education, are the seemingly unpromising Bishops' Visitation citations and processes. This documentation is extant for the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry between 1605 and 1797, and includes the summoning of individuals before the bishop's court for teaching without first having purchased a licence.[70] For instance, in September 1685 Francis Yates was cited 'to bring in his licence for teaching Schools' at Albrighton (nr. Shifnal), and Thomas Fletcher of the adjoining parish of Ryton was called upon 'to Exhibitt his Licence for teaching Schoole'.[71] With greater certainty, a decade later, Bishop William Lloyd called Andrew Yaughey to account 'For teaching School without License' at Loppington.[72] So extensive is the list of names cited that in Salop archdeaconry between the Restoration and the end of the eighteenth century, they outnumber the subscription book entries by a factor of two to one. Women, extremely rare in the subscription books, are also occasionally included. In February 1667/8, for example, a Maria Peplow was ordered ' to take forth Lycense to teach Schoole' in Shifnal. Sometimes, as in the case of Thomas Latham of Cheswardine, the teacher was recognised as too poor to be able to afford a licence.[73] Numerous other such teachers must inevitably have evaded the eye of the ecclesiastical authorities altogether, even though these informal arrangements were, beyond doubt, the most usual means through which rudimentary literacy was gained.

(vi)

To what extent was Shropshire typical, to what extent unique in the way its children were schooled in this voluntary phase? In a number of respects the county conformed to what appears to be the emerging national picture, based on re-examinations of the evidence at county level.[74] It already possessed schools which catered for its poor prior to the foundation of the SPCK at the end of the seventeenth century, and throughout the following century made some attempt to establish new schools in the fastest growing centres of population. Though there was almost invariably provision for children in urban areas by 1833, this for the most part had

failed to keep pace with the phenomenal population growth. On leaving the various charity schools, the majority of poor children from Shropshire, in common with those elsewhere, appear not to have significantly bettered their social position.

In contrast, there were respects in which Shropshire seems to have departed from any clear national trend. With its unusually slight middle class, the nobility was relatively prominent in providing endowments for education. Again, different to elsewhere, very few benefactors indeed came from below the rank of gentry. The substance of the curriculum in each school was a product of local demands for skills, and the incidence of local religious nonconformity. Their formal education over, the number of schools able to make provision for their children through apprenticeships also contrasted unfavourably with many other areas that have been investigated.

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1 *Abstract of Education Returns, 1833, Salop, passim*
2 *Charitable Donations– Abstract of Returns 1786-88, Part II, Salop*, pp. 1007-42. The absolute sums might be computed at: education £12,312. 10s. 0d; apprenticeship £5,023. 13s. 4d; poor relief £86,845. 16s. 0d, making a grand total of £104,181. 19s. 4d
3 Newport (pop. 2,307) was, admittedly, very small, therefore making it that much easier to meet its children's needs
4 S(hropshire) R(ecords) and R(esearch) 3916/1/1; N(ational) L(ibrary) of W(ales) SA/QA/11, 12
5 Bodleian Library CCC C390 ii 145r. MSS Wase
6 *VCH Salop* **II** (1973) p. 155
7 For scholars at most of the county's endowed grammar schools there was the opportunity of election to one of Edward Careswell's exhibitions. The Free Grammar Schools of Bridgnorth, Donnington, Newport, Shifnal, Shrewsbury, and Wem being eligible to send boys to Oxford in the proportion 3:2;4:3:4:2
8 SRR 3916/1/1, f. 35r
9 C(harity) C(ommissioners) R(eports) **IV** (1820) Appx. p. 506
10 CCR **V** (1821) p. 442
11 Ibid. p. 442
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13 CCR **XXIV** (1831) p. 427
14 *VCH Salop* **viii** (1968) p. 222
15 CCR **III** (1820) p. 251
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17 SRR 81/28 copy will 20 September 1728
18 *VCH Salop* **viii** p. 114
19 SRR 6000/N64 504
20 D. J. Lloyd, *Country Grammar School*...(1977) pp. 67-8
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29 SRR 1241/77; CCR **XXIV** (1831) p. 437
30 Staffordshire Record Office D (W) 1788 par. 57, bundle 2
31 CCR **XXIV** (1831) p. 443
32 NLW SA/Let/847
33 SRR 164/1
34 CCR **XXIV** (1831) p. 224
35 CCR **III** (1820) p. 308
36 CCR **V** (1821) p.670
37 *Abstract of Education Returns, 1833: Salop, passim*
38 L(ichfield) R(ecord) O(ffice) B/V/5 The tolls from four annual fairs given by Lord Shrewsbury were also used to support a school in the same parish fifty years later, SRR 3916/1/3, 14 July 1824
39 National Society Archives, 'Application for Aid... 3 Dec. 1823, 13; MS sheet of 'Additional Information'
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41 *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* 13 June 1789
42 SPCK Archives O. L. File 2 3089, 6 June 1712
43 SPCK A. L. B. v.15 10545, 16 Dec. 1729
44 Nat. Soc. Archives, file 1823 – 1974, letter from D. Nihill 22 Sept. 1823
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46 SRR 3916/1/2
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48 W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The History of the SPCK* (1959) p. 48
49 LRO B/V/5
50 SRR 81/28
51 ALB v. 2 2598, 8 March 1710/11
52 ALB v. 7 5070, 20 Dec. 1716
53 ALB v. 12 7452, 11 June 1723
54 CCR **III** (1820) p. 275
55 Schools teaching accounts to poor children before 1775 are documented only at Baschurch, Bishop's Castle, Cardington, Dorrington (Condover), Neen Savage, Oswestry, Prees, Shrewsbury, and Wem

56 The founder's original intention that bright boys should proceed to the town's Free Grammar School and then to Magdalen College, Cambridge, seems never to have been realised
57 *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, (hereafter *Chronicle*) 24 April 1779
58 *Chronicle* passim
59 Ibid. 14 Jan. 1803
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61 Ibid. 9 Dec. 1796
62 Ibid. 7 Jan. 1791
63 Ibid. 27 July 1792
64 H(erefordshire) R(ecord) O(ffice) C. W. P. Tit. 6, author's italics
65 HRO C. W. P. 23 June 1674 Tit: 6
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69 HRO C. W. P. (1689)
70 See my article, 'Citations as a source for educational history', *The Local Historian*, **XV**, no. 6 (1983) pp. 355-7
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74 In addition to my own 'Changing patterns of educational provision in Shropshire from the Restoration until the first Treasury Grant, 1660 – 1833' (unpub. Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Keele, 1982) on which this paper is based, other regional studies to date have included: H. J. Larcombe, 'The Development of Subscription Charity Schools in England and Wales from the close of the 17th century to the close of the eighteenth century, with special reference to London and District' (unpub. Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of London, 1928); M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement. A Study in Eighteenth Century Puritanism* (1938), where London evidence is again primarily used; J. O. Wood, 'The Charity School Movement and the beginnings of Elementary Education in Lancashire' (unpub. M. Ed. thesis Univ. of Manchester, 1960); D. Robson, *Some Aspects of Education in Cheshire in the Eighteenth Century*, Chetham Society, 1966; J. Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence, in B. Simon, *Education in Leicestershire 1540 – 1940. A Regional Study*, Leic. Univ. Press, 1968, pp. 55-100;G. E. Boden, 'The Grammar Schools and Charity Schools of Oxfordshire 1660 –1840' (unpub. B. Phil. thesis, Univ. of Hull, 1971); D. Robson 'Some aspects of education in Derbyshire in the eighteenth century' (unpub. Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Sheffield, 1972); F. G. Gomez, 'The Endowed Schools of Staffordshire in the Eighteenth century' (unpub. M. Phil. thesis, Univ. of Leeds, 1977); R. Hume, 'The Schooling of the Kentish Poor from the Restoration until the establishment of the National Society 1660 – 1811' (unpub. M. A. thesis, Univ. of Keele, 1979), summarised in 'Educational provision for the Kentish Poor 1660 – 1811', *Southern History*, **IV**, 1982, pp.123-44 and 'Education in Kent 1640–1914' in *Religion and Society in Kent*, 1994, 91–111.

Two Flint Arrowheads from Grinshill, Shropshire

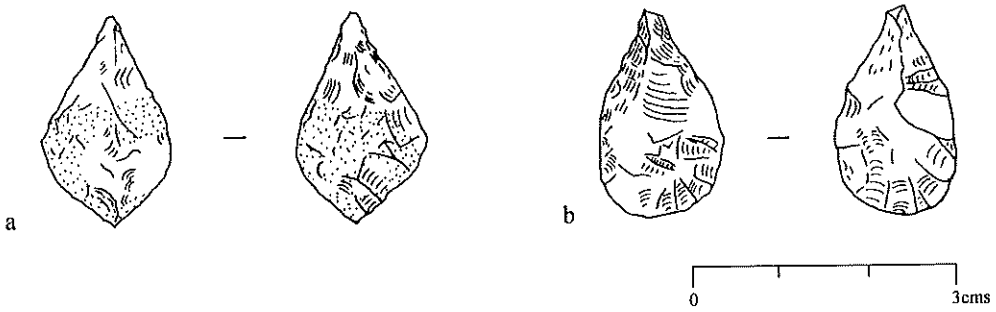
By H R HANNAFORD

In February 2000 two Neolithic leaf-shaped flint arrowheads were found near the summit of Grinshill and were brought in to the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council, for recording.

Typology

Both arrowheads are leaf-shaped, and have been struck from grey flint of poor quality, probably from river gravel imported into the area. Both arrowheads are small, each being 23mm long and 14mm wide at their widest point, and thus fall within Green's type 4A, the commonest type of leaf-shaped arrowhead in the western upland areas of England and Wales (Green, 1980, p206 Table II.18 and p78 Fig. 32). However, the two are decidedly different in shape; one (a) is ogival with a distinct point at its base, the other (b) is birch-leaf shaped, with a rounded base.

Four small waste flakes were also found from the same area as the arrowheads.



Discussion

The arrowheads were found about 10m apart on the surface of the trackway leading down from the northeast side of the summit of the hill (at c. SJ52000 23775). The track slopes down quite steeply from the hilltop at this point, and as the finds were made after a period of heavy rain, it is likely that they had been washed down from higher up the slope. In recent years a large assemblage of several hundred flint microliths, waste flakes, and a few identifiable artefacts have been recovered from the eroding ground surface at the top of Grinshill. This assemblage (County Sites and Monuments Record No. SA4726), which appears to belong to a blade technology, has been provisionally dated to the Mesolithic period. It has been suggested that the re-use of lithic debris from an earlier abandoned settlement may be a principal factor in the selection of a site for re-occupation (Green, 1980, p59). The current finds at least add an early Neolithic dimension to this important site.

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A Bronze Age Burnt Mound at Rodway, Telford

By HUGH HANNAFORD

Field Archaeologist, Shropshire County Council

Summary

During topsoil stripping of the route of a new water main across The Weald Moors a previously unrecorded prehistoric burnt mound was discovered at Rodway. The excavation of the mound showed that, at 15m diameter, it fell within the usual size range for such features, and that although it had been truncated somewhat by weathering and more recent agricultural activity, about 0.2m of burnt material survived above the natural subsoil. A pit, interpreted as a water trough, was located on the northern side of the mound. A radiocarbon date in the 13th century bc was obtained from a sample of burnt material taken from the mound.

Introduction

In January and February 1998 Severn Trent Water laid a new 450mm water pipeline across The Weald Moors north of Telford between the Rodway and Edgmond Pumping Stations. The area traversed by the pipeline was known to contain archaeological remains from the prehistoric to industrial periods, and so the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council was contracted by Severn Trent Water to undertake an archaeological watching brief on the works. During the course of a site inspection following the topsoil stripping of the works corridor, a burnt mound was discovered at Rodway (at SJ 6698 1883).

Burnt Mounds comprise roughly circular deposits of burnt and fractured stones in black sooty soil, generally between c.10m– 20m in diameter and, if not ploughed down, can survive up to 1m in height. They are usually situated close to a source of water, and are usually associated with a pit or sunken trough, lined with stones, wood, or clay. Although their precise function is not certainly known, burnt mounds are thought to be the remains of prehistoric cooking sites. Stones would be heated on a hearth and dropped into the trough containing water in order to boil meat. The cooled stones, fractured by (repeated) heating and rapid cooling, would be discarded, together with cinders from the hearth to form a mound. Experiments have demonstrated the practicality of such a method of cooking meat (Coles1973, 52-4). Other interpretations for burnt mounds have included the suggestions that they might have been wool processing sites (where woven wool was steamed to remove lanolin prior to dyeing) or that they might have been saunas.

Burnt mounds are known from a number of locations in Ireland and the Northern Isles, and a number are also known from the West Midlands, particularly in the South Birmingham area (Barfield and Hodder 1980, 1982a & b). A few of these latter sites have been excavated, and radiocarbon dating has shown that the vast majority date to the Middle Bronze Age, from the period c.1500– 1000 b.c. (Barfield and Hodder, 1982a).

Over 50 burnt mounds have also been recorded in Shropshire (County Sites and Monuments Record; Leah *et al* 1998), mostly from around the edges of the former wetlands of northwest Shropshire and The Weald Moors (Leah *et al*, 1998, 70). None of the Shropshire examples had been archaeologically excavated.

The Study Area

As the route of the new water-main approached the lane which runs between Cherrington and Rodway, it dog-legged to run along the west side of a recently constructed agricultural irrigation reservoir (Fig. 2). In 1994-6, archaeologists from Lancaster University located a burnt mound at SJ 6701 1885, some 45m northeast of the present site, during fieldwalking for the English Heritage funded North West Wetlands Survey (Leah *et al*, 1998, Site SH64). This mound would appear to have been located on the site now occupied by the new reservoir and to have been destroyed during its construction. The present site was not identified by the NWWS fieldwork.

The burnt mound revealed by the topsoil stripping during the 1998 pipeline works lay at the very bottom edge of higher ground looking southwards over the flat, low-lying former marshes of Cherrington Moor and the River Strine. The natural subsoil in the immediate vicinity of the study area consisted of a fine buff to light grey sand. The laying of the new main would involve the excavation of a trench up to 1m wide and up to 1.5m deep through the centre of the mound, with further disturbance to its upper deposits likely to arise from contractor's vehicles and during backfilling operations.

The Excavations

The removal of up to 0.5m of topsoil by machine along the base of the hillside revealed an area of black sooty soil and burnt and heat-fractured stones lying above the natural sandy subsoil. An area c.17m long by 5m wide was cleaned by hand, and this revealed a slightly mounded spread of burnt material 16.5m in diameter from north to south (Fig. 3). The eastern extent of the spread was cut across by a modern land drain beyond which lay the contractor's spoil tip, and to the west the burnt material also extended beyond the excavated area.

The burnt mound was seen to consist of an inner core of black sooty soil and burnt stones (Fig. 3; 2) 12.4m in diameter and up to 0.20m thick at its centre, lying directly on top of the natural light grey sandy subsoil (5). A small area of the mound material had been completely eroded from the northern side of the mound, exposing the natural sandy subsoil. This subsoil, and the core mound material, were scored by two sets of plough marks, probably the result of relatively recent subsoiling.

The edges of this sooty soil were in turn covered by a spread of burnt and heat-fractured stones in a less sooty matrix (4). This latter deposit had probably originally covered the entire mound before being eroded by weathering and ploughing.

At the northern edge of the mound, the more weathered burnt mound material sealed a sub-rectangular pit 3.2m long by 2.5m wide and 0.65m deep (18) cut into the natural sandy subsoil. The sides of the pit sloped in and its base was flat-bottomed though irregular in plan. The lowest fill (Fig. 4; 13 & 14) consisted of a wet, brown sand, sealed beneath successive fills of yellow to dark grey sand (10, 11, 16, & 17) and deposits of burnt stones and sooty soil (9, 12, & 15). An interleaving band of grey clay (8) extended partially up the sides of the pit, suggesting that this deposit may have marked a re-lining of the pit to hold water. A rubbing or grinding stone of a fine-grained grey sandstone was embedded in the southern edge of this layer.

One edge of a second feature (19) was seen cut into the natural sand in the northeast corner of the excavated area. This feature extended east beyond the available limits of the excavation, and so its full extent was not seen. The exposed edge cut down into the natural sand, sloping steeply down to the east, and the feature was filled with damp greyish and buff-brown sands, with thin lenses of organic grey clay. Burnt stones from the northeastern edge of the mound lay on the upper edge and side of the cut, indicating that it was contemporary with the burnt mound. Interpretation of this feature remains uncertain; it may have been another water trough, or perhaps, given the lenses of organic clay, it may have been a water course or stream channel.

To the west, the burnt mound had been sealed by 0.4m of topsoil over the centre of the mound and over 0.6m of topsoil at its edges. Over the eastern half of the excavated area, a certain amount of topsoil had survived the contractor's machining due to the sloping nature of the ground and subsoil. When excavated to reveal the northeastern and southeastern sides of the burnt mound, this topsoil contained a layer of very compact loam with straw and other organic material present. This was interpreted as re-deposited topsoil, buried and compacted during the construction of the adjacent reservoir. It sealed a much softer, sandy loam which in turn covered the burnt mound material. Like the topsoil covering the central part of the mound to the west, this lower, buried, topsoil contained very little burnt stone material.

A field drain (3) was seen to have cut across the centre of the mound from west to east, and another parallel field drain (20) ran across the area immediately to the south of the burnt mound.

Discussion

The burnt mound described here is not one and the same as that recorded by the North West Wetlands Survey in 1994-6 (NWWS site SH64). The lack of burnt mound material in the topsoil sealing the mound concealed it from a field assessment of the pipeline route carried out in 1997 and would have likewise masked it from the NWWS fieldwork of 1994-6. Moreover, the distance of 45m between the two mounds is sufficient to rule out any conflation of the two sites due to slight error in the location of either. This, unfortunately, indicates that the other burnt mound (NWWS site SH64) has indeed been destroyed without record by the construction of the reservoir since it was located by the NWWS.

The burnt mound at Rodway is the first in Shropshire to be subject to archaeological excavation and recording. The mound was similar in size, form, and composition to other excavated examples in the West Midlands, particularly those of South Birmingham area (Barfield and Hodder 1982b).

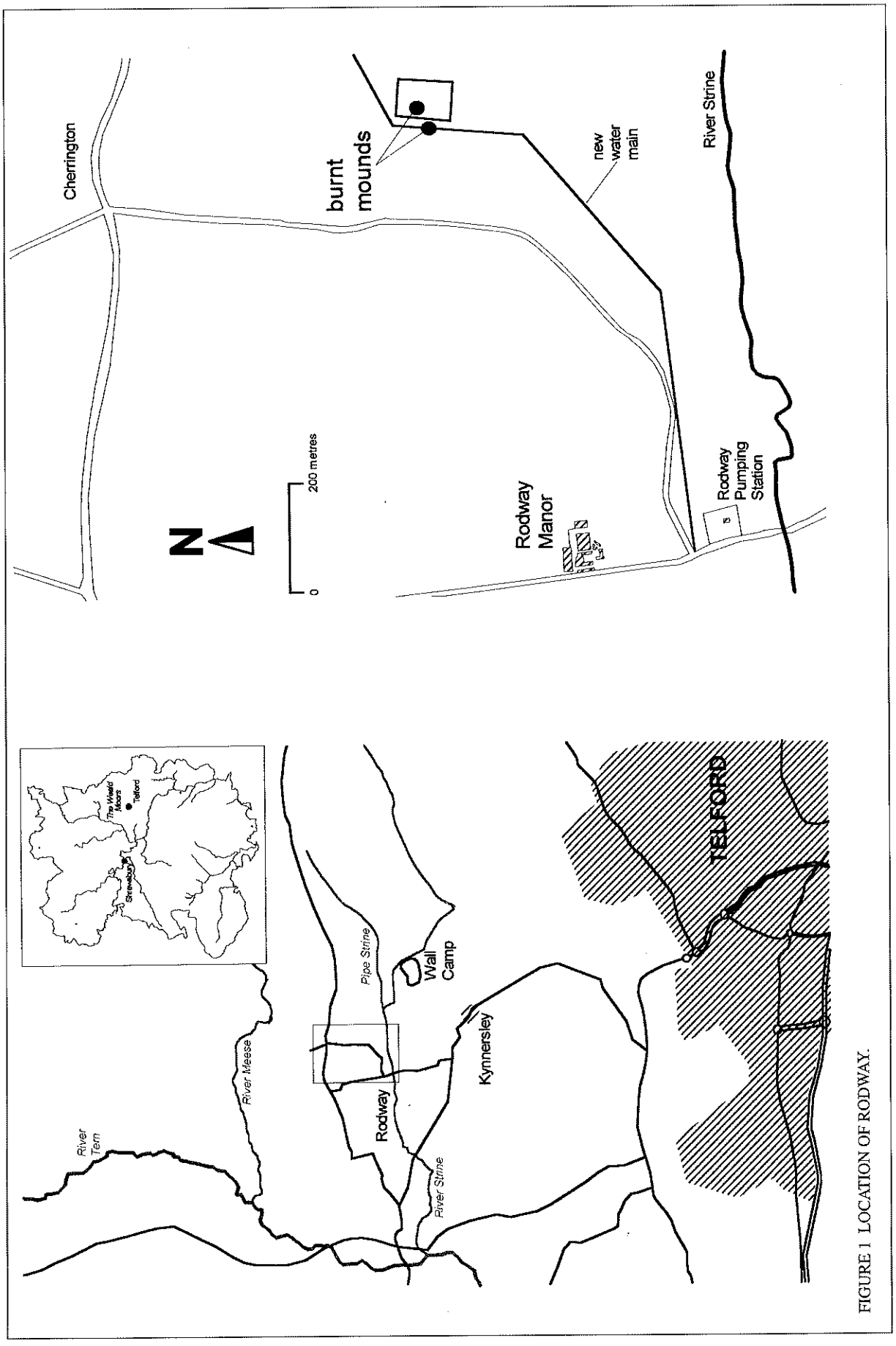

FIGURE 1 LOCATION OF RODWAY.

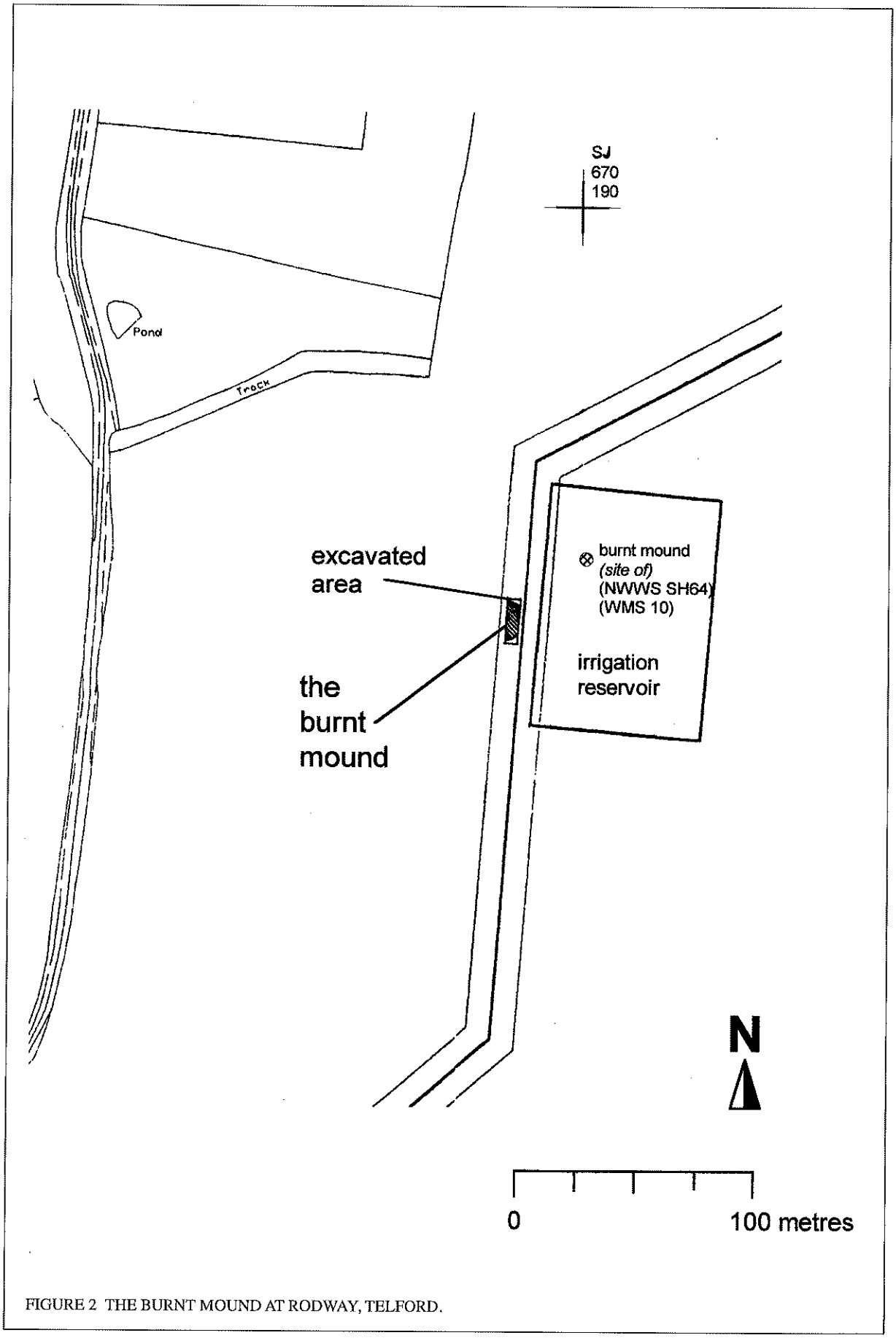

FIGURE 2 THE BURNT MOUND AT RODWAY, TELFORD.

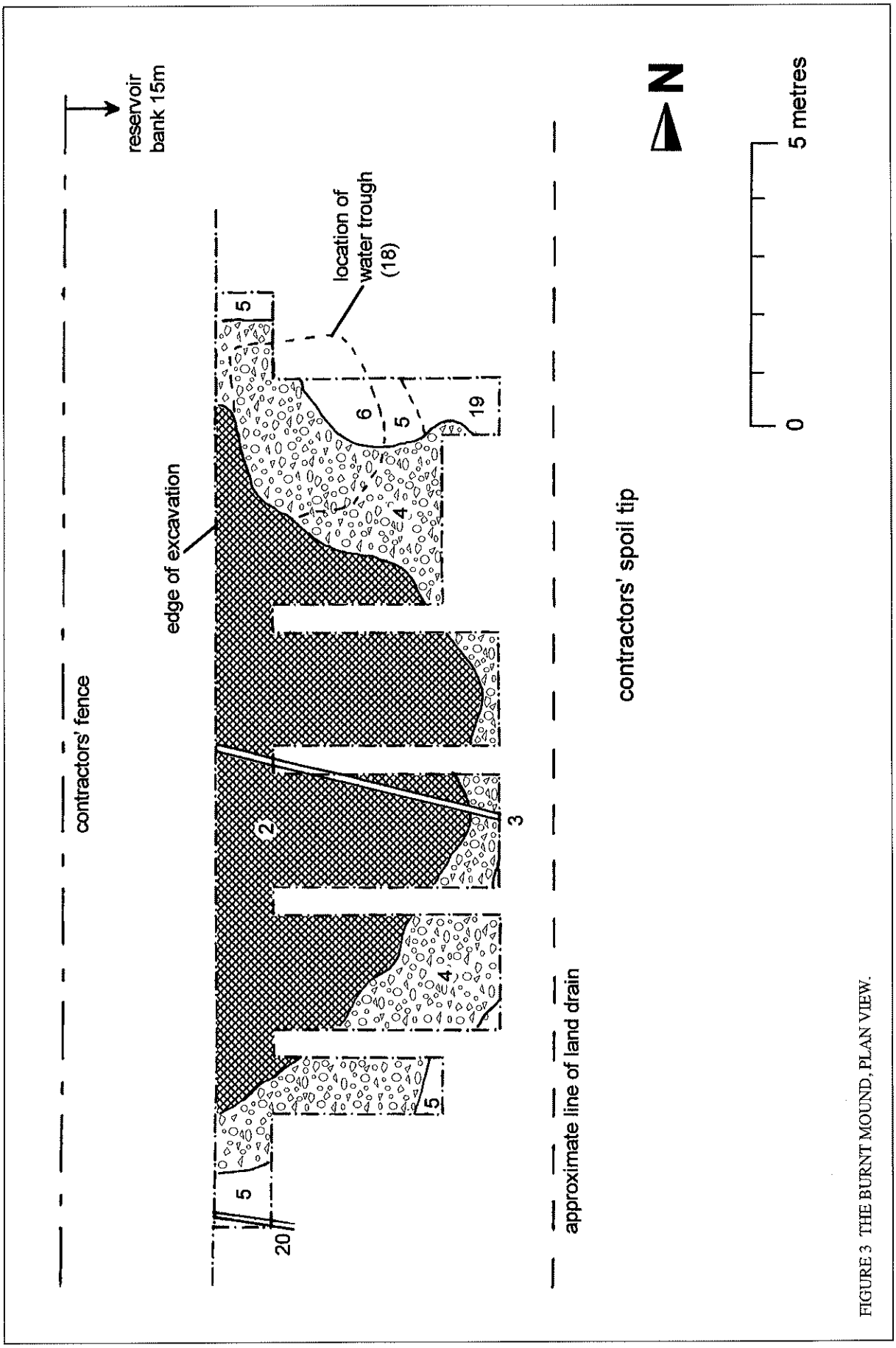

FIGURE 3 THE BURNT MOUND, PLAN VIEW.

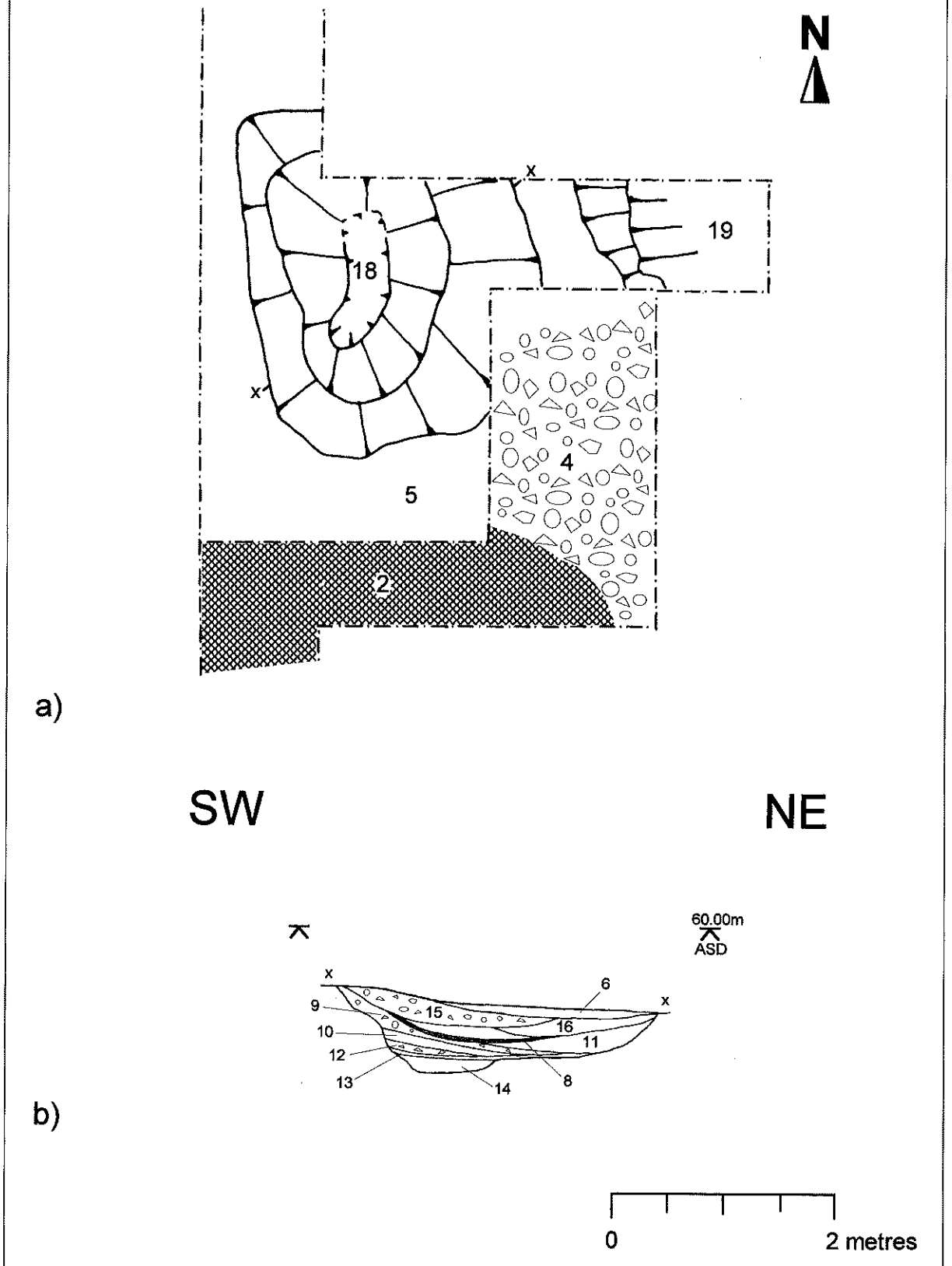

FIGURE 4 THE WATER TROUGH; A) PLAN VIEW, B) SOUTHEAST-FACING SECTION.

PLATE 1 THE EXCAVATION OF THE BURNT MOUND.

The mound deposits lay immediately over the natural sandy subsoil, and appear to have been exposed to some weathering and leaching before being covered by hillwash and topsoil. The centre of the mound had been further eroded by subsequent deep ploughing and subsoiling. Nevertheless, at lest 0.2m depth of mound material had survived.

A large pit and its fills, cut into the subsoil, had also survived intact. This feature has been interpreted as a water-trough. It was seen to have been re-lined with clay, an occurrence that has been noted on at least one other excavated burnt mound, ie. that at Cob Lane, Birmingham (Barfield and Hodder, 1982b, 56)

During the watching brief on the new water main, a single rim sherd of Late Bronze Age or Iron Age pottery was found about 300 metres southwest of the burnt mound and around 80 metres to the east of a cropmark enclosure (SA792). However, the only find from the burnt mound itself was a grinding or rubbing stone recovered from the clay re-lining of the water trough on the northern edge of the mound. The stone might have been used for grinding meal, or for sharpening cutting tools. The latter use in particular would be appropriate if the site had been used for the butchery and cooking of cattle or game. Wear pattern analysis of the stone might confirm its function. A number of samples were taken from the burnt deposits within the mound and the trough. One of these, from the sooty deposit at the base of the mound was sent to Queen's University Belfast for radiocarbon dating, and produced a calibrated date of between 1312 BC and 1168 BC, a date which lies well within the range of dates in the Middle Bronze Age that have been obtained for burnt mounds in the West Midlands.

Opinion is divided on the question of what were the activities that caused the creation of these burnt mounds. The traditional view is that they represent cooking sites, but many other activities have been suggested– boat-building, butter production, brine evaporation, brewing, fulling and leather-working, metallurgy and producing pottery filler– and discarded. But the most likely alternative use for these sites that has been suggested is bathing, or more precisely sauna or steam bathing. The arguments for both cooking and steam bathing have been well– and inconclusively– rehearsed elsewhere (Barfield, L H and Hodder, M A, 1987, and O'Drisceoil, D, 1988). The site at Rodway, unfortunately, does not forward either cause. As at the vast majority of burnt mound sites, no traces of faunal remains were found in the excavations at Rodway, but, as O'Drisceoil points out, this could be explained by the butchery and eating having taken place at even only a short distance from the cooking site. On the other hand, there were no remains of a structure that might contain a sauna, though such a structure would most likely have been flimsy and might not have survived as an archaeological feature. What is agreed upon by

proponents of both causes is that whichever activity was being carried out at these sites, it was a communal activity, probably with a strong ceremonial or ritual component, and may have attracted people from settlements at some remove from the burnt mound sites themselves (particularly where these are located on floodplains or on marshy ground).

All together, at least 29 burnt mounds (or burnt stone sites) have been located on the Weald Moors (Leah *et al*, 1998, 72 Fig 27), and there are likely to be many more waiting to be discovered, as this work and the work of the North West Wetlands Survey have shown. Two other concentrations of burnt mounds are known in the immediate vicinity of the present site. There is a group of three burnt mounds on Rodway Moor 1.3km to southwest on south side of River Strine (SA780-2) and two 500m to northeast (SA772-3). The present site is the only one that has been dated, but by analogy with similar concentrations investigated elsewhere, for example those in the south Birmingham area, many if not most of the Weald Moor burnt mounds are likely to date from the Middle Bronze Age. Apart from a couple of findspots, ie. the Preston or Crow Brook Hoard (SA697) of MBA axes or palstaves from Kinley and an MBA spearhead (SA775) from Dayhouse Moor, these burnt stone sites are the only indicators of what must have been a high level of activity in and on the fringes of The Weald Moors in this period.

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HUMAN AND FAUNAL REMAINS FROM THE OGOF [ROMAN MINE] LLANYMYNECH HILL

By ALAN TYLER, ANDREA BURGESS AND JANE RICHARDSON

Summary

The bone assemblage from the Roman mine at Llanymynech Hill contains both human and animal remains and represents a butchered juvenile cow, a probable older adult female, and a child of around 5-6 years of age.

Background

The fragments of bone and teeth to which this report refers were uncovered from the Ogof on Llanymynech Hill, Carreghofa, Powys (SJ 266 221) during the exploratory work undertaken by the Shropshire Caving & Mining Club during the late 1960s (Adams 1970) and passed to one of the authors at the time that he was writing his PhD thesis at the University of Wales (Tyler 1982). The bones were found in two areas within the cave system, in the Mandible Chamber and in the Burial Chamber, but by the time they were made available for study it was no longer possible to be sure from which area the individual pieces originated, nor could it be certain that all the material recovered was still present.

The site was mined for copper ore prior to the early 2nd century AD, dated by a hoard of silver coins located within concreted deads in the Shaft Chamber (Boon 1966, 155). While it seems likely that the mine was used for the burial of the dead after it went out of use, there is at present nothing to securely date when this happened.

Comment

The group is a mixture of human and faunal remains: seven fragments of bone and three of teeth, which are in moderate to poor condition; some evidence of erosion and some possible gnaw-marks are present, both consistent with the burial environment.

The animal remains comprise two fragments of cattle bone. If from a single individual these combine to indicate a young cow utilised for meat. The jaw bone has a chop-mark on the outside, probably the result of chopping to remove the tongue during butchery.

The remainder of the assemblage (eight fragments) is human bone, representing a minimum of two individuals. The long bones have fused and are therefore adult (i.e. aged over 18 years at the death). The morphology of the pelvis fragments suggests an older adult female. In contrast, the dentition includes two unworn maxillary first molars, with possibly undeveloped roots. The roots of the first molar tend to be half-developed by around 5½ years of age (Smith 1991). The absence of wear and caries suggests the teeth were not yet in occlusion and correlates with the developmental age.

A maxillary incisor (crown and root) is stained green in colour, indicating post-depositional contact with metal– probably copper.

Catalogue Fragment Number	**Description**
B6	Cattle mandible. Right side only. Evidence of butchery (chop-mark) on labial side
A14	Cattle? vertebra. Epiphysial fusion incomplete. Sub-adult.
B5	Right distal femur. Epicondylar breadth 76.68mm. Some erosion of margins of articulation at lateral and medial epicondyles. Possible tooth marks on medial condyle, Good preservation. Robust. Adult.

A9 Left tibia midshaft. Slight hypertrophic bone growth at proximal end, possible inflammation and infection of bone (periostosis? unusual location) damage to anterior margin may be post-depositional localised lesion of cortical bone. Periostosis of anterior part of lateral side and medial posterior.

A15a Left ilium. 2 fragments; greater sciatic notch to iliac crest, eroded at ilial tuberosity. Small and raised auricular surface, pre-auricular sulcus and large post-auricular space indicate female. Iliac crest is fused but the epiphysial line is still slightly visible. Auricular surface shows micro- and macro-porosity, marginal lipping of superior and inferior demifaces– indicates older adult. At the ilio-femoral ligament attachment (anterior inferior iliac spine) a necrotic lesion with rounded edges showing active at time of death and healing.

A15b Right ilium (ilium at acetabulum).

Dentition Maxillary right ?central incisor. Post-depositional damage to the enamel reveals the dentine so cannot determine wear. Possible caries at cemento-enamel junction interproximal, but uncertain due to damage. Crown and root stained green. Tooth height 22.94mm, root length 13.38mm, estimated mesio-distal diameter 8.3mm.

Two maxillary first molars (left and right of same individual). Crown only. Carabelli's cusp present on lingual surface of mesiolingual cusp, Class 4 cusp characteristics (Steele & Bramblett 1988, 89). Due to erosion it is difficult to determine whether root has developed and then been lost post-depositionally or whether the tooth is not fully formed. No wear. Crown height 6.74mm, mesio-distal diameter 10.84mm, bucco-lingual diameter 11.94mm.

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THE POPPYHEAD AT LUDLOW

BOY BISHOP AND LORD OF MISRULE ?

By PETER KLEIN

The choir stalls in St. Laurence's parish church at Ludlow are a scarce survival in Shropshire, our county collection of misericords numbering no more than forty-four. Twenty-eight of these are at Ludlow, fifteen at the collegiate church at Tong, and one wanderer probably from a monastic source is to be found at Holdgate in Corvedale.[1] Our neighbour Herefordshire, its numbers swelled by having a cathedral, All Saints Hereford, and at least two collections from former monastic churches, has one hundred and twenty-three.

The Ludlow stalls date from the 15th century, and were built in at least three discernable phases.[2] In the first there were very likely sixteen seats, in two opposing rows of eight, which were probably carved during the 1420s, datable from the style of costume worn by the figures in the earliest of the misericords. Associated with these is the unusual carver's mark, in the form of an uprooted plant, which can be found on eight of them and also on one of the poppyheads.[3] In the early 1440s the chancel was lengthened by one bay, and in 1446/47 the Palmers' guild bought 100 planks of 'waynscotbord' from Bristol to enlarge the stalls.[4]

The subsequent order of events is in part difficult to read and still unclear, but examination of the timbers underneath the stalls suggests that the two short lengths of eight seats were joined lengthwise on the north side to make a row probably of fourteen, the sub-frame being in two short lengths pegged together. The angel armrests from these earlier stalls are recognisable in having distinctively shaped wings, and banderoles with loosely folded ends. A new length of fourteen seats was placed on the south side, the under-frame being continuous, and with the angel armrests again distinctive but this time with banderoles having scrolled and/or spiralling ends; and additional misericords were carved to echo motifs in the new wooden roof overhead.[5] The older misericords having apparently been removed were then put back but seemingly at random with no concentrations of old or new either on one side or the other.[6] The final phase provided the returned stalls at the west end, an odd remaining armrest from phase 1 being reused, but together with new and distinctive angel armrests having their hands crossed on their chests. These latter are datable in that the stone footings underpinning the final arrangement bear the same masons' banker marks as occur on the lower parts of the new tower, in building during the 1450s but probably brought to an abrupt halt at the sacking of Ludlow after the 'battle' at Ludford in 1459. As the tower was made rather larger than the previous one, it is possible that the stalls were also moved slightly eastwards.

The Poppyheads

The dating of the poppyheads is more problematical. Three are figure carvings, three are wholly foliated, and the remaining six have leaf ornament surrounding a small niche on either side, facing east and west, where a miniature figure of perhaps a saint was formerly placed. The Pietà/Assumption poppyhead bears the distinctive carver's mark found on the early misericords and so is of the earliest phase. The other two figure carvings appear to be of c.1447, but what is fairly certain is that no poppyheads were carved during phase three when the desk surfaces were probably merely turned and extended re-using the existing desk-ends.

The most outstanding of the figures is perhaps the Pietà, Our Lady of Pity, the Virgin holding Christ's body in her lap, a superbly expressive image (Plate 1) which despite its size, only eight inches high, conveys its subject with great skill.[7] The only other in Shropshire is at Battlefield church, but this is a much larger free-standing figure. On the back of the Pietà is a somewhat damaged Assumption (Plate 2), flanked by the figures of St. Margaret and her dragon, and St. Catherine and her wheel, with two attendant angels.[8] On another poppyhead we see St. Peter with his keys, and St. John the Baptist (Plate 3) dressed in an animal skin and holding an Agnus Dei. Thus far the iconography is absolutely clear.

The most enigmatic carving however is that on the south side, the second from the east end, and here we find

the two principal figures back to back. Facing west is a diminutive bishop (Plate 4) wearing a low-crowned mitre, decorated above with foliage and surmounted by a crucifix. He is clean-shaven, and grasps the base of a crozier in his left hand while his right, now missing, was probably once held in a gesture of benediction. Behind him, facing east and enthroned on a draped chair, is a commanding seated figure (Plate 5) with flowing hair and a beard. He too wears a foliage head-dress, surmounted by a bird mask, and is dressed in a short surcoat with an engrailed collar and a broad decorated bawdric or belt around his waist. His right leg is thrown across his left knee, and in his right hand he grasps a small bag or purse. Beside these principals, facing north, is a smaller seated figure wearing a curious hat, much of the brim now missing but having two lengths of rope hanging from it which are knotted together at the chest. The equivalent figure to the south has been knocked away.

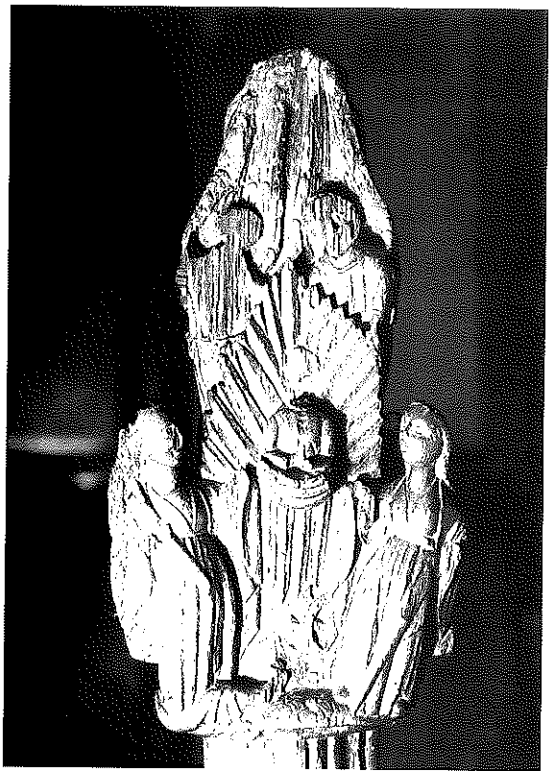
PLATE 1 *(Left)* THE PIETÀ POPPYHEAD. THIS CARVING APPEARS TO DATE FROM THE EARLIEST PHASE OF STALL CONSTRUCTION, IN C.1425. THE CARVER'S MARK CAN JUST BE SEEN NEAR THE BASE ON THE LEFT.

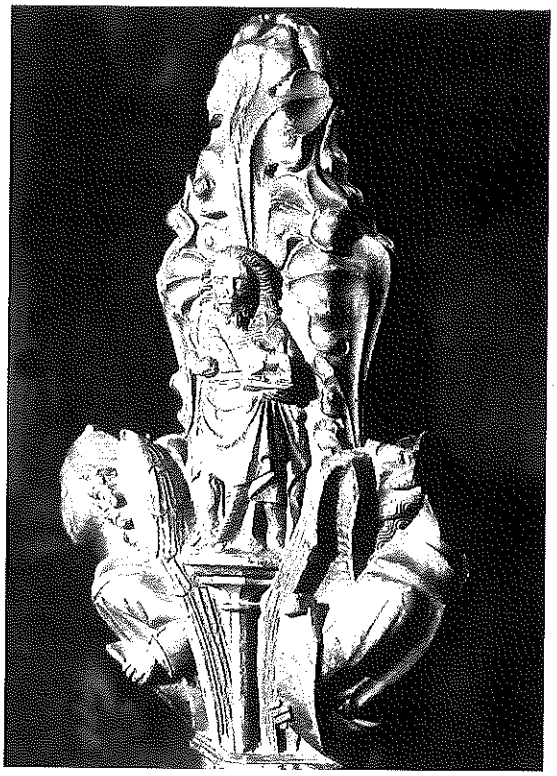
PLATE 2 *(Below left)* THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. THE VIRGIN'S SOUL IS FLANKED BY ST. MARGARET (LEFT) AND ST. CATHERINE, WITH TWO ACCOMPANYING ANGELS ABOVE.

PLATE 3 *(Below right)* ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. THE TAIL OF HIS ANIMAL-SKIN CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN HIS FEET, WHILE THE AGNUS DEI RESTS ON HIS LEFT HAND.

PLATE 4 *(Opposite, left)* THE BOY BISHOP FIGURE. HE IS CLEAN-SHAVEN, AND HIS LOW MITRE SURMOUNTED WITH FOLIAGE AND A CROSS.

PLATE 5 *(Opposite, right)* THE KING OF REVELS, OR LORD OF MISRULE. A BIRD-MASK IS PLACED AT THE TOP OF HIS HEAD-DRESS. HE SITS CROSS-LEGGED ON A DRAPED THRONE, THE BAG OF MONEY CLUTCHED IN HIS RIGHT HAND. THE IDENTITY OF THE DISTINCTIVE FLANKING FIGURE IS STILL A MYSTERY.





While the misericords were well-known by the mid-19th century, largely through the efforts of Thomas Wright, the poppyheads appear to have remained relatively unnoticed until at least 1895.[9] Several explanations for the three figures have been proposed over the years. For Henry Weyman, the author of the early church guides, the bishop was none other than the Pope wearing the triple crown, an identification buttressed by the idea that the small flanking figure was a cardinal in his broad-brimmed hat 'unfortunately damaged, though the cord round his neck remains.'.[10] The seated figure might have been St. Edmund, although 'the arrows which usually accompany him are not shewn.'. This interpretation was to be standard in the church guides for nearly fifty years, although Arthur Wood rightly dismissed the papal crown as nonsense.[11]

James Winny, a former pupil at Ludlow Grammar school, in 1957 put forward a new interpretation.[12] For him the poppyhead encapsulated the legend of the founding of the Palmers' guild, the story in which St. John the Evangelist gave two palmers a ring to return to king Edward the Confessor, and which guild mythology claimed was evidence for the antiquity of their foundation and was duly enshrined in the wonderful east window of the guild chapel dedicated to St. John.[13] So for Winny the seated man was the king, 'identified by the purse held prominently in his right hand, and perhaps the bird of the Spirit resting in his crown. The episcopal figure at his back must be St. John; no earthly bishop, but certainly a spiritual overlord of the Church; and the humbler figure between them is one of the two palmers ... .'.

While Winny's hypothesis at least has the merit of coherence, in proposing a unified context for the whole composition, it does fly wonderfully in the face of iconographic convention. Medieval iconography is generally very consistent, intended to convey a clear message to a knowing audience, and depictions of this subject tend to share features in common. The Confessor is after all a *saint*, shown as an aged man, wearing a crown and long cloak, and often holding a sceptre and a *ring*. This last is the essential feature, an indispensable prop in the story, but here completely lacking from our figure's hands which are undamaged. While suggesting commanding authority, far from conveying pious learning his demeanour is rather one of studied nonchalance. On the other hand St. John the Evangelist was never shown as a bishop, which he never was, but as a hooded and bearded figure disguised as a beggar, and also holding a ring. Pilgrims likewise were clearly recognizable, their spirally-wound staves and hats, the latter blue and decorated with cockle-shells in the case of the Palmers, showing exactly who they were, and as they would indeed have been seen on the road to Compostella.[14]

Interpretation

I too agree with the unified context of the poppyhead, except that I am suggesting that its subject is the festivities over Christmas and New Year. The two characters that figured in the celebrations, each displacing authority in a brief period of rôle-reversal, were the Boy Bishop and the King of Revels or Lord of Misrule, and both can be shown to have been alive and flourishing in Ludlow at least by the early 16th century.

The Boy Bishop

In 1510 Walter Moreton, a Ludlow clothier and four-times bailiff, died bequeathing in his will his 'short skarlett gowne to the use of the Bishop which shall be ordeyned yarly at Seynt Nicholas daye in the Churche of Ludlowe to make a robe thereof to do hym honour yerely that daye.'.[15] The custom of electing a boy bishop or *episcopellus* annually at St.Nicholas tide from among the choir was common in our cathedral churches, at Salisbury as early as 1221 and at Durham by 1355, and also at abbey churches that included schools, such as at Westminster.[16] By the 14th century they were also appearing at larger parish churches with choirs, such as St. Mary's in Nottingham by 1317, so there is no reason to be surprised that St. Laurence's at Ludlow had a child bishop, and boy choristers were certainly in evidence there by 1486. In that year the executors of John Hosier provided stipends for the six best choristers 'commonly singing at the mass of Our Lady'.[17]

It could therefore be argued that Hosier's endowment was merely intended to put an already existing choir on a more 'professional' footing, fit for a regional centre of government and comparable to what a cathedral had to offer, by selecting the six best boy voices for a stipend. Also that the need to enlarge the choir-stalls in 1447 to twenty-eight or more seats might suggest that choristers were already present in addition to the parochial clergy, chantry priests, and singing-men. An organ existed in the parish church by 1472/73 when Sir Edmund White, presumably a chantry chaplain, was paid 2s 6d by the churchwardens for repairing it.[18] The Guild's involvement with church music at St. Laurence's clearly goes back to early in its history, and it later had its own organ although apparently not until 1500 when a member, Geoffrey Baugh, left a small instrument to be used at the mass of Jesus celebrated on Fridays in St. John's chapel.[19]

What with all this musical activity in the church, it would be surprising if the scholars at the Guild's school, started during the early 15th century, were not also encouraged to learn music and perform with the choir. It is also clear from the bailiffs' accounts during the 16th century that sons of singing-men very frequently followed in their parents' footsteps and sang in the choir from an early age, so if therefore it appears likely that choristers albeit unpaid did exist before 1486, there is no reason why a tradition such as the election of a boy bishop should not have developed by 1450. Proving the existence of a boy's choir at Ludlow by the *middle* of the 15th century would admittedly help in making a more persuasive argument to account for the presence of such a carving in the stalls. On the other hand it is also possible that a craftsman accustomed to making poppyheads in other large churches might choose such a topic if allowed a free hand, but the subject of such a carving is rather more likely to have been agreed upon after consultation, or even stipulated under the terms of a contract such as the one drawn up by the Guild for work in St.John's chancel in 1524.[20]

The Lord of Misrule

Christmas 'kings' of revels first appear in documents during the early 15th century, particularly at universities and in schools for the well-to-do, but their heyday as 'Lords of Misrule' was much later during the reign of Henry VIII. They are rarely documented in parish records, although there was something of a local tradition in East Anglia during the early 16th century when they helped in raising money for church funds.[21] In 1498, at Walsall in Staffordshire, by ancient custom an 'Abbot of Marham' presided over his followers during festivities at the fair on Trinity Sunday, ostensibly to 'gather money with their disports to the profit of the churches in the said lordship', although to the alarm of the local justices who feared disorder.[22] The Corporation at Shrewsbury in 1521 spent 6s 9d on painted robes, sandals, and expenses for their 'Abbot', Richard Glasier, who still presided at their celebrations into the 1540s, including being named as 'Lord of Misrule' in 1525-6.[23] The presence of a 'Lord' at Ludlow is documented although not until 1525, for in that year the ten-year-old Mary Princess of Wales was sent north by her father to Ludlow Castle to represent him at the Court in the Marches. Arriving in September she stayed to 'keep Christmas with princely cheer', the public feast preceded by 'interludes, disguisings and plays'. It is said that a lord of misrule joked and added to the festivities until trumpets and rebecs heralded the entry of the princess.[24]

So if we are to find a reason why such a figure might appear among the carvings in the mid-15th century then we may have to look elsewhere. John Stow, writing of seasonal celebrations in London, apparently during the 15th century, described how 'in the feast of Christmas, there was in the king's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a lord of misrule, or master of merry disports, and the like had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Among the which the mayor of London, and either of the sheriffs, had their several lords of misrule, ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. These lords beginning their rule on Allhollon eve, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonly called Candlemas day.'.[25] Stow's description does seem primarily anecdotal, but if such revels were regarded as then commonplace at court and in London, it would indeed be surprising that similar festivities were not to be enjoyed in the provinces, and at that time

Ludlow had close associations with a very important man, Richard Duke of York, a descendant of Edward III, father of the future Edward IV, and in 1447 himself the principal contender for the throne of England. He was then living in Ludlow castle, had been admitted a member of the Palmers' guild, and the choir roof and misericord carvings of 1445-7 are filled with his family crests and emblems.[26] The guild not only paid for the wood for these stalls, but the period over Christmas was an important one for them since the feast of their patron saint, St. John the Evangelist, was celebrated on December the 27th.

We might well look therefore either for family or guild celebrations which involved a 'king of revels' even though not then described as such as a 'lord of misrule', and the guild accounts do indeed frequently refer to payments to musicians, entertainers and players at guild festivities. While no specific references have been found to lords of misrule, absence of explicit evidence is not evidence of absence, and in the context of the time one would be surprised if they had not presided over the Christmas festivities and have been as familiar figures to the townspeople of Ludlow as Father Christmas is today.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Professor Ronald Hutton, University of Bristol, for reading this article and for his supportive comments

Article Notes

1 For the Holdgate misericord, see *Trans Shrops Archaeol Soc*, **LXXIII**, 1998, 70-3
2 See P Klein, *The Misericords & Choir Stalls of Ludlow Parish Church*, Ludlow, 1986
3 Thomas Wright's belief that the dagged costume of the 'wine barrel' misericord (S.12) gave a date in the late 14th century is untenable. This group has to be dated by the *latest* style of costume shown and not the earliest.
4 SRRC, LB/5/3/28, Stewards' acct 1446-7; *VCH Salop*, **ii**, 136
5 Henry Weyman, 'The Choir Ceiling of Ludlow Church', *Trans Shrops Archaeol Soc*, 4th ser **I**, 373-384
6 This is assuming that at the 1859-60 restoration, when the stalls were taken up, the seats were replaced in their former pattern. There appears to have been minimal disturbance to the old hinges, which are still secured with wrought-iron nails, except for two misericords that were moved, repaired, and replaced in the returned-stalls facing the altar. These last have Victorian machine-made hinges with screws, as do the plain seats which now fill the spaces whence they presumably came
7 See T Auden, 'Our Lady of Pity', *Transactions*, 3rd ser **IV**, xvii
8 The Virgin, very small and now headless, is flanked by disproportionately enormous figures of the saints with the two angels above. Despite the anachronism of the combination this, in view of the Pietà on the reverse, is what it would appear to be. This unusual version of the subject therefore could well have been specified in an original contract
9 Thomas Wright, *The History of Ludlow*, Ludlow, 1852, 471-485 (an essay reprinted from the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, October 1848.) See also T Wright, *A History of Charicature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*, London, 1875, 102, 139-40. A collection of sketches was also published privately by Mrs Frances Stackhouse Acton (c.1870) entitled *Misereres in the Church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow*. SRRC ref Q 97; D H S Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire*, **ii**, 1895, 117-8. Oliver Baker refers to them but briefly in *Ludlow Town and Neighbourhood*, Ludlow, 1888, 37
10 Henry Weyman, *The Glass in Ludlow Church, with a short description of the Misericords*, Ludlow, (2nd edit) 1925, 29
11 A Wood, *A Short Account of The Collegiate Church of St. Laurence in Ludlow*, Ludlow (c.1955), 5
12 J Winny, 'Two Medieval Puzzles Solved?', *Country Life*, 3 Jan 1957, 22
13 C Liddy, 'The Palmers' Guild Window, St. Lawrence's Church, Ludlow', *Trans Shrops Archaeol Soc*, **LXXII**, 1997, 26-37
14 See L E Tanner, 'Some Representations of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey and Elsewhere', *Journ Brit Archaeol Assoc*, 3rd ser **XV**, 1952
15 PRO Prob 11/17 fo 5 Fetiplace PCC
16 R Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, Oxford, 1994, 10-12, 53-4
17 *VCH, Salop*, **ii**, 136
18 *Transactions*, 2nd ser **I**, 242
19 SRRC ref. LB 15/3/39. A payment to a *minstrallum organorum* is recorded in the stewards accounts for 1344/45, although this could well be a payment to a musician playing a small portative instrument at the annual feast in the guildhall. See M A Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History*, 1991, 86
20 cf H Weyman, 'A Contract for Carvings in Ludlow Church', *Transactions*, 3rd ser, **III**, I.
A verbatim transcript appears in *Ludlow Parish Magazine*, January 1870
21 R Hutton, 33, 60
22 Ed. J Alan B Somerset, *Records of Early English Drama– Shropshire*, Toronto 1994, 658
23 Owen & Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, **i**, 332; J A B Somerset, 176-8, 404, 658
24 M Munthe, *Hellens, The Story of a Herefordshire Manor*, 1991 edit, 67-8, citing 'Walwyn documents', though not found amongst those deposited at the Herefordshire Record Office
25 J Stow, *A Survey of London*, 1603; see Everyman edition, 1912, 89. This was thus a three month period between All-hallows eve, October 31st, and Candlemas day, February 2nd
26 *VCH, Salop*, **ii**, 136

THE CHURCHMAN MONUMENT

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF RELIGIOUS HERMETICISM AT MUNSLOW

By PETER KLEIN

The north aisle of St. Michael's parish church at Munslow is full of good things, the combination of 16th century stained glass and 17th century memorials long being known as well worth a detour off the B.4368. Dr. Watkins-Pitchford, in his paper in the Transactions of 1939/40 discussed in some detail the memorial brass to Richard Baldwin, philosopher, physician and spagyric (alchemist), who died in 1689, and he also referred to the symbolic emblems of the Trinity shown on both the brass and in the memorial window to John Lloyd, rector of Munslow 1506-1528.[1] There is however another monument nearby that he did not mention but which is of particular interest in this respect.

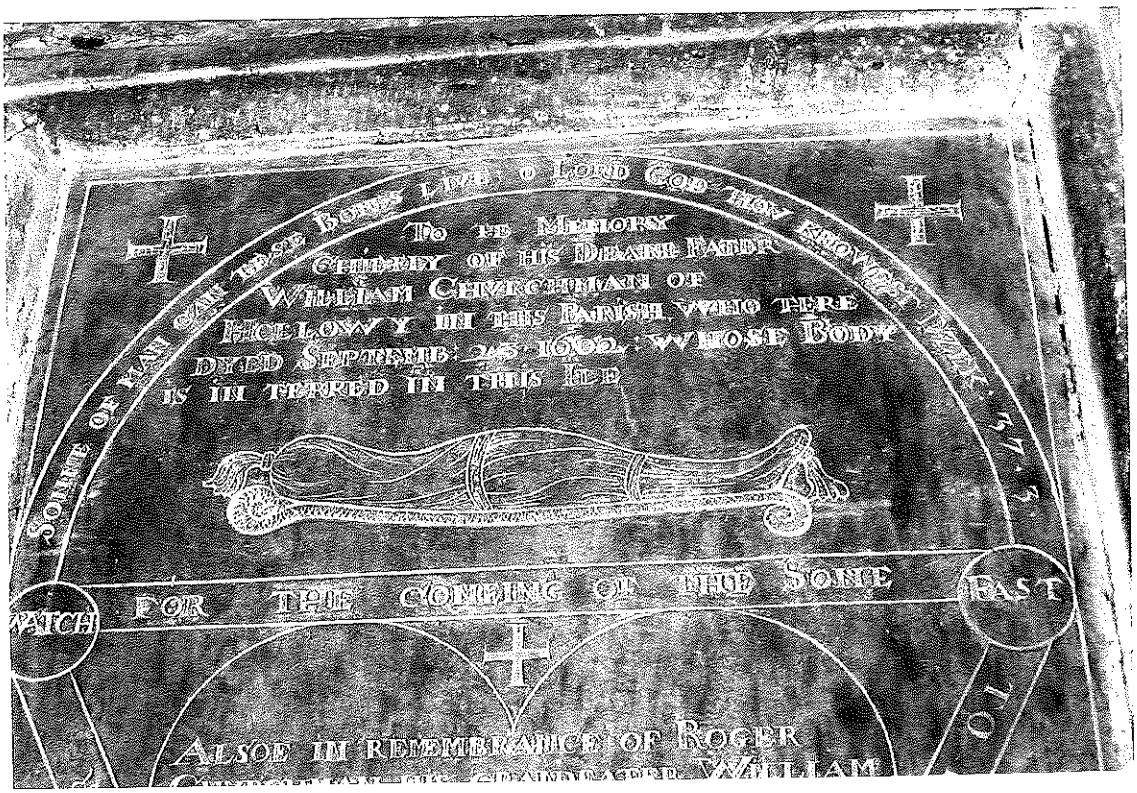


PLATE I THE UPPER SEGMENT OF THE CHURCHMAN MONUMENT, SHOWING THE SHROUDED CORPSE. THE INSCRIPTION ABOVE READS: TO THE MEMORY CHIEFLY OF HIS DEARE FATHER WILLIAM CHVRCHMAN OF HOLLOWY IN THIS PARISH, WHO THERE DYED SEPTEMB : 23 · 1602 : WHOSE BODY IS IN TERRED IN THIS ILE.

The wall memorial on slate commemorates William Churchman of Holloway, 1¼ miles to the N.E. of the church, who was buried on the 23rd September 1602. It was raised by another William Churchman, priest, former rector of Onibury, and his only son and heir, who after over twenty years had resigned his living at the time of his father's death. The main text is enclosed within a kite-shaped frame, the top segment of which is semicircular (Plate 1) and contains the memorial to Churchman senior, together with the horizontal figure of a

shrouded corpse, beneath the curving quotation: **SONNE OF MAN CAN THESE BONES LIVE? O LORD GOD THOV KNOWEST EZEK: 37 · 3 ·** . Below this within a triangular segment is a multiple memorial to Churchman junior's grandfather, Roger Churchman; his great-uncle William Churchman; and his maternal uncle Andrew Overton 'to whose care was commited his education, who was buried in St Peters ye Poore in London & of all ye rest of his ancestors that sleepe in this dust.'.[2]

The triangular frame, a variation of similar figures in the Lloyd window and on the later Baldwin monument, has the words **WATCH**, **FAST**, and **PRAY** within circles at each corner; but these are linked by text to read: **PRAY** TO GOD THE FATHER ; **WATCH** FOR THE COMEING OF THE SONE ; **FAST** TO RECEIVE THE HOLY GHOAST. The most oblique allusion to the Trinity however is found in the form of the verse beneath the main memorial, which reads:

I IN THE HOVVER OF HIS POVVER ONE DEAD,
BY CHRIST DOE RISE •
ANDVVEE, VVHOSE BOANES ROT VNDER STOANES,
OVR DVST HEEL NOT DESPISE •

The use in the verse of a double V for a W is often met with in contemporary printed books, and so would not have appeared unusual to readers of that time. Elsewhere on the monument however the W appears in its normal form.

The text of this curious inscription has been recorded on a number of occasions, including at least twice during the 18th century. Probably the earliest transcript is among the Mytton Papers at Birmingham University, dating from about 1736; and there is also that of the Revd. Edward Williams of 1795, in his invaluable record of Shropshire church monuments now in the British Library.[3] Both these are accurately rendered, complete with the varying letter size, except with a W in place of each double V. The assiduous David Parkes quoted it in 1833 in another of his extended Shropshire memoranda to the Gentleman's Magazine, having transcribed the monument in 1827, including the verse in lower case; but the latter was omitted by Sir Laurence Gomme from the Shropshire abstract volume published in 1898.[4] Augustus Hare in the same year merely corrected the apparently illogical capitals by piously substituting some of his own; although Thornhill Timmins in his *Nooks and Corners of Shropshire* in 1899 did go to some pains to try and print the text accurately but unfortunately misprinted the beginning thereby demolishing its message.[5] This last version was in turn studiously copied into another book in 1906.[6] It is thus small wonder that the numerological references in the inscription have so far apparently not been remarked on, at least in print.

In enlarging certain letters, Churchman can only have intended to call the reader's attention to them, and, if therefore we abstract these letters, it is immediately apparent that all of them also serve as Roman numerals. Thus substituting 500 for D, 100 for C etc., and adding, in the top line we have I + I + V + V + I + V + V + D + D = 1023 ; in the second line C + I + D + I = 602 ; in the third line D + V + V + V + V + V + D = 1025 ; and in the last line V + D + V + L + D + I = 1061. Adding 1023 + 602 + 1025 + 1061 = 3711 ; reducing to 3 + 7 + 1 + 1 = 12 ; and finally to 1 + 2 = 3, hence the Trinity. The inscription is however written as two pairs of lines, the second line of each pair ending in a • or pellet; and here there appear to be other numerological references as well because the sum of the first two lines is 1625, and this number had significance in its own right.

We have apparently now entered the esoteric world of Gematria, the ancient art of relating words to numbers by ascribing numerical values to the letters of the alphabet. In the case of the Cabalistic gematria of the Old Testament this related to Hebrew characters; but with the New Testament, to the Greek. Best known perhaps is the reference, in the Book of Revelation, to the number 666– "the number of the beast"– and numerically represented by the Greek letters $\chi\xi\varsigma'$.[7] However returning to the inscription, 1625 was the number of $\xi\upsilon\lambda o\nu\ \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$, the tree of life, the ten *sephiroth* of the Cabalists and symbol of Jewish mysticism, occuring in the final chapter of Revelation.[8] The sum of the last two lines of the inscription is 2086, but speculation might suggest this to be the sum of 1080 and 1006. 1080 had several references, among them being the number of $\Sigma\varepsilon\mu\varepsilon\lambda\varepsilon$, Semele, the mother by Zeus of Dionysus, later to be raised by her son from the nether world, and hence an association with resurrection. 1006 was the number known to the cabalists as $\eta\nu\upsilon\mu\varphi\eta$, numphë, the bride, also mother of the demons of the underworld, but here perhaps associated with fertility and thus potential from beneath the earth. Again, both seem appropriate to those "whose boanes rot under stoanes" and await the Day of Judgement.

To many of us today all this might appear to be merely contrived encoded nonsense and a pretty pointless exercise, if not the preoccupation of a lunatic fringe, but to the Elizabethan student of the arcane such playing with words and numbers not only was taken very seriously but also set him above the uninitiated. Nobody, least of all a soberly-minded middle-aged local parson, would go to the trouble and expense of having this unusual

text carved unless he thought it to be of genuine significance, and by writing his name on it he was making an encoded statement communicating both his initiation and erudition to others in the know. At worst he was being merely fashionable, but this is the era of Francis Bacon, John Dee, and Robert Fludd the Paracelsist physician; the period of a Renaissance Hermetic tradition which unified the study of mathematics and number, astronomy, alchemy, magic, and the Cabala. In the 16th and 17th centuries this was regarded by some as being at the cutting-edge of science, of human knowledge and understanding. It was a world where it was held that all true natural science was rooted in revelation, of which number was a vital element in interpreting and understanding God's creation and the Divine mystery. This was a holistic approach that influenced even the design and layout of buildings; recusant Sir Thomas Tresham's triangular warrener's lodge at Rushton in Northamptonshire, completed in 1597, being perhaps the best-known surviving example. While principally a celebration of the Trinity, the decoration of the lodge is full of other numerological references, many of which were explored some years ago if only partially understood– although some of Tresham's notes for his "painted work" at Ely have survived to throw a little light on the reasons for his numerical choices.[9] Those on the lodge include the closely related number 1626.

Dr. John Dee (1527-1608), the mathematician and astrologer, in particular was the main conduit for such influences in England in high places, albeit mostly within an exclusive private circle during his lifetime. He enjoyed Elizabeth's patronage as Court astrologer and personal tutor, and counted among his friends, associates, and pupils the foremost courtiers of Elizabeth's reign– Robert Dudley the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Henry Sidney, and more particularly the latter's son Sir Philip. At his house at Mortlake Dee possessed what was then the greatest library in England, visited by the Queen, and frequented by the Court and scholars. He was a polymath interested in all aspects of applied mathematics, including having an "addiction" to gematria which was revealed in a manuscript of Dee's not published until half a century after his death.[10] In 1570 an English translation of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* was published with a preface by Dee, in which he stated that through numbers "a way is had, to the searching out, and understanding of euery thyng, hable to be knowen".[11] In other words, for the devout Dee, the study of mathematics was a key to the understanding of every aspect of God's creation.

However the playing with letters, words, and numbers could be engaged at several levels, from mystical revelation to cryptography, and Dee was also involved in the devising and breaking of cyphers for Francis Walsingham, the head of Elizabeth's intelligence service. It is also apparent that Dee was himself engaged in gathering intelligence during his many travels in Europe, and it was during one such visit to the Low Countries for William Cecil, in 1563, that he encountered Abbot Trithemius' *Stenographia*, which was in part a disguised treatise on cryptography.[12] Indeed the text of Churchman's inscription was well crafted and the words carefully chosen, only the spelling possibly having been manipulated by the encrypter– for instance, *heel* for *he'll* – but this was a period when phonetic spelling was commonplace. Had he not decided so blatantly to call our attention to the encoded message hidden in it, and had merely had the verse carved with all the letters the same size, then the message would still have been encrypted there because, in the finished version, only and all those letters that stood for Roman numerals were enlarged– no words occurring in which Roman numerals were left at normal size. In this instance therefore Churchman was obviously concerned that enlightened readers should *not* miss the point, but one is left wondering just how many other unmarked monumental inscriptions there might be with similar but unrecognized encrypted numerical messages hidden within their texts.[13]

The Churchman monument at Munslow although unusual must be, comparatively, quite a modest relic of this philosophy. It is however interesting that in this relatively obscure and remote parish so much has survived that reflects it, and it begs the question as to how influential religious Hermeticism was out in the shires among the provincial gentry and clergy. One would hesitate in pointing a finger at Dee in particular as the main influence in the provinces, since a number of printed books from the Continent on mysticism were circulating by this time, but one would certainly acknowledge Dee to have been the principal authority in England who was also internationally recognised among the cognoscenti. As Frances Yates has pointed out, the interest in such things was not within established circles in Church or university, but among small private groups of individuals of whom, in Elizabeth's reign in England, Sir Philip Sidney and his friends were the most prominent.[14] Dee was also known personally by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Council in the Marches from 1560-1586 and a frequent resident at Ludlow Castle, but whether these ideas would have permeated significantly among the Court circle at Ludlow is very uncertain.[15]

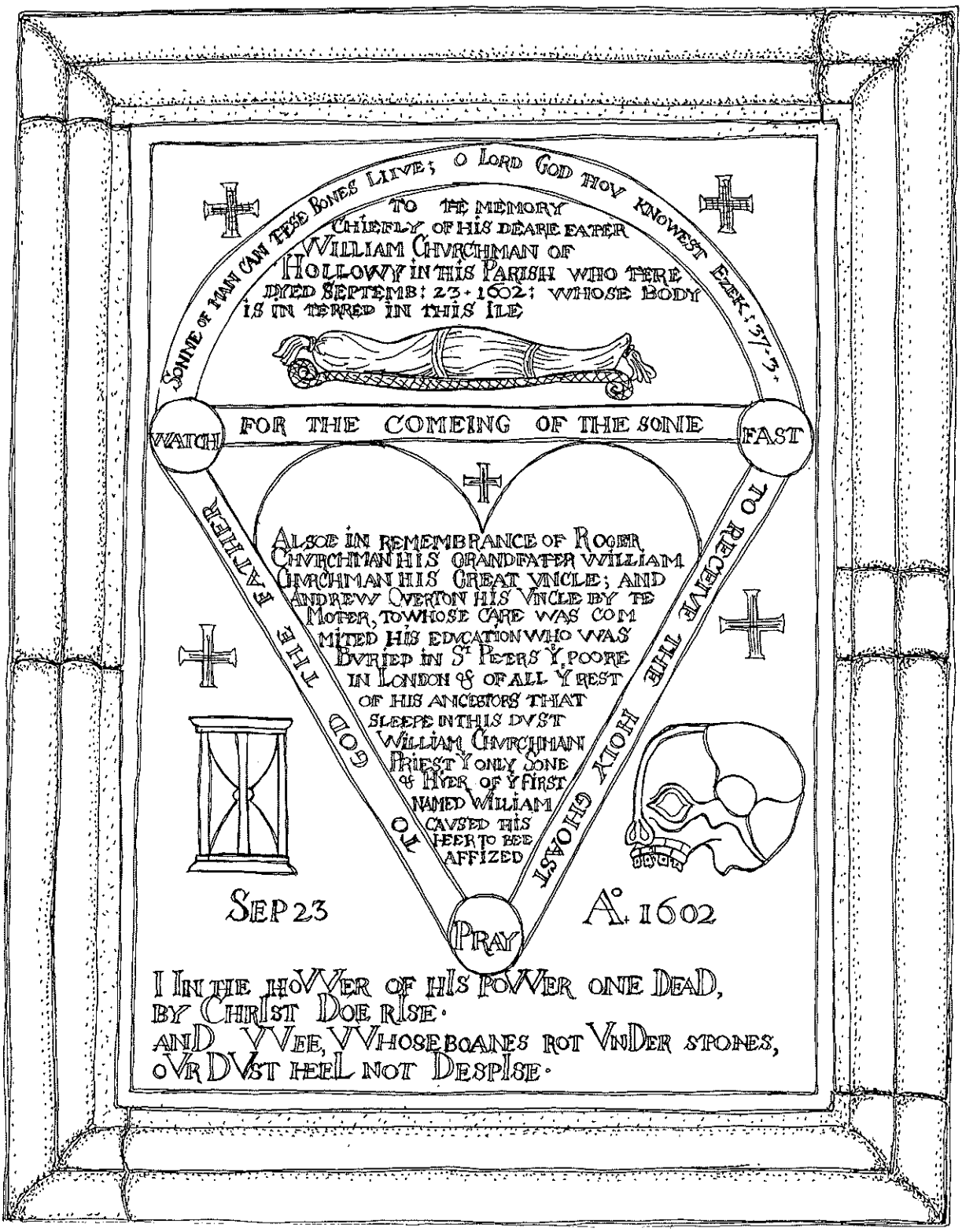
Aside from printed books, other links between these central figures and the provinces must have existed, and curiously another connection with this part of Shropshire is to be found in the diary of John Dee. At the end of June 1595, shortly after his appointment to the wardenship at Manchester College, Dee received a visit at Mortlake from his third cousin, John Blayney from Upper Kinsham in Herefordshire, close to Presteigne and the

Welsh border. Blayney brought along a friend, a certain "Mr. Richard Baldwyn, of Duddlebury in Shropshyre".[16] While "Dr." Richard Baldwin of Munslow was a generation or so removed, and a distant cousin, there may well therefore have been a family interest in the esoteric. Where however William Churchman had gained his knowledge is uncertain, unless the reference to his education with his uncle, Andrew Overton, is a clue.[17] Although not of equivalent social status, the Churchmans and the Baldwins were almost certainly acquainted, indeed one would be surprised had they not been, although documentary evidence only occurs some years later.[18] Churchman himself was eventually buried at his former parish church at Onibury in April 1620, as "sometime Parson" presumably in the chancel, but sadly no commemorative inscription has ever been recorded there.[19]

Finally, it is perhaps appropriate to remember that sixty years ago the remarkable Baldwin brass was restored at the expense of the Shropshire Archæological Society by being cleaned, lacquered, and replaced in its original frame. Today however it is once again virtually unreadable, and is now in need of careful and expert conservation treatment using more durable modern materials and techniques.

Acknowledgement

As the taking of a satisfactory photograph of the complete monument has proved difficult, I would like to thank my wife Debby for the accompanying drawing which excellently shows the overall design


SONNE OF MAN CAN THESE BONES LIVE; O LORD GOD THOV KNOWEST EZEK: 37: 3.
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ALSOE IN REMEMBRANCE OF ROGER
CHVRCHMAN HIS GRANDFATER WILLIAM
CHVRCHMAN HIS GREAT VNCLE; AND
ANDREW OVERTON HIS VNCLE BY TE
MOTER, TOWHOSE CARE WAS COM
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BVRIED IN S^T PETERS Y^E POORE
IN LONDON & OF ALL Y^E REST
OF HIS ANCESTORS THAT
SLEEPE IN THIS DVST
WILLIAM CHVRCHMAN
PRIEST Y^E ONLY SONE
& HYER OF Y^E FIRST
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OVR DVST HEEL NOT DESPISE.

Article Notes

1 W Watkins-Pitchford, ' The Baldwin Memorial Brass in Munslow Church', *Trans Shrops Archæol Soc*, **L**, 95-104. Another representation of the Trinity forms the centrepiece of the painted ceiling in the chancel at Bromfield, dated 1672
2 No memorial to Overton is mentioned in a list printed in the 1633 edition of John Stow's *Survey*.
3 *Mytton Papers*, mss 7/ii/4– 916; B L, Add ms 21237, fo 303 (to be seen on microfilm as SRRC, MIC122)
4 *Gentleman's Magazine*, **CIII** (pt 1), 10; Ed G L Gomme, *Topographical History of Shropshire and Somersetshire*, Gentleman's Magazine Library, 1898, 106
5 A J C Hare, *Shropshire*, 1898, 77; H Thornhill Timmins, 119
6 Mate's County Series, *Shropshire*, **i**, 1906, 236
7 *Revelation* 13, last verse: Here is wisdom, let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six
8 The ten sephiroth were names or *powers* of God, hence appropriate to the subject of the text. The diagram of the Trinity is closely related to that of the ten sephiroth
9 M Jourdain, "Sir Thomas Tresham and his Symbolic Buildings", in ed Alice Dryden, *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire*, London, 1903, 129-144; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Various Coll.*, **III**, xix, xlii-xliv
10 Ed M Casaubon , *A True & Faithful Relation of what passed for many years Between Dr: John Dee ... and Some Spirits*, London, 1659. See P J French, *John Dee, the World of an Elizabethan Magus*, London, 1972, 112n
11 H Billingsley trans., *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara ...* , London, 1570
12 DNB, v, 721-9; P J French, 36-7; R Deacon, *John Dee*, London, 1968, 55-60. This in turn inspired the completion of Dee's *Monas hieroglyphica*, published at Antwerp during the following year, a popular if much misunderstood work which was reprinted several times later in the 16th century, lastly in 1591
13 As a proportion of 'normal' inscriptions would be expected to produce a result merely out of chance, should they reduce down to 3, the context of any monument would clearly be an important consideration, as also whether there were signs of it being unusual in some other way. One possible example is that of Robert Fludd, at Bearsted in Kent.
14 F A Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 1964, 187
15 P J French, 127
16 *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (ed. Halliwell) in Camden Society Transactions, **XIX** (1842), 52. This Richard Baldwin (d.1639) was one of the three sons of Thomas Baldwin of Diddlebury (d.1614). The father had for three years been held in the Tower of London, formerly having been an agent to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, during his custody of Mary Queen of Scots. See *Trans Shrops Archæol Soc*, 4th ser **II**, 152-5, 165-6
17 Churchman would appear to be he who matriculated from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 28 November 1581, aged 16. He is described as "of London, pleb." and so was presumably living with his uncle at this time. J Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses (1500– 1714)*
18 In December 1646 Edward, the son of "Dr" Richard Baldwin, was baptised "in theire house by Mr. William Churchman, Cler:", possibly of Muxhill. He was certainly a close relative of our William Churchman (d.1620), but the family was a large one, with repeated use of the same forenames, and both a father and son of this name were alive in Munslow in 1646. See *Shropshire Parish Registers (Hereford Diocese– Munslow)*, **xv**, 88
19 *Shropshire Parish Registers (Hereford Diocese– Onibury)*, **xviii**, vii, 27

Shrewsbury Museums Service Report 1998–1999

By MIKE STOKES

In what has been a quieter year than normal for reported artefacts, some have stood out for their interest and significance. In particular, two fragments of silver strap ends of the mid-9th century AD and two stirrup strap mounts of the 11th century have been significant through their rarity and importance in the regional and national context as well. A silver finger ring inscribed with the name of its owner has more localised interest. These are described below. The Museum has also acquired a small group of material from Dr. Houghton's excavations at Wroxeter from a private collector to whom Houghton had given them, and has accepted archive material from building surveys at Shrewsbury Abbey, Salop Steam Laundry and Whitley Grange villa.

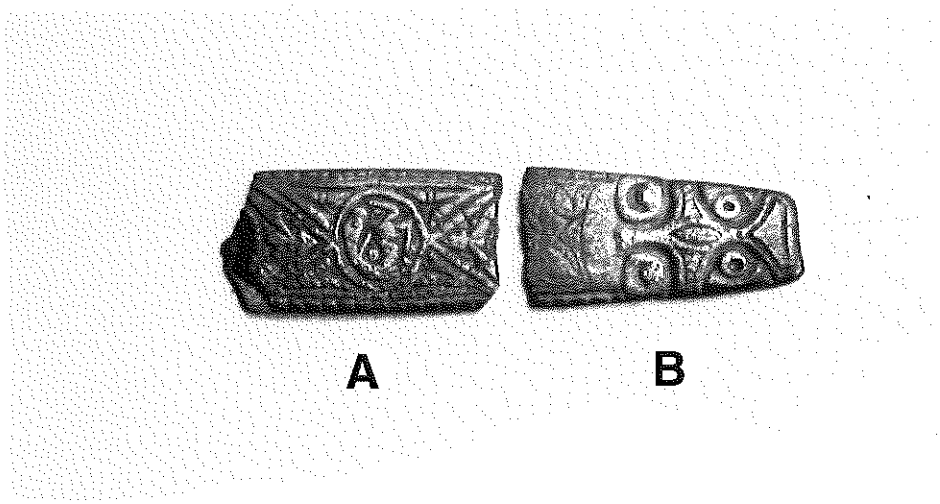
Two silver Anglo-Saxon strap tags from Frodesley Lodge Farm, Longnor, Shropshire

Non-destructive fluorescence analysis of the two fragments was carried out by the Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum, which gave a result of approximately 97% (A) & 93% (B) for silver. Each fragment is 25mm long and weighs 2.90grams (A) and 2.46 grams (B).

The two fragments appear to come from two separate strap-ends as their differing decoration and metal content suggests. A is a mid-section piece and B an end section. Both are decorated in the so-called 'Trewhiddle Style' characteristic of Anglo-Saxon ninth-century metalwork. The mid-section has six panels of plant and animal motifs, while the end section appears to have a single panel with animal and interlace decoration and terminates in a round-eared animal head with prominent eyes.

Both fragments come from strap-ends which are typical of mid-ninth-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork. They occur in both copper alloy and silver, the latter usually inlaid with niello: its absence in this case may be due to post-depositional chemical activity.

These items, recovered by Mr. John Martin, were declared Treasure by the Shrewsbury Coroner at inquest on November 16th 1999. It is hoped that they will be purchased by the Museums Service for display in 2000.
Leslie Webster, Dept. of Medieval and later Antiquities, British Museum with notes by Mike Stokes.



Two 11th-century strap mounts from north Shrewsbury

Recent research (Williams, 1995) has drawn attention to an important class of metalwork properly called stirrup-leather mounts but for clarity now published as stirrup-strap mounts (Williams, 1997). These sub-triangular mounts were attached to the folded end of a leather strap after it had been passed through the suspension loop at the apex of the stirrup itself. Iron rivets clamped it into place.

Mount no 1 was recovered by Adrian Jones of Shrewsbury using a metal detector from unploughed agricultural land to the west of Ellesmere Road in Shrewsbury (SJ492145). By Williams classification it is a good example of his Class A, Type 11 mount. Williams publishes some 500 such mounts from England, of which 394 are of Class A, 87 of type 11 and only 63 with his type A flange. Mount no 2, of the same class and type as no 1, was recovered by John Martin of Bayston Hill by the same method some 50 metres away (SJ490149), these mounts are, therefore, important to add to Williams' total and to demonstrate the potential for such discoveries in Shropshire, where the only other example previously recorded is a Type 3 from High Ercall (Williams, 1997, p.38 Cat no 74).

MOUNT ONE MOUNT TWO

SCALE 1:1

Mount no 1 is sub-triangular with curving sides and a curved aspect in profile. The overall size is 42mm in height, 27mm maximum width. At the apex the ring fitting is broken but appears to have been 9mm in external diameter, 7mm internal. A shallow flange centred on the inner face of the foot is 20mm wide & 4mm deep. Immediately above it, two rivet holes 3mm in diameter are centred at 4mm in from the edge respectively.

The image framed by a 1mm border on the outer face of the mount is of a lion, facing left and looking upwards with front paw raised and a curled tail rises above the hindquarters. Unusually, it does not appear to curl forward under the belly and up but begins from a point 3mm from the rear curve of the haunch. The lion's mane is not clearly visible. The typical, tri-lobed apex has one lobe projecting into the frame towards the lion's open mouth. Typically, the loop is broken away. There is no sign that this mount was enamelled or decorated with niello, gilding etc. Traces of a third iron rivet survive in the open mouth of the lion and the equivalent position on the rear of the mount, which is otherwise completely undecorated.

Mount no 2 is also sub-triangular with curving sides but a slightly straighter profile. It is rather more worn than no 1 but its dimensions: 43mm high, 26mm wide are sufficiently similar to no 1 to suggest that these may have been a pair. The apex ring is completely missing in this case. The shallow type A flange is also centred between two iron rivets but there is no suggestion of a rivet in the area of the lion's mouth.

The image on mount 2 is also of a lion, but in this case facing right in similar aspect two mount 1. The tail also rises directly from the haunch.

Of Williams' Class A, type 11A depicting lions in such a pose, 37 of the group show a lion facing left (as per Mount 1), 26 to the right (as per Mount 2). The type 3 mount from High Ercall depicts a man entwined in foliage or serpents. Both these motifs find parallels in earlier and later art styles, notably locally in the Welsh March in the 12th century Herefordshire School of Sculpture (Thurlby, 1999) one of the best examples of the complex fusion of schools of art which was happening at this period. The arguments for the dating of these mounts are comprehensively discussed by Williams (Williams, 1997) who places the type between 'the first quarter of the 11th century to around 1100 or not long after.'

The mounts remain the property of the finders.

References

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A contribution to the study of Late Saxon ornamental metalwork'
Council for British Archaeology Research Report 111

14th-century silver finger ring from Albright Hussey

The ring is silver and dates from the fourteenth century. It carries a Lombardic inscription which reads +WELIAM:BA. This may be a name of local significance. The occurrence of a name in English on an item of jewellery is not likely to occur before the fourteenth century. The ring is a simple flat band max. diameter 22mm and 5mm in width. It had been broken before discovery but was otherwise complete. William Bannister was the name of several successive owner/occupiers of the Albright Hussey in the 13th and 14th centuries and it seems reasonable to ascribe this ring to the ownership of the latest of these in the early 14th century.

The ring was declared to be Treasure at inquest on November 16th 1999. The ring will be acquired by Shrewsbury Museums Service for display after conservation in 2000.

James Robinson, Curator, Dept Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum & Mike Stokes

Archaeological Investigations in Shropshire 1997–8

A summary of archaeological work undertaken in the county reported to the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council

Compiled by Hugh Hannaford

Parish	NGR	Site and Description
Atcham	SJ 5423 0912	In summer 1998, the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council, carried out excavations and a watching brief on a housing development in Atcham. The site produced evidence for an enclosed domestic settlement of Saxon date. A sample from the lower fill of an enclosure ditch produced a substantial quantity of animal bone and charcoal, from which a radiocarbon date centred on 730 AD was obtained. (Hannaford, 1998a)
Benthall	SJ 6659 0280	During the course of a watching brief on the Severn Trent Broseley to Much Wenlock Rural Mains pipeline, a bell pit and other mining remains were recorded at Benthall, between Ash Coppice and Workhouse Coppice. The remains were part of an extensive post-medieval coalfield (SA7284), which together with nearby lime kilns, probably supplied the Benthall Ironworks with fuel and flux. Also along the route of the pipeline, pottery wasters and kiln furniture were recovered from old spoil tips adjacent to the site of Benthall Pottery (SA3982). (Hannaford and Williams, 1998)
Bitterley	SO 576 746	In January 1998, the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council carried out a watching brief on initial groundworks for a housing development on a parcel of land at Knowbury. The site lay within an area of mining remains, comprising a pit mound and a possible bell pit, which had been surveyed in 1997. The watching brief confirmed the identification of the bell pit, and suggested an early post-medieval date for this feature, which appeared to have gone out of use by the 17th century. (Hannaford, 1998b)
Bridgnorth	SO 7218 9257	A small trial excavation on land adjacent to St. James' Priory (SA390) in Lowtown, Bridgnorth, found remains of medieval or post-medieval yard surfaces, but no other features or structures that might be associated with either the medieval hospital or post-medieval house and farm that once occupied the site. (Hannaford, 1997)
Bridgnorth	SO 7163 9335	Bridgnorth's town ditch was seen during a watching brief on a small housing development on the north side of Moat Street. The outer (northern) edge of the ditch lay beneath the frontage of the property, with the main part of the ditch running underneath Moat Street itself. The edge of the ditch had been built over in the late 18th or early 19th century, but the ditch is likely to have silted up or been deliberately infilled long before this. (Hannaford, 1998c)

Bridgnorth	SO 714 933	Bridgnorth's medieval town defences (SA374) were seen again in 1998 during an archaeological evaluation of a development site in the Northgate/Whitburn Street area. The town defences at this point originally consisted of a clay rampart, dated by pottery finds to the 13th century, with a ditch set between 3 to 5 metres beyond. The ditch was probably over 8m wide in its final form. The rampart had been faced in stone from an early date, although at the western end of the site the stone had subsequently been almost entirely robbed away. At the eastern end of the development site, closer to the Northgate, a more massive sandstone town wall was seen to have been built against the outer (northwest) face of the rampart and partly terraced into the natural subsoil beneath. This wall survived to a height of 1.7m and its top was visible in the surface of the present-day car park. There was no direct dating evidence for the construction of this wall, although rubble and rubbish deposits dumped over the wall and the top of the silted-up town ditch dated to before the middle of the 17th century. (Hannaford and Phillpotts, 1998)
Claverley	SO 8000 9448	Ludstone Hall (SA11770), near Claverley, is a large stone mansion built c.1607; the hall lies within a rectangular moat, and was probably built on the site of a medieval manor house maintained by the Deans of Bridgnorth. An archaeological evaluation at the hall revealed a sequence of medieval deposits and yard surfaces surviving within the moated platform on the east side of the present hall buildings. (Hannaford, 1998d)
Ford	SJ 4085 1357	An archaeological evaluation of a cropmark ring-ditch and a field system (SA4028) at Ford demonstrated the survival of the ring ditch and a number of cremation burials and other features within the circuit of the ring ditch. A number of former field ditches were sampled, and shown to be of several different periods– some were of post-medieval (post-enclosure) date, but others were likely to have dated to the prehistoric or Roman periods. (Hannaford, 1998e)
High Ercall	SJ 5942 1734	The remains of a medieval sandstone building were recorded during a watching brief on work in the churchyard of St Michael's Church, High Ercall (SA12880). The building was 11m wide, and was stone-built with substantial foundations. An internal arcade or dividing wall suggested that these remains represented an undercroft for a first-floor hall. The building may possibly have been the medieval dower house at the bottom of the gardens of High Ercall Hall which William of Ercall V turned into a home for the chaplains of a chantry he founded there in 1334. (Hannaford, 1998f)
High Ercall	SJ 593 173	In September 1998, Cambrian Archaeology Projects Ltd. undertook an evaluation of land to the south of Ercall Hall, High Ercall. The evaluation identified the southern arm of the moat around the hall, which was seen to be about 14m wide and 3m deep, and concluded that the moat had been substantially remodelled and enlarged during the Civil War. (Halfpenney, 1998)
Ludlow	SO 514 746	An evaluation by Marches Archaeology of a development site between Lower Galdeford and Friars' Walk, Ludlow was carried out in 1998. The excavations located a section of the medieval town ditch 87m north of Friars' Walk. The ditch was seen to have been 7m wide by 3m deep, and its upper fills contained demolition rubble probably derived from the adjacent town wall. medieval pottery was also recovered from an area immediately to the north of Friars' Walk. (Appleton-Fox and Stone, 1998a)

Oswestry	SJ 2900 2970	An archaeological evaluation of, and subsequent watching brief on a development site to the rear of New Street, between Bailey Street and Willow Street, Oswestry, found features and deposits of medieval date in the area of the former castle bailey and adjacent burgage plots. The evaluation noted the presence of small pits and post-holes both within and outside the area of the bailey, and a large ditch, which had silted up by the later medieval period, running from north to south in the eastern part of the study area, adjacent to the present council offices. The subsequent watching brief on part of the development site, to the rear of Gibson's Nightclub, recorded a further medieval ditch, which may have formed part of the western defences of the castle bailey. (Taverner, 1997, and Blockley, 1998)
Selattyn	SJ 2560 3416	In June and July 1998, a survey and evaluation was undertaken of a Bronze Age ring cairn (SA347) on the summit of Selattyn Hill. Within the cairn is a 19th century belvedere tower or folly, erected by a Mr Crewe of Pentrepant to commemorate Prince Gwên, one of the sons of Llywarch Hen, a sixth century British prince. In the present century, the tower was used as a look-out post by the Local Defence Volunteers during World War II. The evaluation demonstrated that the ring-cairn consists of a spread of rounded boulders gathered from the surrounding hilltop surrounded by a low bank. Fragments of late Neolithic or early Bronze Age pottery and burnt bone were recovered from amongst the boulders near the centre of the cairn, and probably represented debris from excavations within the cairn immediately prior to or during the construction of the folly in 1847. (Hannaford, 1998g)
Shrewsbury	SJ 5040 1140	A watching brief on the clearance of the site of the Salop Steam Laundry, formerly the Burnt Mill, one of several water-mills on the Rea Brook in Shrewsbury, was carried out by Nigel Baker in November-December 1998. The watching brief allowed the plan of the late 18th-century mill to be recorded. Remains of an earlier mill, possibly dating to c.1600, were exposed and recorded prior to preservation *in situ* beneath the new development. The Burnt Mill appears to have been a new mill site of the post-medieval period, and the recorded early remains may be those of the first mill. (Baker, 1998)
Shrewsbury	SJ 4926 1236	Salvage recording carried out by the Archaeology Service during the restoration of 2-3 Milk Street revealed the presence of medieval deposits and a post-medieval sandstone cellar beneath the yard to the rear of the property (Hannaford, 1998h)
Stoke St Milborough	SO 566 822	A watching brief by Dr Robert Killick on the installation of an electricity cable at Stoke St Milborough Church recorded a stone wall beneath the floor joists immediately inside the south wall of the nave. The wall may have been the original nave wall, replaced when the church was rebuilt and slightly enlarged in 1424. (Killick, 1998)
Tibberton and Cherrington	SJ 6698 1883	During topsoil stripping of the route of a new water main across The Weald Moors a previously unrecorded prehistoric burnt mound was discovered at Rodway. The excavation of the mound showed that, at 15m diameter, it fell within the usual size range for such features, and that although it had been truncated somewhat by weathering and more recent agricultural activity, about 0.2m of burnt material survived above the natural subsoil. A pit, interpreted as a water trough, was located on the northern side of the mound. A radiocarbon date in the 13th century bc was obtained from a sample of burnt material taken from the mound. (Hannaford, 1998i)

Wem	SJ 5117 2882	An archaeological watching brief was carried out at Wem Castle (SA1135) on structural investigations to determine the construction of a terrace wall and the nature of the soils it was retaining. The archaeological monitoring produced evidence that the castle mound had been lowered in the past before being given over to agricultural and horticultural use. (Appleton-Fox and Stone, 1998b)
Westbury	SJ 357 093– SJ 413 104	The Roman road between Wroxeter and Forden Gaer (SA98) was exposed in a number of places beneath the modern road in trenches cut for the relining of the water mains between Westbury and Nox. The Roman road levels, seen at various locations between Westbury and Yockleton, consisted of a puddled clay formation, probably set in a shallow trench, with a surface of cobbles and pebbles. (Hannaford, 1998j)

(The numbers in brackets are the County Sites and Monument Record numbers for individual sites.)

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SHROPSHIRE RECORDS AND RESEARCH REPORT 1999

By MARY MACKENZIE

Head of Records and Research

I am pleased to have the opportunity to write a brief report on the work of the Shropshire Records and Research Service. 1999 has seen improvements both in the sources available at the Shropshire Records and Research Centre, and also in the use of new technology to make the information we hold about sources much more accessible.

New sources for 1999

Shropshire Records and Research has acquired the General Register Office indexes which list all births, marriages and deaths in England and Wales from 1837, when the system of civil registration started, to 1950. These have proved to be a most useful and popular addition to our holdings for family historians who previously had to travel to Wolverhampton, Worcester or Mold to see these records. The records are on microfiche and additional readers have been purchased to improve access. The indexes are very popular with our users, prior booking is essential.

Other new sources acquired during the year include the following on CD ROM:

Information on all soldiers killed in the First World War

Gloucester Port Books 1575-1765, a wonderful source for trade on the Severn throughout the county (provided by the Friends of Records & Research)

Family Search, a vast store of genealogical material complied by the Church of Latter Day Saints

National index to the 1881 census

Accessions

Accessions received during the year have included:

A small collection of Shrewsbury borough records including 16th century material on the town's water supply which emerged from Northumberland (SRR 6619)

Records of the Kynaston family of Hordley and Hardwick Hall, Ellesmere, dating from the 13th–19th century (SRR 6624).

Papers of Hall's, auctioneers and estate agents, of Bishop's Castle (SRR 6625)

Receipt book for the Manor of Bromfield, covering the period 1541-1626, bound in a 13th-century decorated ecclesiastical manuscript (SRR 6626)

A letter from Samuel More, the Parliamentarian general, dated 1657 (SRR 6631)

Records of Oswestry Labour Party covering 1924-1988 (SRR 6640)

Photograph album of a children's fancy dress ball given by the Mayor and Mayoress of Shrewsbury on 31 December 1906 (SRR 6668)

Printed works added to our holdings include:

Victoria County History of Shropshire volume X

A concise history of Ludlow, by David Lloyd

Vernacular buildings of Whitchurch & area and their occupants, by Madge Moran

Shropshire's Past Unfolded

This three year project arising from the partnership of the Shropshire Heritage Trust and Shropshire County Council is now half way through. Funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, the aims of the project are to catalogue and conserve a large number of collections, filling over 3,800 boxes, among the archives held by the Service. 13 people are employed on the project. Conservation work is targeted on particular record series within the collections and working methods directed towards high output at an acceptable standard.

All cataloguing is being computerised and to date over 74,000 entries have been created on the database using the software CALM 2000. The project is providing a unique opportunity to improve access to the Shropshire's documentary heritage and to help ensure its preservation for future generations.

The work with CALM is not being carried out in isolation. Shropshire is an active member of the CALM User Group Archivists from across the country have visited Shropshire to see how we work.

The future holds exciting prospects which will make it easy for researchers to discover the whereabouts of relevant archives and retrieve good quality catalogue descriptions. Regional co-operation will be helped by the fact that CALM has been acquired by several services in the West Midlands all producing material to similar standards.

New technology

Shropshire County Council's internet site was re-launched in December including a much extended and improved section relating to Shropshire Records and Research. Surfers can get an overview of our services including our research services and our publications, together with all the information they need to prepare for a visit to the Shropshire Records and Research Centre. In the near future we hope to include remote access to catalogues and more information on our holdings generally. We welcome any suggestions on how we might improve the site.

Events

1999 has been a very active one for the Friends of Shropshire Records and Research. The history day in Church Stretton in April was repeated in July to cope with the demand, and a conference on the early history of Ludlow held in October also proved very popular. The summer walks held during June and July were also well attended. The 1999 annual lecture took place in November and Dr. Donald Harris spoke on Emigration to Canada from 1890-1914.

The Service has also run courses on family history taught by Janice Cox during the year whose popularity has proved the continued interest in the subject and the enthusiasm that Janice brings to her work. In 2000 Janice will be continuing her work and a course on Medieval Latin will be run by Dr. Sylvia Watts.

Staff changes

During the year the Service has seen a number of new faces arriving, and wished farewell to others. Jenny Pitman joined us in January as Records Manager from Chester City Archives. During the year she has relaunched the service based at the Shirehall building on the work done by David Portch before she arrived, and has seen the use of the service expand greatly. Jenny has also been working on the County Council's Intranet and Internet site.

Sarah Acton who had worked as Archivist with Shropshire for almost 10 years left to take up a position in Beverley. Her replacement is Sian Collins who was previously employed on the Shropshire's Past Unfolded project. Also on the project we have seen Sarah Cooley leave to work in the North East and welcomed Sarah Davis and Andrew Morrison as Archive Cataloguers. Louise Hampson, one of the Cataloguing Assistants, left to take up a permanent job with the National Trust at Attingham Park.

Book Reviews

Nigel Baker, *Shrewsbury Abbey, a Medieval Monastery*, ISBN 0 903802 75 9. 80pp. Shropshire Books, £6.95,

Shrewsbury abbey was not of major importance nationally, but of very real importance in the history of our county town. Seventy pages are not enough to develop the subject, but within this limit the author has provided a summary account of the abbey and its archaeology, with well chosen illustrations. It will be very welcome to anyone who has been a spectator of this emerging research over the last decade or so, bringing the wasteland of the abbey precincts back to life.

The author explains why the abbey is here, a Saxon church having been refounded by Roger de Montgomery as the abbey of S. Peter and St. Paul. The advantages and problems of the location are weighed. He describes how a suburb of the town formed around it, and how, on dissolution, the part of the abbey church used by the parish survived as the church of Holy Cross. Little else survived. The attempt from the early 19th century to rediscover the abbey and its precincts is discussed; serious recording of the remains started with Buckler in 1813, and Owen and Blakeway's conclusions were outlined on the early Ordnance Survey maps. Reproductions of the modern illustrations, predating the 19th century losses, are an attractive inclusion in this book. The most recent historic maps we are given are Rocque's of 1746 and Owen and Blakeway's of 1824, to which the reader has to keep referring. Space might have been found for a reproduction of the 1881 ordnance Survey map, or even the Tithe map of *c.*1840 to give the reader a better key to the modern (pre-railway devastation) site from which to work back to the earlier layout.

Now we have archaeology as well. Excavations by BUFAU in 1985-88 first showed that the blank areas on the 19th century plans were not to be taken at face value, and produced copious scientific evidence from the excavation of a building taken to be a medieval kitchen. This early work also generated the first version of a birds-eye reconstruction of the precincts shortly before dissolution which is now redrawn as an attractive piece of archaeological artwork. Other excavations dealt with the abbey mill, the known modern site proving to be of no great antiquity, and showed that the abbey originally stood not on a tributary but on an open navigable side channel of the Severn.

The author indicates the architectural features of what little survives from so much destruction. There is now, in addition to the church itself, only a refectory pulpit and a so-called infirmary, the latter apparently a store and a lodging. The description of the church itself deals with the basically Norman remnants of the nave. Then there is a fascinating but all too short discussion of the 'search for the monks' east end', and here the 1992 archaeology starts to come into play. Space might have been found for some reproduction of the geophysical evidence for the layout, suggesting apse, ambulatory, and lady chapel. There is one contemporary source, a plumber's note of the lead to be salvaged from its demolition, which Owen and Blakeway analysed. Could we not also be given a glimpse of this important document?

The nits to be picked are few. Why commit the bibliographical sin of not stating the publication year? There are minor proof-reading errors; not everyone likes unjustified text, which belongs more to desktop publishing than proper publishing. And why insult the reader by translating the shillings and pence into new pence? The two regrettable things are the printing of the two-page bird's eye view and the two page plan over the central gutter of the book; one wants to open them flat but fears to break the spine. Both could have been printed perfectly well slightly smaller as single pages, with minimal loss of peripheral detail. But the author is to be congratulated on a highly readable and well illustrated aid to spreading up-to-date knowledge of this interesting abbey.

Lance Smith.

Mark Downing, *The Medieval Military Effigies Remaining in Shropshire*. Monumental Books. 1999. ISBN 0 953 7065 0 8. Pp.56. Plates (b&w) 24. P.Bk. £8.00.

Approximately 1100 effigies of medieval date survive in this country, of which some were in stone, some in wood and some in alabaster. Only 13 military effigies survive in Shropshire from the medieval period and in this book Downing provides a careful, detailed description of each of these and the life of the individual represented.

The background to effigy production, sources of materials and the likely workshops where they were carved and the chronological implications are concisely and clearly set out in the introductory pages. The effigies are described in chronological order providing an informative discussion of the development of the form and the dress and motifs involved. A helpful glossary explains the technical terminology.

Photographs (black and white) illustrate all thirteen effigies with both overall views and detailed close-ups where appropriate. These are essential to complete the descriptive process but it is unfortunate that some have scanned less cleanly than others and have not done full justice to the author's originals, which I have seen previously. This is, however, a minor point which does not detract from the importance of the work overall. I noted only one or two typographical errors caused by reliance on a computer spell-checker but these do not pose any problems for comprehension.

In total this is an important contribution to a class of Shropshire monument which, whilst often used as reference by others, has not been drawn together in a single volume before. The author's enthusiasm for his subject is clear and I recommend this volume to anyone for whom ecclesiastical history or simple church visiting is a passion.

Mike Stokes.

David Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*. Ludlow: Merlin Unwin Books for the Ludlow Historical Research Group, 1999. ISBN 1 873674 42 2. 174 pp. £9.99.

This welcome publication offers more than its title suggests. It is a distillation of the author's years of research and thinking about the history of this beautiful and interesting town, and Ludlow is fortunate to be able to enjoy his work in this attractive form. The book covers the whole of the town's history up to the present day, and its aim is not to catalogue antiquarian detail but to trace broad developments in Ludlow's physical appearance and growth and to consider its economy and social life through time, with due reference to the regional context. Thus, for example, one is given an overview of the town's religious history and local government rather than a detailed description of the parish church or a list of mayors. This is local history as the professonal understands it, and at that level it is true praise to say that the book will interest historians of other towns. Only someone who had sifted and digested the antiquarian detail first, however, would be in a position to attempt such a survey, and Mr Lloyd, aided by the Ludlow Historical Research Group, certainly fills that requirement. The many references to individual lives that he uses to illustrate and enliven his themes are the fruit of much patient searching through unexplored archives.

The book is generously illustrated with aptly chosen prints, drawings, and photographs. Most are printed at a greater reduction than is usual, but reproduction is so clear that the size seems unimportant, and the advantage has been that we can have more pictures and not lose the primacy of the text. A long bibliography is given and a helpful (if somewhat generalized) list of manuscript sources. Footnotes, disappointingly, are not provided; the general reader's supposed aversion to them may once have been real, but this is a more critical and enquiring age and such notes may now be a selling point, even when their slight additional cost is taken into account. By way of compensation, at least for local residents, sets of references have been deposited in Ludlow library, the Shropshire Records and Research Centre, and the Herefordshire Record Office.

The reader will come from the book with a rounded picture of Ludlow through the ages, and one that will stand the test of time. Perhaps with that in mind, the author has consistently avoided any expression of opinion on controversial matters, particularly when dealing with the modern period. He quotes and tactfully balances the conflicting views of others (for example over the demolition of the Town Hall in 1986 or on the question of conservation versus improvement) or leaves emotive subjects alone (changes in religious observance during the 20th century, for instance); one therefore looks in vain for anything like the telling pinpricks of a Betjeman, a Pevsner, or a Clifton-Taylor. Nevertheless Mr Lloyd's *Concise History* will be a safe starting point for those who may now feel a desire to venture into more dangerous territory.

David Cox

OBITUARY

JOHN SHIPLEY CLARKE 1933-2000

The Society was greatly saddened to learn of the death of John Clarke. He had been an enthusiastic member of the Society, and but for his illness would have taken up the post as its treasurer. John studied at Oxford University gaining a good degree. Later he taught Chemistry at Alleyns School, Dulwich, where he also led a Scout Group, active in this country and abroad. When he finished teaching he retired to south Shropshire, where he was a founder member of Craven Arms Historical Society, researching several subjects of local interest. After suffering a heart attack, he underwent a triple bypass operation, which improved his health for a while. In January 1997 he was awarded a Master of Arts degree in English Local History, after a two year part-time course at the University of Leicester. For several years he was the churchwarden, and later treasurer of St. John the Baptist's church at Stokesay. He was the co-author of a guide to this church, and he also wrote a guide to nearby Halford church. Because of deteriorating health he gave up practical local history and archaeology, but continued to write. Latterly he was revising a 1993 history of Craven Arms. This is now being completed by another member of the Craven Arms Historical Society. John was a respected and good friend to all who knew him. He will certainly be missed

RULES

1. The Society shall be called 'The Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society (with which is incorporated The Shropshire Parish Register Society)'

2. The Society's objects shall be the advancement of the education of the public in archaeological and historical investigation in Shropshire and the preservation of the county's antiquities. In furtherance of those objects, but not otherwise, the Society shall have the power (i) to publish the results of historical research and archaeological excavation and editions of documentary material of local importance including parish registers, and (ii) to record archaeological discoveries.

3. Management of the Society shall be vested in the Council, which shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Officers, and not more than twenty elected members. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at an annual general meeting; they shall be elected for five years and shall be eligible for re-election. The Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected at each annual general meeting; the other officers shall be elected by the Council and shall consist of a Membership Secretary, Editor, Editor of the *News Sheet*, Meetings and Field Meetings Secretary, Librarian, Publications Secretary, and any other officers deemed necessary by the Council. Officers shall act in an honorary capacity. Not more than twenty members of the Council shall be elected by the annual general meeting. Members of the retiring Council shall be eligible for re-election and their names may be proposed without previous notice; in the case of other candidates a proposal signed by four members of the Society must be sent to the Secretary not less than fourteen days before the annual general meeting. The Council may co-opt not more than five additional members for the year.

4. At Council meetings five members shall be a quorum.

5. The Council, through the Treasurer, shall present the audited accounts for the last complete year to the annual general meeting.

6. The Council shall determine what number of each publication shall be printed, including any complimentary offprints for contributors.

7. Candidates for membership of the Society may apply directly to the Membership Secretary who, on payment of the subscription, shall be empowered to accept membership on behalf of the Society.

8. Each member's subscription shall become due on election or on 1st January and be paid to the Membership Secretary, and shall be the annual sum of £14 for individual members and £15 for family and institutional members, or such sums as the Society shall from time to time decide. If a member's subscription shall be two years in arrears and then not paid after due reminder, that membership shall cease.

9. The Council shall have the power to elect honorary members of the Society.

10. Every member not in arrears of his annual subscription shall be entitled to one copy of the latest available *Transactions* to be published, and copies of other publications of the Society on such conditions as may be determined by the Council.

11. Applicants for membership under the age of 21 may apply for associate membership, for which the annual subscription shall be £1. Associate members shall enjoy all the rights of full members, except entitlement to free issues of the *Transactions* and occasional publications of the Society. Associate membership shall terminate at the end of the year in which the member becomes 21.

12. No alterations shall be made to the Society's rules except by the annual general meeting or by an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose by the Council. Any proposed alteration must be submitted to the Secretary in time to enable him to give members at least twenty-one days notice of the extraordinary general meeting. No amendment shall be made to the rules which would cause the Society to cease to be a charity at law.

13. The Society may be dissolved by a resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of those present with voting rights at either an annual general meeting or an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose, of which twenty-one day's prior notice had been given in writing. Such a resolution may give instructions for the disposal of any assets held by the Society after all debts and liabilities have been paid, the balance to be transferred to some other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to those of the Society.