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A Tale of Two Bridges: *Cwatbrycge* and Bridgnorth Revisited

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Abstract: A re-assessment of the evidence for the pre-Conquest history of Bridgnorth and Quatford, with particular reference to the important river crossings over the Severn, and with a re-analysis of the place-name evidence to show that the Old English element *cwat(t)* was not, as hitherto supposed, a district name. It is argued that the town, castle and bridge of Bridgnorth were created *de novo* in the early twelfth century, having been transferred from Quatford, which had been the site of an important Anglo-Saxon bridge across a floodplain of the Severn from the early tenth century, and perhaps earlier.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles tell us that in the late autumn or early winter of 895 the Danes rowed their ships up the Thames and up the river Lea and established a fortress by the Lea, some 20 miles north of London. In the following summer 'a great part of the [English] citizens' tried unsuccessfully to storm the fortress. King Alfred arrived with an army to protect the English harvesters, and began to build two forts, one on either side of the Lea. The Danes, realising that their ships were trapped, sent their womenfolk to East Anglia for safety and fled overland, pursued by the English army, until they reached a place by the river Severn variously recorded as *Brycge*, *Bricge*, and *Cwatbrycge*.[1] There they built a *geweorc*, or fortification, leaving the place only in the summer of 896.

The location of *Brycge*, alias *Cwatbrycge*, has hitherto remained uncertain, but it has a further appearance in the historical record, for it is also mentioned (as *[ ]antbrycge*) in the tenth-century Chronicle of Æthelweard[2] as the place where a Danish army, which had been ravaging along the west side of the Severn, crossed the river in 910, immediately before it was attacked by a combined West Saxon and Mercian army and defeated at the battle of Tettenhall.[3] It seems very likely that the same place is referred to when the Chronicles tell us that two years later Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians and daughter of King Alfred, built a *burh* or fortification, at *Bricge*.[4]

For obvious phonological reasons *Cwatbrycge* ('Cwat-bridge'[5]) has long been associated with Quatford, a hamlet on the east bank of the river Severn, some two miles south-east of Bridgnorth. However, the picture is clouded by the fact that *Bryg* (or similar) – 'bridge' – was the early name of Bridgnorth.[6] For centuries that has led historians to reach differing conclusions as to the location of *Cwatbrycge*, otherwise *Brycge*. For example, Camden, Leland, Gibson, Kemble, Thorpe, Plummer, Stenton, Whitelock, Garmonsway, Campbell, Rowley, Keynes and Lapidge, Bately, and Swanton (and very many others, including the Ordnance Survey) identify the place as Bridgnorth, whereas Owen and Blakeway, Oman, Hodgkin, Ekwall and Webster (and far fewer others) prefer to place it at Quatford.[7] A more recent study by Margaret Gelling[8] supports the majority view and opts for Bridgnorth, on the basis of a carefully researched and argued paper by J. F. A. Mason, published in these *Transactions* in the early 1960s which, not unreasonably, concluded that *Quatbrycge*, *Brycge* and Bridgnorth were in reality the same place.[9]

That identification, which has influenced scholars for almost half a century, was founded on the supposition that there was a bridge at Bridgnorth in 895 where the Danes established a camp; that a Danish army crossed that same bridge immediately before the battle of Tettenhall in 910; and that Æthelflæd built a *burh* in the same place in 912. The hypothesis assumed that the bridge (together with any associated settlement) at Bridgnorth had disappeared completely before the Conquest, since it is not mentioned or alluded to in Domesday Book.[10] What is certain is that a new castle, settlement and bridge were established there *c*.1101 by Robert de Belême, eldest son of Roger de Montgomery, who transferred to Bridgnorth the borough at Quatford.[11] In short, Mason proposed that *Cwatbrycge* was at Bridgnorth, which had disappeared by Domesday, but which reappeared *c*.1101.

Cwatbrycge has been a name of particular interest to philologists, and various theories have been put forward to explain the unique names Quatford and Quatt (the latter a village some two miles south-east of Quatford), all three of which evidently incorporate the Old English element *cwat(t)*.

A review of the research into the names shows that *cwat(t)* seems first to have been recorded in the personal name Leofwine Cwatt, mentioned in the will of Ætheling Athelstan in 1015.[12] In the mid-nineteenth century the doyen of Shropshire medievalists, the Reverend R. W. Eyton, confidently asserted that the place-name Quatt represented the Welsh *coed*, identifying it with the vast forest of Morfe,[13] a derivation now rejected with equal confidence by philologists. Max Förster took the view that a personal name might be involved,[14] and Eilert Ekwall, suggesting in the first edition (1936) of his *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*[15] that a possible root was the Old English *cwead* 'mud, dung', added the possibility in the 1960 fourth (and last) edition, on the basis of the byname in Leofwine Cwatt, that the element might have been a personal name, but noted that the genitive form should be Cwattes, and, as a further possibility, that there might have been an Old English word *cwatt* which could be used in place-names and could also give rise to a byname. He considered it doubtful that the place-names Quatt and Quatford contained a word which was the ancestor of Modern English *quat*, meaning a pimple. Subsequently he acknowledged that his own suggested derivation from *cwead* 'had better be abandoned', and wrote that 'the most reasonable explanation seems to me to be from a word *cwatt*, whose meaning rendered it liable to give rise both to a nickname and to a place-name. A word meaning "a lump", "a hump" or the like would be possible, though it has, so far as I know, no analogy in any Germanic language', and suggested further consideration of the local topography. He thought it doubtful, but not altogether impossible, that the place-names contain the nickname Cwatt.[16] It is unclear whether he was aware of G. Tengvik's observations on the name Leofwine Cwatt: 'in my opinion it is probably identical with an early M[iddle] E[nglish] (evidenced from 1579) and Modern English dialect quat 'pimple, boil', formed from the German stem *kwat- with the sense of "something lumpy, protruding"'.[17]

Margaret Gelling, in her exhaustive study of Shropshire place-names, encouraged by Mason's conclusions into identifying *Cwatbrycge* with Bridgnorth, concluded that the element *cwat(t)* was a district name, covering a sizeable area from Quatt to Bridgnorth. Noting that Ekwall was less than satisfied with his suggestion that the element derived from OE *cwēd* 'dirt', she dismissed a derivation from a word *quat*, meaning 'a pimple', as not suitable for a district name, and concluded that no suggestion was available about its meaning, which appeared to have no parallel among other place-names.[18]

The most recent comprehensive and scholarly study of English place-names suggests that the name Quatt is from an Old English **cwætt*, of uncertain meaning and origin, possibly related to *quat*, a word meaning 'a pimple, a pustule, a small boil', but offers no further explanation.[19] In that respect, we might usefully take up Ekwall's suggestion and consider the topography of the place.

The churchyard at Quatt, which lies more or less at the centre of the small settlement, is a slightly domed, roughly square plateau modelled out of a pronounced sandstone knoll or hillock, with the church of St. Andrew, which has traces of Anglo-Saxon fabric,[20] standing on its highest point. We can say with some confidence, despite Ekwall's reservations, that we have in the names Quatt and Quatford an otherwise unrecorded Anglo-Saxon element, which survived until modern times as a dialect word (used by Shakespeare in Othello, and well-recorded in more recent times in the Midland counties[21]), for a pustule or pimple, which, at some date before the tenth century, was applied topographically to the hillock on which stands Quatt church.[22] Quatt is recorded in Domesday Book under the name *Quatone*, which we can now interpret as 'the *tūn* associated with the pimple-like lump',[23] which (if an accurate record) evidently became abbreviated to the present name, although the unique Domesday spelling may well be aberrant.

Furthermore, while it is usually assumed that the name Quatford means 'the ford leading to Quatt',[24] or 'the ford near Quatt', or 'the ford associated with Quatt', we should perhaps consider whether Quatford might possibly be a separate name in its own right,[25] since the most striking feature of the place is the 60-foot sandstone knoll which rises sheer from the Severn (now topped by the motte of a presumed motte and bailey castle built by Roger de Montgomery[26]), and which overlooks the ancient ford, and is not inappropriately described in a name meaning 'the ford at the lump or mound'.[27] The knoll is made all the more prominent by the fact that it rises sharply from the flat meadows that adjoin the Severn to the north and south, and it is very conspicuous when viewed across the wide flood plain on the west side of the river.[28]

But whatever the case, there is no reason to suppose, as has been assumed, that the name *Cwat(t)* was applied to a large area in the late ninth and early tenth century, and any association with Bridgnorth is, it is suggested, illusory.

So where was *Cwatbrycge*?

Any search for the site of *Cwatbrycge* might usefully start with an analysis of the historic road pattern in the Bridgnorth region, for early roads will have converged on any river crossing.

For details of the early road system on the west side of the Severn we are greatly assisted by research undertaken

by Jane Croom in the 1990s which revealed, on the basis of a detailed analysis of the early landscape and field patterns of the area, a significant Roman (and probable pre-Roman) presence, including a trackway or road from Wenlock Edge via Morville to Eardington, almost certainly in use during the Roman period and quite possibly of prehistoric origin.[29] Evidence of a major concentration of occupation debris at an unenclosed major Roman site at Upton Cresset fits this picture,[30] as does an enclosure of probable Iron-Age or Romano-British date at Hay Farm on the west side of the Severn south-west of Quatford.[31]

On the east side of the Severn, where large-scale changes to the field and road pattern, particularly since the enclosure of this area in the early nineteenth century, do not allow a detailed study to balance that undertaken by Croom on the west, a lost road running north-west from the Roman sites at Greensforge to the south of Swancote Farm has been traced by A. W. J. Houghton, who identified the road as Roman, and suggested that it turned west to cross the river Severn at, or near, Bridgnorth, continuing on the west side of the river and then south-west along the Corve Valley and ultimately into Mid-Wales.[32] An excavated section of the road at Winchester, near Claverley, revealed a relatively sophisticated construction with side ditches, which certainly points towards a Roman identification,[33] and the road indeed appears to run from Greensforge, the focus of several Roman roads, but whatever its provenance, there must be some doubt whether the road deviated sharply and inexplicably to cross the Severn at, or near, Bridgnorth. We might question whether the Romans would have seen Bridgnorth, with its high cliffs on both sides of the Severn, as a suitable site for a river crossing. Certainly no evidence of any Roman occupation in, or close to, Bridgnorth has been recorded.[34]

What is certain, and one of the few fixed points in this tale, is that a bridge existed at Quatford in 1086, for it is recorded in a sixteenth-century copy of what seems to have been an abbreviated chronicle-cartulary, perhaps drawn up in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, of the significant title-deeds of the college of Bridgnorth, which refers to the foundation of Quatford church in that year.[35] That single reference is of particular importance, since for reasons which will become clear, the bridge is not mentioned again.[36] However, Eyton, whose opinions cannot lightly be dismissed, and who knew of the chronicle-cartulary, accepted the existence of a bridge called Quat-bridge at Quatford in the early twelfth century (when Florence of Worcester was writing), but he was not willing to accept that a bridge existed in the area as early as the ninth century, writing:

> 'I cannot suppose for an instant that in the year 896 there was a bridge over the Severn at or near Quatford, nor that, if there were, would a contemporary Saxon have described it as 'Cwatbricge by Severn', words which are only referable to a period when there was both a bridge and a village in the locality. The word 'bridge' is therefore an interpolation by some one transcribing the older document at a time when there was a bridge at Quatford, and which was probably not till the end of the eleventh century. Florence of Worcester, on the other hand, using the same original authority and writing, as we know, at the beginning of the twelfth century, interpolates the same passage much more truly and intelligibly. He describes the Danes as flying to the *place* (not town) which is called Quat-bridge – that is, called so at the time he was writing. This is not the only instance which I have met with, where the *ipsissima verba* of Florence convey a truth not deducible from any copy of the *Saxon Chronicle*... All we can safely conclude on this subject is then, that the Danes in 896, having lost their fleet, came and wintered in the forest by the Severn; and Florence of Worcester, two centuries after, understood the place then called Quatbridge, to have been the site of their encampment…'.[37]

Is Eyton's scepticism about an early (i.e. pre-tenth century) bridge at *Cwatbrycge* justified?

The best evidence for a bridge existing in the late-ninth or early-tenth century comes from the noble chronicler Æthelweard's account of the events leading up to the battle of Tettenhall in 910. In his famously elaborate form of Latin, abounding with archaic and obscure words, he writes *'Ast ubi pedem retraxere domi ouantes spoliis opimis parte in eoa fluuii Sefern etiam transmeabant pontem ordine litterato qui uulgo [ ]antbricge nuncupatur* ('But when rejoicing in rich spoils they [the Danes] were still engaged in crossing to the east side of the river Severn over a pons to give the Latin spelling, which is called [ ]antbricge by the common people...').[38]

Æthelweard was the great-great-grandson of a brother of King Alfred. His date of birth is not known, but he probably died *c*.1000.[39] He seems to have based his Chronicle, written between 978 and 988,[40] on a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle no longer surviving, which may have been the original Chronicle from which the other versions ultimately derive, and he appears to have had access to other Chronicles, some now lost. He was writing within 75 years or so of the battle.[41] Eyton's doubts about a bridge at Quatford might properly be considered removed by Æthelweard's account (uncharacteristically overlooked by Eyton), although it must be remembered that Æthelweard was writing about events which had occurred some 15 years after 895. Furthermore, Florence of Worcester (d.1118) was writing in the early twelfth century, and (contrary to Eyton's belief) at that date it is likely, as we shall see, that there was no place (or structure) called Quatbridge.

Whatever the case, we have evidence from Æthelweard that a bridge at *Cwatbrycge* probably existed in 910,[42] and certainly existed by 988. We can reasonably assume that the tenth-century bridge lay at, or close to, the site of

the bridge recorded at Quatford in 1086, since a major structure such as a bridge is unlikely to have been relocated in the absence of any extraordinary upheaval. Later bridge builders would tend to use an existing river crossing, served by pre-existing routeways leading to the site, and utilise earlier bridge foundations and abutments which might well survive even if the superstructure had been destroyed.

The early routeway identified by Croom running from Wenlock Edge to Eardington suggests that, when considering the site of an ancient Severn crossing, we need to concentrate on the topography of the area around Quatford. The very name, recorded as *Quattford* at some date between 1012 and 1056 in a description of the boundary of the diocese of Hereford,[43] and as *Quatford* in Domesday Book,[44] shows that a ford existed here in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that it had much earlier origins. There is no reason to think that it was not the old ford, well recorded from the twelfth century, at the place where the river was crossed by a ferry in the nineteenth century, just south-west of the motte.[45] We can suppose that the ford at Quatford is very much older than any bridge, but there is no reason why a bridge and a ford should not have co-existed in close proximity after a bridge had been built, for, whilst the Severn is fordable in many places when it is at a low level, a ford will have been of little value in all but the driest conditions.

Mason makes the valid point that Florence is unlikely to have used the name *Cwatbrycge* for Quatford at a time when the name Quatford itself seems to have been already well established.[46] Perhaps, as implied by Eyton, the immediate area of the bridge (possibly what later became known as Netherton) was known as *Cwatbrygce*,[47] and the settlement as Quatford: the village of Quatford has always been modest in size, and most dwellings are now concentrated well to the north of the church,[48] and that may have been the case in the tenth century, although we do not, of course, know the precise location of the incipient borough recorded in Domesday Book. Or the name *Cwatbrygce* may have applied only to the bridge structure, and not to any settlement. Reports of substantial oak timbers found on the east side of the river Severn some 300 yards south-west of the church[49] have been taken as evidence that the bridge stood a few yards south of the point where the southern boundary of Quatford joins the west bank of the Severn. An islet or bylet in the Severn in this approximate position which survived until about 1820[50] is marked as *Brugge Billet* on a crude but valuable schematic map of the Bridgnorth area, dating perhaps to *c*.1560[51] (Figure 1), and the 1891–2 6" Ordnance Survey map shows 'Site of Bridge' in roughly the same position, although lost antiquities marked on nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps must always be treated with caution, and the oak timbers may have been unconnected with any bridge.[52] It seems very possible that they were associated with the fish weirs known to have existed in the area.

Mason also questions why the Norman magnate Robert de Bellême decided to develop Quatford with a church and borough, when he had a number of alternative sites open to him in Shropshire and elsewhere.[53] The reason was doubtless that an ancient ford, and a bridge known as *Cwatbrycge*, provided a major focus for travellers and the genesis for a new commercial centre, as evidenced by a reference to a market and tolls at Quatford in the 1086 foundation document of Quatford church.[54]

In our search for the site of the Danish camp of 895–6, an important ford over the Severn mid-way between Bridgnorth and Quatford with the evocative name Danesford cannot be overlooked. The ford is recorded from at least the fifteenth century, and is marked in Gothic script on the 1891 6" Ordnance Survey map. Disappointingly, the name has no association with the Danes, but originated as 'the hidden ford', from Old English *derne* 'hidden, secret, obscure', and doubtless developed into its present form as a result of later antiquarianism associating the place (and name) with the Danish presence in the area in 895–6 and *c*.910.[55]

Turning now to Bridgnorth, it should be noted that no certain archaeological or documentary evidence for occupation there prior to the twelfth century has been recorded on either side of the river Severn.[56] There is no evidence, despite references to the contrary, of any mint (implying the existence of a town) at Bridgnorth in the pre-Conquest period,[57] and Anglo-Saxon coins with the mint-name *Brycg* or *Bridian* are now attributed to Bridport, or possibly Breedy.[58] Furthermore, we can note the Welsh had no name for Bridgnorth,[59] which implies a late foundation.

Bridgnorth first emerges from history in accounts of the construction of a castle there in 1101 by Robert de Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury; the transfer to Bridgnorth of the borough of Quatford at about the same time; and the siege and capture of the castle by Henry I in 1102, after Robert's rebellion against the crown.[60] The earliest certain references to the town date from the twelfth century and name the place as *Brugiam*, *Brugiæ*,[61] *Bruges*, *Brig*', *Brug'*, *Briges*, and *Brugis*,[62] *Bryg, Brugge, Brug, Bruche,* and *Brusys*.[63] The earliest name of Bridgnorth was clearly 'Bridge'.[64] The terminal *-s* in the spellings is not an indication that the name was plural: the Normans often added an *-s* to English place-names, particularly to shorter names.[65]

The use of the simplex name *Brycge* or similar, without a qualifier or descriptor, for the new settlement at Bridgnorth suggests that in 1101–2 there was no other bridge across the Severn in the area: the old bridge at *Brycge/Cwatbrycge* had decayed or been accidentally or deliberately destroyed, possibly at the time of the transfer of Quatford to Bridgnorth.[66] Indeed, a need to restore or rebuild the bridge might help to explain the decision to transfer the borough to Bridgnorth.

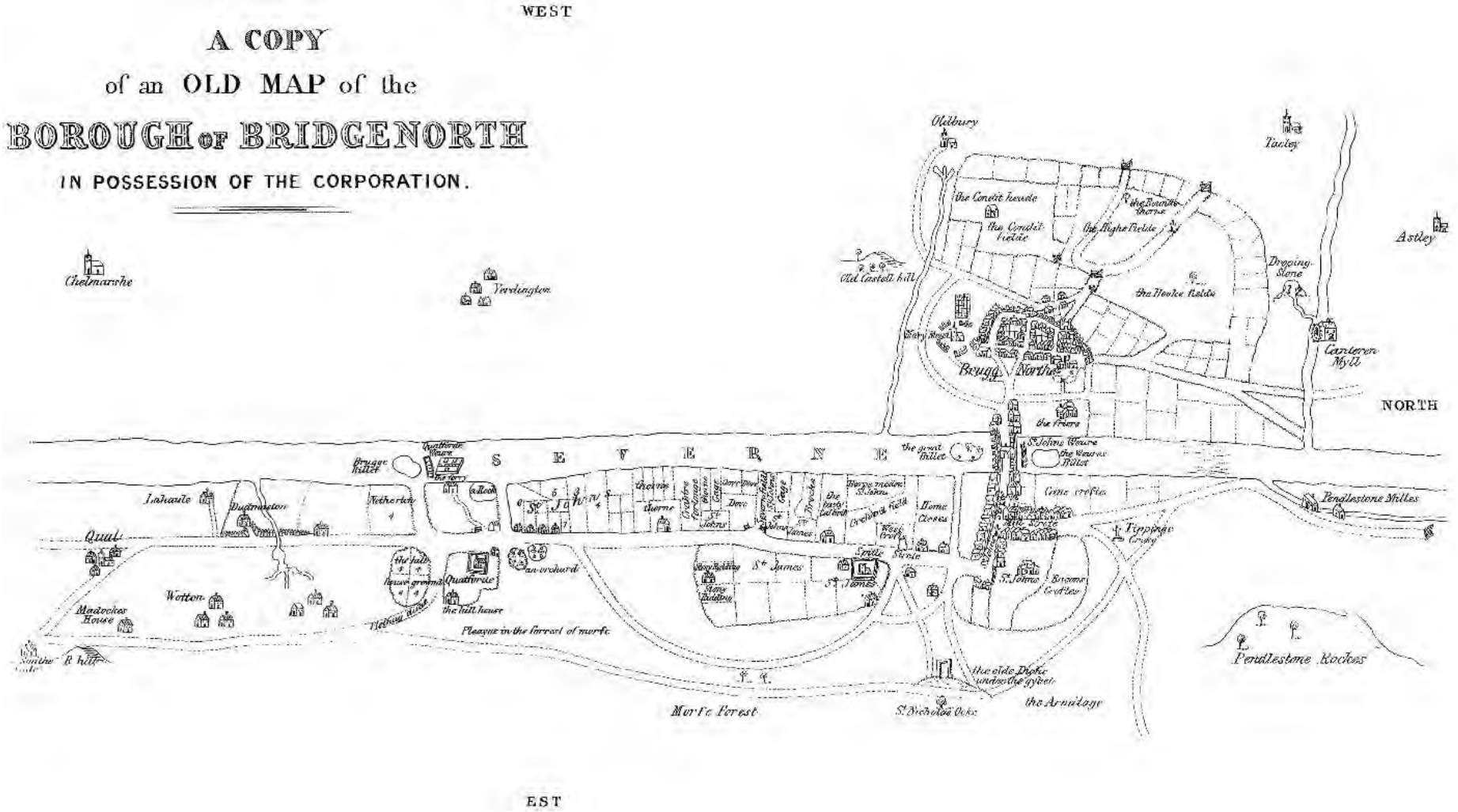

Figure 1 A copy of the well-known but enigmatic 'Ancient Map' of Bridgnorth and the area of the River Severn to the south, the original (now disintegrated) perhaps dating from the sixteenth century, as reproduced in G. Bellett's 'The Antiquities of Bridgnorth', published in 1856. The map is highly schematic, with the sinuous curves of the River Severn removed. An island in the Severn at Quatford is clearly shown, with the motte at Quatford labelled 'a Rock'.

Assuming that *Cwatbrycge* lay near Quatford, there is no mention of any bridge (or settlement), either directly or by implication, at Bridgnorth before 1101.[67] There is only the place-name *Bryg* (and variants) to suggest that a bridge crossed the Severn at Bridgnorth, but, as we have seen, such names (other than those which are clearly alternative names for *Cwatbrycge*) are found only from the twelfth century onwards. It has long been assumed that the element *–north* was attached to the simplex name to signify that it was the bridge to the north of the former bridge at Quatford, though Margaret Gelling drew attention to the curious word order in the dithematic name, and pointed out that if the first element were intended to distinguish the bridge at Bridgnorth from another bridge to the south, it would normally be expected to appear first, so Newbridge or Northbridge, concluding that the pseudo-manorial suffix North may have been applied by government officials to the most northerly of several places called 'Bridge' with which they had to deal.[68]

There are certainly parallels for adding a cardinal point to a place-name to distinguish it from the same name in a far distant part of the country, for example Northampton and Southampton.[69] Many place-names are found more than once in England (and Wales and Scotland), and confusion in official records was generally removed by adding the name of the relevant county. Those place-names have survived without clarificatory additions. Once the castle, borough and bridge had been transferred to Bridgnorth, the place would naturally be known as 'Bridge',[70] and later it might have been considered difficult to place a new descriptive element before the name, since that might have suggested a new place altogether. It seems possible, if not likely, that 'north' was added spontaneously by a clerk who, having been accustomed to hearing or seeing or writing the name *Bricge*, realised that there was a possibility of confusion with *Brycge*, the alternative name for the abandoned *Cwatbrycge*, and attached, as if in parentheses, the clarificatory suffix, and the name Bridgnorth thereafter became the accepted or 'official' name. Bridgnorth as a dithematic name does not appear before the end of the twelfth century,[71] but might well have been in use for some time before it is first recorded.[72]

A dispassionate observer might consider it puzzling that a major bridge crossing the Severn (and presumably an associated settlement) supposedly recorded at Bridgnorth in 895 and 910 had seemingly disappeared by 1086, by which time there was a bridge, a settlement, and a ford at Quatford, and that same settlement and bridge transferred back to Bridgnorth *c*.1101. In the same way, it is hard to believe that if *Cwatbrycge* were the original name for Bridgnorth, the distinctive and memorable first element of the name had been completely lost and forgotten when the borough of Quatford moved there *c*. 1101 and needed a name.

Moreover, with the likely derivation of the element *cwat(t)* established, can we determine whether *Cwatbrycge* could have been the early name of Bridgnorth? The natural topographical feature likely to have been described as a *cwat(t)* is readily apparent at Quatt, and more doubtfully at Quatford. No such feature is readily apparent at Bridgnorth. From its scale and irregular shape, the great sandstone outcrop on which the castle stands is unlikely to have been seen as a pustule or pimple, although the original shape and profile of the hill summit cannot, of course, now be known. However, there is one feature that is certainly suggestive of a pimple or pustule. Panpudding Hill is a flat-topped conical mound, 350 yards from Bridgnorth Castle on the south-west side of Bridgnorth, so-named from its likeness to a pudding cooked in a basin or pan. The mound has been formed by the reshaping of the end of a natural hillspur into a ringwork-and-bailey type siege castle, almost certainly by Henry I during the three-week siege of Robert de Bellême's fortification on Castle Hill in 1102.[73] The name *Cwatbrycge* evidently long predates the mound of Panpudding Hill (which is in any event man-made, whereas the element *cwat(t)* seems to have been applied to a natural formation) and Panpudding Hill can therefore be ruled out as a feature that could have led to the creation of the name *Cwatbrycge* at Bridgnorth.[74]

In summary, we have evidence that a bridge might have existed across the Severn at *Cwatbrycge* in 910, and one certainly existed by 988, by which date Æthelweard had written the name *[ ]antbricge*, presumably the bridge recorded at Quatford in 1086, but there is no evidence of any kind for a pre-Conquest ford or bridge or settlement at Bridgnorth.[75] It is clear that Mason's theory that *Cwatbrycge* = *Brycge* = Bridgnorth must be open to serious doubt. Quite simply, there is no early evidence (other than Florence of Worcester, who says that Robert de Bellême's castle – wherever that might have been – was built on the site of Æthelflæd's *burh*[76]), to equate *Cwatbrycge* with Bridgnorth (and, as we shall see, Florence may be incorrect), but abundant evidence to equate *Cwatbrycge* with Quatford.[77]

That evidence might include the boundaries of early estates in this area. An indirect allusion to an Anglo-Saxon bridge may arguably be detected in the Hereford diocese boundary description of 1012 x 1056,[78] which was said to follow the Severn upstream as far as *Quattford*. At the time of Domesday, the river Severn formed a natural boundary for administrative units on each side of the Severn. However, Eardington included Quatford in 1086,[79] and the river did not form a boundary where it flowed through Eardington. The fact that Quatford lay (and indeed still lies) on both sides of the river is a very strong indication that there was a river crossing, whether ford or bridge, at that point.[80] From an early period stream and river crossings were frequently marked by the same administrative unit holding both banks, one example being Arley, where a part of Staffordshire lay on the west bank of the Severn until 1895, so ensuring that both sides of the crossing were within Staffordshire. Many county

and parish boundaries deviate at water crossings to ensure common ownership of the crossing, and otherwise unexplained boundary deflections at watercourse often denote a lost ford or bridge. There is no evidence of any such early deviation at what became Bridgnorth.

The chronicles tell us that in 912, two years after the English victory over the Danes at Tettenhall, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, constructed a *burh* or fortification at *Bricge* on the Severn,[81] and Florence of Worcester records that the *burh* was an *arcem munitam* ('fortified stronghold') on the western bank of the Severn, in the place called *Brycge*. Because *Brycge* is the early name of Bridgnorth, it has long been held that Æthelflæd's *burh* was at Bridgnorth. That supposition, indeed, is reinforced by Florence of Worcester's later statement that 'Robert de Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, son of Earl Roger, began to strengthen with a high and thick wall the fort on the western bank of the Severn, at the place called in the Saxon tongue Brycge. This had been built by the Lady of the Mercians, Ægelfleda'.[82]

Robert de Bellême's castle is generally assumed to have been on the site now occupied by Bridgnorth castle. Certainly the position, on Castle Hill, the prominent sandstone cliff on the west bank of the Severn, high above the river, is strategically impressive, and was probably the site of Robert's castle[83] – it is the type of location favoured by Norman castle builders from the twelfth century onwards.

But the topography of Bridgnorth is atypical of many Midland Anglo-Saxon *burhs* (or, indeed, known Danish camps), where a level site on lower ground, often adjoining a river, is usually found. Where a *burh* was established in the vicinity of a major river, it was generally built to allow direct and convenient access to that river. That would be difficult at Bridgnorth, where the castle stands high above the Severn, although Æthelflæd may have created a *burh* fortification on a headland at Runcorn, where the defences of 915 have been identified as an enclosure, destroyed in the nineteenth century, of no more than 1.5 hectares in area on Castle Rock, a coastal headland on the south bank of the Mersey river, surrounded by ramparts with a tidal water-filled ditch on the landward side.[84] Bridgnorth cannot be ruled out as the site of an Æthelflædian *burh* on topographical grounds alone.

Whilst Florence of Worcester is normally considered a reliable historian, it is submitted that in linking Æthelflæd's *burh* with Robert de Bellême's castle, the chronicler is mistaken, but only as a result of confusion based on the perfectly reasonable assumption that *Brycge* was a static place-name.

Although Florence of Worcester might be expected to have had a particular interest in the Bridgnorth area, and indeed perhaps had personal knowledge of the locality,[85] since it lies only about 25 miles or so from Worcester, it is evident that his information was not taken from any version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with which we are familiar. His source for the statement that Robert built his castle on the site of Æthelflæd's burh is unknown, and we are entitled to question its veracity.[86]

Our main source of information for Robert de Bellême's rebellion against Henry I is the chronicler Orderic Vitalis, one of the most illustrious sons of Salopia, who, between 1123 and 1141, wrote a voluminous *Ecclesiastical History* from the beginning of the Christian era to 1141. Orderic was born at Atcham in Shropshire (on the river Severn, just 15 miles north-west of Bridgnorth) in 1075 to an English mother and Norman father, a priest in the service of Roger de Montgomery, father of Robert de Bellême. He was educated in Shrewsbury from the age of 5 until he was sent to Normandy at the age of 11 to train for ordination. A meticulous historian, he records that, after the death of Robert de Bellême's younger brother, Hugh, in 1098, Robert bought from William Rufus for £300 his late brother's earldom, after which he harried the Welsh brutally for four years and built a strong castle at Bridgnorth, to which he moved the town of Quatford: '*Oppidum de Quatfort transtulit, et Brugiam, munitissmum castellum, super Sabrinam fluvium condidit*.'[87] Since Robert was probably in France until the autumn of 1101, it is likely that the transfer of Quatford to Bridgnorth took place late in 1101.[88] Orderic tells of the siege and capture of Bridgnorth castle by Henry I after Robert's rebellion in 1102,[89] but although he clearly had access to details of events in the area at the turn of the eleventh century – he is known to have made a visit to England, including Worcester priory, at some date between 1114 and 1123 for the express purpose of collecting material for his history[90] – he makes no claim that Robert's new castle was built on the site of Æthelflæd's *burh*, and indeed the claim is made by no chronicler other than Florence.[91]

It seems to the present writer that Florence of Worcester reasonably, but mistakenly, assumed that *Brycge* where Æthelflæd built her *burh* was *Brycge*, where Robert de Bellême built his castle, and that view is reinforced by the observations of a recent editor of his chronicle who notes that: 'It is possible that...the entry under 1101 (describing Robert of Bellême's fortifying of Bridgnorth and Quatford) [was] the result of [the chronicler] inferring or of his editing of his text, and may not have been taken directly from his sources'.[92] Since Florence is the only source for the statement that Æthelflæd built her *burh* on the west bank of the Severn (i.e. the site of Robert de Bellême's new fortification at Bridgnorth), we are entitled to treat the statement with suspicion, particularly since Florence was evidently unaware (since he does not mention it) of the transfer of Quatford to Bridgnorth. We might wonder at the failure of the English chroniclers to mention the episode, but there can be little doubt that Orderic Vitalis gives an accurate account of events in the Bridgnorth area at the turn of the eleventh century.[93]

There is, however, another reference to Æthelflæd's *burh* which might be considered to add to the evidence. Roger of Wendover, writing *c*.1235, says that Æthelflæd restored a fortification on the west bank of the river Severn at *Bregges*.[94] Roger's use of the word 'restored', if not a stylistic embellishment,[95] suggests that Æthelflæd's fortification perhaps made use of the camp created by the Danes during their wintering in 895–6, only 16 years earlier, That possibility cannot be ignored, for Æthelflæd is known to have rebuilt or refortified Danish camps elsewhere: the *burh* at Tamworth, for example, was built by Æthelflæd over Danish earthworks.

We need to recognise that the only two substantive accounts of Æthelflæd's *burh* which tell us that it lay on the west bank of the Severn are Florence of Worcester and Roger of Wendover.[96] The first has been shown to be less than reliable in that respect, and the second had as its nucleus a compilation, extending to 1188, made by John de Cella, abbot of St. Albans, who appears to have incorporated material from Florence's Chronicle.[97]

It is, nevertheless, necessary to consider whether the two chronicles are, indeed, likely to be correct.

We might expect the Danes to have built their camp on the west side of the Severn since, although both banks were in Mercian territory, there was a stronger likelihood of an English attack from the east, and the river would

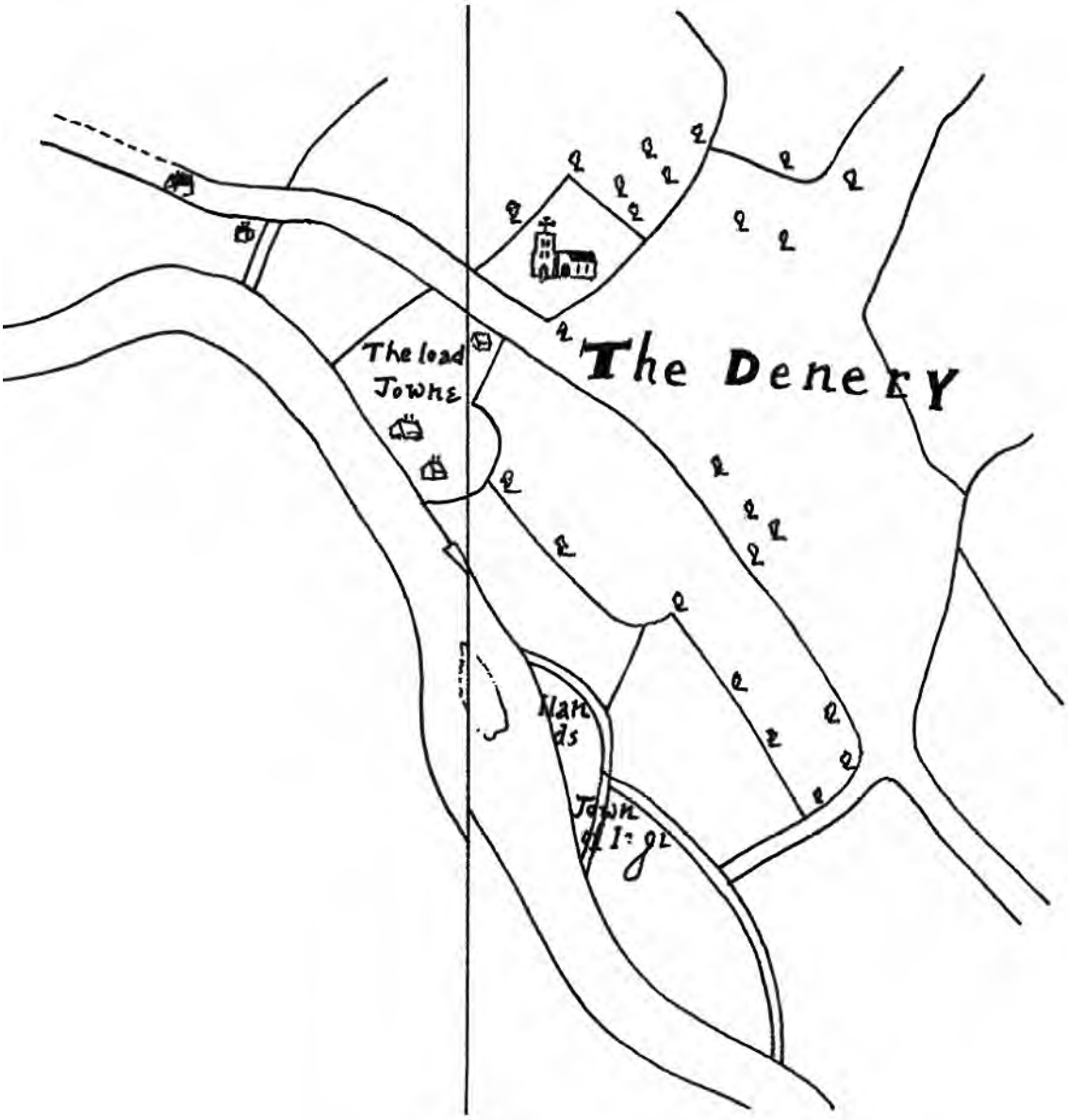

Figure 2 A redrawn extract showing Quatford (with acreages and landholders' names omitted) and the River Severn, with a island in the river, on two sheets which do not align exactly, from a detailed but much worn map of Morfe Common and the surrounding villages made in 1613. The semi-circular boundary cut by the join of the sheets is the perimeter of the eleventh-century motte. '*The load Towne*' incorporates the early Modern English word *lode*, a term for a ferry found only along the River Severn: a ferry is recorded here in the twelfth century. Reproduced by permission of Shropshire Archives: Collection Number 4296.

have served as a defensive barrier, even if a bridge had existed. It is very possible that the Danes built their camp on an island in the Severn at Quatford – they were evidently attracted to islands,[98] and indeed only two years before they arrived at *Cwatbrycge* had built a defensive camp on the Severn at Buttington, near Welshpool, which, according to Roger of Wendover, was 'washed on all sides by the Severn'[99] – and we have seen that from at least the sixteenth to the eighteenth century a substantial island existed in the Severn at Quatford in the approximate position of the postulated bridge.[100] (Figure 2.)

If the Danish camp were on the west side of the Severn, indeed on an island in the river, Æthelflæd's *burh* was probably constructed on the east bank, and close to, perhaps even encompassing, the bridge known as *Cwatbrycge* near Quatford,[101] since it is unlikely that Æthelflæd would have risked building a fortification on the west side of the river, prone to attack by the Welsh.[102] The strategy of creating 'double-*burhs*' – fortifications on both banks to protect bridges and waterways – had been adopted in Francia by Charles the Bald, who created a fortified bridge over the Seine at Pont de l'Arche, near Pîtres, between 862 and 870. The concept was later taken up by Alfred the Great in Wessex[103] and his son Edward the Elder, Æthelflæd's brother.[104] There is no reason to doubt that Æthelflæd would have adopted the same strategy by building her *burh* facing the site of an earlier Danish camp.

While the main purpose of a *burh* was to provide a fortified position on a major road or river or other strategic point, some *burhs* were also intended to encourage the economic growth of the place, and in others the communal responsibility for manning and maintenance often led to the development of the borough. We have seen that Quatford is recorded with a borough in Domesday Book, usually attributed to Roger de Montgomery.

Since none of the chroniclers suggests that Æthelflæd constructed a bridge when the *burh* was built, but place the *burh* at *Bricge*, we are surely safe in assuming that the *burh* was built at the site of an existing bridge. It is in any event inconceivable that Æthelflæd would have constructed her *burh* at Bridgnorth without the existence of a bridge crossing the river there. The only record of a bridge over the Severn in this area in the late ninth and early tenth century is that at *Cwatbrycge*, otherwise *Brycge*.[105]

Finally, no research into ancient earthworks in the Bridgnorth area would be complete without a note on local place-names which might refer to early fortifications.[106] One such name is Oldbury, first recorded as *Aldeberie* in Domesday Book. The name, attached to a village (and parish) a little under a mile south-west of Bridgnorth, means 'the old or disused fortification',[107] a not uncommon name (with other examples in Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire[108]) which frequently refers to a prehistoric earthwork. Margaret Gelling suggested that the earthwork might be Panpudding Hill (which, as noted previously, Eyton confidently asserted to be Æthelflæd's *burh*[109]), but added that the date of the mound had not been ascertained.[110] If we are safe in concluding that it was indeed created in 1102, it could not, of course, be the fortification from which the older name Oldbury derives, but we cannot know whether some pre-existing earthwork on the headland from which Panpudding Hill was modelled was destroyed when the siege castle was thrown up. The Old English element *ald* ('old') has two meanings in place-names: 'ancient' and 'disused'. It is not possible to ascertain the date at which the name Oldbury was coined (although it is clearly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and so cannot predate the early seventh century[111]), or the sense in which the first element of the name is to be understood, but it is unlikely to derive from either a Danish camp or an Anglo-Saxon *burh* dating from the late ninth or early tenth century, and a lost prehistoric earthwork must be the most likely explanation, possibly at what is now Panpudding Hill or on the commanding heights of Castle Hill at Bridgnorth, or indeed at, or close to, Oldbury itself.

In summary, therefore, it is submitted that:

1. The evidence for a Roman road crossing the Severn at, or near, Bridgnorth is doubtful.
2. There has probably been a ford at Quatford since prehistoric times, and certainly since 1056.
3. There was a bridge at Quatford in 1086, which can almost certainly be identified as *Cwatbrycge*.
4. The Danes wintered at, or close to, *Cwatbrycge* in 895–6, possibly on an island in the Severn.
5. A bridge across the Severn called *[ ]antbricge*, almost certainly the same as *Cwatbrycge* or *Brycge*, existed by 988, since it is recorded by Æthelweard, and probably in 910, when Æthelweard says that it was crossed by the Danes.
6. Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, almost certainly built her *burh* at, or close to, Quatford in 912.
7. The place-name Quatt is derived from an Old English word **cwat(t),* meaning 'a postule, a pimple', applied to the mound on which stands Quatt church.
8. The element *cwat(t)* was not, as hitherto supposed, applied to a large area incorporating Bridgnorth.
9. There is no evidence for any Anglo-Saxon mint (or indeed Anglo-Saxon occupation of any kind) at Bridgnorth.
10. Discounting a possible Roman bridge, for which there is in any event no evidence, the first bridge at Bridgnorth is unlikely to have predated 1101.
11. It is unlikely that bridges existed at Quatford and Bridgnorth at the same time.
12. There was almost certainly no settlement of any size at Bridgnorth until 1101.
13. Robert de Bellême built his fortification on Castle Hill, Bridgnorth, in 1101.

14. Panpudding Hill was constructed as a ringwork-and-bailey type siege castle by Henry I during the siege of Robert de Bellême's castle in 1102.
15. *Bryg* ('Bridge'), the original name of Bridgnorth (and formerly the abbreviated name of *Cwatbrycge*), was adopted in, or soon after, 1101, when the new bridge, town and castle were constructed there.
16. *-north* was perhaps added to the existing name *Bryg* to avoid confusion in early records between *Bryg*, the site of a new bridge (and settlement) created *c*.1101, and *Brycge*, the (abbreviated/colloquial) name of the former decayed or destroyed *Cwatbrycge*.
17. The Anglo-Saxon bridge at *Cwatbrycge* was probably destroyed in, or soon after, 1101.

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Wasey, 1865: George Leigh Wasey, *Our Ancient Parishes, Or a Lecture on Quatford, Morville & Aston Eyre 800 Years Ago*.
Watkins-Pitchford, 1932: W. Watkins-Pitchford, *Morfe Forest and Some of its People*.
——— 1937: W. Watkins-Pitchford, 'The Old Castle at Quatford', *Bridgnorth Journal*, October 1937.
Webster, 1991: Graham Webster, *The Cornovii*.
——— 2003: Graham Webster, *Rome Against Caratacus: The Roman Campaigns in Britain AD 48–58*.
White and Barker, 1998: Roger White and Philip Barker, *Wroxeter: The Life and Death of a Roman City*.
Whitelock, 1955: Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents c.500–1042*.
Wright, 1855: Thomas Wright (trans. & ed. v), *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine, an Outlawed Baron in the Reign of King John*.

Abbreviations:

ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The letters A, B, C, D refer to the different MSS. according to the nomenclature adopted in Earle & Plummer, 1894–99.
CDEPN	Victor Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 2004.
NLW	National Library of Wales, Ottley (Pitchford Hall) Estate Papers I.
PN Shropshire **I**	Margaret Gelling, *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, 1990.
SA	Shropshire Archives.
Shropshire SMR	Shropshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record.
Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.	Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society.
VCH Salop	The Victoria County History of Shropshire.

Notes

1 ASC A, B, C, D: Earle & Plummer, 1892–99, **I**, 89.
2 The manuscript of the Chronicle (BM Cotton Otho A x) was badly burned in the disastrous fire at Ashburnham House, Westminster, in 1731. From the few surviving fragments it is possible to make out the incomplete name *antbricge*: *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 57.
3 David Horovitz, *The Battle of Tettenhall 910 AD*, forthcoming, from which this paper is a condensed extract. Various chronicles refer to one or more battles at Tettenhall and/or Wednesfield. Most historians believe there was one battle in the Tettenhall/Wednesfield area. Since the battle is generally known as the battle of Tettenhall, that name will be used in this paper.
4 *ASC* C; Earle & Plummer, 1892–99, **I**, 74. The *burh* is mentioned in the twelfth century chronicle known as Florence of Worcester (Stephenson, 1853, 74), also attributed to John of Worcester, and more recently (and less controversially) called the Worcester Latin Chronicle. For convenience and tradition this paper retains the name Florence.
5 It is said that only two bridges are named in the chronicles before the eleventh century: *Grantabricg* (Cambridge), mentioned in 875 and 951, and *Cwatbrycge*: Cooper, 2006, 12.
6 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 56.
7 Gough, 1806, **III**, 4, 18; Leland, 1770, 123; Kemble, 1849, 321; Thorpe, 1861, **II**, 78; Earle & Plummer, 1892–99, **II**, 342, 358; Stenton, 1971, 326; Whitelock, 1955, 188, 194; *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 37; Campbell, 1962, 53; Rowley, 1972, 56; Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, 118; Bately, 1986, 120; 118; Swanton, 1996, 89; *O.S. 1973*; Owen & Blakeway, 1825, **I**, 20; Oman, 1913, 489; Hodgkin, 1939, **II**, 666; Ekwall, 1960, 376–7; Webster, 2003, 79.
8 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 56–9.
9 *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 37–46.
10 A number of places known to have existed in 1086 (such as the royal holding of Wolverhampton) are not mentioned specifically in Domesday Book, though some of those can be identified with varying degrees of certainty from incidental or secondary references in the survey (for example the particularly important Anglo-Saxon centre of Tamworth: see *VCH Staffordshire*, **IV**, 3). The absence of any reference to a place which might be identified as Bridgnorth in Domesday Book cannot be taken as evidence that it did not exist in 1086.
11 Chibnall, 1991, 224–5.
12 Searle, 1897, 335; Whitelock, 1930, 60, 173; see also Ekwall, 1960, 376–7 *sub. nom.* Quatford. Margaret Gelling pointed out in a personal communication that the byname cannot be associated with Quatt, since in Old English the formula for connecting a person with a place was to use the preposition *æt*, and if the addition is not preceded by a preposition, the addition is a nickname, as is illustrated by the names in Ætheling Æthelstan's will, which gives in the place-name category *Lyfingce æt Tywingan*, *Leommære æt Biggrafan*, and *Ælfric æt Bertune*, whereas the nickname group includes *Æthelwerde Stameran* ('stammerer') and *Godwine Dref(e)lan* ('driveller'). Although the reference to Leofwine Cwatt does not follow precisely the same format (for the will gives…*Leofstane Leofwines breðer. Cwattes*… ['…Leofstane, the brother of

Leofwine Cwatt…']: Whitelock, 1930, 60–1, 173), it is clear that the name is a nickname, and we must assume that Leofwine was distinguished by some sort of disfigurement in the form of a pustule or lump.

13 Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 104.

14 Förster, 1941, 769.

15 *Sub. nom.* Quatford.

16 Letter of August 1961: see *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 45 n. 14.

17 Tengvik, 1938, 305.

18 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 56–9.

19 *CDEPN*, 487 *sub. nom.* Quatt.

20 *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXVI**, 1989, 15–19.

21 *EDD*, IV, 670. Baker, 1854, 150 notes; 'Quat: A small pustule, a purulent pimple. An old word occurring amongst Bishop Percy's MS Northamptonshire localisms, still in common use [in Northamptonshire]. Steevens notices the occurrence of this word in Decker's Gul's Hornbook, 1609, and The Devil's Law Case, 1623. When the white head is accidentally rubbed off these troublesome little pimples they smart, and become ANGRY, as it is termed; hence Shakspere appropriately converts it into a personal epithet for Roderigo: I have rubbed this young quat almost to the quick. And he grows angry – Othello, v. 1.'

22 In 1874 the historian of military architecture G. T. 'Castle' Clarke noted of the area around Quatt that '…[t]here are scores of natural rounded hillocks of red sandstone that have an artificial aspect, and that with a little scarping would be strong. There is one, especially, close east of the road between Quatford and Dudmaston Park, that looks very like an English earthwork, and wants nothing but a ditch to make it perfect…': *AC*, 4th Series, **XX**, 1874, 276.

23 Since the Anglo-Saxons had a particularly sophisticated vocabulary for topographical features, with some 40 words for different types of hill or raised landscape feature (see, e.g., Gelling and Cole, 2000, 143), none of which was a synonym, and the use of the word *cwat(t)* as a place-name is unparalleled elsewhere, we might consider that a *cwat(t)* was a particular and unusual type of pustule-like landscape feature, possibly a hillock surmounted by a smaller mound. Could the church of Quatt have been built over a tumulus standing atop the rounded sandstone knoll?

24 *CDEPN*, 487. Quatford lies midway between Bridgnorth and Quatt – the ford led to both places.

25 The name Quatford is not unique. It occurs twice in Gloucestershire (in the 12th and 19th centuries: *PN Gloucestershire*, **2**, 73, 3 186; NA D1604/T1), and is also recorded in Ledbury, Herefordshire, in 1605 and at some date between 1722 and 1862 (Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521–1889*, 1889; NA: D1604/T1), and as pasture in the Peak District in 1797: Thoroton, 1797, **II**, 202. It is noteworthy that the element *quat* seems to be found in association only with the word *ford*.

26 Contrary to the statement in *VCH Salop*, **II**, 123, the castle is not mentioned in the foundation documents of Quatford church in 1086. Indeed, no definite reference to a castle has been traced before the nineteenth century. When partially excavated in the 1960s, no evidence of the expected rampart, ditch or early palisade was found on the south-eastern part of the supposed bailey, or any finds pre-dating the 12th century (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 47–61), and it is now thought that the presumed bailey rampart was formed by ploughing during the 1939–45 war (Barker, 1993, 226), although in 1874 G. T. Clarke described the area as defended on the north and south sides by a ditch, which on the south was deep and wide ('Bridgenorth, Oldbury, and Quatford', *AC*, **29**, 1874, 275–6, reprinted in Clarke, 1884, 281–2). Watkins-Pitchford 1937 (unpaginated) says that the only definite trace of the rampart was to be seen at its south-west corner: 'elsewhere the boundaries are now mainly traceable because they are "scarped", that is they slope more or less abruptly down to the surrounding ground, which is from four to ten feet lower than the bailey'. It seems possible that the ditched motte may be part of an unfinished motte and bailey castle, or the site of the mysterious *noua dom'* or 'new house' at Quatford, mentioned in Domesday Book. Bird, 1977, 48–9, observes that 'mottes were a feature in Normandy before the Conquest, and Edward the Confessor, who was known to have Norman sympathies, invited Norman builders to construct some in this country, such as Richard's Castle [*c*.1052, described as a castle in Domesday Book] on the Herefordshire border. Such mottes are generally found near important points such as river crossings, and in Wales in particular some never had a bailey. Many were essentially timber-built blockhouses built on flat topped mounds.'

27 Could Quatford have been so named from an artificial mound or tumulus which predated the Norman motte on the rounded sandstone outcrop? That might explain why *Cwatbrycge* was so-named, rather than *Cwatfordbrycge*.

28 Margaret Gelling (personal communication) took the view that place-names are not so localised that a word is likely to appear twice in a small area and nowhere else, and considered it doubtful that the element was appropriate for the rock at Quatford.

29 Croom, 1992, 18. The age of the routeway is demonstrated by the fact that it is aligned with, and forms part of, ancient rectilinear field systems: *ibid*.

30 Webster, 1991, 103; *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXXVI**, 2001, 100; White and Barker, 1998, 61. Upton Cressett clearly lay in an area of some importance during the Roman period, though no traces of buildings have yet been found.

31 At Grid Reference SO 73229038; Shropshire SMR NO 04564.

32 *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVI**, 1957–60, 237, 241; Shropshire SMR PRN04076. The road is recognised in Margary, 1973, 280, as 'an important [Roman] route westwards from Greensforge through Bridgenorth, Halford and Bishops Castle, as a direct line to Newtown and the fort at Caersws', and given the identification number 193, but is not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps of *Roman Britain* (4th edition, 1978), *Britain in the Dark Ages* (2nd edition, 1974), or *Britain Before the Norman Conquest* (1973). A Roman road which ran north-west from Greensforge along Abbot's Castle Hill passing on the south side of the earthworks known as The Walls at Chesterton is marked on those maps.

33 See *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet*, 3/1960/8. A sherd of Roman pottery is said to have been found at Winchester Farm (SO 798923) in 1972: Shropshire SMR 436. The name Winchester is unlikely to incorporate Old English *ceaster*, which would be suggestive of a Roman site, but almost certainly derives from a field-name recorded as *Wincestry Field* in 1651 (SA: 972/2/1/16). That name suggests a derivation from a personal name such as Wynsige.

34 Some stray finds of late third century Roman and Romano-British coins are recorded from Castle Hill: Mason, 1957, 5, and Ludlow Museum displays part of a hoard of some 2,500 Roman coins found in recent years 'in the Bridgnorth area'. The road between Bridgnorth and Morville, which forms the westward extension of Houghton's road, is clearly

superimposed over earlier, perhaps prehistoric, field boundaries, but that cannot be taken as evidence for a Roman origin.

35 The précis, which is likely to be authentic, records that Roger de Montgomery endowed Quatford church with, *inter alia*, 'Eardington, except the land of Walter the smith, and the land lying between the water [of the Severn] and the *monte*, near the bridge, and except the land on which the borough [of Quatford] stands': SA: Shrewsbury Free Library MS 292 20; see also Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 109; Clark-Maxwell and A. Hamilton Thompson, 1927, 1–4. That description is puzzling, since if the *monte* is to be identified as Camp Hill, there is no land between it and the Severn, for it lies on a sheer cliff rising from the river. Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 109, n.14, who seems to have known the area well as a boy (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 46, n.39), states that all these features lay on the Quatford side of the river, but Wasey, 1865, 24, suggests more convincingly that the *monte* refers to the higher ground to the west of the river (the abbot of Lilleshall held land between the *monte de Erdinton* and the Severn near the ferry in the 12th century: NLW 1368), and adds, though on what authority is unclear, that part of the land described was an area, less than ¼ acre in extent, then [and now] identifiable on the south bank of the river at the supposed site of the old bridge. The area almost certainly marks a disused bylet or fish weir. Wasey also notes that 35 acres on the Eardington side of the river between the river and the rising ground to the west belong to Quatford township. That area could well represent the land lying between the water and the *monte* and the land of Walter excluded from Roger's endowment, and may perhaps be the holding of the abbot of Lilleshall in the 12th century.

36 Having noted Mason's paper which mentions the foundation document of Quatford church recording a bridge at Quatford in 1086, *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 58, inexplicably concludes that there is no reason to suppose that a bridge ever existed at Quatford.

37 Eyton, 1864–60, **I**, 105.

38 Campbell, 1962, 53. It is commonly held that his spelling, or that of the copyist who transcribed the one surviving badly damaged copy of the chronicle, may have attempted to rationalise the obscure name *Cwatbrycge*, but we should also note that Roger of Wendover's account of the Danish wintering in 895–6 places their camp at *Quantebregge:* Giles, 1892, 232. We can discount the possibility that Roger could have been influenced by Æthelweard's spelling, since the former had no access to the latter's chronicle. With that in mind, it may not be completely irrelevant to record that a stream from the east joining the Severn almost a mile north of Bridgnorth is called Cantern Brook. The name is of some antiquity, well recorded from the twelfth century: in 1194 as *Cantinunt* (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **IX**, 1886, 47), *c.*1215 *Canterey* (*ibid.* 58), 1227 *Cantreia* (SA: 1093/2/204), *c.*1277 *Cantreyne* (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **IX**, 1886, 370), 1258, 1265 *Cantreyn* (*ibid.* 58), 1293 *Canteryn'* (SA: 796/3), late 13th century *Contreyne* (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **IX**, 1886, 45), early 14th century *Cantrey* (Rees, 1997, 299), 1327 *Cauntreyn* (Subsidy Roll), 1639 *Canter broke* (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **L**, 1939–40, 170). The meaning of the name (which is also found in a lost mill name *Cantereyne* in Haughton township, High Ercall) is uncertain: there is a possibility that it might be a British stream-name containing the word meaning 'beautiful' found in Candover, Hampshire (see Ekwall, 1928, 69; *CDEPN*, 483 *sub.nom.* Preston Candover), or 'border' (see Owen and Morgan, 2007, xxxi), which may be found in the name of the river Ceint in Anglesey. However, Professor Richard Coates has suggested that Cantreyn is a French name of a type common in France which combines the verb *chant* 'sing' with the name of a wild creature, in this case Old French *reine* 'frog', so giving 'sing frog', as found in the place-name C(h)antereine, widespread in France: information provided in a personal communication dated 2 August 2008 from Margaret Gelling. That suggestion might be paralleled by the Shropshire place-name Cantlop, perhaps from a phrase meaning 'sing wolf', which has given rise to many place-names in France: *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 69–70. If the name is British, one might consider whether Æthelweard was attempting in his chronicle to rationalise a place-name containing an obscure dialect element which he did not recognise, by incorporating the first syllable of a stream name which was widely known in the area. But even if (which must be doubtful) the name pre-dates the time of Æthelweard, his slipshod recording of names is well attested – '[h]is Latin was poor, his chronology confused, and his transcription of proper names careless' (Marsh, 1970, 157) – and we can suppose that there was simply a mistranscription of the name *Cwatbrycge* by Æthelweard himself or an early copier.

39 Campbell, 1962, xii-xvi.

40 *Ibid.*, xiii.

41 *Ibid.*, xxxii.

42 The Anglo-Saxon obligations of army-work, fortresswork and bridgework appear to have been first introduced in Mercia, and are recorded in a grant of Æthelbald of Mercia dated 749. A Kentish charter of 811 provides evidence that the use of fortified bridges to block the use of rivers to Viking ships was recognised in England some half a century before Charles the Bald adopted the practice in Francia: Brooks, 2000, 34–6.

43 See Finberg, 1972, 225–7. The boundary description is printed in Förster, 1941, 769, with a slightly different version in Hooke, 1990, 422. The boundary of the diocese of Chester crossed the Severn at Quatford (Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 118), which may have been a meeting point of the dioceses of Chester, Hereford and Worcester (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 157–60). The name Quat(t)ford does not necessarily indicate a settlement, but suggests that the ford may have been a feature of some importance.

44 Domesday Book tells us that Quatford was one of only two boroughs in Shropshire, the other being Shrewsbury itself, but it cannot be relied upon as evidence for boroughs: it is very possible that others existed in Shropshire but were not mentioned in the great survey.

45 Ordnance Survey 6" map 1890–1.

46 *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 44, n.8.

47 Netherton is recorded (as *la Nethereton*) *c.*1284–92: SA: 2922/2/1. It is said to have been 'near Quatford between that place and the bridge or ferry which crossed the river there' (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 4th Series, **V**, 1922, 27), and 'Netherton Lane (now disused) was part of the road which crossed the river Severn at Quatford': Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 114, quoting Rev. G. L. Wasey, who was vicar of Quatford. Netherton Lane is said to have 'led down to the bridge', and 'left the high road near the…Danery Inn': Watkins-Pitchford, 1932, 20. Wasey, 1859, 25 says that it was 'near the Deanery public house, now a mere approach to two fields'. It may be what appears to be a roadway to the Severn marked next to the word Netherton on the *c.*1560 map of Bridgnorth. Netherton means literally 'the lower *tūn*', perhaps indicating that the settlement at Quatford lay on higher ground, or higher up the river.

48 A number of houses were built by John Smalman of Quatford Castle in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and the vicarage, schoolhouse and 3 cottages were demolished when the A442 was widened in 1960.

49 *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 43–4. The timbers, which included what were said to be the piers of the bridge, suggested a bridge-deck some 5' wide: *ibid.*

50 *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 44.

51 Bridgnorth Borough Collection: SRR 4001/P/1/39. A rendering of the map is printed in Bellett, 1856, and a large photographic reproduction of the original, which has since perished, is in Bridgnorth Northgate Museum. No evidence has been traced to support the dating of the map to *c.*1560 – Bellett, 1856, 3, more circumspectly describes it as 'very ancient' – although that date is accepted by Mason, e.g. *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 38, and *VCH Salop*, **II**, 98 n.1, gives '*c.*1555–74'. *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXXI**, 1996, 77, refers to the map as late 16th century, but the caption to an extract on the following page states that it is of the 17th century. The term bylet, which seemingly meant originally a subsidiary watercourse in a principal river, but developed to mean 'island', is rarely found outside Shropshire.

52 Mason notes that the Bridgnorth antiquary William Hardwicke (1772–1843) records Bridge Meadow on the west bank of the river at Quatford in the time of Edward II, taking this to be possible evidence for an early bridge (*Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 43). But the meadow was so-called as one of the great fields of Bridgnorth, then known as Brugge, and cannot be seen as evidence for a bridge at Quatford.

53 *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 39.

54 *Ibid.* 40–1; *VCH Salop*, **II**, 123–8; Letters, 2005, 293. However, the reference to a market and tolls could refer to Bridgnorth: Clark-Maxwell and Hamilton Thompson, 1927, 4. It may be noted that the status of Royal Free Chapel, the origins of which remain obscure, which attached to St. Mary Magdalene's church in Bridgnorth, was transferred from St. Mary Magdalene's church at Quatford: *VCH Salop*, **II**, 123–8.

55 Horovitz, 2005, 224.

56 Croom, 1992, 21–2, 31, postulates the existence of St. Leonard's church as part of a rural settlement in a parish that was probably co-extensive with a township of the manor of Morville at an early date. Supposed traces of a rectangular earthwork were identified by Slater on the east bank of the Severn at Low Town centred on the existing bridge: Slater, 1988, 9. He saw the feature as a unified Anglo-Saxon defensive system incorporating the bridge and a fortified promontory designed to prevent Viking penetration up the Severn. The feature was described as a slight break running from the bank of the river at SO 71909320, turning south at SO 72129304, west at SO 72099292, returning to the river at SO 71059293: Shropshire SMR PRN00424. However, subsequent excavations at the rear of The Falcon Hotel in St. John's Street revealed no evidence of pre-Conquest occupation (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXXVII**, 2002, 128; SA: CCS: ESA4776), and the age of Slater's feature remains uncertain.

57 E.g. *Britain Before the Conquest*, Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1973, South Sheet; Rahtz, 1977, 108. Hill, 1984, 116, 224, 230, ascribes a bridge, town and mint (coins of Æthelred II) to Bridgnorth.

58 Oral information from Gareth Williams, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, May 2005; see also North 1994: 231. No Anglo-Saxon mint is attributed to Bridgnorth in Carroll and Parsons, 2007, and no coins are known which could be associated with *Cwatbrycge*.

59 Dukes, 1844, 44; Ab Ithel, 1860, 68. It would appear that the ancient Welsh name for the area around Bridgnorth was Meigion: Bromwich, 2006, 447.

60 Stephenson, 1853, 161–2; Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 244; Chibnall, 1991, 224–5. The legend first recorded by John Leland c.1540 that a brother of King Æthelstan (*c.*895–939) lived as a hermit in a cave at Bridgnorth (generally identified as The Hermitage in the sandstone cliffs high above the east bank of the Severn) cannot be overlooked, but is almost certainly a 15th or 16th century myth based on Guy of Warwick, a fictional adventurer of the early tenth century whose story is told in a long Anglo-Norman verse romance.

61 These two spellings are from Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 57.

62 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 56–7.

63 These five spellings are from versions of Brut y Tywysogion, the section from which they are extracted probably the work of Caradog of Lancarvan, dating from about 1150: Ab Ithel, 1860, xxi-xxxv, 68.

64 As noted by John Leland (died 1552): 'The name of Bridgenorthe is but of late times usurpyd. It is caullyd in all auncient records Bridge': Toulmin Smith, 1964, **V**, 85.

65 For example Barnes, Surrey, and Staines, Middlesex: *CDEPN*, 37, 566.

66 Mason puts the same point conversely, suggesting that since the *–north* element is not found before 1282, there is an implication that a bridge still existed at Quatford, although he concedes that 'it is very difficult to believe that two bridges would continue in existence one within two miles of the other for very long in medieval conditions', and accepts that the difficulty is removed if *–north* came to distinguish Bridge in Shropshire from Bridge (Bridgwater) in Somerset: *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LVII**, 1961–4, 44. A 12th century reference to a ferry at Quatford (NLW: 1367 and 1368), may be seen as evidence that no bridge was then in existence. It is very probable that for commercial and military reasons any bridge at Quatford in 1101–2 would have been destroyed by Robert de Bellême on the transfer of the borough and bridge to Bridgnorth.

67 The conclusion in Lilley, 2002, 140–142, followed by Hooke, 2006, 60, that Bridgnorth dates from *c.*1080 appears to be based on a misdating of unequivocal evidence from Orderic Vitalis (see Chibnall, 1969, 224–5; 1991, 20–21), possibly influenced by the Anglo-Norman chronicle of Fulk Fitz Warine dating from about 1320, seemingly derived from an earlier English metrical version dating probably from *c.*1260, which states that Roger of Montgomery (who died in 1094) began, but left unfinished, the castles of *Brugge* and *Dynan* (Ludlow): Wright, 1855, x, xii-xiii. The chronicle has been described as 'an historical romance containing much romance and little history': Kemp-Welch, 2001, 2. Eyton, 1854–60, **V**, 234–6, has shown that Roger could not have commenced work on any castle at Ludlow, nor at *Brugge*, a place-name that in the 13th century can have referred only to Bridgnorth.

68 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 58–9; *CDEPN*, 84 *sub. nom.* Bridgnorth.

69 *CDEPN*, 441, 560.

70 In a short but typically perceptive analysis of the early history of Bridgnorth and Quatford, Beresford recognises '[t]he second town of "Brug" (Bridge)': Beresford, 1988, 479–80. A bridge of stone arches existed in the reign of Edward II, and

a stone bridge with eight arches is recorded at Bridgnorth *c*.1478 by William of Worcester (d.1480), and is mentioned in the late 1530s: Blackwall, 1985, 7.

71 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 56, which says 11th century, whilst citing a form *c*.1200. One unexplained oddity noted by the present writer is the inclusion, in lists of places in the area, of both *Bridgnorth* and *Brugeys* in 1470, and *Bridgnorth* and *Bruge* in 1521 and 1554: *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **XLVI**, 1931–2, 15–16. Is it possible that Brugeys/Bruge is Little Brug, recorded from at least the early 13th century (see e.g. Rees 1997: 87–88), a name still attached to a place in, or close to, Pound Street, at the lower end of Whitburn Street (*Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **XLIX**, 1937–8, 195)?

72 According to William Hardwicke, writing at some date after 1823: 'It is conjectured that a bridge was at an ancient period thrown over the Severn below the present, nearly in a straight line with a long narrow strip called the Bridge Acre', which was said then to be immediately south of the Textile Print Works, in Hospital Street. A continuation of the line crossed the lower end of the Bylet and cut Castle Hill near the Old Tower: see *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **XLIX**, 1937–8, 205. No evidence which might point towards an earlier or second bridge has been traced by the present author.

73 Shropshire SMR NO 00369; Stephenson, 1853, 162; see also Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 242; *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **LVII**, 1961–4, 222; McGurk, 1998, 101. The attribution of this work to Henry I's campaign against Robert de Bellême (Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel) is supported by Henry of Huntingdon, who records that Henry I 'laid siege to [Robert de Bellême's] castle at Arundel, but finding it difficult to reduce, he built forts against it, and besieged Bridgnorth': Forester, 1853, 241. The forts near Arundel can be identified as the ringwork-and-bailey type siege castles at Lyminster and Rackham Bank, both very similar in design to the earthworks at Panpudding Hill: Kenyon, 2005, 24. Curiously, Eyton, who knew the area well, does not use the name Panpudding Hill, but calls the mound 'the Old Castle', as recorded in documents from 1299: Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 132. A flat-topped artificial eminence (at O.S. Grid Reference SO 715923; Shropshire SMR PRN 02974), 200 yards south of Panpudding Hill, more or less surrounded by the remains of a low earthern rampart, enclosing an area larger than the mound, was excavated in advance of the construction of the Bridgnorth by-pass in the early 1990s. A man-made rampart of gravel and packed stone on the north and east sides showed that the site had been defended or consolidated. Seventeenth-century pottery was found, but no evidence of medieval occupation or activity, and it was concluded that the feature may have been associated with the 26-day siege of Bridgnorth Castle in 1646: Shropshire SMR NO 02974.

74 The remains of a timber bridge dated to the 9th century identified on the river Trent at Cromwell (Salisbury 1995: 121–3), and the earliest of a succession of timber bridges across the same river at Hemington Quarry, Lockington-Hemington, Leicestershire, dated to the late Anglo-Saxon period (*CA*, 140, **VII**, No. 8, 316–21; *CA*, 145, **XIII**, No. 1, 34–7), are sited on flood-plains (such as exist at Quatford), reinforcing the impression that major Anglo-Saxon bridges, which were constructed with timber piers and timber decking, were generally, if not invariably, sited on flood plains to dissipate the destructive force of floodwaters.

75 Other than the equivocal evidence of the supposed Roman road which was presumed to cross the Severn at or near Bridgnorth.

76 Stephenson, 1853, 161.

77 A fact accepted by the respected Shropshire historians Owen and Blakeway, who say simply that Æthelflæd 'built castles at Chirbury and Brugge, (i.e. Quatford near Bridgenorth)', and in their index give 'Quatford, the ancient Brugge': Owen and Blakeway, 1825, **I**, 20; **II**, 562. Untypically, the authors provide no evidence for the identification of Brugge as Quatford, implying that the fact is obvious. In his paper, Mason discusses the name *hethenedich*, which is recorded near the Severn at Quatford in 1300: Mason 1957: 5; *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **LVII**, 1961–4, 38. Although the name could mean 'heathens' ditch', and the heathen are normally held to be the Danes, it would be unsafe to take that as evidence for the presence of Danes in 895–6 or 910. Indeed, Margaret Gelling pointed out (personal communication dated 2 August 2008) that the name probably contains Old English *hæðen* 'growing with heather'. In that respect it may be noted that the 1613 map of Morfe Common (SA: 4296) shows several large fields to the east of Claverley labelled *Heathen field*, presumably idiosyncratic spellings of Heathton Field.

78 Finberg, 1972, 225–7.

79 In 1086 the abbey of St. Milburga at Wenlock granted all of Eardington, apart from an area generally assumed to lie on the east side of the Severn at Quatford, to Roger de Bellême in exchange for Millichope: *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc*., **LVII** 39. The fact that Eardington, which included (or perhaps more correctly formed part of) Quatford, was a Wenlock estate may offer a clue to the identity of those responsible for building the original bridge at *Cwatbrycge*. It would appear that the church of Wenlock retained the fishing weir at Quatford until 1538, together with a probably associated area of land of less than a quarter of an acre on the west side of the river: Wasey, 1859, 15; BCA: MS 3688/305.

80 As noted by S. A. H. Burne: *TNSFC*, **XLVIII**, 1913–4, 53; see also Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 118.

81 *ASC* B and C; Stephenson, 1853, 74, 161.

82 '*arcem quam in occidentali Sabrinae fluminis plaga, in loco qui Brycge dicitur lingua Saxonica, Ægelfleda Merciorum domina quondam construxerat*': McGurk, 1998, 99–101; Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 244; see also Stephenson, 1853, 161, where *burh* is inadvertently written *bridge*.

83 There is no evidence, documentary or archaeological, to confirm its location, but it mirrors the situation at Vignats, near Caen, from where in 1090 Robert de Belême moved the inhabitants to a new castle (with double-bailey, as at Bridgnorth) which he had built on a nearby crag at Fourchers: Chibnall, 1991, 229. The proximity of Bridgnorth Castle to the ringwork-and-bailey type siege castle of Panpudding Hill supports the identification of Bridgnorth Castle as the site of Bellême's castle, although there is the danger of a circular argument on that point.

84 Griffiths, 2001, 177. The headland, now destroyed, appears on the 1842 1" Ordnance Survey map: *ibid*.

85 Evidenced by an entry for 1118 recording the death from lightning of two women and five horses after the dedication of Morville church, three miles west of Bridgnorth: Stephenson, 1853, 174.

86 Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 132, had no difficulty in concluding that Florence could err, for he does not accept that Bellême's castle was built on the site of Æthelflæd's *burh* – he was in no doubt that Panpudding Hill was the site of her fortification.

87 Chibnall, 1991, 224. It was the building of Bridgnorth castle without royal authority that was seen by Henry I as an act of rebellion: Jones, 1971, 94–5.

88 Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 243–5.

89 Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 57.

90 Chibnall, 1980, 25; 89; Gransden, 1992, 117. At Worcester he met John, a monk, writing a continuation of the chronicle known as Florence of Worcester, named after the monk who died in 1118, and who may have been the author or researcher of the first part of the chronicle: Stephenson, 1853, 174.

91 Watkins-Pitchford's belief that Anglo-Saxon work, supposedly associated with Æthelflæd's *burh*, was to be identified in the stonework of Bridgnorth Castle (see *Trans. Shrops, Archaeol. Soc.*, **LII**, 1947–8, 153–78) is now held to be mistaken, with the present square keep with sloping plinth, slighted during the Civil War, probably dating from between 1166 and 1174 (Croom, 1992, 20), and certainly no earlier than 1101–2 (*AC*, 4th Series, **XX**, 1874, 268).

92 McGurk, 1998, xxxi-xxxii.

93 Orderic's detailed knowledge is shown by the fact that he provides the names of the three Norman garrison commanders put in charge of Bridgnorth castle by Robert de Bellême: Chibnall, 1978, 25.

94 Giles, 1892, 241.

95 As suggested in Mason, 1957, 6.

96 The second chronicle (848–1118) of Symeon of Durham, which mentions Æthelflæd's *burh*, is taken from Florence of Worcester: Hunter Blair, 1963, 107–111.

97 Giles, 1892, vi; Gross, 1900, 310.

98 The Danes are associated with the Isles of Thanet and Sheppey (850s), Mersea Island (880), Thorney Island (893), Steepholme (915), and Northey Island (991). On the continent, they fortified the island of Oiselle in the Seine, not far from Rouen, and the peninsula of Fossa Givaldi near Bougivae, protected by a marsh. The encampment at Noimoutier was an island in the Loire, and other island fortifications were at La Camargue in the Rhone, Walcheren in the Scheldt, and an island near Neuss in the Rhine. Near Louvain, about 50 miles west of Maastricht, they built a fortification 'of wood and piled-up earth in their usual manner' surrounded by marsh in a loop of the river Dyle in 891: Davis, 1957, 175; Bradbury, 1992, 25.

99 Giles, 1892, 231. 'Roger of Wendover, a deplorable person, but still an assiduous searcher out of materials...': Stenton, 1971, 373. Sir Frank Stenton had no hesitation in concluding that the Danish encampment at Buttington was on an island: Stenton, 1971, 267.

100 Any island may well have carried one or more bridge piers, but it would be unsafe to assume that any island existed in the ninth or tenth century. Islands in the Severn were doubtless created in many cases by the construction of artificial bylets or channels to form fisheries.

101 A supposition supported by Owen and Blakeway, 1825, **I**, 20, who state unequivocally that her *burh* was built at 'Brugge, (i.e. Quatford)'.

102 Florence of Worcester states specifically that Æthelflæd's burh lay on the western side of the Severn (Stephenson, 1853,74), but that observation should be read in conjunction with the entry for 1101, where the statement is repeated in a note about Robert de Bellême's new castle (*ibid*. 161). The first entry may well have been influenced by the second, the basis for which, as has been noted above, must be open to doubt.

103 E.g. at the as-yet unidentified site on the river Lea from which the Danes fled to *Cwatbrycge* in 895.

104 Second *burhs* were added to Hertford and Bedford in 912 and 914 respectively after each had been retaken from the Vikings; fortifications on each side of the river were created at Buckingham in 918; and in 923 a *burh* was built at Nottingham on the south side of the Trent opposite another on the north bank, with the two connected by a bridge.

105 It is worth recording that from at least the thirteenth century Lilleshall abbey held land at Quatford and Netherton and on the west bank of the Severn opposite: NLW: Offley (Pitchford Hall) Estate 1 1368; SA: 2922/2/20; SA: 972/1/1/116. According to Domesday Book, the Saxon church of St. Alkmund's in Shrewsbury held the manor of Lilleshall (the largest of its estates) in the time of Edward the Confessor. By tradition, St. Alkmund's was founded by Æthelflæd and perhaps further endowed by her great nephew King Edgar, who died in 975. Whilst it is likely that it was Æthelflæd who bestowed upon St. Alkmund's church in Shrewsbury the estates recorded in Domesday Book (Owen and Blakeway, 1825, **II**, 262; 266; *VCH Salop*, **II**, 70–71; Bassett, 1991, 9–10), it is evident that no land at Quatford was included in her grant – the Lilleshall Cartulary mentions none (Rees, 1997), and before 1086 Quatford (with Eardington) was held by Wenlock abbey (which still held Quatford fish-weir in 1538: BCA: MS 3688/305). The link between Quatford and Lilleshall abbey may have been Godebald the priest, one of the 'three wise clerks' and companion and adviser to Robert de Bellême, mentioned by Orderic Vitalis. Godebald was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Quatford church, and at Domesday held the manor of Lilleshall from St. Alkmund's. His possessions descended to Richard de Belmeis, Dean of St. Alkmund's of Shrewsbury, who granted to Lilleshall abbey much of its original endowment *c*.1148 (Eyton, 1854–60, **I**, 111; *VCH Salop*, **II**, 70–71).

106 The 1842 Tithe Map shows *Castle Trenches* as the name of a field north of Quatford and east of the nineteenth-century Quatford Castle. The field-name has not been traced in any other records, and is probably to be associated with Quatford Castle. The otherwise unexplained field-name *New England with Urine [sic] of Castle* which lay to the north of The Chantry at Quatford is perhaps to be associated with the early nineteenth century watchtower folly on a sandstone rock probably built by John Smalman, responsible for Quatford Castle: Shropshire SMR NO 11638.

107 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 226–7.

108 Ekwall, 1960, 349.

109 The characteristics of Panpudding Hill are not those of a Danish camp or an Æthelflædian *burh*.

110 *PN Shropshire*, **I**, 226–7.

111 Jackson, 1953, 208–10.

The Old Grammar School, Oswestry: An Architectural Appraisal

By GERWYN LEWIS and MADGE MORAN

Abstract: Oswestry Grammar School, founded *c*.1422, has been the subject of many historical accounts, but the structure of the Old School has scarcely received any notice. This article examines the architectural evolution of the building, and concludes that the early school was held in the parish church and later in a near-by building, which was itself replaced in 1542 by the Old School, which was enlarged in the reign of Elizabeth I.

The Background

The Grammar School at Oswestry has been well served by writers and historians. In the mid fifteenth century the Welsh poet Guto'r Glyn included a line about the school in his poem in praise of Oswestry: '*Ysgol rad ddisglair ydyw*'. ('It is a brilliant free school'.)[1]

In the later 1530s John Leland, the much travelled 'king's antiquary', noted the school's foundation by David Holbach and its endowment with £10 a year in land.[2] Askew Roberts and the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen published articles on the school's history in the Shropshire Archaeological Society's *Transactions* in 1882 and 1904,[3] and in 1896 A. F. Leach, the pioneering historian of England's medieval schools, gave a well-researched account of the school's origins.[4] In about 1960 an old boy, Richard Oakley, wrote a comprehensive history of the school,[5] and in 1973 an account of it was given in Volume II of the *Victoria History of Shropshire*.[6] The most recent history, by Christopher Symonds, retired head of classics, was published in 2007 to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the school's traditional foundation date, 1407,[7] although that date may be thought to be about fifteen years too early.[8] Accounts of the school have, of course, been included in general histories of Oswestry.[9]

With such a wealth of published material available it would be superfluous to attempt to add to the school's general history. In all these accounts, however, the structure of the Old School itself is hardly touched upon, and it is this omission that the present writers hope to rectify with this paper, and to look at the possible early accommodation.

In 1776 the school needed to expand and so moved to a site in Upper Brook Street, where it has remained ever since.[10] The old building was purchased by a Mr. John Price, who converted it to two cottages, but by 1782 he had died, and it was then that the vestry took it over, added further accommodation, and ran the block as a workhouse. This arrangement lasted until 1792, when the workhouse at Morda was built for Oswestry and the adjoining incorporated parishes. The old school seems then to have reverted to educational purposes, becoming a charity school for boys.[11] In 1924 the old schoolhouse was purchased by Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen, who donated it to the school as a memorial to those Old Oswestrians who had fallen in the First World War.[12] Since 1981 it has been held on a long lease from the school by Oswestry town council[13] and, after a time as a museum of childhood,[14] it is currently in use as a combination of visitor and exhibition centre, with a restaurant. One room at first-floor level has a tableau depicting a schoolroom with a pupil, a capped-and-gowned master, and desks and chairs arranged to re-create a sense of the original purpose.

Located at National Grid reference SJ 288294 in the south-west corner of the churchyard of the parish church of St. Oswald and in close proximity to the church itself, the structure displays a mixture of brick and timber-framing. What can be described only as 'wishful thinking' has led to a persistent belief that the original building, or part of it, has survived on this site, but recent dendrochronological sampling and analysis has proved this to be questionable. The earliest scientific dating was obtained was 1541–2,[15] and a later extension has been dated to between 1563 and 1593. However, it should be remembered that many early schools were accommodated in a

parish church, a free-standing chantry chapel, or a priest's house before acquiring their own premises. This point, with examples, is pursued later.

Almost all the histories are unanimous in stating that the school was founded in 1407[16] by David Holbach, and that his widow, Gwenhwyfar (anglicized in some instances to Guinevere), endowed it with land. Holbach, a Welshman naturalized in 1406,[17] was a lawyer and held many important posts at both local and national level. The histories draw attention to his context as a contemporary of Owain Glyndŵr.

At the school the curriculum by 1577 was based on the classics, Oswestry boys were admitted on reduced fees, and the schoolmaster was obliged to pay an usher to teach grammar and to set aside £5 per annum as pension for his own predecessor.

In 1957, at the 550th anniversary celebrations, the Bishop of St. Asaph stated that the school 'was probably the oldest purely secular school in the country with an unbroken record'.[18] Again, historians have agreed that it is the longest-established grammar school in Shropshire, predating Shrewsbury School by *c*.130 years, and nationally losing out only to Winchester by *c*.30 years. But this should be qualified, because the grammar school at Ludlow seems to have had ecclesiastical origins before 1200 and has never lost its close association with the church.[19]

The Architecture

The East Elevation (Figure 1)

The current approach is from the east, and from this viewpoint it is the added crosswing of 1563–93 which dominates the scene. Forming a continuous extension to the north of the crosswing are the brick-built cottages mentioned above. Brickwork also forms the lower storey of the crosswing. Above the brickwork close-studding with a mid-rail is evident, and this seems to have finished with the moulded bressumer beam, indicating that the front was jettied. It is now underbuilt with the brickwork. The gable displays square-framing, the six squares having plain concave-sided lozenges.

The South Elevation (Figure 2)

From the south the view is of the side wall of the crosswing, which continues the close-studding in the upper storey, and of the southern gable wall of the main block (1541–2). Here the upper storey has a central window with close-studding above and below it, and this is flanked by two large panels displaying straight lozenge-within-lozenge work. The block is all part of the extension of 1563–93.

Figure 1 East Elevation.

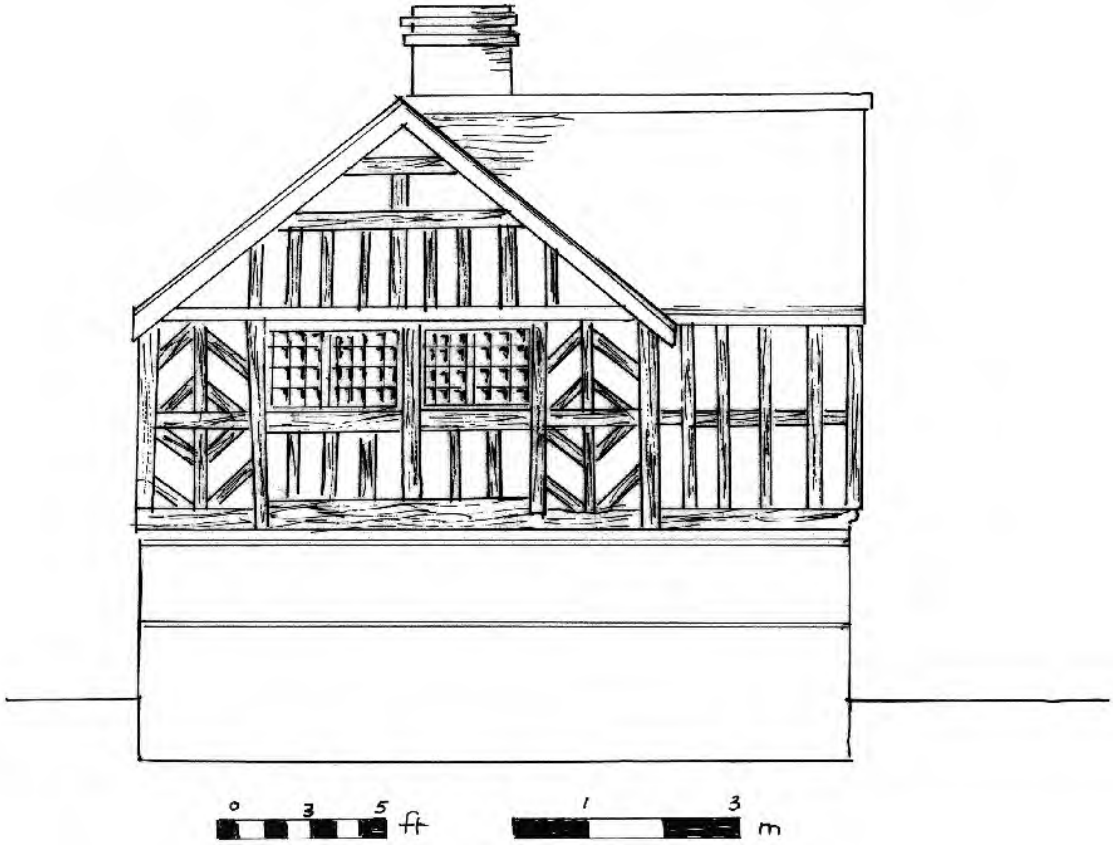

Figure 2 South Elevation.

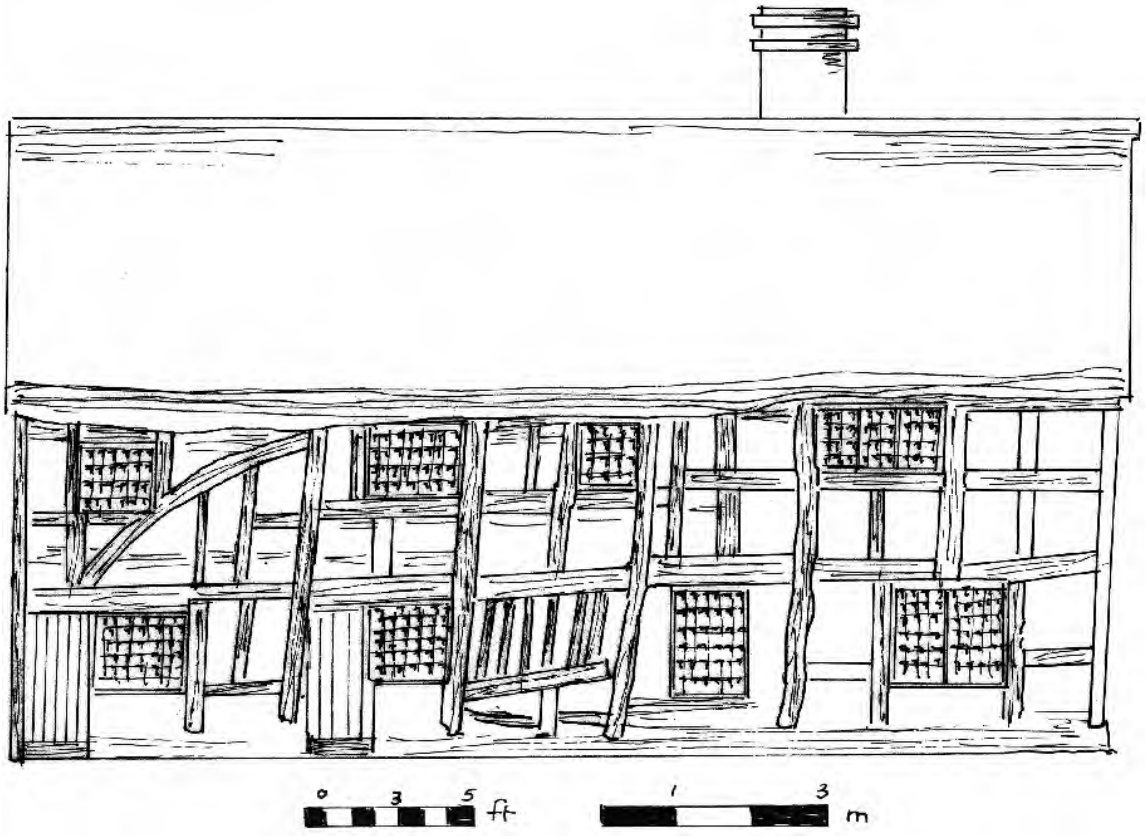

Figure 3 West Elevation.

The West (rear) Elevation (Figure 3)

It is here that the nature of the building seems to change, but by the same token the development is made a little clearer. Although all the panels are infilled with later brickwork, the timbers show the sequence. At some stage there was a serious failure of the structure, and this led to the rebuilding of what became cottage no. 3, using inferior timbers and lighter scantling. The failure is evidenced by the first full-length vertical (reading from left to right), which is badly out of alignment. At the top it houses the end of a very long curving tension brace, introduced presumably to improve the stability of the structure at that end. It seems likely that when the vertical slumped it took much of the structure with it. To the right of the vertical is a section measuring *c*.8 ft. (2.44 m.) which includes a middle vertical, a rear doorway, and what appear to be the remains of a mullioned window on the ground floor. This bay, demarcated on the right by another warped, but uninterrupted, vertical, represents part of the earlier building of 1541–2. Beyond that is the plain square framing of the 1563–93 extension.

The dichotomy between the main divisions of the rear elevation and those of the ground plan could suggest that the 1541–2 building was of four bays, each 8 ft. in length, not three as the evidence of the ground plan seems to indicate. So much alteration and reparation has occurred over the years that caution is advised when attempting interpretation. Only the current overall measurements are certain.

The Ground Plan (Figure 4)

The core of the 1541–2 building is contained within the shaded area on the plan. It is demarcated by a moulded bressumer beam shown by hatching between two broken lines. Its profile is drawn as a detail at **C** (Figure 5). Here the moulding stops abruptly, indicating that the structure probably continued at the end of the rebuilt cottage 3. Further evidence that this was the case lies in the redundant mortice on the northern side of the post at first-floor level, indicating that the building continued northwards. There is evidence for the bressumer beam to be supported by a series of shaped brackets along its length. One is shown on the detail at **C**. Clearly visible from the present display area is the north-east corner of the jettied structure with its moulding intact. The corner confirms that the 1541–2 building was jettied on two sides at least, most probably on three. The moulding, combining as it does elements of ovolo, dentil, and cavetto profiles, seems appropriate for the date and shows considerable weathering.

If, as was often the case in Shropshire, a bay is based on a measurement of 8 ft. (2.44 m.), it would seem that the 1541–2 building was of three bays and had an upper floor. With the addition of the crosswing to the north sometime between 1563 and 1593 the teaching space was greatly increased. At **A** (Figure 6) the framed section as it survives is shown, and this includes the massive beam, nearly 2 ft. (0.61 m.) deep at first-floor level. This is chamfered and stopped, plainly but purposefully. This section marks the jettied end wall of the 1541–2 building, and it is clear from redundant rectangular openings on the soffits of the beam that it had two unglazed mullioned windows. On the plan the mullion housings are shown. Five survive on the eastern side and four on the western. Perhaps the main entrance was sited between the two windows, with a secondary doorway further to the west. This suggests the main doorway for the teaching staff and the other for the boys, a pattern still to be seen in Stone Grange in Grinshill, the building used by Shrewsbury School in times of plague. At Oswestry the large chimney stack, inserted presumably when the extension was made, while providing a fireplace on either side at ground level, destroyed any firm evidence for the original entrance(s).

Section **B** (Figure 7) is remarkable for the large transverse beam 16 x 12 in. (0.41 x 0.31 m.). This bears a 2–in. (0.05–m.) chamfer with simple run-out stops.[20] One of the dendro dates was obtained from this beam, giving the 1563–93 date-range and pinpointing the start of the extension.

The Upper Storey

The external timbering of the upper storey has been described above. Internally at first-floor level the framing is fully visible, the pattern repeating the lozenge-within-lozenge work noted on the exterior. Section **A** shows how, above the tie-beam, the lozenge design is incorporated with queen-posts, and the central strut rises to the apex where the principal rafters appear to form part of the outer lozenge. This ingenious composition is idiosyncratic, but very successful: the joints show no sign of failure, and the aesthetic appeal is undeniable, the large scantling of the timbers adding to the impact.

The beam shown as a dotted line on the first-floor plan at **E** has empty mortices for more lozenge work, suggesting that this was an end wall; therefore at this stage the school building must have been **L**-shaped. Later the full rectangle was completed with the addition of the cottages.

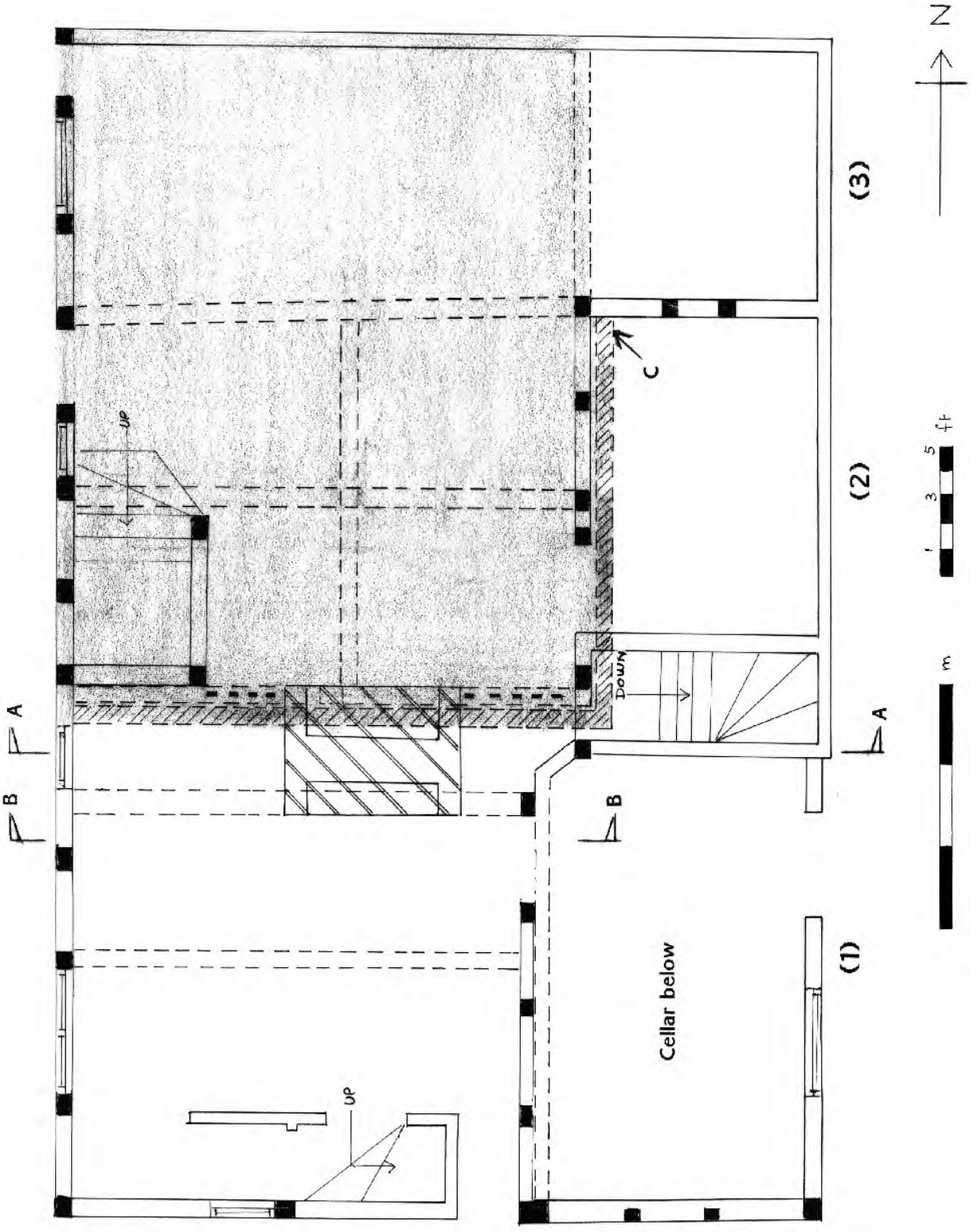

Figure 4 Ground Plan (shaded area is extent of 1541–2 building).

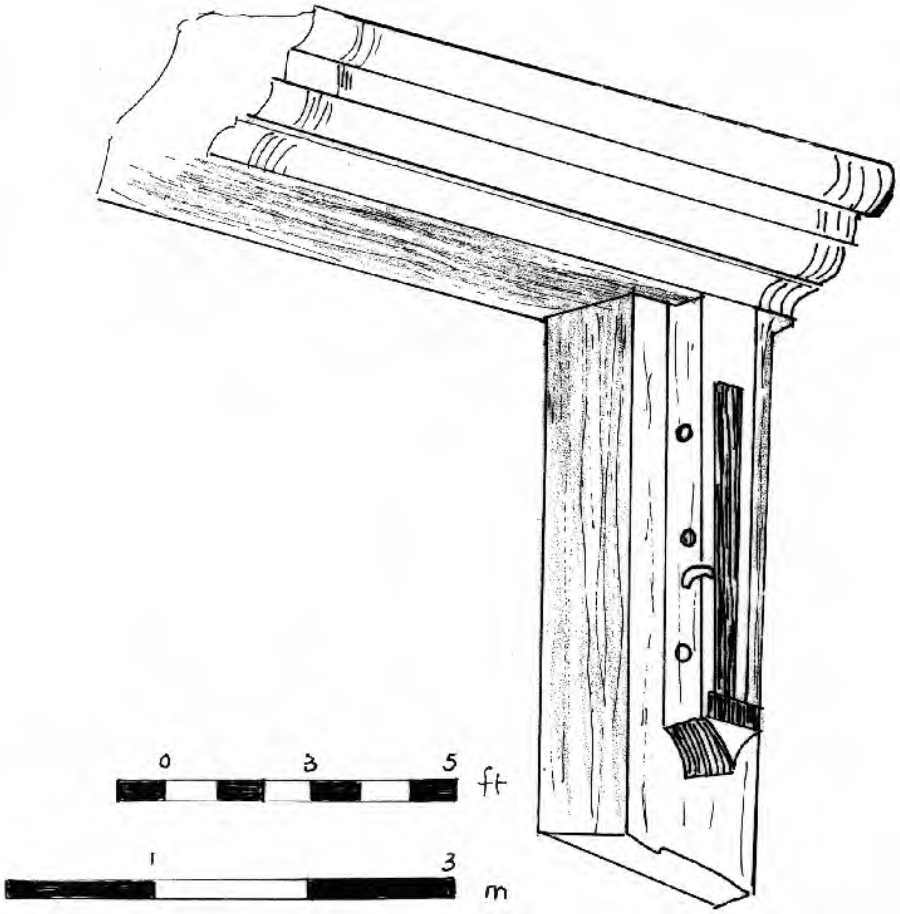

Figure 5 Detail of Bracket under Bressumer at C.

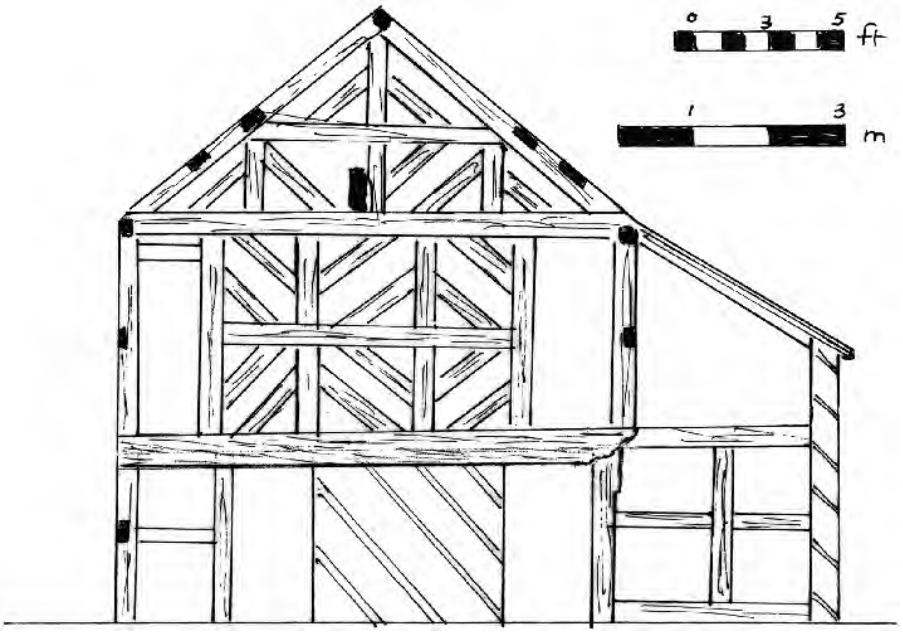

Figure 6 Section A.

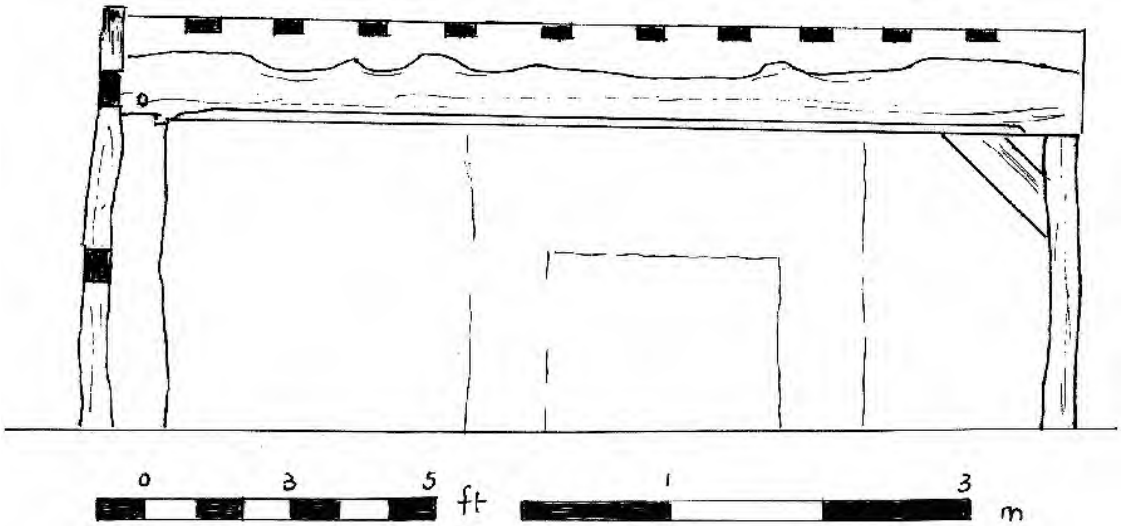

Figure 7 Part-section B.

First-floor Plan (Figure 8)

At first-floor level the plan is virtually a repetition of the ground floor, with the exception of some transverse partitioning in the southern room. The inserted chimneystack, mentioned above, has been replaced with a much smaller one in modern brickwork and has a fireplace on the northern side only. An unusual feature is the truss at **D** (Figure 9), where a pair of truncated upper crucks provides the main support for the partition. The truss is infilled with modern thin timbers and plastered panels. Sometimes known as curved or bent principals, such cruck trusses are not common in Britain, and mostly occur in a European context.[21] However, the crucks in the Old School are clearly re-used timbers and may have originated as full crucks elsewhere. It is difficult to know why it was thought necessary to incorporate such components, unless it was to facilitate the construction of the roof-line of the gable on the eastern side of the extension.

The Cellar (Figure 4)

Below the eastern unit of the extension is a cellar, which is approached from steps outside the south-east corner of the earlier build. The cellar measures 11 ft. x 7 ft. 9 in. (3.35 x 2.36 m.), has walls of rubble stone and a headroom of *c*.6 ft. (1.83 m.). It seems to be contemporary with the 1563–93 extension and probably provided useful storage.

The Graffiti

No school building would be credible without a showing of pupils' scratched or incised names, and at Oswestry two parts of the building have such displays. One, clearly removed from its original location, is on a hanging board against the eastern wall of the smaller bay of the extension, and is thus immediately visible to visitors entering from the present main door; the other is on a timber which is part of the inner face of the southern wall, and is visible from the stairs shown on the first-floor plan.

Origins and Comparisons

Documentary sources show that many schools were begun and held in monasteries and churches, or in chantry chapels outside the church, or in clergymen's houses. The venerated historians of Shrewsbury, Owen and Blakeway, point out that monastic schools were '*sometimes within the church, but oftener adjoining the infirmary*'. At Shrewsbury Abbey the school was over the Guesten Hall and was not only for novices but also for the '*sons of gentlemen*'.[22] In 1541, after the Dissolution, the Corporation of Shrewsbury unsuccessfully petitioned the King to change the Abbey into a college or free school.[23] Lilleshall; Abbey too seems to have had a school, with places for gentlemen's sons in 1538;[24] and in 1546 it was said that Richard Robyns, a 60-year old fellow of the collegiate

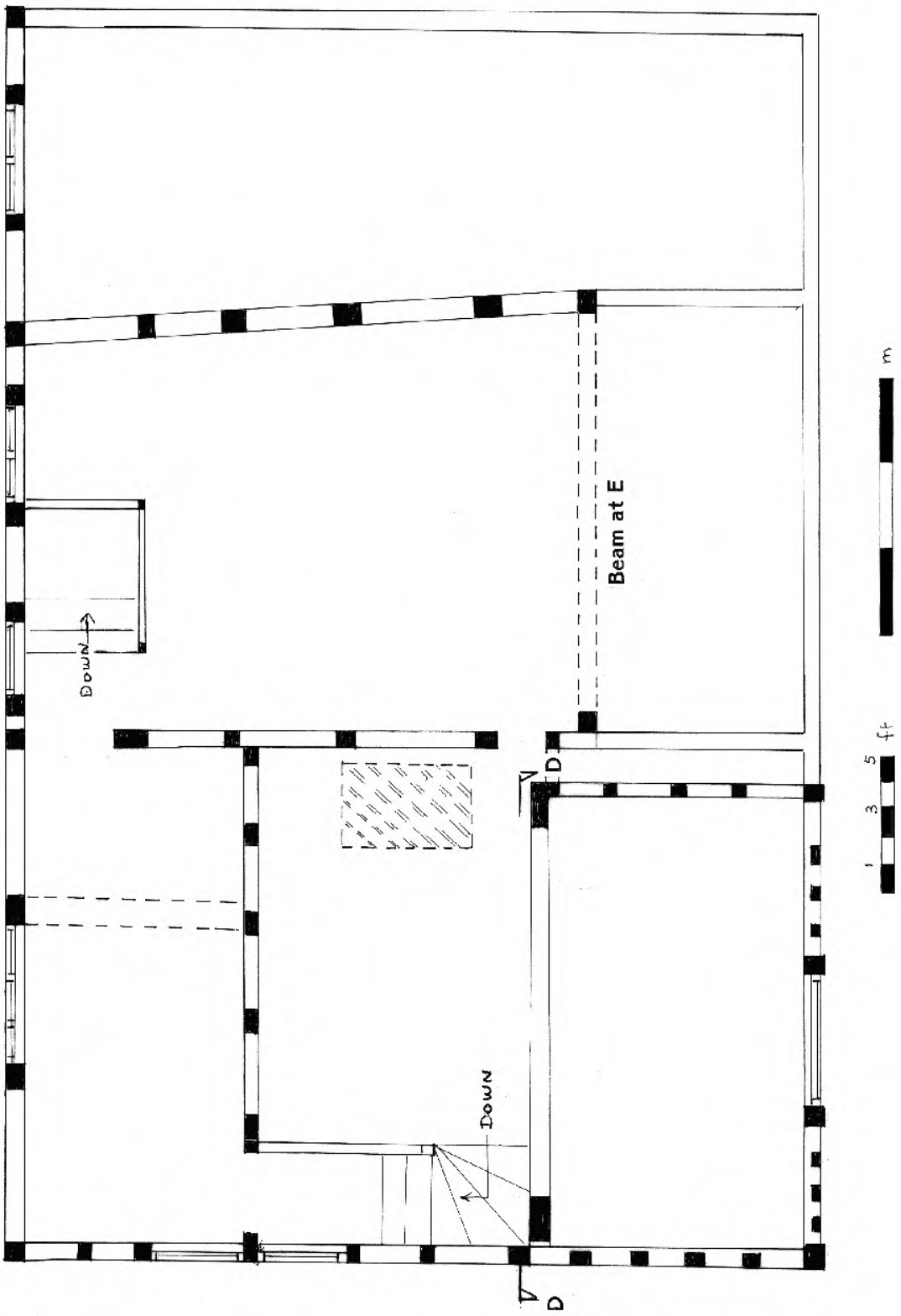

Figure 8 First-floor Plan.

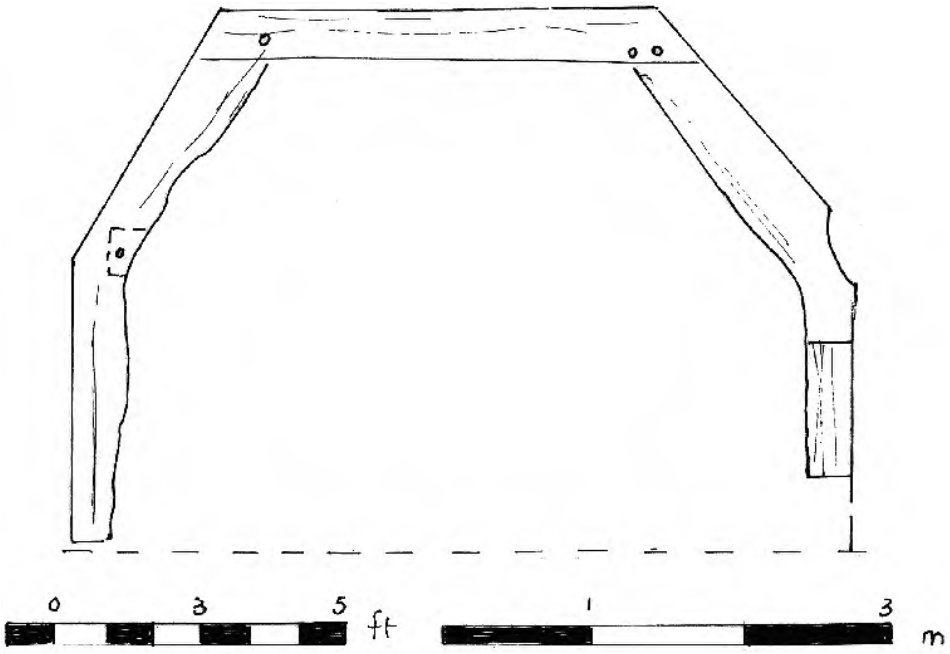

Figure 9 Inserted Crucks at D (as upper-crucks).

church of Newport, '*hath always preched the worde off god and kept a gramer Schole ther*',[25] although exactly whereabouts within the college precincts cannot be known.

A hundred and seventy years after the Dissolution there was a school in the Abbey church at Shrewsbury – by then Holy Cross parish church serving Abbey Foregate. In 1709 £1 11*s*. '*was paid for making a chymney in the schoolhouse*' at the Abbey, and Cranage, reasoning from evidence of 1724, believed that the school was kept in a room over the church's north porch.[26] Part of the south aisle of the church, however, was also used as a schoolroom.[27]

Where, then, was Oswestry grammar school taught before the building of 1541–2 was erected? The question has been partly answered by drawing attention to Leland's observation of the late-medieval predecessor-schoolhouse, but suggestions, to an extent speculative, may be offered about the earliest years of the school's history.

There are no regular sources for the premises occupied by medieval schools[28] – although, of course, splendid foundations like Winchester and Eton are well recorded. What was called Yorkshire's oldest surviving school building (now demolished) was the priest's house and school at Cawthorne, near Barnsley in the West Riding; it dated from 1455.[29] A priest's house must often have been the most convenient place in which to teach a modest provincial school. At King's Norton, formerly in Worcestershire but now in Birmingham, there is a building on the northern edge of the churchyard, whose oldest part is early fifteenth-century; originally it was probably a priest's house,[30] and perhaps the residence of a priest serving the chantry founded in the church in 1344.[31] Chantry priests, less well endowed than parish clergy, and less burdened with the cure of souls, could, if suitably qualified, improve their income and occupy their time by taking pupils and teaching school – as happened at Wellington and Madeley in Shropshire.[32] By 1546–8, with chantry endowments under threat of confiscation by the Crown, the King's Norton parishioners, making no reference to the chantry, represented its property simply as used in part for the support of a large grammar school with 120 pupils, a graduate clerical master, and a lay usher.[33] In due course the priest's house became the 'Old Grammar School' and was increased in size not earlier than the late sixteenth century.[34]

Not all chantry chapels were within churches; some were free-standing, and Bridgnorth Grammar School may have been taught in the chantry chapel in St. Leonard's churchyard, although in 1503 the corporation forbade the chantry priests to keep school after the arrival of a schoolmaster, and the keeping of school in St. Leonard's church was banned *c*.1517. The school had acquired its own premises by 1548.[35]

Oswestry Grammar School, however, was not established in connection with a chantry. As mentioned above, it was founded, probably *c*.1422, by David Holbach, a Welsh lawyer. Holbach did endow a stipendiary priest to celebrate mass, but that was in St. Martin's parish church. His school in Oswestry was founded and endowed separately from any chantry or similar foundation, although by 1548 the chantry in Oswestry parish church, founded by Thomas, Earl of Arundel (d.1415), was contributing 40*s*. a year to the school.[36]

One possible answer, then, to the question of where Oswestry's school was taught before 1541–2 is 'In or near the parish church', for, in addition to the examples given above, other Shropshire examples of schools taught in churches may be cited.[37] In Worfield parish church by 1551 school was taught at the end of the north aisle, where

St. Mary's chantry had been – not only that but the school was apparently being supported out of the chantry estate,[38] which perhaps the wardens had concealed from the King's commissioners;[39] later, perhaps after the school's endowment, a school house was built near the south gate of the churchyard.[40] Market Drayton Grammar School, first mentioned in 1555, had probably been established by the parish guild of St. Mary, and the guildhall, on the south-east of the churchyard, served as the school house until 1909.[41] Before the Civil Wars the school later known as Donnington Grammar School was held in Wroxeter village, possible in the church.[42] At St. Michael and All Angels in Lilleshall Sir Richard Leveson had built a schoolroom by 1657. Again this was situated at the end of the north aisle.[43] A chamber over the south transept of Lydbury North church was apparently built as a schoolroom for the parish school founded in 1662 by John Shipman, '*an old servant of the house of Walcot*', who left £200 for that purpose; it was still furnished with the schoolmaster's desk and pupils' seats *c*.1901.[44] Adams' Grammar School, Wem, was held in the market hall until 1665, but then in the church until a school house was built in 1670.[45] Edmund Cheese, who was schoolmaster at Church Stretton in 1693, apparently taught school in the church.[46] At Llanyblodwel the north aisle accommodated the school,[47] and at the end of the eighteenth century school was being taught in Clungunford church.[48] At Shelve in 1797 the Archdeacon of Salop found in his visitation that '*The chancel, church and porch are more indecent than they otherwise would be by a school being taught in the chancel. The rector has 30 scholars for teaching which he does not get the wages of a day labourer. Farmer Orlando Rowson has made a fireplace in the chancel with a wooden chimney, this has smoked the chancel and is dangerous to the fabric. I have since spoken to the Patron desiring he would appropriate some other place for the school*'.[49] Clearly by then such arrangements were becoming unacceptable. Nevertheless a partition surviving *c*.1895 near the west end of the nave at Holdgate then appeared to have been built early in the nineteenth century '*to allow that portion of the church to be used as a school*'.[50]

In spite of the evidence cited it could be argued that the grammar school of a substantial borough like Oswestry could hardly have been taught in a corner of the parish church. In the county town of Stafford, however, the grammar school which became known as King Edward VI Grammar School was established in St. Bertelin's chapel at the west end of St. Mary's church *c*.1550, and there it remained until 1801,[51] putting any time lag at Oswestry into a different perspective.

It is difficult to dogmatize about the medieval church of St. Oswald,[52] but three medieval eastern gables indicate the existence of north and south chancel aisles,[53] in the latter of which might have been the 'scholars' chancel' mentioned *c*.1608 and probably to be identified with St. Michael's 'chancel' or chantry; it then had a boarded ceiling with a loft over and was possibly between the south door and the south transept.[54] The name may simply imply that part of the church where schoolboys sat during divine service,[55] but, even so, it is possible that the boys sat where once their school had been taught. Alternatively it is worth noting that the great south-west tower (a 'massive giant' among Shropshire church towers) could have accommodated a large schoolroom on either the ground floor or the first floor; both storeys are medieval. By the end of the Middle Ages St. Oswald's must have been an impressive church;[56] it could hardly have offered less accommodation than St. Mary's, Stafford.

So, the early grammar school at Oswestry could have been taught in the church. That possibility gives way to the later evidence of a building in the churchyard, for which the present structure is a replacement on the same site. And indeed that last hypothesis seems to be certain, for in the late 1530s – before 1541 at any rate and so before the new building was put up – Leland observed the '*fre schole on the south west side of the chirch*'.[57] It was soon to be replaced. In 1542, at the time when the timbers for the first phase of what is now the 'Old Grammar School' were felled, Richard Staney, an Oswestry draper and a member of an important local family, made his will, and left '*to the reparacion and building of a new scole within the Churche yarde five pounds sterling*'. Staney's wording might suggest that the final decisions about repair or new building had not yet been made, but he used the same word for a similar sum which he left for the repair and building of the parish church,[58] and it is possible – to put it no more strongly – that both buildings had been damaged by the fire which in that year burnt '*twoe longe streets, with greate riches of that towne*';[59] the area long known as Pentrepoeth, '*the burnt end of the town*', was just on the opposite side of Brook Street from the churchyard.[60]

Early records of the school are sparse, but the first headmaster whose name is recorded was Mr. Reynolds, mentioned in 1537,[61] at about the time when Leland saw the old school building. Was Reynolds perhaps then newly appointed – and a 'new broom', pressing for more eligible accommodation for the town's grammar school?

Perhaps the date range of the extension, 1563–93, has other relevance. Those years include most of Elizabeth I's reign, and she is known to have taken an interest in the school, granting it, at some time before 1577, forty shillings annually towards its maintenance. In 1577 an agreement between the governors and the schoolmaster, William Marbury, was drawn up. Ten items are listed, the whole giving an insight into the working of the school, and, when set against the background of the wealth of the wool trade as it affected Oswestry, its importance.[62]

It is unfortunate that a closer dendrochronological date for the extension could not be obtained, but, bearing in mind the significance of the 1577 date, it is reasonable to suggest that the remodelling and expansion of the building may be linked to that time.

Summary

This study began as an exercise in the dating and analysis of the timber-framed 'Old Grammar School' at the edge of Oswestry parish churchyard. At the conclusion of the work it is hoped that some new light has been thrown on the early years of Oswestry School by revising the foundation date to *c*.1422 and suggesting that, by comparison with other schools and in view of the existence of a scholars' chancel in the church, it was probably accommodated at first in the church and subsequently, after a time lag which may be judged from the varied experiences of other schools, in a late-medieval building on the site of the present one. From documentary and dendrochronological evidence it seems that a late-medieval schoolhouse built on the edge of the churchyard was in need of repair or rebuilding by 1542 and that substantial townsfolk were then ready to subscribe to the new building that was erected from timbers felled in 1541–2. This school, built on the same site as the earlier one, was enlarged in Elizabethan times, but it served for over two centuries until more spacious premises were acquired in the later eighteenth century. Given back to the School in 1924, the 'Old Grammar School' now stands witness to the accommodation that was thought suitable to an important town grammar school in the early modern period – while at the same time helping visitors to appreciate the wider heritage of an historic Border market town.

Acknowledgements

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Glossary

Bay	The area between two main parts of a building, used as a unit of measurement.
Bressumer	The beam set forward to support a jettied wall.
Cavetto	A hollow moulding.
Chamfer	The surface formed by cutting off a square edge, usually at 45°.
Close studding	Upright timbers set closely together.
Collar-beam	A transverse timber connecting rafters or cruck blades at a point below the apex and above the tie-beam.
Dentil	Resembling straight teeth.
Jetty	The projection of an upper storey beyond the lower storey.
Lozenge	Diamond shape.
Mullions	The vertical members set between the lights of a window.
Ovolo	Moulding with an egg-shaped profile. The late 16th/17th century successor to the quarter-round.
Queen-posts	Paired posts set on a tie-beam and supporting the purlins. May be straight or raking.
Stop	The decorative end to a chamfered surface.
Tension brace	A brace running from a vertical to a lower horizontal timber. (Also known as a Kentish brace.)
Tie-beam	The main transverse beam connecting opposite walls at wall-plate level.
Upper Crucks	A variant of the full-cruck. Full crucks are inclined timbers usually wrought from a single tree, forming an arch. The roof is supported on the back of the cruck 'blades' and the walls are independent. Upper crucks rise from a beam at, or just below, eaves level. Some rise to the apex, some are truncated at the level of a high collar-beam.
Wall-plate	The horizontal timber at the wallhead to which the roof trusses are rafters are fixed.

Abbreviations used in the notes

CBA	Council for British Archaeology.
Cal. Pat.	Calendar of the Patent Rolls (H.M. Stationery Office).

SA. Shropshire Archives.
VA *Vernacular Architecture* (the Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Group).
VCH The *Victoria County History* (followed by the county name).

Notes

1 Guto's poem 'Canmol Croesoswallt' ('In Praise of Oswestry') is in J. P. Clancy, Medieval *Welsh Lyrics*, 1965, 219–21. 'Fre(e) in this context may mean that some boys were taught without fees being paid, or perhaps that the school was free from control by any ecclesiastical foundation. It is not to be supposed that Holbach was anticlerical; he endowed a stipendiary priest in St. Martin's (see below), and one of his original school trustees was Richard Hova, vicar of Oswestry: cf. Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen, 'The Founder and First Trustees of Oswestry Grammar School', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd. ser., **IV**, 1904, 196, 207; J. Pryce-Jones, *Oswestry: the Parish, its Church, and its People*, 2005, 42–3.
2 L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, 1906–10, reprinted by S. Illinois Univ. Press, 1964, **III**, 75.
3 'Oswestry Grammar School', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **V**, 1–88; 3rd. ser., **IV**, 185–216.
4 A. F. Leach, English Schools at the Reformation 1546–8, 1896, pt. **I**, 56–7.
5 R. R. Oakley, A History of Oswestry School, c.1960.
6 *VCH Salop,* **II**, 152–3.
7 C. Symons, Oswestry School: A Commemorative History 1407–2007, 2007.
8 Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen pointed out (*Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **V**, 3rd ser., **IV**, 193–5) that the school's trust and endowment deeds (surviving only in later copies), the latter executed by Holbach's widow, should almost certainly be dated 6 and 9 Hen. V (1418–19 and 1421–2) respectively, rather than 6 and 9 Hen. IV (1404–5 and 1407–8), as Holbach died only *c*.1422 (his will, dated 10 Sept. 1421, being proved 7 Apr. 1424). Her conclusions agree with those of Mr. John Pryce-Jones's recent researches.
9 [P. Roberts,] *The History of Oswestry, from the earliest Period…*, 1815, 119–25; W. Cathrall, *The History of Oswestry*, 1855, 107–12; I. Watkin, *Oswestry*, 1920, 50–54; J. Pryce-Jones, *Historic Oswestry*, 1982, 33–38.
10 *VCH Salop*, **II**, 152.
11 Watkin, *op. cit.*, 54–57.
12 Symonds, *op. cit.*, 79–80.
13 Inf. from the School.
14 Inf. from Mr. John Pryce-Jones.
15 *VA*, **39** (2008), 141.
16 But see above, note 8.
17 J. Y. W. Lloyd, History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher, and the Ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog, **IV**, 1884, 93; H. W. Lloyd, 'The Founder of Oswestry School', Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc., **V**, 238–40.
18 Pryce-Jones, *Historic Oswestry*, 33.
19 D. J. Lloyd, Country Grammar School: a History of Ludlow Grammar School through Eight Centuries, 1977, 13–24.
20 *VA*, **2**, 1971, 14–15.
21 N. W. Alcock, *Cruck Construction: an Introduction and Catalogue* (CBA. Research Report 42, 1981), 39, 41.
22 H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, **II**, 50.
23 Ibid., **I**, 322; **II**, 135.
24 *VCH Salop,* **II**, 77; **XI**, 174.
25 A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Certificates of the Shropshire Chantries under the Acts of 37 Henry VIII, cap. IV and Edward VI, cap. XIV', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd ser., **X**, 1910, 366.
26 D. H. S. Cranage, An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire, part 10, 1912, 889.
27 Owen and Blakeway, *op. cit.*, **II**, 76.
28 E. Mercer, English Architecture to 1900: The Shropshire Experience, 2003, 221.
29 W. E. Tate, *A. F. Leach as a Historian of Yorkshire Education* (St. Anthony's Hall Publication, **XXIII**, 1963), 19 and plate facing 21.
30 *VCH Worcestershire*, **III**, 180. The building is illustrated, *ibid*. 181 and plate facing 182.
31 *Ibid.*, 190. The church was not parochial (King's Norton being a chapelry of Bromsgrove parish) until 1846: *ibid.*, 189.
32 Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, part ii, 187; Hamilton Thompson, *op. cit.*, 274.
33. Leach, *op. cit.*, part ii, 268–9 (printing the chantry certificate). Their economy with the truth did not in the end prevent confiscation: *ibid.*, part i, 101–2; *VCH Worcestershire*, **III**, 190; *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 351.
34 *VCH Worcestershire*, **III**, 180.
35 See Dr. J. F. A. Mason's chapter 'Early Struggles' in M. Jones (ed.), *Bridgnorth Grammar and Endowed Schools*, 2003, 1–3; *VCH Salop*, **II**, 142 and n.2.
36 Leach, *op. cit.*, part i, 56–7, 90; part ii, 187 (printing the chantry certificate); idem., *The Schools of Medieval England*, 1915, 235–6; *VCH Salop*, **II**, 152.
37 E. Mercer, *op. cit.*, 298, 354 nn. 8–9, 363 nn. 159–63, and sources there cited.
38 H. B. Walters, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Worfield', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd ser., **III**, 1903, 100–1; **IX**, 1909, 117.
39 As at King's Norton (see above). There is no Worfield chantry certificate: *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd ser., **X**, 388.
40 *VCH Salop*, **II**, 161; J. Randall, *Worfield and its Townships, being a History of the Parish from Saxon and Norman Times*, 1887, 41. The school was endowed with cottages and land by 1618.
41 *VCH Salop*, **II**, 145.
42 *Ibid.*, 143.

43 Mytton Papers, **IV** (Birmingham Univ. Library, MSS./ii/4), 815A.
44 Cranage, *op. cit.*, part 5, 1901, 412.
45 *VCH Salop*, **II**, 158.
46 *Ibid.*, **X**, 118.
47 Mytton Papers, **IV**, 825A.
48 A. T. D. Evans, Border Wanderings: Local and Social History of the Marches, privately printed 2008, 52.
49 SA: 6001/6863, f. 147. The 'wooden chimney' was a wattle-and-daub hood, known locally as a 'fumbrell' and certainly a fire hazard.
50 Cranage, *op. cit.*, part 2, 1895, 99.
51 *VCH Staffordshire*, **VI**, 164–5.
52 J. Pryce-Jones, Oswestry Parish Church: its Early History, 1992, 19–20.
53 Cranage, *op. cit.,* part 9, 1908, 809–817; J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *Shropshire*, 2006, 445.
54 A. Roberts, 'Oswestry Ecclesiastical History', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **iii**, 1880, 177 sqq.; *Oswestry Parish Church: the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1579–1613*, transcribed by W. Day, 1970, 163–4, 168, 173; Pryce-Jones, *Oswestry: the Parish, its Church, and its People*, 13, 15.
55 Along with the poor: Day, *op. cit.,* 168.
56 Mercer, *op. cit.,* 50, 83.
57 *Itinerary of John Leland,* **III**, 75. Cranage (*op. cit.,* part 9, 817) dates his visit *c.*1536–9; Toulmin Smith (*Itinerary*, **III**, viii, 73) argues that it must be before 1541.
58 Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen, 'Selattyn: A History of the Parish', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 2nd Ser, **VI**, 1894, 297, 302; J. Pryce-Jones, 'Oswestry Corporation Records: The Bailiffs…to 1673', *ibid.*, **LXXVI**, 2001, 31 sqq.
59 Lloyd, *History of…Powys Fadog,* **VI**, 1887, 310 (John Davies's history of Oswestry, completed in 1635: see Pryce-Jones, 'John Davies of Middleton, an early Shropshire historian', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXXV**, 2000, 85, 91 sqq.). The fire was marked by an 'Eclipse of the Sun in Aries' – according to Camden an occurrence 'very fatal to this place'.
60 [Roberts,] *History of Oswestry*, 48–9, 83. But Owain Glyndŵr had burnt the town long before, and there was another fire in 1544, and a third in 1567 (when it raged 'so furiously…that about 200 houses in the city and suburbs were consum'd'): cf. *ibid.*, 49 n.; Lloyd, *History of…Powys Fadog*, **VI**, 309–10.
61 Symons, *op. cit.*, 18.
62 *Ibid.*, 18–22; J. Geraint Jenkins, *The Welsh Woollen Industry*, 1969, *passim*; *VCH Salop*, **IV**, 161. But within a generation Shrewsbury was to engross the Welsh wool trade to Oswestry's impoverishment: Lloyd, *History of…Powys Fadog*, **VI**, 310.

THE WILLS OF JOHN TALBOT, FIRST EARL OF SHREWSBURY, AND OF HIS SONS, LORD LISLE AND SIR LOUIS TALBOT

By JOHN ASHDOWN-HILL

These three wills shed light on the Talbot family in the mid fifteenth century. Their context is a troubled one. The ongoing war in France took the lives of the first Earl of Shrewsbury and of his son, Viscount Lisle. Sir Louis Talbot may have died as a result of a more local inheritance dispute, while the curious grant of probate relating to the Lisle will reflects the conflict which existed between the two distinct families of the first Earl of Shrewsbury, stemming from his two marriages. This was a conflict which ultimately became associated with the wider civil disturbance in England, as the second Earl of Shrewsbury gravitated into the Lancastrian camp while the dowager Countess and her children attached themselves to the House of York.

The will of the first Earl of Shrewsbury has previously been published in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* in 1904, in a transcription by the Rev. Gilbert Vane.[1] Unfortunately a comparison between the original text of the will at Lambeth Palace Library and Vane's transcription reveals some defects in the latter. Vane's spellings are not always consistent with the original text, some words are wrongly transcribed, and occasionally phrases of the original text are entirely omitted in the transcription.

I am grateful to the Shropshire Archaeological Society for the opportunity to publish what I hope is a more accurate transcription of this will, and to supplement it with the hitherto unpublished texts of the wills of two of the first Earl of Shrewsbury's sons. I am grateful also to Lambeth Palace Library for permission to publish the wills of Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Lisle, and to Livia Visser-Fuchs for her invaluable help with the Latin texts. Any remaining faults are, of course, my own responsibility.

Will of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, 1452

Lambeth Palace Library, Kempe Register, ff. 311v-312v.
(Punctuation modernised, abbreviations of 'per' and superscript indications of omission of 'n' expanded without comment. Other abbreviations retained as in the original. The Latin grant of probate which follows this will, being formulaic, is not translated in full but merely summarised.)

In the name of oure Lorde ihu [Jesu], Amen.

I, John Erle of Shrewsbury, Waysforde and Waterforde, Lord Talbot, Furnyvale and Straunge, hole of body and in my good minde, beyng this Fryday, the first day of September, the yere of oure Lorde ml cccclii, at Portesmouth,[2] make and dispose my testament and laste will in this maner.

First, y bequethe my soule to Almyghty God my creatour, and to oure Lady Seynt Mary and to alle the seyntes of hevyn, and my body to be beryd at Blakmere in the parysshe church on the right syde of the chauncell,[3] where y wolle be bylte and made a chapelle of oure Lady and Seynt George for me at my coste and charge. Also y wolle and ordeyn that there be a colege founded in the seide church to the value of xl li. [£40] by yere ende, the value of the personage of the seide churche, and that the seide personage and other chirches goo to the fundacion of the seide colege to pray for me and my wyf[4] and alle oure childeryn, ancestours and alle oure goode doers; or els to be beried in the colege of War'c [Warwick] in the newe chapelle there, the whiche Richarde, late Earl of War'c, my fader-in-lawe, late let make and ordeyn (in case that eny tyme hereaftre y may attayne to the name and lordeship of Warewik, as right wolle.[5]

Also I wolle and graunt and fully ordeyn that my wife have and enioye the lordeshippes of Blakmer, Whittchurche, Dodyngton and Lynyall in the county of Salop, the maner and lordeship of Payneswike with the

appertenance in the shire of Gloucestr' after the forme and tenure of a fyne rered therupon in the kynge's court, that ys to sey to me and to here and to the eyres of oure too bodeys lawfuly begoten, as in the seide fyne more pleynly hit aparith.

Also y wolle and graunte and fully ordeyn that my sone, the Vecount Lysle,[6] shall have the castell' and lordship of Pynyarde and the maner of Credenhill with the appertenance in the shire of Herford [Hereford], and the maner of Straungeforde within the lordeship of Irchenfilde, with the appertanance, to hym and to his eyres of his body lawfully begoten. And if he dye withoute yssue of his body lawfully begoten, y wolle that the seide castell' and maners fully remayne unto my sone, Sir Lowis, and to the eyres of his body lawfully begoten. And if the seide Lowis dye withoute issue of his body lawfully begoten, I wolle that the seide castell' and man's [maners] holy remaygn unto my sone, Umfrey, his brother, and to the eyres of his body lawfully begoten. And yf the seide Umfrey dye withoute issue of his body lawfully begoten, I woll' that the seide castelle and maners holy remaygne unto the right eyres of me for evermore, as in a dede therof made, more playnly hith apperith.

Allso y wolle and ordeyn that my son, the Vecounte Lisle, have the castell' and maner of the Cheswarden, the maner of Wrokwarden and Sutton Madok in the shire of Salop, with theire appertenance, to hym and to hys eyres of his body lawfully begoten, and the maner of Tassely in the same shire to hym and to his eyres for evermore, as in ther dedes and evidencz therof made, more pleynly hit apperith. Moreover I wolle and graunt and fully ordeyn that my wif have holy her dower of alle my lyvelode, withouten eny interupcion.

Allso I wolle and graunte and fully ordeyn and devise that my wif have, after my decesse, too places of my purchased londes in Shreesbury, and allso too places of my purchased londes in Lodelowe for terme of her lyfe, and after her decesse I wolle that my sone, the Vicount Lysle have on[e] of the places in Shreesbury, which he wolle chese [chose] to hym and to his heires. And my son, Sir Lowis, that other, to him and to his heyres.

And as to my places in Lodelowe, my sone, Sir Lowis, to have them to him and to his heyres forevermore. Also y wolle [f. 312r] that my sone, Sir Lowis, have the castell' of Corfh'm and Culmyngton for terme of his life. And allso that my seide sone, Sir Lowis, and my son Humfrey, his brother, have and enioye alle my purchased londes in Shropshire and other places, after the forme and effecte of dyvers dedes and evidences therof, made unto them, as in the saide dedes and evidences more pleynly hit apperith. And allso my seide sone, Syr Lowis, shall have my purchased landes and howses in Harshire and Humshire [Herefordshire and Hampshire] to hym and to his heyres forevermore.

Also I wolle that my sone and heire[7] have the lordeshippes of Goderich' and Irchenfelde, and elle the remanunt of Talbottes and Straunges livelode except the yeftes [gifts] and grauntes byfore rehersed. And also alle my lyvelode in Irlonde and Fraunce and in Normande, as hit apperith by the kynge's patentes made therof, except thoo [those?] that be yfe to me and to my wife and to oure childeryn as hit apperith by the kinge's patentes therof made.

Also y wille and graunt and fully ordeyn that my sone, Syr Lowis, have alle my terme whiche y have in the ferme of the maner and lordeship of Glossop, of the graunt of the Abbot of Basyngwerk.

Allso y wolle that Thomas Everynghm have his fee of x li. [£10] in holden for terme of his lyve, of my graunt, and that John Grene have his fee at Myddelton for terme of his lyve, and that John Gye have his office of constablarie at Goderiche Castell', terme of his lyve, with the fee longyng therto.

Allso y wolle and graunt and fully orden that my wife have her araye that longeth to her body and to her hede, and all suche thynges as I have yefe her byfore this tyme, without eny claym or interupcion of my executours or of my childeryn, and alleso all suche vessell' of sylver as byn makd with myn armes and hers togedere, or with the dogge, or with the ragged staf.[8]

Allso I wolle that my wife have all the remanunt of my goodes meveable, payng for me hem as may be accorded bytwene her and myn executours. And the money therof to be paide for the acquytyng of my dettys, and rewardyng of my servantes, after the discrecion of myn executours.

Also I wolle that the revenues of myn heritage and purchased londes turne to the acquytyng of my dettis, except the maner of Blakmer, with the remenunt conteyned in my wife's joyntur', and also except the maners assygned to my childeryn.

Also y wolle that my wife have a shippe called the *Margarete*[9] and a barge called the *Cristofre* of the whiche John Prat ys master, and allso the part that y have in *Nicholas of the Toure*. And y wolle that my wife have the vesselles as his afore rehersyde, with the apparell that longeth to them.

And as to the Ml li. [£1000] that ys paide for my dowghter, Elianore,[10] mariage, in case the coven'ntes be not performed on the Lord of Sudeley's part, that then myn executours suee for the repayment of the summe aforesaide ayenst the seide Lorde Sudeley.

Allso y wolle and ordeyn that the lordeshippes of Bampton, Swyndon, Schryvenam, Broughton and Aysshton stonde stille in theire handes that ben enfeffed theryn. And the yssues and profettes of alle the seide lordeshippes goo to the payment of my dettys, and performyng of my wille into the tyme my dettis be fully paide, as wel for the mariage of my doughter, Waren,[11] as for the remenunt of my wille performede.

Also y wolle that my wife and myn executours sue unto the kynge and soverayn lorde, and other lordes of his counsell' for suche dettis as ben due unto me by oure saide soverayn' lord, consideryng the gret coste and jupertie

[?jeopardy] of my person that y have had in his service, that my wife and myn executours may have my seide dettis in performyng my wille, withoute which hit may not be don'.

Also y wolle that my sone, Syr Lowis, have a ship' called the *Carwell*, with alle the apparell, and my sone, Humfrey, to have a ship' called the *Tregoo*, with alle the apparell that longeth to hym.

And this my wille to be don' and performed, I make and ordeyn my wife, William Catesby,[12] John Brown, N. Byllyng, William Notyngham, William Cumberforde, Thomas Everyngh'm and Roger Stedman myn executours, whom I require and charge as they wille answer afore God, to execute this my wille. And yn especyall' I pray and require my son' and heire,[13] and on my blessyng, as highly as I can (as the fader may charge the [f. 312v] son' in Aimyng of my curse) and as he wolle have my blessyng I charge hym that he interrupt not, ne lette this my wille to be performede and don', nether he, ne non other in his name, ne non other of my blode. And yf they, or eny of them, doo, or let this, my wille, that then my ffeffese mak astate of suche londes as thei been enfeffed in, to my' executours, and thei to sylle the seide londes and dispose hem for my soule.

And to oversee the execucyon of this my testament and last wille, I have ordenyd, and by this my wille I require and beseche to be overseers, the bysshop of Wynchester, the bysshop of Herforde, therle of Worcestre[14] and my sone, the vecount Lysle,[15] to take upon them the oversight and fulfillyng therof.

Wretyn the day and yere abovesaide, and sygned with myn owen hande and closede and seelde with my seele at Portesmouth abovesaide.

Probatum fuit prescriptum testamentum coram domino apud Lambith decimo octavo die mensis Ianuarii Anno domini millesimo CCCCo quinquagesimo tercio. Commissaque fuit administracio omnium et singulorum bonorum ubicumque etc. prenobili domine Margarete, relict' dicti defuncti, executrici in dicto testamento nominat', reservata potestates committend' &c. de bene et fideliter administrando &c. necnon compotum calculum sive raciocinium &c. de plenum & fideli inventarium omnium & singulorum & singulorum [*sic*] bonorum et domino' citra festum Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis exhibendo &c.

Proved at Lambeth 18 January 1453. Administration to the lady Margaret, relict of the deceased. Inventory by Lady Day (25 March).

John Talbot, Viscount Lisle

Viscount Lisle was the eldest of the three sons of the first Earl of Shrewsbury's second marriage to Lady Margaret Beauchamp. Rather confusingly he was given the same baptismal name – John – as his elder half-brother, the future second Earl of Shrewsbury. The Lisle title, which descended from his maternal grandmother, was obtained for him by his parents, it being evident from the time of his birth that he had small chance of inheriting his father's entailed lands and titles, which would pass, in all probability, to the offspring of the latter's first marriage.

Lord Lisle accompanied his father to France, and died there with him, thus providing Shakespeare with the basis for the moving, but chronologically misplaced, episode in *Henry VI* (part 1, act 4, scene 7) in which 'Talbot' and 'Young Talbot' are slain side by side. Lord Lisle's will is very brief, and goes into no detail in respect of either property or beneficiaries. It is, however, of some interest for its accompanying grant of probate which, unusually, emanates not from some diocesan official, but from the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury in person. It seems likely that this circumstance is due to the fact that Lord Lisle's half-brother, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, contested his father's testamentary dispositions, thus embroiling the Talbot heirs in litigation.

Will of John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, 1452

Lambeth Palace Library, Kempe Register, f. 312v.
(Abbreviations in the will expanded without comment.)

(In margin) Testamentum Iohannis Lysle militis

In Dei nomine. Amen. Ego Iohannes, Vicecomes Lysle, miles, ad bella, deo favente, in partes exteras pro titulo domini nostri Regis Anglie et Francie in brevi profectuens, considerans eventum belli dubium esse, volo quod domina Margareta, mater mea, habeat omnia bona mea, mobilia et immobilia, ad disponendum et ordinandum, secundum iusticiam et equitatem ac iustam conscientiam eiusdem. Et predictam dominam Margaretam meam solam ordino, facio et constituo executricem ad exequendum & perimplendum iuste et fideliter presentem voluntatem meam prout ipsa melius speraverit deo placere et saluti anime mee proficere.

Data in hospicio vulgariter nuncupato *Warwiks Ynne* in parochia Sancti Sepulcri extra Newgate, Civitatis Londoniensis, mensi Marcii anno Domini Millensimo CCCCo quinquagesimo secundo, hiis testibus Iohanne Wenlok et Galfrido Halforde armigeris.

Tenore presencium, Nos Iohannes, miseracione divina Episcopus Sancte Rufine, sacrosancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Tocius Anglie Primas et Apostolice sedis legatus, Notum facimus universis quod prescriptum testamentum prefati nobilis et egregii Iohannis, Vicecomitis de Lysle, defuncti, habentis domania vixis, et mortis sue tempore diversa bona mobilia & immobilia in diversis diocesibus nostre Cantuariensis provincie. Cuius pretextu ipsius testamenti approbacio et insumacio ad nos solum et in solidum, et non ad alium nobis inferiorem iudicem, de iure et prerogativa et consuetudine nostro & ecclesie nostre Cantuariensis legittime prescripto ac incontradicto indicio sepe ac sepius obtentis necnon a tempore et per tempus cuius anticum memoria hominum non existit, pacifice, quiete & inconcusse usitatis preteriter & observatis notorie dinoscitur pertinere.

Coram nobis decimo octavo die mensis Januarii Anno domini millensimo CCCCo quinquagesimo tercio in manerio nostro de Lambeth per testes in eodem testamento inscriptos in debita iuris forma admissos, iucatos et diligenter ac fideliter secrete et singillatim examinatos, pro vero et legittimo testamento ipsius defuncti sufficient' probatum fuit & per nos [subscript pro veritate] [[f. 313] pro veritate a valore eiusdem vere pronunciatum ac sic per nos pro vero & legittimo approbatum & insumatum. Comissaque fuit administracio omnium et singulorum bonorum dicti defuncti infra nostram Cant' provinciam antedictam ubilibet existencium nobili mulieri domine Margarete Comitisse Salopie matri dicti defuncti et executrici in testamento suo nominate de bene et fideliter administrando omnia bona necnon de pleno ac fideli inventario omni' & singulorum bonorum huiusmodi conficiendo & nobis citra festum Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis proxim' futur' exhibendo ac de pleno & fideli compoto calculo sive raciocin[ac]io nobis aut nostris officiariis et ministriis nostris ve success' corum ve ministris in ea parte reddend' in debita iuris forma iurate.

Dat' Anno, die mensi & loco supradictis, et nostre consecrationis Anno secundo.

Translation

(Grant of probate merely summarised.)

The Will of John Lisle, knight.
In the name of God. Amen. I John, Viscount Lisle, knight, shortly proceeding, with God's help, to the wars in foreign parts for the title of our lord the King of England and France,[16] holding the fortune of war to be uncertain, desire that the Lady Margaret, my mother should have the disposal and ordering [of] all my property, movable and immovable, according to justice and equity and the just conscience of the same. And I make, appoint and constitute the said Lady Margaret my sole executrix to justly and faithfully execute and fulfill my present will, as she herself hopes to better please God, and as will benefit the health of my soul.

Given at the lodging house known in the vulgar tongue as 'Warwick's Inn', in the parish of the Holy Sepulchre without Newgate, in the City of London, in the month of March in the year of the Lord 1452, witnesses: John Wenlock[17] and Geoffrey Halforde, knights.

John,[18] by divine mercy Bishop of St. Rufina,[19] Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. recognises the above as Lord Lisle's will and asserts his own right of jurisdiction in the proving of it.

On 18 January 1453 the witnesses named in the will were individually examined at Lambeth and the will was proved. Administration to the lady Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, mother and executrix of the deceased. Inventory by Lady Day [25 March] to the Cardinal Archbishop or his successor.[20]

Sir Louis Talbot

Sir Louis Talbot was the first Earl of Shrewsbury's second son by his second marriage. His name occurs occasionally in other records. In 1453 Henry VI granted him 'all places, lands, lordships possessions, rents and revenues in the duchy [of Aquitaine] now held by the lord of Pons and Pouton...to the value of 200 marks a year'.[21] The subsequent loss of English-held territory in France, however, means that Sir Louis is unlikely to have derived any long-term benefit from this grant. In 1458 came the 'declaration of Nicholas Alderley concerning veriaunces and troublys betwene Sir Lowys Talbot, Knyght, and John Botlere of Badminton co. Gloucester, squyer, for landes and tenements in Tresham and Kilcote'.[22] It seems likely that this conflict was part of Louis' mother's long-running Berkeley inheritance dispute.[23] Earlier, in September 1457, the King had granted a 'pardon

to the king's serjeant, Lewis Talbot, knight, of all treasons, offences, felonies, mis-prisions, murders, forfeitures and contempts before 29 August last, and all actions, suits, quarrels and demands which the king could have against him'.[24]

Where Sir Louis Talbot was ultimately buried is not known. Wrexham church and Gresford church are both obvious contenders, but no monument to him survives in either. However, 'at the restoration of [Wrexham] church all the inscribed slabs belonging to the old floor were buried beneath the new pavement [and] some important memorials were thus doubtless lost'.[25] Gresford church also underwent a good deal of restoration in the nineteenth century.

The Will of Sir Louis Talbot of Gresford, Denbigh, 1458

PRO, PROB 11/4, Quire No. 26, folio 205v.

In dei nomine. Amen. Ego Lodowicus Talbot miles sanus mente licet eger corpore condo testamentum meum in hunc modum.

In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti [et] omnibus sanctis eius et corpus meum sepeliendum secundum voluntatem domine Margarete Comitisse de Salop[ia], matris mee.

Volo quod omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia sint sub disposicione dicte domine Margarete matris mee quam instituto meam executricem et supplico ut predicta domina mea satisfaciat omnibus famulis meis de totali stipendio illorum, et bene prospiciat, secundum discrecionem eius, predictis famulis meis ut notabiliter remunerentur per duos annos si fieri potest.

Item mitto predicte domine cum Nicholao Garlek in uno caskett meum colerium, unum monile, unum signum, duos anulos de auro, unum cum lapide et aliud [*sic*] sine lapide.

Item unum alium anulum de auro, videlicet signet, et unum bedes de argento deaurato.

Item 1 bracerum ornatum cum argento et auro.

Item volo et supplico predicte domine mee ut tradat domino Nicholao Garlek pro exspensis suis ad peregrinandum pro me et nomine meo ad Walsyngham, Cantuariam, Kyngeswode, Dominam de Pewe, Sanctum Michaelem de Monte, Eboracensis diocese Sanctum Iohannem de Beverlaco, Sanctum Iohannem de Brydlyngton, ad beatam Virginem Mariam de Dancastr' cum alijs.

Item volo et supplico predicte domine quod proventus et redditus dominiorum meorum remaneant secundum discrecionem predicte domine ad solvendum omnia debita mea, et debita persoluta, volo quod remaneant secundum provisionem predicte domine matris mee Humfrido fratri meo.

Data sunt hec in Villa de Werxham in domo Iohannis [ap] David duodecimo die mensis Octobris Anno domini millesimo ccccmo lviij. Hiis testibus Magistro Iohanne Kyffyn, Vicario de Gresford, domino Ricardo Tegen, Vicario de Werxham, domino Roberto Capet, Roberto ap Howell Armigero, Edwardo ap Howell, Iohanne ap David, Iohanne Garlek, Cristoforo Halle et Nicholao Halle cum pluribus aliis.

Probatum fuit etc. ultimo die mensis Octobris Anno domini millensimo CCCCmo quinquagesimo octavo etc. apud Lamehith. Et commissa fuit administracio omnium et singulorum bonorum dicti defuncti domine Margarete Comitisse Salopie, matri dicti defuncti, et executrici in dicto testamento nominate, de bene etc. ac de pleno et fideli inventario etc. conficiendo et domino citra Festum Pasche proxime post datam predictam exhibendo etc. Necnon de fideli compoto calulo sive ratiocinatione et in debita juris forma jurate etc.

Translation

(The formulaic grant of probate which follows this will is not translated in full, but merely summarised.)

In the name of God. Amen. I, Louis Talbot, knight, of sound mind but sick in body, make my will in this way.

Firstly I leave my soul to almighty God [and] to all his saints and my body to be buried according to the wish of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, my mother.[26]

I desire that all my goods, movable and immovable be at the disposal of the said Lady Margaret, my mother, whom I make my executrix, and I request that my said Lady content all my servants in respect of all their salary, and that she should look after my aforesaid servants well, according to her discretion, so that they may be paid for two years if it be possible. Moreover I send to the said lady by Nicholas Garlek[27] in a casket my gorget, one ewer, one seal, two gold rings, one with a stone and the other without a stone. Also one other gold ring, namely a signet, and one rosary of silver gilt. Also 1 bracer adorned with silver and gold.

Moreover I desire and pray my aforesaid lady that she reimburse the Lord [? *or* Dom] Nicholas Garlek[28] for his expenses in going on pilgrimage for me and in my name to Walsingham, Canterbury, Kingswood, Our Lady of the Pew, St Michael of the Mount, [and] in the diocese of York to St John of Beverley, St John of Bridlington, to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Doncaster together with others.[29]

Moreover I wish and beg of the said lady that the proceeds and return of my lordships be used according to the discretion of the said lady for the payment of all my debts, and the debts being fully paid, I wish that they pass, according to the provision of the said lady, my mother, to my brother Humphrey.

Given in the town of Wrexham in the house of John [ap] David the twelfth day of the month of October in the year of the Lord 1458,[30] witnessed by Master John Kyffyn, vicar of Gresford, Dom Richard Tegen,[31] vicar of Wrexham, Dom Robert Capet, Robert ap Howell esquire,[32] Edward ap Howell, John ap David, John Garlek, Christopher Halle and Nicholas Halle with many others.

Proved at Lambeth 31 October 1458. Administration to the lady Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, mother of the deceased. Inventory by Easter next.

Notes

1 3rd Series, **IV**, 371–78.

2 At the time of making this will, the first Earl of Shrewsbury was preparing to leave for France, where he was to die in the battle of Châtillon.

3 Presumably the Earl meant the parish church at Whitchurch. The manor house of Blakemere stood just outside the town of Whitchurch. Blakemere, inherited from his mother, was Lord Shrewsbury's favourite manor. His burial wish was ultimately fulfilled (through the intervention of his grandson, Sir Gilbert Talbot), though his body was initially interred in France, on the field of battle.

4 The wife to whom the Earl here refers was Lady Margaret Beauchamp, eldest daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. She was Lord Shrewsbury's second wife and they married at Warwick Castle in about 1424. John Talbot had previously been married to Maud Neville of Furnival. He had families by both wives, and these two families did not get on with one another. This accounts for a number of the clauses in this will, which were specifically designed to protect the interests of Margaret and her children from Talbot's eldest son and heir, the future second Earl. This was an objective which, ultimately, they largely failed to achieve.

5 It was the consistent contention of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury that they should have inherited the earldom of Warwick, Margaret Beauchamp being the eldest of the four daughters of Thomas Beauchamp. However, on the death of Thomas Beauchamp the earldom of Warwick had passed to his only son, Henry, who subsequently died childless. Henry was Margaret's half-brother, and on his death his title passed via his only sister of the full blood, Anne Beauchamp, to the latter's husband, Richard Neville ('Warwick the Kingmaker'). The Talbots always contested this outcome.

6 The Earl of Shrewsbury now refers to all his five surviving children by his second marriage in order of seniority. His eldest son by Margaret Beauchamp was John Talbot, who, through his mother, had inherited a claim to the honour of Lisle, of which he was created first Baron, and later Viscount. It is noteworthy that the youngest son, Humphrey, who was then about eighteen years old, had not received his knighthood when this will was written. He was knighted by Edward IV in 1464 or 1465: J. Ashdown-Hill, *Eleanor, the Secret Queen – the Woman who put Richard III on the Throne*, 2009, 138.

7 John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, son of his father's first wife, Maud Neville. See below, note 13.

8 The dog to which the Earl refers is the Talbot hound, which resembled a mastiff, except that it was entirely or largely white in colour. This breed of hound, now extinct, was the badge of the Talbot family. The ragged staff was a badge of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, and thus, by inheritance, of the Countess of Shrewsbury.

9 The Earl of Shrewsbury had extensive commercial interests and owned a number of ships. The *Margarete* named here may have been the *Margaret of Portladown*, which is mentioned as having been a victim of piracy in a petition from the Earl to the Lord Chancellor dated 1438: PRO: C1/43/35; abstract published in D. M. Gardiner, ed., *A Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings relating to West Country Shipping, 1388*–1493, Devon & Cornwall Record Society, New Series, **XXI**, 1976, 44. Another Talbot vessel, *le Mawdelen Lisle*, was sent from Aquitaine to England by Lord Shrewsbury and his son Lord Lisle shortly before they were killed. When it reached England in December 1453 the ship and its cargo were initially impounded pending an investigation, but on 8 January 1454 they were released to Nicholas Gresley, esquire, who was in the service of Margaret, dowager Countess of Shrewsbury: *CPR*, 1452–61, 166.

10 Lady Eleanor Talbot married first Sir Thomas Butler, the only son and heir of Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley. This is the marriage to which the will refers. Sir Thomas Butler died in 1459 and in 1483 (15 years after her death) Bishop Stillington of Bath and Wells stated that Eleanor had subsequently been secretly married to Edward IV. Eleanor's marriage to Edward was accepted as a fact by Parliament, which, on those grounds, set aside the King's children by Elizabeth Woodville as bastards, and acknowledged Richard III as King. The formal acknowledgement of Eleanor's marriage to Edward IV was enshrined in the act of *Titulus regius* of 1484. For further details on Lady Eleanor, see Ashdown-Hill, *Eleanor, the Secret Queen*.

11 The reference is to the Earl's youngest daughter, Lady Elizabeth Talbot, who had married the son and heir of John Mowbray, third Duke of Norfolk. Her young husband's courtesy title was Earl Warrene. For details of Elizabeth, and the text of her will, see J. Ashdown-Hill, 'Norfolk Requiem: the passing of the house of Mowbray', *Ricardian*, **XII**, no. 152, March 2001, 198–217.

12 (Sir) William Catesby was the husband of the first Earl of Shrewsbury's niece, Jane Barre. He was also (by a previous marriage) the father of William Catesby II, future servant of Richard III: Ashdown-Hill, *Eleanor the Secret Queen*, 37.

13 John Talbot, later second Earl of Shrewsbury, the eldest (and only surviving) son of the first Earl's first marriage to Maud Neville. There was enmity between him and his stepmother, the Countess Margaret, and in 1453, when news came from France of his father's death, he immediately contested the dispositions of this will, an outcome which his father had clearly foreseen and sought to forestall. Towards the end of 1453 his father's inquisition *post mortem* confirmed his inheritance of all the latter's titles, and subsequently a court adjudicated to him all his father's inherited lands in Shropshire and Gloucestershire, with the exception of the manor of Corfham in Shropshire, which his stepmother held in dower. It was the only possession Margaret was left with at that stage, although subsequently the death of her stepson, fighting for the house of Lancaster, and the accommodation of Margaret herself and her surviving children to the house of York, gave the dowager Countess some room to manoeuvre. Shortly after Christmas 1460 she illegally regained possession of the manor of Blakemere. Edward IV did nothing to eject her, and in fact he confirmed, in addition, her tenure of the manor of Painswick.

14 Respectively, William Waynefleet, Reginald Bonler and John Tiptoft.

15 John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, was killed with his father at Châtillon, and was thus unable to act as an executor. He left a young son and two daughters (the last of these possibly born posthumously). His son, Thomas, Viscount Lisle, was killed in a subsequent inheritance dispute, but, through his elder daughter, Lord Lisle (uniquely, among the children of the first Earl of Shrewsbury's second marriage) has living descendants.

16 Lord Lisle was about to accompany his father to the wars in France, where he would die at his side. This will immediately follows that of the first Earl of Shrewsbury in the Kempe Register. It is notable that Lord Lisle entrusts everything to his mother, not to his wife or his brothers. It is clear, however, from other sources, that Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, was an extremely forceful lady.

17 John Wenlock is also mentioned much later in the will of Humphrey Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury's last surviving son. This will, written and proved in 1492, is published in *Testamenta* Vetusta, 2 vols., London 1826, **II**, 409–10.

18 Cardinal John Kemp, b. *c*.1380, d. 1454, Bishop of Rochester (1419), Bishop of Chichester (1421), Bishop of London (1421), Archbishop of York (1426) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1452).

19 Pope Nicholas V created in Kemp's favour an extraordinary cardinal bishopric by separating Santa Rufina from the see of Porto. Before and after Kemp's tenure of Santa Rufina these two sees were united.

20 Possibly Cardinal Kempe's health was already failing. He died the following year.

21 *CPR*, 1452–61, 44.

22 *CCR*, 1454–61, 269. In view of the fact that these 'troublys' apparently came to a head shortly before Sir Louis' death, the possibility that he was injured in some conflict with John Butler, and then died of his wounds, cannot be discounted. Louis, who was only thirty at the time of his death, came from long-lived stock and the other surviving evidence relating to him in 1457 and 1458 does not suggest that he had been ailing.

23 Tresham, Gloucestershire, is in the vicinity of Nibley, Wotton-under-Edge and Kingswood and seems certain to have been part of the Berkeley lands, her disputed claim to which Margaret Beauchamp passed on to her children. Kilcote, on the other hand, is about twelve miles north of Tresham and three miles east of Ross-on-Wye. It is not a great distance from the Earl of Shrewsbury's seat at Goodrich Castle and Sir Louis' claim to it may possibly have been inherited from his father.

24 *CPR*, 1452–61, 323.

25 A. N. Palmer, *The History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, [n.d.], 185.

26 This will indicates once again the powerful role played by Lady Shrewsbury in the Talbot family.

27 Garlek is a medieval form of the modern (but somewhat rare) surname, Garlick, and is believed to be derived from a forebear who traded in this commodity together, possibly, with other herbs and spices: P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English* Surnames, 1967, 245; C. M. Matthews, *English Surnames*, 1966, 111.

28 The application here of the title 'Lord' seems strange. Possibly Garlek was a Benedictine (or Cistercian?) monk (see below, note 31).

29 The concern of Sir Louis Talbot with pilgrimages for his soul is an element not found in the wills of his father and elder brother. Nevertheless, religious devotion was a prominent feature of the lives of many members of the Talbot family. Lord Shrewsbury had been to Rome on pilgrimage. Louis' younger brother, Sir Humphrey Talbot, was to die on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and both his sisters died in the aura of sanctity, Eleanor as a lay oblate of the Carmelite Friary in Norwich, and Elizabeth in retirement among the Poor Clares of the Minories at Aldgate.

30 The will was made in Wrexham on 12 October and proved in Lambeth on 31 October. It seems likely, therefore, that Sir Louis died somewhere between 12–24 October. Following his death the will must have been taken to his executrix (his mother, the dowager Countess of Shrewsbury). Her precise whereabouts in October 1458 are not known, but she is likely to have been at Cortham [Corfham] Castle, which, under the terms of a legal settlement imposed upon her and her children, following the death of her husband and her eldest son in France, was then her only dower holding. The journey from Wrexham to Corfham (10 km. south-east of Church Stretton, between Culmington and Diddlebury) would have taken the better part of a day. The dowager Countess then had to send the will to Lambeth to be proved, and this journey of more than 150 miles must have taken at least three days. Assuming that it arrived at Lambeth Palace by the evening of 29 October the will must have set out from Wrexham no later than 25 October.

31 Dom (abbreviated from Latin *dominus*) is today the courtesy title of a Benedictine monk or a Cistercian abbot. In medieval English texts this title was rendered as 'Dan'. It is possible that in the fifteenth century it was more widely used in the Cistercian order, and might have been applied to any Cistercian monk, as it is today to all Benedictine monks. The living at Wrexham was held at this period by the Cistercian Abbey of Valle Crucis, which presumably appointed one of the monks of the Abbey to the living as vicar.

32 Ap Howell is a Welsh patronymic said to derive from the personal name Hywel. Matthews, *op. cit.*, 75.

Domestic Fuel around the Wyre Forest in the Early Modern Period

By DAVID POYNER and GWYNETH NAIR

Abstract: In this paper, the use of coal and wood in the region of the Wyre Forest is compared, an area with easy access to both coal and wood. It is demonstrated that coal production followed the national pattern, increasing rapidly over the 17th Century; however the local coal was particularly sulphurous. The availability of firewood decreased, as the Wyre Forest was turned over to cordwood production for charcoal; however, some parts of the forest could only produce firewood. Wills and inventories demonstrate that fire-grates, used for coal burning, remained rare until after 1650; prior to this period, andirons, used for log-burning were common. Even in the period 1650–1700, many households retained a set of andirons in their best room. It is concluded that there was a preference for wood burning, which delayed the switch to coal use until the second half of the 17th Century.

Since the pioneering work of the historian J. U. Nef, it has been recognised that the British coal industry underwent an enormous expansion in the period 1500–1700. The relative increase is difficult to quantify, chiefly due to problems in estimating production at the start of the period, but a recent estimate suggests that there was a 12–fold expansion in production.[1] East Shropshire underwent significant industrial development in the late-sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. It was one of the most important coal producing areas at this period, due to the ease with which its coal could be sent down the River Severn. By 1700, it was probably second only to the Northumberland/Durham coalfield in terms of production for English coalfields. Trinder considered that it held this position by 1600; this is more problematic given the paucity of data, but it is not an unreasonable conjecture.[2]

Whilst much attention has focussed on increased industrial uses for coal during the early modern period, the biggest single market was use on domestic hearths for heating and cooking; this probably accounted for half of all consumption.[3] The switch from wood to coal was driven by the interrelated factors of the decreasing abundance of firewood and its increasing price relative to that of coal. Nef originally suggested that supplies of wood ran short in this period, and so coal of necessity became more widely used to replace it; however there was a vigorous reaction against this view. The debate has largely revolved around the supply of wood[4] to provide charcoal for the iron industry. Hammersley, in particular, calculated the probable demands for wood by the iron industry in the seventeenth century and demonstrated that overall it could easily be met from the existing woodland. Rackham has stressed that, because of coppicing, woodland is a renewable resource.[5]

There can be little doubt that the iron industry exerted considerable effects on the demand for wood. However, whilst the needs of the charcoal iron masters for wood were considerable, the market they created for cordwood (the form of wood used for charcoal production) was not necessarily the same as that for firewood. The overall market for wood was very complex; competition between iron masters, other consumers and their relationship with woodland owners could result in what now appear to be perplexing changes in prices.[6] There were other users of wood besides the iron industry; complaints about price rises of wood in Worcester begin as early as 1496, well before any possible influence of a growth in demand for wood from blast furnaces.[7] Rapid and intensive cutting of woods could lead to acute local shortages; Hammersley recognised that this occurred for a period in the Forest of Dean.[8] Wood is a bulky, low-value commodity; transport and other costs very quickly become more important than production costs.[9] Because of this, a national market could not develop for it and so abundance in one area could not alleviate shortages in other areas. Whilst accepting that the needs of the iron industry were met, Hatcher has argued that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ‘large areas of the country and large sectors of the population came to suffer from an acute shortage of wood’.[10] Thus, whilst there is now little doubt that the charcoal iron industry had generally adequate access to cordwood, the same cannot be said with confidence about supplies of

firewood for many domestic consumers. Equally, the response to this is likely to be highly dependent on local factors; the price and availability of substitutes, chiefly coal (as difficult to transport as wood other than by water), need to be considered as well as the supplies of wood. Local studies are required to assess how this competition operated in particular areas.

On the face of things, it might be expected that the construction of price indices for coal and wood would allow an easy assessment of their competitiveness as fuels. However, there are significant problems with this approach. As noted above, transport costs for both wood and coal quickly dominate their selling prices; these will be highly dependent on local factors such as access to navigable rivers and the nearest sources of the raw materials. Thus a price index constructed for one locality cannot simply be applied to another area, even if it is only a few miles away. This is compounded by the fact that there is very little information outside a few centres to make it possible to construct such indices. There is an even more fundamental problem when considering the domestic use of coal and wood. Coal requires a strong draught to burn efficiently; it is harder to burn than wood. Wide hearths which can accommodate large logs are poor for burning coal. Coal is also rich in polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons and has a significant, if variable, sulphur content. These result in the production of a dense, acrid smoke, laden with soot, which is not found with wood. Thus it becomes very important to conduct the smoke away from the room in which the fire is situated, by means of a flue and a chimney. The efficiency of these owed more to luck than good judgement throughout the seventeenth century.[11] Thus, even if the price of wood was significantly more than coal, householders might have been reluctant to switch to coal.

In the absence of direct evidence from household accounts, other means have to be used to assess the market for domestic fuels. On the production side of the equation, various sources can be used to estimate coal production and the likely availability of wood. For consumption, it is possible to draw inferences from wills and probate inventories, in particular the possession of grates and other items likely to be associated with coal fires such as tongs or firebacks. A useful source is the publication of probate inventories for the villages of the East Shropshire coalfield.[12] The ready availability of coal in one of the most productive coalfields in the country may be assumed, and this is reflected in the inventories reproduced. The earliest date from the 1660s: in the northern part of the East Shropshire coalfield 13 of the 19 inventories from this decade mentioned a grate, usually with tongs and a fire shovel too. Clearly, as one might expect, coal was the primary fuel in these mining villages.

Less is known about the situation in other parts of Shropshire. This paper focuses on an area in the south-east of the county. Specifically, the parishes of Highley, Billingsley, Stottesdon, Kinlet and Cleobury Mortimer have been examined. All these are on coalfields, the Wyre Forest or the Clee Hill. However, they are also close to Wyre Forest (Figure 1). This currently covers around 5000 acres; there are further significant areas of woodland in

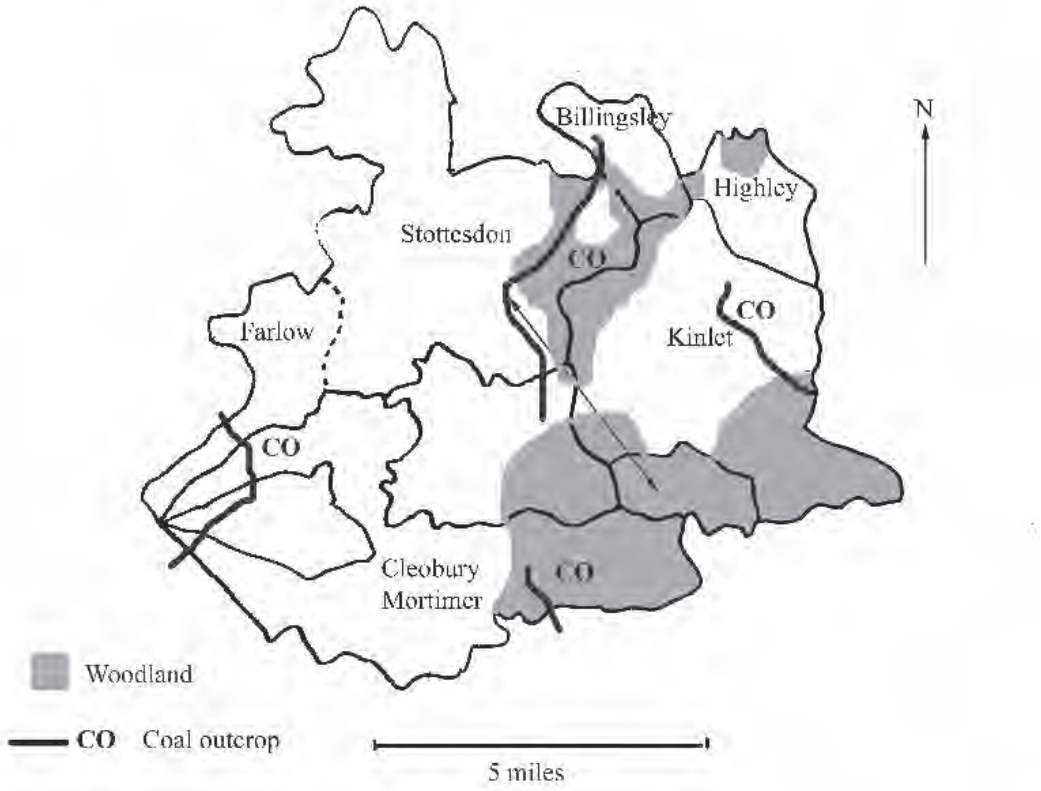

Figure 1 Location of the study area, showing likely wooded areas 1500–1700 and coal outcrops.

Stottesdon and Billingsley. Whilst there were changes in woodland during the early modern period, it remained wood-rich. Thus it represents a particularly interesting area in which to study the competition between coal and wood. To assess domestic use of the fuels, probate inventories have been used where available, but, as these are very rare before 1660, here, as in the rest of Shropshire, wills have been used to supplement them and to allow some investigation of the crucial earlier period. Wills do not contain the detailed valuations that are found in inventories. However, they are more much more common and give an insight into what was considered valuable in the eyes of the testator. This can be particularly useful when trying to assess the utility of a commodity such as firewood, where the desire to use it is not simply determined by price. In this paper we will consider the evidence for the availability of coal, the availability of firewood, and, finally, the evidence from the wills and inventories for the use of these two fuels.

Coal Availability

At one level, there appears to be little argument that abundant coal was available, at least after 1600. The total annual output for Shropshire in 1700 has been estimated at 200,000 tons;[13] the bulk of this passed down the Severn, past Highley and Kinlet. It might not be expected to be difficult to purchase coal in these parishes. In practice, matters might not be so simple. The river trade might have been aimed primarily at the large towns downstream; whilst there would have been little difficulty in selling coal from boats in riverside communities, the extent of this trade is difficult to assess. Additionally, Billingsley, Stottesdon and Cleobury are not riverside villages; Cleobury is six miles from the Severn and the river-borne coal would be subject to substantial transport costs.

In fact, as noted above, all the parishes are sited on coalfields. All lie at least partly on the Wyre Forest coalfield and some of Cleobury is also on the Clee Hill coalfield. The latter would also be able to supply the more westerly parts of Stottesdon. Both coalfields were in production in medieval times. Around 1540, John Leland noted that there was 'plenty of cole yerth stone' on the Clee Hill.[14] There is little doubt that coal was being produced throughout the seventeenth century.[15] Whilst some of this would have gone into limekilns (as also noted by Leland), there was at least the potential to supply the domestic fuel market, and there is no reason to doubt that national trends applied here, with around 50% of the output going for this end.

The Wyre Forest coalfield presents a more complicated case.[16] The bulk of the readily accessible coal was of Upper Coal Measure age, with a particularly high sulphur content. This was very problematic to burn, producing large amounts of the acidic, choking gas, sulphur dioxide. However, there is clear evidence that this could be marketed successfully. In 1613–15, John Slaney of Broseley and Sir Percival Willoughby of Nottinghamshire, both important coal owners in their own localities, worked coal on the land of Sir Francis Lacon at Earnwood in Kinlet. In fact this ended in a court case and so cannot by itself be used as evidence for sustained working of the coal. However, in the adjacent parish of Upper Arley, miners are recorded in the parish registers from 1608–1628, and there were complaints that the village was filling with vagrants seeking work in the mines. In the 1630s and 40s, there is documentary evidence of coal mining in Kinlet, and again in 1708. Documentary evidence and aerial photographs demonstrate that the mines covered an area of 20 or so acres.[17] Whilst some of these must date from the eighteenth century (or even the very early nineteenth century), taken overall there is little doubt that there was sustained coal production in Kinlet at least in the first part of the seventeenth century. There is virtually no documentation that sheds light on coal mining in Billingsley or Stottesdon at this time; however, there is archaeological evidence for domestic occupation of a house adjacent to the main area of coal and ironstone mines in Stottesdon, and the occupation layers contain abundant coal debris, consistent with it being associated with active coal mines.[18] Taken together, there is abundant evidence for coal production in the Wyre Forest coalfield in the seventeenth century. Currently there is no evidence to suggest working on the same scale in the sixteenth century and indeed, based on national trends, this would not be expected.

Wood Availability

The Wyre Forest certainly comprised the largest area of woodland in the district; almost all of the study area was within 4 miles of the forest, and much of it was substantially closer. The Shropshire parts of the forest at the start of the period were largely (although not exclusively) in the hands of the Crown, as inheritors of the former Mortimer estate. They appear to have been chiefly managed as a hunting forest, with parks at Earnwood and Cleobury. However, the presence of a number of areas known as vallets suggested that at least in some places, coppicing was practised to ensure a regular supply of young timber, and mature trees were also sometimes taken for timber.[19] The inhabitants of Kinlet were entitled to timber for housebote and wood for firebote. Sir George Blount, lord of Kinlet and master of game within the forest, was accused of selling several thousand cartloads of firewood for his own

profit, as well as 200 oak trees for building.[20]A valuation of Earnwood of 1565 considered mainly the oak; differentiating it into timber and firewood, although a small area was noted as being planted with underwood, suggesting that this might have been managed to produce species such as hazel.[21] It seems clear that in the first part of the sixteenth century the forest was capable of supplying large amounts of firewood. There is little detailed information on other woods, but the supposition must be that areas such as Higley Wood and Midwinters in Chorley were also supplying firewood. Highley court rolls record frequent incursions on the wood there: for instance, in 1593 John Pearson was fined for cutting down four trees and saplings from Higley Wood.[22]

From around the second half of the sixteenth century a number of changes took place to the Wyre Forest. The woods were alienated to private landowners.[23] Perhaps the most significant of these was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Dudley was active in taking both timber and young trees in the early 1570s.[24] It is tempting to equate this with his other major effort in the Wyre Forest, the establishment of two blast furnaces with their associated forges. This marked a new phase in the history of the forest, when it began to be managed for the production of charcoal for the iron industry. Dudley's furnaces appear to have been abandoned shortly after 1600, but the forges continued in operation until the nineteenth century. Furthermore, new furnaces were erected around the Clee Hills and elsewhere; forges began work on the lower Stour valley.[25] In the second half of the seventeenth century large areas of the Wyre Forest were supplying charcoal to the works of the Foley family;[26] at this date it is highly likely that most of the rest of the forest was involved in supplying wood to the forge or forges at Cleobury and the various blast furnaces which fed them. It is unclear how much of the forest would have been involved in cordwood supply at earlier periods, but there seems little doubt that its management was heavily influenced by the demands of the ironmasters from the establishment of the first furnaces and forges.

As at earlier periods, much less information is available for other woods. However, woods at Billingsley were coppiced for charcoal production in the 1650s.[27] Woods also came under pressure due to population growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Earnwood Park appears to have been cleared of wood by the late sixteenth century; at least some of Cleobury Park suffered the same fate. Higley Wood was cleared and enclosed around 1615.[28]

As is well known, there were wood shortages in Worcester in the sixteenth century.[29] These might or might not have been influenced by pressures on the Wyre Forest. However, when around 1612 Michael Drayton lamented in poetry the loss of trees in the Wyre Forest,[30] there is good reason to take his complaint seriously. Coppicing might ultimately be a sustainable form of management, but a cycle of around 20 years could leave areas denuded of trees for several years. This would be particularly apparent in small or isolated coppices, where a visit from the wood cutters would have a dramatic effect; even in the Wyre Forest an expansion of coppicing into areas previously managed for hunting would create a markedly changed landscape. Furthermore a wood exclusively managed for charcoal production would greatly distort the supplies available for firewood. Production would be focussed on cordwood, timber typically of 16 years growth, which might in earlier times have been sold as 'tallwood' for firewood. The use of this for charcoal would lead to a shortage of logs for burning.

However, whilst there is no doubt that supplies of firewood would have been greatly diminished by the changes seen from the late sixteenth century, it would be wrong to assume that all potential supplies would disappear. As seventeenth-century surveys make clear, not all parts of the Wyre Forest could produce wood of the quality needed by charcoal burners. Thus in 1682, out of the 540 acres of the New Parks in the Wyre Forest, it was reported that 80 acres comprised 'much thin wood and base plants' and a further 40 acres 'comes shrubby'.[31] In 1672, out of 172 acres in the same area, 20 acres was very thin and shrubby. Unsurprisingly, eight acres of this had recently been felled for faggots.[32] There must also have been timber trees that shed boughs, and small areas of marginal land too small or too remote to be worth the attention of the charcoal makers. Thus firewood remained available, albeit in reduced amounts. In 1671, the keeper of Sir Henry Littleton's coppices at Arley received £55 for the sale of 'wood and faggots'. A set of accounts of around this date for another coppice nearby notes sales of laths and pleachings, which could have been purchased for fuel.[33] Even the cordwood cutters would reject trimmings that would not make good charcoal; these could be sold for firewood.

Domestic Consumption; the Evidence of the Wills and Inventories

A total of 514 wills or inventories have been examined (Table 1) for indications of the domestic burning of wood or coal. Items of hearth furniture are quite frequently mentioned. Some, like cobbards and broaches, the supports and central rod of a spit, for roasting in front of an open fire, could be used with either wood or coal. Others, like grates, tongs and fireshovels are generally acknowledged to be used only with coal burning hearths. Andirons, on the other hand, were firedogs or cradles to support a large burning log.

Across the period, grates are only noted in six households. Fire tongs or shovels are found in a further three households. Andirons are more common, occurring in eleven wills. Not only are they more frequent, unlike fire

Table 1 Occurrence of fireplace utensils in wills and inventories, 1540–1700.

Decade	*Total Wills*	*Andirons*	*Grates etc*	*Back plates*	*Broche/Cobbards*
1541–50	33				3
1551–60	35				4
1561–70	35				
1571–80	23				4
1581–90	39	1			4
1591–1600	49	1		1	2
1601–10	40	1			1
1611–20	58	1		1	1
1621–30	62	1		2	3
1631–40	61	2	G	3	5
1641–50	25	1	G, F		1
1651–60	14				2
1661–70	18	2	T, 2G		3
1671–80	11				3
1681–90	8			1	
1691–1700	3	1	3G		3

G – grate, F – fireback, T – tongs

grates, tongs and so on they appear throughout the seventeenth century. Yet andirons are very rarely mentioned in the sixteenth century, and grates are unknown. It is only in the second half of the seventeenth century that grates come to outnumber andirons.

Before these findings can be analysed, a number of methodological issues need to be considered. As is obvious from Table 1, the number of wills is not evenly distributed throughout the period, peaking in the first part of the seventeenth century. Accordingly, Table 2 shows the relative frequency per 100 wills (taken here to include inventories as well). This confirms that the frequency of andirons and grates does vary with time, with grates becoming markedly more common after 1650, but with andirons still occurring in this period. This raises the question as to whether this represents a genuine increase in occurrence, or simply reflects a fashion for listing lower value items in wills and inventories. A further complication is that for the entire period before 1650 we only have 10 inventories; for the following half century we have 15. Given the comprehensive nature of probate inventory listings, there is no doubt that items of hearth furniture are more likely to be listed in an inventory than in a will. Could the lack of grates be due to the fewer inventories available in the earlier period? To address this, the frequency of occurrence of mentions of broaches and cobbards has been tabulated. These items of hearth furniture were similar in value to andirons or grates. It can be seen that they are commonly recorded throughout the entire period. Three of the four sixteenth-century inventories that we have specifically cite cobbards and there are also fourteen occurrences of these in pre-1600 wills. Thus even at early periods, testators were recording hearth furniture and they were doing this in wills as well as inventories.[34] The lack of andirons before1600 and grates before 1650 would appear to reflect their genuine rarity at these periods. The apparent increase in both grates and andirons in the 50 years after 1650 is a result of the greater frequency of inventories in our database. However, the switch from andirons to grates at this period, and not earlier, does not depend on whether the source document is a will or inventory and would seem to reflect a genuine change in preference.

The rarity of andirons before 1600 may reflect the difficulty in obtaining domestic items made from iron in the era before the widespread occurrence of blast furnaces. In one case, a will explicitly mentions a ‘cast’ andiron and, even if they were also made from bar iron, this would also have become much more abundant after the appearance of blast furnaces to produce pig iron, the material from which bar iron was made.

Table 2 Relative occurrence of fireplace utensils/100 wills or inventories.

	Andirons	*Grates etc*	*Plates*	*Broche/Cobbards*
1500–1550	0	0	0	9.1
1541–1600	1.1	0	0	7.73
1601–1650	2.44	1.22	2.44	4.47
1651–1700	5.56	11.1	1.85	20.37

The late appearance of grates is an apparent paradox. It has been argued that coal was widely available. Firewood, whilst still obtainable, was likely to have been in short supply. However, the wills provide evidence of sustained use of firewood throughout the period, in the face of the growing abundance of coal. Even in the East Shropshire coalfield, evidence can be found for some persistence of wood burning. Andirons are mentioned in 9.3% of the 43 inventories from 1660–1680 in East Shropshire compared with a total of 13.3% of the 15 inventories surviving for 1651–1700 for the area in the current study. The most likely explanation for the late adoption of grates and the persistence of wood is that coal was regarded as inferior to wood for domestic fires. The high sulphur content of the coal from Arley and Kinlet would make it particularly unpleasant to burn.

There is no doubt that there was an eventual switch from wood to coal in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of this may be due to simple financial considerations. In the early seventeenth century it must be assumed that firewood was still relatively abundant (or, at least, not totally unobtainable), and so was preferred to coal, both on grounds of availability and desirability.[35] However, coal production expanded into the second half of the seventeenth century; it is likely that the demand for cordwood to turn into charcoal for the iron industry would not have slackened.[36] Consequently the real price of coal, relative to wood, would have come down; indeed this has been demonstrated for a number of urban centres.[37] Thus eventually there would come a point when simple economics forced the issue in favour of coal. A second factor is technical; improvements in fireplace design and grates probably made coal burning a less unpleasant experience. However, the data suggests that in some homes the switch was never total. The hearth tax returns in 1673 show that many houses had multiple hearths; this is especially likely to be the case amongst those leaving wills, who were largely the more affluent.[38] There is evidence from the data for the dual use of wood and coal, but with wood being burnt in the best room in the house. Andirons were found in 'the hall' in Cleobury in 1660. Richard Palmer of Highley in 1666 similarly had a pair of andirons in the hall, his principal room, but had 'an iron grate with spits, dripping pans, cobbords' in the kitchen. At this date where coal was used it seems often to have been in the kitchen, the brewery or the service rooms.

The wills and inventories provide specific examples of this at work. In 1639, in the earliest mention of a grate**,** a Stottesdon testator left 'one grate, one fire shovel, one pair of tongs, one pair of andirons.' The first three items, of course, are regarded as evidence for the use of coal; the latter are only useful with wood. Similarly in 1645 we find in an inventory '1 andiron, 1 firshovell, 1 broach, a pair of cobberts, 1 gridiron, 1 dripping pan, links and all other instruments belonging to the fire 5 shillings.' This appears to be a complete list of all the 'instruments' of one hearth, and suggests that, in spite of the presence of a fireshovel, wood was still the primary fuel. By the late seventeenth century the relative importance of wood and coal had probably been reversed, but many householders retained the ability to burn wood at one hearth. A similar pattern to this has been implied for fuel use in the seventeenth century in large towns.[39]

Despite this apparent switch to grates in the second half of the seventeenth century, they are still much less commonly recorded than in the East Shropshire coalfield. Thus for the decade 1661–70 they are found in 63.2% of the East Shropshire inventories compared with only 26.7% across the whole half-century in the Wyre Forest. This of course raises the question as to what fuel was being burnt in the households where neither grates nor andirons are recorded in inventories. In some cases, grates may be subsumed in the catch-all 'other iron ware', or a similar phrase; in other cases, the assessors might simply have ignored them. However, it is difficult to see why these factors should be over twice more prevalent in the Wyre Forest region than in East Shropshire. Wood will burn much more easily without any elaborate support in the hearth than coal; it might be that the excess of missing grates in the Wyre Forest inventories is further evidence for the persistence of wood.

Although the study has been largely limited to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fourteen wills or inventories from Highley from 1701–1750 were available. Three mention grates, a further two refer to furnaces, and one mentions a fire shovel. None mentions andirons. Although this is a very limited dataset, the suggestion is that significant use of firewood did not continue into the eighteenth century; a combination of price and perhaps improvements in hearth design finally gave victory to coal.

Thus, the evidence for the parishes adjacent to the Wyre Forest provides evidence for a preference to burn wood well into the late seventeenth century, despite the availability of coal. The probability is that firewood was, by this date, scarce, and so its use was limited to one room in the house, even amongst the most affluent. The Wyre Forest parishes were probably atypical in their ability to obtain firewood but they show that many householders shared John Evelyn's sentiments when he complained about the 'fuliginous and filthy vapour' of coal smoke.[40]

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 J. U. Nef, *Rise of the British Coal Industry,* 1932; J. Hatcher, *Towards the Age of Coal*, 1993.
2 Hatcher, 68; M. D. G. Wanklyn, 'Industrial Development in the Ironbridge Gorge before Abraham Darby', *West Midlands Studies*, **15**, 1982, 3–7; B. Trinder, *The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire*, 1973, 9–15.
3 Hatcher, 409–18.
4 Throughout this paper 'wood' is used to indicate firewood and related products in their broadest form. This includes logs specifically for fires ('tallwood'), cordwood (thin logs produced to be turned into charcoal) and brash (think branches and trimmings for trees that could be collected into bundles and sold as faggots). It excludes timber, a product from mature trees used for construction.
5 G. Hammersley, 'The Charcoal Iron Industry and its Fuel Supply 1540–1740', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, **26**, 1973, 593–613; O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside*, 1986.
6 Hatcher, 32–7, 50–1; Hammersley, 608. See P.W. King, 'Dud Dudley's Contribution to Metallurgy'. *Historical Metallurgy*, **36**, 2002, 49, for an example of competition between two ironmasters causing an increase in the price of wood.
7 Hatcher, 48.
8 Hammersley, 607.
9 Hatcher, 37.
10 Hatcher, 33–55; the quotation is from p. 32.
11 Hatcher, 411–15.
12 B. Trinder and J. Cox, *Yeoman and Colliers; the Probate Inventories of Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine*, 1980; B. Trinder and N. Cox, *Miners and Mariners of the Severn Gorge: Probate Inventories for Benthall, Broseley, Little Wenlock and Madeley, 1660–1764*, 2000.
13 Hatcher, 68.
14 L.T. Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–43*, 1910, 189–90.
15 See K. Goodman, *Hammerman's Hill: the Land, People and Industry of the Titterstone Clee Hill Area of Shropshire from the 16th to the 18th Centuries*, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Keele, 1978, for an overview of the Clee Hill coalfield in the 16th and 17th Centuries.
16 See D. Poyner and R. Evans, *The Wyre Forest Coalfield*, 1999, 61–66, and the references therein for review.
17 Poyner and Evans, 65–6; National Monuments Record, RAF aerial photograph 541/177, Frame 3145, 30 Sept. 1948.
18 Dr. Tim Young, GeoArch, personal communication, based on the structural reports of Ned's Garden and Cinder Bloomeries, available at http:///www.geoarch.co.uk/FPHG.html
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20 The National Archives (TNA): E 178/3143.
21 TNA: SP12 Vol 36, ff 1–3.
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23 F .C. Baldwyn Childe, 'Notes on Kinlet', *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc*., 3rd Series, **8,** 1908, 90–96.
24 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1566–79*, **XXIV**, 502.
25 M. Baldwin, 'Ironworking in Cleobury Mortimer', *Cleobury Chronicles*, **3**, 1994, 34–49; B. L. C. Johnson, 'The Stour Valley Iron Industry in the late Seventeenth Century', *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.,* N. S. **27**, 1950, 35–46; R. G. Schafer, 'Genesis and Structure of the Foley "Ironworks In Partnership" of 1692', *Business Hist.,* **13 (1)**, 1971, 19–38.
26 The records of the Foley family are in the Herefordshire Record Office (HRO); see for example E12/VI/KC/34–47B, 55, 81, 97–103, 109–111, 113. See also King, 'Dud Dudley'.
27 HRO: E12/VI/KC/34.
28 TNA: SP12 Vol 36, ff 1–3; G. Nair, *Highley, the History of a Community, 1550–1880,* 1988, 80.
29 A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the 16th Century*, 1973, 56–60.
30 M. Drayton, *Poly Obrion*, 1612, Song 7, lines 256–60. (In R. Hooper (ed.), *The Complete Works of Michael Drayton*, **1**, 1876, 179.)
31 HRO: E12/VI/KC/113.
32 HRO: E12/VI/KC/34.
33 HRO: E12/VI/KC/100, 109.
34 In total, there are two wills that record grates and eight that mention andirons.
35 It is very difficult to quantify the rate of conversion of the Wyre Forest to a mainly cordwood/charcoal producing forest. Clearly contemporaries such as Drayton were aware of the changes taking place, but in the first quarter of the 17th century court cases from the Worcestershire part of the Forest refer to cutting of 'blackpoles' for making 'laths' and 'clapboards', rather than cordwood, suggesting that charcoal production was not the only woodland activity. (R. D. Thompson, *Rock*, 1986, 4–6.) In Earnwood in 1643 the tenants of the manor were entitled to firewood from the wastes and commons of Earnwood, Hawkyard and Stirt, but it was noticed that these had been reduced by the creation of new coppices, suggesting an expansion of coppicing for charcoal in the first part of the 17th century: Shropshire Archives: 3320, Cleobury Court Baron rolls, survey of Earnwood.
36 King, 6.
37 Hatcher, 37–39.
38 In Highley there was a mean of 2.4 hearths per household amongst those who were taxed.
39 Hatcher, 40.
40 J. Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 1662, 18.

'We Are Not Men Pleasers': Quakers and the Law in Later Seventeenth Century Shropshire

By JANICE COX

Abstract: From the Quakers' own accounts of their sufferings, together with the records of proceedings in the local civil and ecclesiastical courts, a clear picture emerges of the varying degrees of ill-treatment that Friends in the Shrewsbury area suffered in the years between 1654 and the end of the century. The most difficult periods were the early 1660s and the early 1670s, and also the Exclusion Crisis in the early 1680s. Their experiences ranged from rough handling and beating by soldiers, and similar treatment by the gaoler following imprisonment, to small fines and to acts of kindness upon distraint of goods. Quakers bore their troubles with remarkable equanimity, for they believed that they were suffering for Christ's sake.

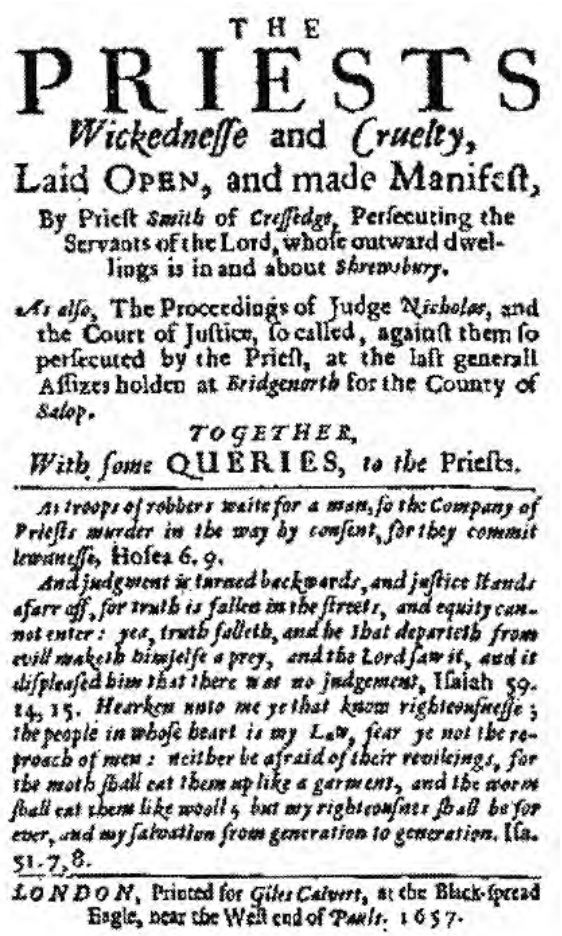
The 1650s

The first recorded Quaker missionaries to visit Shrewsbury to bring 'the true message of glad tidings' were two women, Elizabeth Fletcher[1]and Elizabeth Leavens,[2] about the year 1654. They were arrested and committed into custody, and then guarded out of town with a pass 'towards their own country'. They were escorted on their way by two locals, William Payne, clothier, and Katherine Broughton, who were to become two of the stalwarts of the Shrewsbury Quaker society.[3] As a result of this missionary work, a Quaker meeting was formed in the town.[4] George Fox visited it in 1657, describing it as 'a great meeting'.[5]

By that time the local Quakers had organised themselves sufficiently to start recording their own births, marriages, deaths and burials. The first birth recorded was in September 1656, of Jane, the daughter of Constantine and Jane Overton. Their first known child was baptised in 1654 at Cound parish church, so Constantine became a Quaker between 1654 and 1656. The first recorded marriage was in August 1657 (of Katherine Broughton to William Trattle), and the first death and burial, of Jonathan, son of Humphrey Overton, in February 1660.[6] This first burial took place not in the parish churchyard, but in a piece of land or garden belonging to a local baker, John Millington, senior. Many Quakers were buried there and in the Quaker burial ground on St. John's Hill over the following years.

1656 was a notable year for Constantine Overton, not just for the birth of his daughter, but also for an account (published in London in 1657)[7] of a meeting held outside the parish church at Cressage on Sunday 5 October, at which he was present. (Figure 1.) Also attending that day were his brother Humphrey Overton, John Farmer, James Farmer,[8] William Payne, one of the earliest converts, John Payne, and Thomas Jenkes. The Quakers (including some soldiers) had met in the road outside the church during the time of the service, which provoked some of those inside to rush out and attack them. Nothing daunted, one of the Quakers, who was detained by a constable, addressed the crowd, and while he was praying, the servants of the minister, Samuel Smith,[9] came out with kettles and a frying pan and beat upon them in order to drown out his voice. The minister's maid and others threw water in their faces. Despite this treatment, the Quakers did not respond. Samuel Smith procured a warrant from local magistrates,[10] and a week later they were brought before magistrates in the exchequer in Shrewsbury. Witnesses were called, but they had to admit that what the Quakers had done was peaceable and quiet. The magistrates however decided to send them to the common gaol.

They subsequently appeared at the assizes at Bridgnorth on 14 March 1657, where Samuel Smith complained that the Quakers had been given too much liberty by the gaoler. Two days later they were brought into court before



THE
PRIESTS
Wickedneſſe and *Cruelty*,
Laid OPEN, and made Manifeſt,
By Prieſt *Smith* of *Creſſedge*, Perſecuting the Servants of the Lord, whoſe outward dwellings is in and about *Shrewsbury*.

As alſo, The Proceedings of Judge *Nicholas*, and the Court of Juſtice, ſo called, againſt them ſo perſecuted by the Prieſt, at the laſt generall Aſſizes holden at *Bridgenorth* for the County of *Salop*.

TOGETHER,
With ſome QUERIES, *to the* Prieſts.

As troops of robbers waite for a man, ſo the Company of Prieſts murder in the way by conſent, for they commit lewdneſſe, Hoſea 6. 9.

And judgment is turned backwards, and juſtice ſtands afarr off, for truth is fallen in the ſtreets, and equity cannot enter: yea, truth falleth, and he that departeth from evill maketh himſelfe a prey, and the Lord ſaw it, and it diſpleaſed him that there was no judgement, Iſaiah 59. 14, 15. *Hearken unto me ye that know righteouſneſſe; the people in whoſe heart is my Law, fear ye not the reproach of men: neither be afraid of their revilings, for the moth ſhall eat them up like a garment, and the worm ſhall eat them like woull; but my righteouſnes ſhall be for ever, and my ſalvation from generation to generation.* Iſa. 51. 7, 8.

LONDON, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the Black-ſpread Eagle, near the Weſt end of *Pauls*. 1657.

Figure 1 Presentation of Quakers at Cressage.

the judge. They were ordered three times to take their hats off, which they refused, so the gaoler was told to take the prisoners away. On the next day they appeared in court again, where they were accused, not of any disturbance at Cressage, but of contempt of court for keeping their hats on. They were asked if they pleaded guilty or not guilty. They answered: 'We come not in contempt of the court, but in obedience to the Lord, who commands we should not respect persons'.[11] The judge told the jury that taking off one's hat was the custom of the nation, and the custom of the nation was the ground of the law of the nation. The Quakers replied that 'evil customs are not to be kept and that Law, which is grounded upon customs and not upon the Law of God hath a sandy foundation: for many are accustomed to do evil as the Scripture testifies, as the saints were not to fashion themselves like to this world'.[12] The jury found them guilty of contempt of court for keeping their hats on, whereupon the judge fined each of the seven Quakers £40, a very large sum of money indeed. They were remanded into custody until the fines were paid. They remained in prison for three months more. The judge's clerk told one of them that if they put their hats before the bench their fines might be taken off and they might be freed and could take action against Samuel Smith for false imprisonment, and so recover their costs and damages for five months in prison. The Quakers did not feel free to do this, but comforted themselves with the belief that God would judge their enemies righteously.

In 1657 the Quaker Richard Davies of Welshpool attended a meeting at William Payne's house on Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury. He wrote: 'When the first day of the week came…we had a silent meeting, and tho' it was silent from words, yet the word of the Lord God was among us'.[13] The next day 'we heard that one John ap John was come to town, and was to have a meeting there, I stay'd that meeting, where I heard the first Friend that was called a Quaker, preach in a meeting'.[14]

The meeting at Cressage was not the only disturbance involving Quakers and the local population. In November 1659 William Griffith went into St. Mary's church in Shrewsbury and 'spoke some few words there' to Francis Tallents, the minister, during a service.[15] Speaking a few words was a phrase often used by Quakers to describe their actions in insulting ministers by describing them as 'hirelings', 'dumb dogs' and the like, and in telling the public going about their normal business in town to repent of their evil ways. By regularly using the phrase 'spoke a few words' the Quakers showed that their attitude was that their actions were not provocative or offensive, and

that the proceedings taken against them for so doing, were totally unjustified. However, their words did cause great offence. In this instance, the mayor sent William Griffith to prison, where he remained for six months.[16]

Undaunted by William Griffith's imprisonment, another local Quaker, Daniel Baker, took to the streets of Shrewsbury two months later, in January 1660. He was 'moved of the Lord God to proclaim His mighty day, the Light' in the market and through the streets of Shrewsbury. He and other Quakers with him were greeted with stones, dirt and snowballs thrown 'by the wild and wicked inhabitants'.[17] Shortly afterwards, on 20 February, the Quakers were in their meeting house when soldiers of the Irish Brigade and some local youths, carrying swords and clubs, interrupted their meeting. 'What have we got here, what have we got here', they cried, and promptly set about them, forcing them out onto the street. The Quakers asked them to show their orders for what they did, so the sergeant laid his hand upon his sword and said that was it. Those Friends who went into nearby houses were attacked by soldiers, who broke open the doors and searched the buildings.[18]

Four days later, Friends were meeting when soldiers came again, having been informed of the meeting by 'spies'. The soldiers stood at the door, but a Quaker put himself among them and spoke to them, so 'their spirits were kept down that no further hurt was done'. Three days after this, soldiers came once more to their meeting; 'here they be three or four hundred of them',[19] they said. The soldiers stood at the door and scoffed at them, but did not attack them. After the close of the meeting, some of the Quakers who stayed behind were beaten and one had his hat taken away. There was then a lull in the soldiers' activity after this. 'The soldiers were not so forward to execute the wills of the priests, rulers and professors and rude people of this town who stirred them up as much as in them lay against us. So here fell the heat of the Presbyters' and their abettors' persecution executed against us'.[20]

On 6 March 1660 Daniel Baker came into town to attend a meeting. It was Shrove Tuesday, a day of licensed misbehaviour,[21] and many people were in town. A crowd gathered about him provoking the soldiers to attack him, and he was pulled off his horse and had his cloak torn from his back. Constantine Overton was also attacked. Their meeting was broken up violently, an action which was condoned by the local magistrates including the mayor, John Walthall, a Presbyterian.[22] Alderman John Betton 'with his hat in his hand gave thanks to the captain of the soldiers for this and other cruelties done to us by them and called it their diligence. And that in the Town Hall he being upon the bench, being an alderman and one that had served the Parliament as a captain'.[23]

On the following day John Walthall sent his officers and soldiers to their meeting, at which John Millington was wounded in the face. Daniel Baker asked many times to see their warrant. In the end, the sergeant laid his hand upon his sword and said that was his warrant. As Daniel Baker 'was not free to obey such a warrant being contrary to the law of the nation', they dragged him through the town on the back of one of the soldiers, and delivered him to the main guard. There his garment was taken from his back, and the soldiers pawned it for strong drink. On the next day he appeared before the mayor, and aldermen Charles Benion and John Betton, in the town hall. As nothing could be proved against him except that he spoke in the street to the people, they committed him to prison as a rogue and vagabond without a *mittimus* or having the law read to him, despite the fact that his father was of good repute and a burgess of the town. He was kept in prison for 32 days and then privately discharged, notwithstanding the fact that he had been committed until the next sessions or until he had found sufficient sureties for his good behaviour. Neither of these conditions had been fulfilled.[24] This was not the only occasion in Shrewsbury when Quakers were discharged quietly from prison without bail conditions having been met.

The Restoration of the King and the Re-establishment of the Church of England

Daniel Baker was not the only Quaker to preach in the streets. Thomas Jackson,[25] on 19 August 1660, 'was moved of the Lord to declare some words to the people as they came from the steeple house called Chad's'. He was attacked by Thomas Bowers[26] and some others, and was almost smothered in the market house. Fortunately for Jackson, some of the townsmen intervened to save him. Undismayed, he was back on the streets a few days afterwards, calling people to repentance, and he was beaten again.[27] A few weeks later, on a Saturday in October, market day, Daniel Baker returned to the streets, calling the inhabitants to repent. He rode his horse through the main streets in the town where he was attacked. People threw brickbats, stones and 'filthy things', and hit him and his horse with clubs. His coat was torn from his back, and his horse lost its bridle. However, he escaped with his life. The Quakers alleged that no magistrate made any effort to put a stop to the tumult. Daniel was taken by soldiers to the mayor, John Walthall, who took away some of his papers and did not return them as he had promised.[28]

Another meeting was raided on 5 December 1660, this time by Lieutenant Littleton and Ensign Thornes,[29] who came with two or three files of soldiers, with lighted matches and drawn swords. Some women who attended the meeting were forced down the stairs and out of the building, but they were not subsequently prosecuted. Twenty-three men Friends were arrested and marched up the street and through the market to the town hall. They appeared before two magistrates, John Walthall and Charles Benion, who offered them the opportunity of taking the Oath of

Allegiance or going to prison. Because they would not swear any oath, they were taken to the house of the mayor, Andrew Vivers, who committed them to the sergeant without bail.[30] On the following day they were taken to the Burgess Gate,[31] without any guard except the sergeant and his boy, where they were imprisoned for fifteen weeks. They were: John Sheild,[32] Richard Moore, Oliver Atherton,[33] Ralph Sharples, Jer[emiah] Owen, Thomas Rowley, Richard Ward,[34] Thomas Wolrich,[35] Henry Rawson, James Farmer, William Trattle, William Griffith, John Houlston,[36] Richard ap Edward, John Millington, Thomas Brassie, Joseph Fletcher, Abraham Poyner, Owen Roberts, Thomas Sommerfield, John Farmer and John Wittakers. They were joined by Humphrey Overton, who, on 6 December, was walking along the street towards his shop, when he was taken and brought before the mayor, and tendered the Oath of Allegiance. Because he refused to swear, he was committed to prison, where he also stayed for fifteen weeks. A week later four more Quakers, Benjamin Bolt,[37] James Browne, Benjamin Townsend and Richard Howe were arrested at a meeting by Captain George Hosier,[38] Lieutenant Littleton and some soldiers. They were taken before the mayor, and for refusing to swear, they were imprisoned. The confinement of Benjamin Townsend was particularly hard on him, as he was an itinerant tradesman, travelling with pack horses between London and Manchester; many families depended on him, at least in part, for their livelihood. When Brian Sixsmith[39] came on that day to see Friends in prison, he too was imprisoned with the other four.[40]

Thomas Hill from Gloucestershire was another Quaker who was moved to preach in the streets of Shrewsbury, on 15 December, declaring repeatedly: 'How is my body given up to suffer for the same Jesus Christ which suffered at Jerusalem'. He was arrested by a soldier and taken to the main guard.[41] On the next day George Hosier and a party of soldiers came again to a Quaker meeting and took four Shrewsbury Quakers, Thomas Jackson, Constantine Overton, Thomas Studley and Thomas Jenckes, out of their meeting, but Hosier allowed them to go to their own homes until he sent for them. Three days later Hosier took them before the mayor, and, because they would not swear, they were sent to prison to join the Quakers who had been imprisoned there since early December. Tendering the Oath of Allegiance to local Quakers was a useful way of ensuring that the principal Quakers could be summarily imprisoned in a quick and convenient way.

At the same time as the Quakers were taken out of their meeting, two women Friends, Jane Miller and Katherine Peares, were arrested at St. Chad's and kept at the main guard until the next day. Then they were taken before the mayor, who committed them to the sergeant and afterwards to the house of correction. A few days later they were sent out of town. Katherine Peares, however, returned with another Friend, Deborah Briggs. They were apprehended at a meeting by soldiers and taken to the main guard, and on the next day taken to the mayor, who sent them to the house of correction where they remained for almost two months.[42] They are a rare example of women Friends having been imprisoned in Shrewsbury, and this might indicate that Katherine Peares and her companion made quite a disturbance in St. Chad's. Usually only male Friends were committed to prison, despite there probably being more women than men at Quaker meetings.[43]

On 20 December 1660 four more Quakers, James Harrison,[44] John Bancroft,[45] Richard Buxton[46] and Thomas Bowres, together with a few women Friends, were taken out of a meeting by Ensign Thornes and a party of soldiers. They were taken to the main guard and 'spitefully abused' by the soldiers. That night the soldiers also went to the home of Samuel Everall and his wife, Sarah, in Castle Foregate. Despite their being 'aged people', the soldiers hit them. On the next day, Samuel Everall and the four men also arrested by the soldiers were taken before the mayor, and for refusing to swear they were sent to prison until the next sessions.[47] On the following Sunday, 23 December, Ensign Thornes, ensign to George Hosier, the captain of the castle, with some soldiers, came to the prison and rifled through the Quakers' pockets, boxes and letter cases, and took away their letters and papers. Thornes promised to return them if nothing of treason or plot were found in them, but, despite nothing of that nature being found, their papers and letters were never returned. At the next sessions they were all set free, except James Harrison, who was detained for five weeks longer because he was deemed to be the ringleader.[48]

Over the next few months a steady stream of Quakers came to Shrewsbury to visit fellow Quakers who were in prison. Some of them travelled considerable distances to do so. It is a testament to the organised nature of the Quaker movement that news of imprisonments was spread far and wide. On Christmas Day 1660 Constance Sheild travelled forty miles while 'big with child' to see her husband in gaol. She was detained by soldiers at the gate and kept there in the cold for several hours until they let her speak a few words with her husband before being sent away.[49] Five days later Robert Astbury[50] of Coventry, who came to visit Friends in prison, was stopped when going out of town and detained at the main guard, together with John Finney, another Friend.[51] On the next day they were taken before the mayor, who sent them to prison for refusing to swear. Exactly the same treatment awaited Ralph Janion of Cheshire and John Whithouse[52] on 2 January 1661,[53] when they came to visit Friends in prison. They were followed two days later by William Hatton from Lancashire, who was held with several women Friends at the gate. He was sent to prison for refusing to swear, but the women with him were allowed to return to their own homes.[54] On the following day three women Friends, Alice Walker, Elizabeth Ashton and Mary Miller, all from Cheshire, came to visit Friends in prison, but they were stopped by soldiers and guarded out of town. On 9 January four women from Derby and Staffordshire, Ellen Blood, Sarah, the wife of Thomas Rowley, Anne Scott and Helen

Osborne, who intended visiting those in prison, were detained by soldiers at the gates and sent to the main guard. They managed to see their Friends at the prison window only as they passed through the gate on their way out of town. Some of them had come nearly forty miles.[55] Also on that day John Humpston was bringing some provisions to Friends in prison when he was stopped by soldiers and brought before their captain, George Hosier. He took him to the mayor, who, tendering him the Oath of Allegiance, sent him to prison for refusing to swear.[56]

Tendering Quakers the Oath of Allegiance was an extremely useful way of counteracting the ministering activities of itinerant Quakers. It meant that soldiers or officials could stop these important Quakers at one of the gates as they came into town, and bring them before a magistrate. The magistrate would then offer them the Oath, knowing that they would refuse to swear, whereupon they could be imprisoned without their even having preached in the street or addressed a meeting. Soldiers and others manning the gates into Shrewsbury appeared to have had no difficulty in recognising travelling Quakers as they arrived in town. Quakers were apparently readily distinguished from other people by their dress and way of speaking. Richard Gough (the historian of Myddle) described Richard Clarke (below) as 'A perfect Quaker in appearance, and [he] had got their canting way of discourse as readily as if he had been seven years apprentice'.[57]

10 January 1661 marked the beginning of a particularly difficult period for the Quakers in Shrewsbury, for they were subject to considerable violence at the hands of soldiers. It followed the Fifth Monarchist armed uprising in London on 5–9 January, which alarmed the Court and Parliament. As a result the King banned all Quaker meetings, suspecting that the Quakers were involved in the plot. Local Quakers reported that soldiers 'began to be very strict' and stopped a woman bringing food into the prison. One prisoner reproved the soldiers for this, whereupon one of the soldiers presented his musket at him in a great rage. Shortly afterwards Corporal Thomas Wattson of Wellington came with a musket and lighted match and searched a box containing papers, which he took away, and he insisted on searching food brought into the prison by women Friends in case it contained any letters.[58] On the following day two Radnorshire Friends, Thomas Briggs[59] and John Wooly, came to visit those in prison. They were stopped at the gate by soldiers and taken before magistrates,[60] who sent them to prison because they would not swear the Oath of Allegiance. John Loe, the gaoler, put them into a low wet dungeon, which was seldom used for any but felons and murderers. Francis Winsor, a poor man with a wife and five children, living in Frankwell (a suburb of Shrewsbury), was arrested on the next day at his house by a party of soldiers. He was kept in the main guard for two days and then taken to the marshal's house, where he was kept for sixteen days, after which he was tendered the Oath of Allegiance. Because he refused to swear, he was put in the dungeon with the others.[61]

On 16 January 1661 four women Friends from Lancashire, Anne[62] the wife of Oliver Atherton, and his daughter Elizabeth, Margaret Minshaw and Elizabeth Gilbertson, came to visit Friends in prison. They were detained at the gate by soldiers and taken to the mayor, who sent them to the main guard. In the evening, they were brought to the prison door by the soldiers and allowed to speak to the prisoners, while the soldiers listened to what was said. On the following day they were allowed to speak to the prisoners again, and then they were guarded out of town by the same way by which they had come.[63] Some Quakers, while in prison, were subject to violence and intimidation. A group of the trained bands came to the prison, and one of them, Thomas Hussie of Whitchurch, was irritated by John Sheild, who was reproving sin and evil. Hussie presented his musket at him and Richard Moore[64] as they stood at the prison window. He then fetched a pike and pushed it into John Sheild's arm, and took a stone, threatening to throw it at Thomas Briggs. However, some of the trained band made him put it down, as they were ashamed of his behaviour.[65]

Most of the action against Quakers was directed against those living in the town of Shrewsbury and those who came from some distance, either to preach or to visit Friends in gaol. Action was nevertheless also taken against those Quakers who lived in the countryside around the county town. Edward Jeffreyes of Stanton on Hine Heath was sent to the county gaol on 18 January 1661 for not paying £20 per month for not 'going to the steeple house'.[66] Thomas Groome of Weston Lullingfields was arrested on 20 January 1661 as he was going to Sunday worship. He was brought before a local magistrate, Francis Thornes,[67] who imprisoned him for refusing to swear, despite his already being on bail for not paying tithes. On the next day John Jeffreyes of Eaton, Thomas Hole of Weston Lullingfields and Richard Clarke of Newton on the Hill were also imprisoned for refusing to swear. Richard Clarke had a pregnant wife, three small children and his elderly mother dependent on him for their sustenance.[68] A man, [—] Taylor and his wife of Broseley were presented to Wenlock quarter sessions *c.*1660 for being Quakers and absenting themselves from church for the past six months.[69]

A Quaker meeting held at Edward Sharrot's house in Edgmond was raided by soldiers on the instructions of local justice, Francis Thornes, on 27 January 1661. Edward Sharrot, John Paddy, William Paddy, John Shaw and William Tasker were arrested and tendered the Oath of Allegiance. They refused to swear and so were taken to Shrewsbury where they were imprisoned. The gaoler, John Loe, put them in the dungeon with the others. By this time many Quakers were imprisoned in Shrewsbury gaol. Friction between them and the soldiers was considerable. Some of Major Fowler's company were on guard near the prison on 31 January, when some of them asked Richard

Moore questions. He gave them 'sober answers', at which some scoffed. John Sheild reproved them, which annoyed Corporal Taylor. He took a large piece of coal and told him to be silent, 'or he would make him'. He threw the coal, which missed John Sheild, but hit Richard Moore in the face and then broke into two. Corporal Taylor picked up one of the pieces and threw it again. Taylor then said that he would stop Sheild's mouth with a bullet. Another soldier cocked his musket and another thrust at them with a pike, but they were restrained by other soldiers.[70]

A similar incident occurred two days later when some of Captain Kinnerstone's company came to the prison. Their leader, Sergeant John Taylor of Coton near Wem, was drunk, which provoked Richard Moore to reprove him. This so enraged Taylor that he ordered his soldiers to fire upon them. One of them cocked his musket, took aim and fired, and again, but it only fired in the pan. 'The wicked man shook his head, and stamped his foot, and cleansed his touch hole and primed it again, and flashed in the pan again'. During all this time Richard Moore did not move, but declared against their wickedness and blood thirstiness. The soldier who had tried to fire his musket went to a window and opened his touch hole with a pin and primed again, and took aim as before, and again it fired in the pan. Then he got a worm and drew the charge out of his musket, so that everyone saw that it had been loaded. 'So was the Lord's power mightily seen in preserving his servant from blood thirsty men', wrote the Quakers.[71]

By March 1661 it had become apparent that a general uprising led by the Fifth Monarchists in London and expected in January was not now to happen. The Court and Parliament finally realised that the Quakers had taken no part in it, and therefore ordered that they be set free. At the general sessions of the peace and gaol delivery held in Shrewsbury on 13 March 1661, it was ordered that James Harrison, John Sheild, Richard Moore, John Millington and Constantine Overton, five of the principal Quakers (the first two of whom were ministering Quakers from some distance away, and the latter three Shrewsbury residents, Richard Moore being an important ministering Quaker), should remain in prison, but that all the rest should be discharged. Those who were not townsmen were to be banished from the town.[72]

While walking on the road near Stanton [probably Stanton on Hine Heath] on 4 June 1661 William Gibson[73] was stopped by soldiers and brought to join a group of other Friends. He started to pray, and while he was praying one of the soldiers struck him on the head with his musket and dragged him up from his knees, tearing his clothes as he did so. The soldiers rifled the Friends' pockets and looted 'several necessities' and money from them. They were then taken before Justice Sandford,[74] who sent them to the county gaol in Shrewsbury, where they stayed eight weeks. While he was in prison, William Gibson was badly treated by the gaoler John Loe:

> 'He hath stopped his victuals from him, that he was forced to draw it up by a cord into a high room, and hindered him from having the liberty in the prison as thieves, murderers and those called traitors had. And he going once to ease his body for which he had but half a quarter of an hour limited him to do it in, he walking in the court a little time, the gaoler came to him and dragged him up a pair of stone stairs and near the top threw him backwards upon them so that he fell off them to the ground. And then the gaoler with 2 of his men fell violently upon W[illia]m who lay still, being hurt with the fall, and the gaoler took him by the collar and was like to have stifled him and his men took him by the legs and arms and so threw him against the stones and beat him upon his breast very sore, so that he was fain to take his bed and the next night was very much distempered in his body and so remained six months and was not then well recovered. And a little while after he began to recover, he and his fellow prisoner John Moone[75] were quietly sitting in the prison and a Bible before them and the gaoler went up into the rooms and told W[illia]m that his bowels should be ripped up and burned before his face'.

On 12 September following William Gibson and twenty-five other prisoners appeared at the assizes at Bridgnorth. The only one to be called before the judge was Gibson:

> 'He asked me my name and country and business in Shropshire and I replied in the Lords fear as he gave me utterance…he urged the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy only unto me. I replied that I had suffered a half a year's imprisonment already for denying the Oaths of Allegiance…at the assizes at Lancaster I was cleared by the judge from the Oath and I was freed, my promise being accepted in stead of the Oath and I had not broken my promise and I was free there also to declare my love, loyalty and all due obedience unto the King and all ministers of justice under him…his reply was that I had forfeited my privilege in coming out of my own county. I replied that I was a free born English man and it was my privilege or birth right to travel from one county in England to another about my lawful occasions. At that he was silent for none could convict me of unlawful occasions'.

Gibson was then asked if he would return to his own country; if so, he would be set free. Gibson replied, 'If God will I shall'. The judge asked, 'If God will, will you go?' Gibson replied, 'If God will, I will go'. Gibson obviously

did not feel that God wished him to go, and as the judge could not take the Lord's name in vain by saying that God willed him to return to Lancashire, there was deadlock. The judge then offered him the Oath of Allegiance which he refused to swear. With that, the judge committed him to the next assizes without bail, and told him that there he would be tendered the Oath of Allegiance again.[76] When the judge had left town, the other Friends were called before the bailiff of Bridgnorth and sent quietly out of town 'of which many people did take notice'.[77] A local Friend, Elizabeth Andrews (Constantine Overton's sister-in-law), reported that 'I was sent for to Shrewsbury by Friends to go to Lord Newport to get Wm. Gibson and John Moone out of prison, they had been prisoners about half a year, he sent a letter to the magistrates and they were released'.[78]

On 16 October 1661 the Shrewsbury borough quarter sessions grand jury presented 22 local Quakers for not coming to church according to statute. They were Francis Winsor and his wife, Constantine Overton and his wife, Humphrey Overton and his wife, John Millington and his wife Mary, William Trattle and his wife, William Griffiths, Richard Howell [also known as Richard ap Edward], corser, Thomas Jencks, ironmonger, William Payne, John Payne, Abraham Poyner and his wife, Samuel Everall and his wife, Richard Turner[79] and his wife, and Thomas Studly.[80]

Constantine Overton and his brother Humphrey were violently taken out of a Friend's house by the 'buff coat troopers' for opening their shop on Christmas Day 1661.[81] They were put into the marshal's custody together with Henry ap Richard,[82] a journeyman shoemaker. On the next day Henry ap Richard was put out of town, but the Overtons were kept in for a couple of days more. On New Year's Day following Constantine's wife, Jane, and his apprentice, Thomas Hackett, were forced out of his shop by soldiers, and taken before the mayor. The apprentice was released by the mayor as he was under age, but Bowers, the marshal, fetched him to his house and kept him there for several days, refusing to allow meat to be brought to him, because he wanted the youth to buy his provisions from him at a higher cost. As the weather was cold and the boy was 'tenderly bred', he suffered. Shops were supposed to be shut not only on Christmas Day, but also on 'Twelfth Day' [6 January], and Constantine's two employees, Thomas Brassie and Job Selby, were arrested and taken before the mayor for having his shop open that day. The mayor tendered them the Oath of Allegiance, and because they refused to swear, they were imprisoned for the next two weeks.[83]

On Sunday 9 February 1662 John Moone was speaking at a meeting when troopers belonging to Edward Brett's troop arrived and took hold of him and 'bid him hold his bawling'. The troopers detained the Friends until they had informed the mayor. Two constables and the marshal arrived, and separated the townsmen from the others. Those Friends who were not townsmen, James Farmer and his brother, John Farmer, Thomas Sommerfield, Richard Turner and Henry ap Richard, a Welsh journeyman shoemaker, were sent to the Burgess Gate, where they remained for four days. John Moone was taken into the marshal's custody, where he was joined on the following day by Constantine Overton who had been 'entertaining a Friend about 2 hours in his house'. Also there in prison was Richard Ward. They were all badly treated, not being allowed beds, fire or candles, and kept in a low damp room in winter time. On many occasions food brought to them by other Friends was kept from them, as they would not pay the marshal's unreasonable rates for his provisions. Constantine Overton was detained for a month, but John Moone was taken to the common gaol after ten days and was still in custody on 20 July following.[84]

On the next Sunday, 16 February, the Quakers' meeting was raided again. Thomas Bowers, the marshal, looked in at the meeting, went away, and returned with some troopers under the command of Captain Paris, 'a great big bodied man and of a cruel and unmanlike spirit'. When Friends refused to obey his commands he laid into them with his club 'like a mad man', as did the troopers, until they had cleared the meeting room. Afterwards troopers went to some Friends' houses and searched them for arms and beat some of them. Friends noted that

> '…at this present time there was a proclamation from the king out that no soldier should presume to enter any man's house under pretence of searching for arms or meetings, except required by the civil magistrates. But we have had sufficient experience that though these men cry up the King and magistracy and legal authority, yet their lust is their law…'.

The troopers threatened to cut them with their swords if they met again, but 'yet we kept our meetings and they broke their words in that point'. Thomas Bowers, the marshal, looked in at their meeting on 25 May 1662 and then went to St. Chad's and fetched two sergeants. They, with Captain Paris, came to the meeting, and Paris told the Friends that they must go with him to the recorder, which they did. The recorder sent nine men to the house of correction for three months, but he ordered the women to 'go home'.[85]

Six months later, on Sunday 16 November, Bowers, the marshal, spied on the Friends' meeting again. He went away and then brought Captain Paris and a party of soldiers to break up the meeting. The captain 'came up raging mad with fury with a short club in his hand and said "shall we always be troubled with you?"'. The Quakers sat silently and did not move, so Paris and the soldiers fell upon them, beat them and hauled them out of the building.

Afterwards the soldiers, led by the 'rude boys' of the town, went to Friends' houses, searched them and beat their servants. They said that if Friends met again they had orders to cut them and said they would perform it, 'but the Lord restrained them'. This was the second time that soldiers had threatened to cut them, but on neither occasion was the threat carried out, and Friends continued to hold their meetings.[86]

The raid on the Friends' meeting on 16 November 1662 was the last recorded time that their meetings in Shrewsbury were raided by soldiers. After that date it was always local officials working under the authority of magistrates and judges who took action against them. During all this time, and later, the Quakers never made any effort to hide their meetings. In a town with only about 7,000 inhabitants everyone knew who they were and where they lived, and could see where they held their meetings. If Quakers suffered, which they did, it was for Christ's sake. Anne Hall, writing later, said 'the Lord hath fitted and prepared many for this day, blessed be his everlasting name for ever who hath counted us worthy to suffer for his name's sake'.[87] Richard Baxter, the Presbyterian divine, noted that 'Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time; for they were so resolute and gloried in their constancy and sufferings'.[88]

It was not only the civil authorities who prosecuted Friends. In 1662 ten Shrewsbury Quakers, Samuel Everall, Abraham Poyner, Constantine Overton, John Millington, John Barker, William Trattle, huxster, Francis Winsor, shopman, Sarah Whitikers, spinster, John Payne and Humphrey Overton, were excommunicated by Lichfield consistory court, for not coming to church, for attending conventicles, for being Quakers, or, in Constantine Overton's case, also for not having his children baptised.[89]

During the years 1662 and 1663, a number of Quakers living in rural Shropshire had goods distrained in lieu of tithes, or for not paying church rates, or for other offences. James Farmer of Condover had six agricultural tools distrained and John Farmer also of Condover, had a brass kettle taken from him, in both cases for not attending church. Thomas Sommerfield of Stanton on Hine Heath[90] had an ox worth £4 distrained for 40*s*. worth of 'tithe of hay, hemp and smoke of the chimney' by Thomas Orpe[91], the 'very drunken priest' of Stanton on Hine Heath, and the church wardens of the parish took a pewter dish worth 4*s*. because Sommerfield refused to go to church. He also had a cow worth £4 taken from him in lieu of 20*s*. worth of tithes by Henry Churchley, minister. In January 1663 John Humpston of Hawkstone[92] had a horse and mare worth £11[93] distrained by John Brittaine, minister at Hodnet, for £5 worth of tithes. The animals were sold, but the overplus was not restored to John Humpston. Henry Churchley took corn worth 10*s*. from Edward Jefferyes, miller of Stanton on Hine Heath, for 3*s*. worth of tithes. He likewise lost one flitch of bacon and part of another, worth 20*s*. in all, taken by the minister, Thomas Orpe, for tithes assessed at 3*s*. Edward Lawrence,[94] the vicar of Baschurch, who was ejected from his living in 1662 for non-conformity, took one yoke of oxen worth £8 from Richard Ward for the non-payment of 40*s*. for tithes. Distraint of goods was not the only option open to parish ministers for losses for non-payment of tithes. Peter Loe of Hinstock was sued by George Fairchild, minister of Hinstock, for 30*s*. of tithes, which he refused to pay, and he was put into prison, where he remained for nearly two years.[95] Much later, in 1681, John Baker of Hinstock who had refused to attend court to answer a charge of non-payment of tithes, was prosecuted at the instance of Amias Vaughan,[96] rector of Hinstock, and duly imprisoned in the county gaol without bail until he found sufficient security or conformed to the proceedings of the consistory court.[97]

It was not only rural Quakers who had goods taken from them. Some Shrewsbury Quakers had goods seized too. During the years 1658 to 1662 Humphrey Overton had goods worth 17*s*. taken from him for the non-payment of 10*s*. church rates.[98] The churchwardens of St. Chad's took a pair of brass scales, three loaves of sugar and a roll of tobacco weighing 17lb., worth in all 25*s*., from Constantine Overton for not paying church rates, and for him and his wife not coming to church. On the same day, 20 April 1663, Francis Winsor, a weak and sick man, had a roll of tobacco taken from his shop by Edward Tonge, who climbed over his shop window sill and took it.[99]

In January 1663 a scandalous incident took place at St. Julian's church in Shrewsbury. It was at the burial of the local Quaker, John Payne. His non-Quaker relatives had chosen to bury him in the parish churchyard, to which the Quakers strongly objected. Three of them, Henry Rawson, Owen Roberts and William Trattle interrupted the minister, Mr. Byston,[100] during the service. They subsequently appeared before Shrewsbury quarter sessions where the grand jury decided that they had a case to answer.[101]

Raids on Quaker meetings continued. On Sunday 22 February 1663 two of the mayor's sergeants and their under-officers, with orders from the mayor and judges, told the Quakers to come with them. 'So we arose and went along peaceably…to the sergeant's house where we were prisoners till the 3rd day following'. They were called before the mayor, Sir Richard Prince, justice Baldwin and the town clerk, Adam Ottley. The sergeants reported that they found the Quakers met together sitting in a room, but heard no words spoken by any of them. The Quakers were asked to what end they were so met. They answered, 'we came not there to accuse ourselves…And when they could not that way get advantage then they tendered us the Oath of Allegiance and because we could not swear, sent us to prison'.[102] Two Shrewsbury Quakers lost their burgess-ships. Both Constantine Overton and Abraham Poyner were dismissed of their privilege on 24 March 1663, because of their refusal to swear oaths and for attending Quaker meetings.[103]

Twenty two Quakers appeared before Shrewsbury quarter sessions on 16 September 1663, where they were presented by the grand jury for not going to their parish church.[104] The grand jury ordered that the Quakers should have a copy of the indictment and that they should remain in ward until they found sureties. In addition, local parish constables presented John Simpson's wife for not frequenting her parish church upon the Sabbath or any other wherein the word of God was lawfully preached, and widow Bradshaw of the Welsh ward was presented for being a Quaker not coming to church.[105] Those in prison were joined by Samuel Davis, who was arrested by soldiers on his way home and who appeared before a justice, who committed him to prison, and by Thomas Sankey, who was summoned to appear at the assizes on 15 March 1664 for not attending church, and was also imprisoned in Shrewsbury. They were still in prison on 12 April 1664.[106]

The authorities continued to distrain Quakers' goods in lieu of fines. William Trattle lost an iron beam worth 9*s*., Constantine Overton had a beam worth 25*s*. taken away, and Thomas Jackson had a pewter dish valued at 8*s*. distrained, all on 4 April 1664.[107] Some Quakers had perishable goods taken away. The churchwardens, overseers and sidesmen of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, called at the house and shop of William Trattle and demanded 6*s*. for his not coming to church to hear Common Prayer. He refused to pay, whereupon one of them entered his shop and took away a tub of salt butter weighing 30lb., 12lb. of candles and a cheese weighing 13lb., worth in total nearly 20*s*.[108] Shortly afterwards John Farmer of Cound had a flitch of bacon worth 16*s*. taken for an absence of sixteen days from church. In June 1665 John Houlston had a brass pot and a brass kettle worth 19*s*. taken from him at the behest of the churchwardens of Upton Magna for not paying 3*s*. 6*d*. church rates.[109]

The First Conventicles Act and its Aftermath

Because the Cavalier Parliament still feared a rebellion by dissenters and a restoration of the Commonwealth, its members passed 'An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles', known as the first Conventicles Act, which came into force on 1 July 1664, and was to last for three years. Those caught at a religious meeting not according to the rites of the Church of England and convicted by two magistrates could be fined a sum not exceeding £5 for a first offence, and not exceeding £10 for a second offence, or in lieu thereof imprisonment for three or six months respectively. Anyone convicted of a third offence could be transported for seven years to any of His Majesty's plantations (except Virginia or New England) unless they paid a fine of £100, a very large sum of money. County lieutenants, militia officers, sheriffs and magistrates were empowered to raid religious conventicles and to take into custody the 'Leaders and Seducers of the rest and such others as they shall think fit to be proceeded against according to Law'. Houses used for conventicles could be broken into, and those who allowed their land or property to be used for a conventicle (even if they did not attend it themselves) incurred the same penalties as those attending. It was also ordered that Quakers and any others who refused to take Oaths could be transported. The enforcement of the first Conventicles Act in Shrewsbury is unclear, as the Shrewsbury quarter sessions rolls for 1664 and 1665 are missing and the Books of Sufferings, both local and national, are curiously silent on the matter.

The county magistrates at their quarterly meeting in July 1665 ordered 'Warrants to be sent to all High Constables to require them and all Petty Constables to levy 12*d*. upon every Popish Recusant for every Sunday they come not to Church, and upon all others that doe not repair to some Church or Chapel to hear divine service upon every Sunday according to the Statute of [1] Elizabeth'.[110] On 16 July 1665 judge Timothy Turner and local magistrate Thomas Bauldwin ordered Shrewsbury's common sergeant to take into custody eleven Quakers.[111] They were arrested at a

> 'conventicle at their common meeting house…under pretence of religious worship, and upon examination of the matter it appeareth unto us that they are Quakers, and neither have frequented nor do frequent their several parish churches, affirming that we are no church but that they themselves are the true members of Christ's church, and do refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance being tendered unto them by us. Therefore we send you the bodies of these prisoners requiring you safely to detain them until the next sessions of the peace, general gaol delivery, to be held for the town and liberties, unless in the meantime they shall find sufficient sureties for their then appearance, and then not to depart without licence of this court, and in the meantime be of the good behaviour'.

The Quakers in question had a somewhat different view of the proceedings. They said that they

> 'were taken out of our peaceable meeting and were committed to prison…till the next town sessions…and then they read a false indictment and they required us to answer guilty or not guilty and we answered not guilty according to the whole form of their indictment, and then the judge told us that if we would enter

into recognisance one for another we should have our liberty or else we must return to prison again. And so we returned to prison again and remained prisoners 15 weeks in all and then our words[112] were taken for our appearance at the next sessions, which was holden upon the 2nd day of the 3rd month 1666. And being called before them they panelled a jury and then they read the same indictment wherein they said we were unlawfully and tumultuously met together in force and arms and to the terror of the people and in contempt of our sovereign lord the King, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the King his crown and dignity which things we did deny and the witnesses being called they only proved that we were there met together. Then the judge spoke to the jury and said find that and it is enough and so sent the jury out and they came quickly again and said we were guilty of an unlawful assembly and then the judge fined us, some in five marks[113] and some in twenty shillings. And sent some of us to prison again till we pay the fines. Some that they did know to be townsmen had their liberty. Country men and such as were poor were sent to prison again'.[114]

John Houlston, Thomas Overton and Richard Lowndes were imprisoned and turned over from mayor to mayor, 'but they are allowed pretty much liberty'. It is obvious from the details of their lives during this time that they were indeed allowed 'pretty much liberty'. Imprisonment did not necessarily mean that they were continuously incarcerated, but they were allowed out some of the time and even attended conventicles.[115] The Quakers subsequently wrote that they had been 'detained' prisoners until the year 1672 and then released by a patent from the King under the great seal.[116]

In an undated petition, written at about this time, to the mayor, recorder and justices of Shrewsbury, nine local Quakers[117] wrote that 'in conscience to the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ who had said in the Holy Scriptures, swear not at all,[118] we dare not swear lest we sin against our God, and so provoke his wrath against us'. They went on to say that they acknowledged Charles II to be King, supreme magistrate and chief ruler in the kingdom to whose just commands they were ready to yield, and so

'may live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, neither can we or shall we plot, conspire or conceal any plot or conspiracy if we know it…and further we do declare that if he shall require ought of us which for conscience sake we cannot do, we shall rather choose patiently to suffer than to sin against the God of our lives, nor can we or shall we rise up with carnal weapons to work our own deliverance but in patience and well doing commit ourselves unto the Lord who will reward every man according to his deeds done in the flesh whether they be good or evil, and instead of swearing oaths if our yea be yea and our nay, nay,[119] then let us suffer the same punishment as they do that break their oaths, for it is in respect to the commands of Christ we cannot swear…for could we make shipwreck of our faith and a good conscience we need not stand now questionable before you'.[120]

The churchwardens of St. Chad's in Shrewsbury in 1665 presented twelve Quakers of their parish to Lichfield consistory court for not attending their parish church, seven of whom were excommunicated. They were widow Winsor, Constantine Overton and his wife Jane, Job Selby, Owen Roberts, William Trottle and his wife, John Millington, senior, and his wife, Thomas Jenkes, ironmonger, and his wife, and Richard Moore and his wife. Also presented for being a Quaker was Widow Mary Turner of Holy Cross parish in Shrewsbury and John and James Farmer of Condover for not frequenting their parish church.[121]

When the Quakers met in Shoplatch in Shrewsbury[122] in April 1666 their meeting was raided. Thirteen named men and thirteen unnamed women were subsequently charged at quarter sessions of an unlawful assembly. Six men were fined 10*s*. for a first conviction, and seven men were fined 20*s*. for a second conviction.[123] Failure to pay resulted in one or two months' imprisonment respectively. On 2 May seventeen Quakers were presented by the grand jury of quarter sessions for being Quakers and absentees from church.[124] On 8 August 1666 William Payne was committed to prison upon a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the severer form of excommunication.[125] He was joined on 6 April 1667 by James Farmer, who was also imprisoned upon the same writ. They were reported to have been held in Shrewsbury gaol until 1672.[126] However, it is known that William Payne had some freedom during this time, for he was caught attending Quaker meetings in 1670, and was charged at quarter sessions for being a Quaker or not attending church, in every year from 1666 to 1671.[127]

Notwithstanding all the punishment in the form of fines, distraint of goods, imprisonment and physical ill-treatment (mainly at the hands of soldiers) that they had received for holding unlawful meetings, non-payment of tithes and church rates, and not going to church, the Quakers continued to meet and go about their business as if they had not suffered at all. Richard Moore and William Trattle wrote on 7 April 1666 that 'we remember the loving kindness of our God and how large his favour has been towards us, and this is our trust, our confidence, and hope that we may lay down our heads in his favour when we shall go from hence and be no more seen visible'.[128] What was suffering here on earth compared with life eternal?

The years 1667, 1668 and 1669 saw a number of Shrewsbury Quakers being presented to the borough quarter sessions, all for not coming to church, viz. eighteen in 1667, twenty-two in 1668 and twenty-one in 1669.[129] Eight Shrewsbury Quakers, including William Payne, were cited to Lichfield consistory court in 1668 for not attending their parish churches and all but one were excommunicated. William Payne was not excommunicated then because he was said to be '*in carcere*', in other words he was in prison and therefore could not have come to church.[130] However, he had been excommunicated in 1666 (see above) by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* which might still have been in force in 1668, when he was cited to the consistory court. Anne Granger of Acton Burnell was presented to Lichfield consistory court for not coming to divine service in 1668,[131] as was William Hodges of Dorrington in Condover parish.[132] At the assizes in 1669 four Quakers, John Swinshead,[133] Robert Baker[134] William Tasker[135] and John Baker[136] were imprisoned.[137]

The Second Conventicles Act

The first Conventicles Act expired in March 1669 and this gave dissenters some temporary relief from prosecution for attending meetings. However, the King ordered magistrates to enforce the other laws against dissent. After Parliament was recalled in February 1670 a new Act against dissenting meetings was passed. Parliament had realised that the law against conventiclers had not being enforced rigorously and consistently by local magistrates, and so drafted the new law with that in mind. The coming into force of the second Conventicles Act on 10 May 1670[138] changed the law in such a way as to increase the chances of conventiclers being prosecuted. Henceforth the fines levied upon those attending conventicles were to be distributed in three parts: one third to the King, one third for the use of the poor of the parish where the conventicle was held, and the other third to the informer. The fines on those attending conventicles were reduced considerably to 5*s*. and 10*s*., and those who were too poor to pay had their fines levied on the wealthier attenders instead. The fines on the preachers and on those whose premises were used for the meeting were greatly increased, to £20, and for a second or subsequent offence by a preacher £40. If any parish official knowingly omitted to inform a magistrate of a meeting he could be convicted and fined £5. If a magistrate failed to do his duty after having been informed of a conventicle, he could forfeit £100, one half of which would go to the King and the other half to the informer to be recovered by action in one of the King's courts at Westminster. The Act's provisions were intended to ensure that the law against those attending conventicles was enforced. Heretofore, local magistrates had in practice (but not in law) considerable discretion as to whether they enforced the law or not, and there is strong local evidence to suggest that conventicles in Shrewsbury were often 'winked at'.[139] However, with informers set to gain financially from reporting conventicles, and magistrates liable to lose a considerable sum of money for not enforcing the law, it was much more likely that the provisions of the Act would be carried out. 'Professional' informers were being encouraged. Robert Fewtrell, a Shrewsbury cooper, was one such. He was, according to the Quakers, an

> 'ungodly man, given to lying, swearing and ungodliness and drunkenness…pretending therein to be the king's faithful servant, although in the late wars…he appeared with his sword against him.[140] This office of an informer was so odious in this county in the eyes of all the people that amongst all the sons of Belial in Salop[141] he could not have a fellow'.

When 27 Quakers met on 22 May 1670, Fewtrell looked in at their meeting, and then fetched the mayor, who came with some of his officers. They found the Quakers sitting silently. The mayor sat down and asked the informer if anyone had been preaching. Fewtrell had to admit that none had. Whereupon the mayor asked their names and fined them 5*s*. each (for a first offence), which the Quakers refused to pay. The mayor went away and later sent for four of the men[142] and examined them as to who was the preacher, but no-one confessed. At this, he tendered them the Oath of Allegiance and because they would not swear, he sent them to prison. Three Quakers were not fined, but 24 were fined 5*s*. each, ten of whom had their fines levied on other Friends because of their poverty.[143]

On the following Sunday, 29 May, Friends met again.[144] Fewtrell came and looked in upon them, and then he went to inform the mayor. The mayor, Richard Taylor, arrived with the town clerk, and they found the Friends sitting silently, so the mayor asked them to preach. Friends invited him to sit down, which he did, but becoming impatient, he again told them to preach. One of the Friends said 'we are not men pleasers', but he was told to 'hold your canting'. When one Friend did speak a few words 'as were in his heart', the mayor fined Friends, and said 'I will make you poor enough'. To which one Friend replied 'wee have treasure you know not of'. The mayor's riposte was that he would make them poor in spirit, and he received the reply 'if we be poor in spirit we shall be rich in the Lord'.[145] Those Friends who had been fined in the previous week were fined 10*s*., and those for whom it was a first conviction were fined 5*s*. Those who were too poor to pay had their fines levied on others attending the

same meeting. During the following week, goods were distrained in lieu of fines. Constantine Overton had a sack of hops weighing 152 lb., worth £2 7*s*. taken from him and the baker, Owen Roberts, had six strikes of corn and two bags worth 15*s*., distrained. The goods distrained from other Quakers consisted mostly of brass and pewter ware.[146]

A week later, on 5 June, Friends were going to their meeting when they were stopped on the Stone Bridge[147] by the guards. One Friend, John Simpson,[148] said 'It is better to enjoy the presence of the Lord and want all other things, than to enjoy all other things and want the presence of the Lord, whose presence we feel and thereupon fell to prayer desiring that all people might come to the knowledge of the same. And as the Lord had done for us so he might do for thousands…'. He was fined £20. 'When officials came to distrain his goods, he and his wife had given all up unto the Lord, setting their doors open. The living God did by his power defend them, turned the hearts of the men to tenderness, that they could not take away anything'. The Quakers at the meeting were fined and had their goods distrained.[149] In January 1673 the North Wales Quarterly Meeting recorded that the 'condition of our dear Friend and brother John Sympson of Salop meeting be taken into a serious Christian consideration…We doubt not but all hearts herein concern'd will be enlarged to contribute as fellow helps to his necessities'.[150] Staffordshire Friends subsequently collected £17 5*s*. 1*d*. for the 'relief of our dear brother John Simpson of Salop, tanner'.[151]

At about one o'clock on 19 June a group of 26 Quakers (19 of whom were women) met in Shoplatch, where the widow Anne Lawrence preached. The informer Robert Fewtrell came to the meeting, grabbed her and pulled her down. Constantine Overton said 'What hast thou to do to disturb us, cannot we have quietness on the ground that we pay rent for?' and Owen Roberts said 'Bear witness he lays violent hands upon her'.[152] A month later, the Quakers were kept out of their meeting house, so they met in the street instead. A woman Friend was moved to pray and exhorted the people to fear the Lord and turn from the evil of their ways. She was seized by the informer and taken into custody. In the evening the mayor sent for her, and she and the other Quakers present at the meeting were fined and had their goods distrained.[153] Anne Hall wrote that 'There is but one man in the town that doth inform and he is a turn coat and he is afraid to go forth in the night lest the people should be upon him, but only the mayor doth countenance him'.[154] It is not surprising that the mayor countenanced him, because if he had not, he would have been liable to a fine of up to £100. Robert Fewtrell, the informer, threatened to present Friends to death if he had the power, and said that if he lived to the age of Methuselah he would be the Quakers' tormentor. However, soon afterwards he was 'visited with a sore sickness near unto death and from that time Friends have not been much molested'.[155]

As Quakers continued to meet openly in Shrewsbury every week, and probably always in the same place, the magistrates could have had their meetings raided every week, if they had so wished. The fact that that did not happen shows that the magistracy in the town had little appetite for such action. No other person in Shrewsbury was prepared to be an informer, and once Robert Fewtrell's activities had diminished, raids on Quaker meetings were greatly reduced. In the following year Robert Fewtrell petitioned the magistrates of the town, saying that since the 1670 Act to Prevent and Suppress Seditious Conventicles, he had taken great pain and care every Lord's day and other days as well, to inform of the

> 'tumultuous meetings of those seditious persons…and [they] refuse conformity to his majesty's laws and still continue in propagating their errors in that way, for which great distresses have been taken and remain in custody without sale, that by reason thereof his majesty's the poor of several parishes in this town & your petitioner the informer have had or received not any benefit…your petitioner hath taken such care & diligence in this affair besides his expenses and loss of time, [and] doth humbly desire that you will be pleased to take some course for your petitioner's satisfaction'.

It was ordered that the distresses be sold and the petitioner be paid his third part.[156] Considerable distresses had indeed been taken. On one occasion alone, on 18 August 1670, William Payne had a Mantua gown and cloak worth £2 taken, as well as a brass pot and an iron mortar and pestle. Thomas Mansell lost three sugar loaves, four pewter dishes and 5*s*. in money. A brass kettle, one pillion, two curtains, one pewter still to distil hot waters, a fire shovel, a pair of tongs, and two high stools were distrained from Widow Sarah Moore, a woman who carried on her late husband's business of surgery. William Trattle had seized from him four pewter dishes and one pewter can. Anne Hall lost two pairs of linen drawers, two old waistcoats, two old petticoats, an old green apron, one hat case, a flap from a side saddle, a chest and some boxes, four pewter dishes, a pewter bottle, a pewter can, three cups and five spoons, a spit, a fire shovel and a pair of tongs. The total value of all the goods which were seized on that day was £8 1*s*. 3*d*.[157]

Ten Quakers were presented by the grand jury at quarter sessions on 22 August 1670 for not coming to church, and the constables of Abbey Foregate presented five more for the same offence.[158] About this time Anne Hall was walking along the street one day when one of the wardmen grabbed her and hauled her to the gate, tearing her

clothes as he did so. She was fined 10*s*. for herself and another 5*s*. for another Friend, and goods to the value of 35*s*. were distrained. When the mayor heard about the matter, he ordered her goods to be returned to her, as what was done was contrary to the law and his own orders.[159] When the churchwardens Thomas Jasper and Adam Holland distrained Constantine Overton's goods for opening his shop on Christmas Day in 1670, Adam Holland was 'so troubled in mind that he could not sleep in peace until he brought back that part of the goods that was in his custody, saying it was a greater burden to him to keep them, than it was to him to lose them'. John Millington was not so lucky, for he had 22*s*. worth of goods distrained for not going to church on five saints' days during 1670.[160] 27 Quakers were presented to Shrewsbury quarter sessions in May 1671[161] and eight in the following September,[162] all for not attending their parish churches. Samuel Everall and his wife were presented to St. Mary's Peculiar Court in Shrewsbury by the churchwardens of the parish in June 1671 'for generally absenting themselves from divine service'.[163] They could not have realised it at the time, but they and other dissenters were about to enjoy two years respite from prosecution.

Indulgence Followed by Further Prosecution

In March 1672 Charles II, issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended all penal laws against religious dissenters, including Roman Catholics. Those Quakers who were in prison were released, and all dissenters were free to worship as they chose, provided that they registered their meeting places and ministers. The Quakers in Shropshire, in common with the Baptists in Shropshire, and all the Quakers in England, did not register their meeting places or preachers and teachers, as the law required, because they did not accept the authority of King or Parliament to grant or deny freedom of worship. They do not seem, however, to have suffered as a consequence. While it lasted, this freedom must have been very welcome. Unfortunately for all dissenters, the Declaration was nullified by Parliament in the following year, and the laws began to be enforced again in the next year.

In February and March 1674 some Quakers living in Broseley, who had previously attended the meeting in Shrewsbury, suffered substantial distraint of goods, for holding no more than one meeting in their parish. Their chief prosecutor was the minister of the parish, Robert Ogdon, aided by two magistrates, Andrew Langley and Richard Cleavely, and the bailiff of Corvedale, Urion Baldwin. Elizabeth Andrews,[164] one of the principal sufferers, told how she and her brother[165] had come to live in Broseley. They opened a mercer's shop and had considerable trade, and through discussions with their customers and neighbours 'many were convinced'. However, when some of them subsequently saw how the Andrewses suffered, they abandoned Friends' meetings. Because of their Quakerism and their refusal to pay tithes, the Andrewses were excommunicated, the minister threatening to ruin them, even if it cost him £500. They had bought £50 worth of mercer's goods in London, planning to sell them in their shop, but because they were excommunicated, Robert Ogdon threatened to excommunicate all those who bought goods from their shop, and so their business fell away. They were forced to trade in the street in a nearby town. They held a meeting at their house for which considerable fines were exacted. The distraint of the Andrewses' goods in stead of fines took place without notice, and the officials took cloth, stuffs and shop goods, and gave them no time to appraise the value of them. Elizabeth Andrews showed a copy of the King's order of clemency, but the sergeant said that 'we are not to take notice of such pamphlets and ballads', which, according to Elizabeth Andrews, demonstrated that he neither feared God nor honoured the King. The sergeant ordered his officials to take enough because he knew that some had gained more than a hundred pounds from the Quakers' goods already. Roger Andrews lost £45 6*s*. 3*d*. worth of cloth and haberdashery, Thomas Hughes, a waterman, had some domestic utensils and furniture worth £3 4*s*. 6*d*. seized, and Anne Hemlock, a widow, had some pans, a flagon and two pewter dishes taken, worth £2 13*s*. 6*d*. Anne Hemlock was a poor old woman who was looking after her granddaughter, as her son was sick at the time. As her goods had been taken from her, she took the child to Robert Ogdon and told him he must take care of her. He sent the child back the same evening. When her son had recovered he took the child out of the county. Robert Ogdon had Anne Hemlock put in prison and said that he would keep her there until she found sureties that the child would not be chargeable to the parish, despite the fact that the child had been born there, and her father and grandfather had lived there for many years. Elizabeth Andrews wrote later that 'The heavy hand of God did fall upon our persecutor the priest who did this, his name was Tobiah Ogdon,[166] who afterwards was grievously troubled with the stone, and lived not long afterwards'. Quakers certainly took some degree of satisfaction from the suffering of their persecutors, looking upon it as providential. At a meeting held on 25 January 1676 a collection was ordered to be made towards reimbursing Roger Andrews 'in his deep suffering upon account of a meeting held at his house'.[167] Elizabeth Andrews recorded that Ogdon's successor John Crow, the rector in the 1680s, also prosecuted them for non-payment of 12*s*. 6*d*. for tithes, and he distrained two cows, the 'very bed we lay on, sheets and all', and all their household stuff, not leaving so much as a chair for them to sit on.

Shrewsbury Quakers began to re-appear before quarter sessions in September 1674 when 16 were presented by the grand jury and 18 in December, all for not attending their parish churches.[168] In January 1675 the Society of

Friends appointed representatives in each county to meet on account of Friends' sufferings, and Constantine Overton was appointed to be one of these.[169] A number of Shrewsbury Quakers continued to appear before quarter sessions for not attending church during the second half of the 1670s, 18 in August 1676, ten in September 1677, and 13 in December 1678.[170] All of them were well-known Quakers who had appeared regularly before quarter sessions during the previous twenty years. Owen Roberts and his wife Anne were imprisoned by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* on 11 January 1676 for contempt and clandestine marriage.[171] Also imprisoned at the same time was Thomas Oliver.[172] Thomas Palmer of Stottesdon was taken prisoner on 20 August 1677, also on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, and prosecuted for contempt in the bishop's court at Ludlow.[173] In addition Thomas Overton, Francis Reeves and Richard Turner, all of Holy Cross parish in Shrewsbury, were presented to Lichfield consistory court in 1677,[174] and Thomas Overton was presented again in November 1679, together with Mary Reeves and Margaret Reeves, all of Holy Cross, Anne Heynes of Acton Burnell and William Hodges and his wife of Condover.[175]

The Exclusion Crisis and Beyond

The prosecution of dissenters in the ecclesiastical courts had been relatively light in the late 1670s. Thomas Wood, Bishop of Lichfield 1671–92, whose jurisdiction included Shrewsbury[176] and the northern half of Shropshire, was said to be 'soft on nonconformists' and his 'indifference to dissent was notorious'.[177] However, even he could not prevent the severe persecution of dissenters following the Exclusion Crisis of 1679–81. In 1682 four Quakers from Holy Cross parish, Randle Alcocks and his wife, and Thomas Overton and his wife, were cited to appear at Lichfield consistory court on 21 November. They did not attend. Thomas Overton and Randle Alcocks, together with four Quakers from Condover, viz. James Farmer, John Farmer, Richard Evans and William Hodges, and John Houlston from Atcham, were duly excommunicated. William Hodges of Condover and Thomas Overton were presented to the court again in 1683, and in 1685 thirteen Shrewsbury Quakers[178] were presented to the consistory court for not frequenting their parish churches and excommunicated, together with William and Mary Hodges of Dorrington in Condover parish.[179]

The early to mid 1680s were a very difficult time for all religious dissenters. The effect was such that Thomas Palmer of Salop Meeting proposed that a meeting of Quakers be deferred and 'kept when friends in those parts find freedom'. The minutes of the North Wales Quarterly Meeting (to which Shropshire belonged) ceased to be written up between July 1681 and October 1683. The cessation of normal Quaker business affected John Simpson. His condition was laid before the Quarterly Meeting and 'divers papers were read concerning that business that were left about 2 years not fully answered'. Later, in January 1684, Thomas Overton of Salop reported to the Quarterly Meeting that 'friends there be in no greater sufferings at present for truth then [sic] what was in former old accounts except on [the] king's processes'.[180]

During these particularly difficult years many more dissenters appeared before Shrewsbury quarter session, although the number of Quakers appearing stayed reasonably constant, varying between eight and 18, with an average of 13.[181] The numbers of Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians appearing before quarter sessions, however, increased substantially. The average number of dissenters (including Quakers) appearing before Shrewsbury quarter sessions at the beginning of the decade was 30. This had risen to 54 by 1683 and reached a high of 63 in October 1684. In the sessions held in July 1684 18 Quakers were convicted, of whom three, Richard Smyth, John Scott and Katherine Trottle submitted and paid their 12*d*. fines. Fifteen, including ten women, refused, and were committed to prison.[182]

It was during the first half of the 1680s that a substantial number of Quakers emigrated to Pennsylvania, having bought land from William Penn. Some of the travelling Quakers who visited Shrewsbury in the early 1660s emigrated to America in the 1680s, viz. Thomas Woolrich, James Harrison and John Moone [the younger]. Some Shrewsbury Quakers also emigrated, viz. Mordecai Moore, son of Richard Moore, went to Maryland in the early 1680s, John Turner emigrated to America in 1684, and Richard Turner, [junior], and his wife Margaret to Pennsylvania in the same year.[183] They could not have known it at the time, but their deliverance from prosecution in England was soon to come. Despite the risks of sailing across the Atlantic, Constantine Overton, aged about 73, emigrated to Pennsylvania *c*.1700. He was helped on his way by fellow Quakers from Shropshire, Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire, who donated money towards his expenses.[184] As well as those who emigrated to America, William Gibson, and John Millington of Shrewsbury, bought 500 acres each in Pennsylvania from William Penn. Neither of them emigrated (perhaps never intending to?), but they bequeathed the land to their families in 1684 and 1689 respectively.[185]

Freedom

With the accession of James II in 1685 the situation for all religious dissenters gradually began to change. The quarter session held in Shrewsbury in January 1686 was the last at which religious dissenters were presented by the grand jury for not attending their parish churches.[186] In the following March James II issued a general pardon to dissenters, and many were released from gaol, and in 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the laws against dissenters. The long road to religious freedom was nearing its end. Quakers still suffered over tithes and church rates, but compared with how they had been treated thirty years earlier, life was better. Thomas Pugh in his account of affairs in Shropshire was able to say in April 1688 'all well there'.[187]

After James II had fled the country, and William and Mary had become King and Queen in 1689, the first Act of Parliament passed into law was the 'Toleration Act'.[188] This Act did not give dissenters rights as such; what it did was to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. Provided Trinitarian dissenters took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy they were exempted from the Elizabethan 'Act for retaining the Queen's subjects in their due obedience' of 1593 and the Conventicles Act of 1670. Thus they were freed from the legal obligation of attending their parish churches, and they could meet without fear of prosecution. They could build their own meeting houses provided that they registered them with quarter sessions or with the local diocese, and held their meetings with the doors unlocked. Their ministers had to subscribe to most of the Established Church's thirty-nine articles, which exempted them from the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the Five Mile Act of 1665.

On 15 January 1692 the leading Quakers, Owen Roberts, John Simpson, Thomas Peters and Thomas Wareing, appeared before Shrewsbury quarter sessions and subscribed in open court the two declarations and the profession of their Christian belief. Their meeting house on St. John's Hill was licensed at the same time.[189] In addition David Reignolds obtained a licence for a meeting house in Chirbury in April 1692,[190] and this was followed at Easter 1698 by a licence granted to John Yeardswick for a meeting house in Prees.[191] A meeting house was built at Broseley in the early 1690s, but this caused considerable trouble to the Quakers because of the nature of the lease. The North Wales Quarterly Meeting made strenuous efforts over a ten year period to persuade the lessor to issue a new lease, which he evidently refused to do.[192] The matter was resolved only after the death of Thomas Palmer, the lessee, in 1702. His son, Julius Palmer, brought the letters of administration to the Quarterly Meeting in 1704, together with Thomas's probate inventory which contained only one item, the lease of a house [i.e. the meeting house] valued at £14.[193]

Quakers were still liable for church rates and tithes, which they continued to refuse to pay. Tithes were something that affected Quakers living in the town of Shrewsbury very little, if at all, but those living in the countryside in Shropshire were still liable to prosecution for non-payment. During the years 1687 to 1690 Peregrine Musgrave of St. Martin's parish lost goods worth 5*s*. 6*d*. for non-payment of tithes, and David Reynolds of Chirbury together with John Reynolds lost £2 3*s*. worth of goods for the same offence.[194] If the parish clergy and lay impropriators had allowed Quakers to escape not paying tithes their financial position could have been undermined. And also in common with all other religious dissenters who refused to take communion in their parish church Quakers were prohibited from holding office under the crown.

Despite legal toleration there was still some antagonism towards Quakers. When Broseley Friends bought some land on which to build their meeting house in 1691 some local people threatened to destroy at night what Friends had built during the day. One of the Broseley Friends criticised a local magistrate for an inadequate response to this threat, which resulted in his being imprisoned for contempt. He was advised by fellow Quakers to apologise for his criticism, as Quakers were anxious to gain favour with those in authority so 'as to moderate the people towards them'.[195] This was in stark contrast to their former opinion, when they were openly defiant of those in authority. Their earlier attitude was well exemplified by the phrase 'We are not men pleasers' which one of them had used in 1670 when their conventicle had been raided.

Conclusion

The Society of Friends emerged at a time of considerable political and religious flux. Their radical beliefs, forthright words and provocative behaviour offended their neighbours and the authorities alike, and aroused considerable animosity towards them. With the restoration of Charles II in 1660, and the inauguration of the Cavalier Parliament in 1661, together with the re-establishment of the Church of England in all its former power and glory, Quakers faced a period of considerable persecution. In addition to their challenging beliefs and behaviour Quakers were suspected of being plotters, potential or otherwise, against the government. In common with dissenters all over the country Shrewsbury's dissenters were viewed with much suspicion in the 1660s by a government which was worried about the restoration of the Commonwealth, only recently overthrown. All dissenters were looked upon as being likely to support insurrection. As Quakers would not take the Oaths of

Allegiance and Supremacy (since they were not prepared to swear any oath because the Bible said 'Swear not at all') they were particularly distrusted.

They caused considerable offence by their habit of not greeting people, not doffing their hats, and addressing their social superiors as 'thee' and 'thou', instead of the more formal 'you'. In the late 1650s and early 1660s Quakers interrupted services, harangued ministers in their pulpits, and told the people in the streets that their ways were evil and that they should turn from them, none of which was likely to endear them to anyone except fellow Quakers.[196] There were a number of people in Shrewsbury who were particularly antagonistic towards Quakers and who were instrumental in taking action against them. Some of them behaved very vindictively, especially John Loe, the gaoler, who put some Quakers into a cold wet dungeon normally used for felons, and beat William Gibson severely. Other foes were Thomas Bowers, the marshal, who raided many meetings, and a number of soldiers, both officers and men, especially Captain George Hosier, a soldier who had fought on the royalist side in the civil wars, and Ensign Thomas Thornes, who broke up Quaker meetings in the years either side of the Restoration. These were often joined by some youths from the town. Robert Fewtrell, the informer, was very active in the period immediately following the second Conventicles Act. Among the local magistrates Francis Thornes was instrumental in prosecuting Quakers who lived in the countryside around Shrewsbury, and the conservative Presbyterian, John Betton, thanked the captain of the soldiers for raiding a Quaker meeting, during which some Quakers were beaten and abused. Betton was a dissenter himself; being imprisoned in 1662 for a few days, he lost his burgess-ship and was removed from the office of alderman in the same year. He was described as a 'plotter' by the royalist, Francis, Lord Newport, excommunicated in 1664, and presented to Lichfield consistory court in 1665 for not communicating at Easter. Another Presbyterian magistrate unsympathetic to Quakers was John Walthall, who condoned violent action against them in 1660. He, like John Betton, was deprived of his office of alderman in the royalist purge of corporations in 1662.

Another mayor active against Quakers was Richard Taylor in the year 1670. Having been informed of Quaker meetings by Robert Fewtrell, he went to them, but found the Quakers sitting in silence. At one meeting they received him politely and asked him to sit down. The Quaker meeting continued in silence, which in effect meant that none could be convicted of attending a conventicle because there was no evidence of a religious meeting. The mayor told them to preach, and, when eventually one Quaker spoke, he arrested them. He had been compelled to attend their meetings, at Sunday lunchtimes, because the informant, Robert Fewtrell, had reported them to him. When Anne Hall, a leading Shrewsbury Quaker, wrote to Ellis Hooks[197] in 1670 she had described the mayor as 'very forward to execute the Act to the full'.[198] Fortunately for the Quakers, the informer Robert Fewtrell fell seriously ill. As no-one else in the town was prepared to be an informer, Quaker meetings were seldom raided thereafter. Since the Quakers met openly, and everyone, including the mayor, knew where they met, the fact that their meetings were rarely raided after Fewtrell's illness shows that neither the mayor, Richard Taylor, nor any other Shrewsbury magistrate, had any real appetite for raiding their meetings.[199] Away from Shrewsbury, the ministers Robert and Tobiah Ogdon of Broseley behaved vindictively towards Quakers in their parish.

Quakers must have been very difficult for the authorities to deal with. They were resolute in the face of prosecution, unco-operative, and knowledgeable about the law. They took particular care to inform themselves of the law as it related to them. For example, a copy of 1662 Quaker Act was written out on the first two pages of the local Book of Sufferings.[200] They were perfectly well prepared to stand up to soldiers, magistrates and judges alike, but without resorting to violence in any way. If Quaker reports are to be believed they always had the last word in any verbal exchange. Unlike all the other dissenting groups of the time, they were well organised at a national level. They corresponded with each other regularly, and reported their sufferings to London. They also made sure that those in prison were regularly visited and supplied with food. In addition they collected money at their meetings to support fellow Quakers who were suffering particular hardship.

Besides those antagonistic towards Quakers, there were those who viewed them more sympathetically. In 1660 some Shrewsbury townsmen intervened to save Thomas Jackson from further attack in the street by the marshal, Thomas Bowers, and others. Even some soldiers restrained their colleagues from assaulting Quakers at their meetings or while they were in prison. In 1670 Adam Holland, a churchwarden, returned Constantine Overton's distrained goods to him, and in the same year when officials came to distrain John Simpson's goods they took pity on him, and they took nothing away. In between the vindictive on the one hand and the kindly on the other, must have stood the majority of the people. Their attitude was probably 'live and let live'. They might not have liked the Quakers' behaviour in the early days, but as time went on and the Quakers became 'quiet', public hostility subsided. The people must have seen that they were harmless enough. The government came to understand that the Quakers were not interested in its overthrow, but were interested only in following their own religious beliefs and living peaceably with their neighbours. Local magistrates must have realised that to keep prosecuting them was largely futile. Those imprisoned, reportedly for long periods of time, were in fact allowed 'pretty much freedom', and it is obvious from the recorded activities of Quakers that many of them carried on living reasonably normal lives despite their 'imprisonment'.[201] There were also occasions when Quakers were freed

from gaol without sureties being given, with their 'words' only being taken that they would appear at the next sessions.

A number of Shrewsbury Quakers had action taken against them by the church. Most were excommunicated to the lesser degree, but there were a few (William Payne, Owen and Anne Roberts and Thomas Palmer) who, having refused to co-operate with the ecclesiastical courts for more than forty days, were imprisoned by local magistrates under writs *de excommunicato capiendo*. Magistrates had the right to hold them in prison until they repented and had been absolved. In theory these Quakers could have been held in prison indefinitely upon such a writ; in practice, they were not.

It is not known how many Quakers abandoned their cause because of prosecution or loss of faith. It is known, however, that Abraham Poyner and four of his children left the Society of Friends. Abraham Poyner had been a Quaker for about 22 years before marrying for a second time at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, in 1680. The fact that he married a woman who was not a Quaker might have been the reason for his leaving. Quakers were very opposed to their members 'marrying out' and made strenuous efforts to persuade them not to do so. By a third wife Abraham Poyner had another four children who were all baptised at St. Alkmund's, where he himself was buried in 1706. Four of his children by his first wife were baptised at St. Mary's in Shrewsbury in 1680 when in their teens.[202] In addition some people in Broseley who had previously attended Quaker meetings abandoned them when they saw how the Andrews family had suffered.

Not all Quakers seem to have been prosecuted. Some poor Quaker men do not appear in the records of quarter sessions or the diocesan presentments, e.g. 'Old Rees' & John Rees, two poor Friends, who were bequeathed money by Thomas Overton in 1687.[203] Many Quaker women were not prosecuted either because they were considered followers rather than leaders (and therefore not a threat), or they were not thought *worth* prosecuting because they were servants or poor widows with little or no money or goods to distrain. Among the women caught attending conventicles in 1670,[204] ten of them (six of whom had their fines imposed on others attending the same meeting) do not appear in the surviving Shrewsbury quarter sessions rolls as having been prosecuted for not attending their parish churches. If they had, they would have been liable for a fine of one shilling for every time they did not resort to their parish churches on a Sunday. A few women *were* prosecuted, such as the preachers, Anne Hall from Shrewsbury and Anne Lawrence from Montgomeryshire, who were arrested, fined and had their goods distrained. In addition, travelling women Quakers were usually apprehended at one of the gates as they came into town, held in custody for a night or two, and then escorted out of town back to where they came from. A rare local exception was the imprisonment of Katherine Peares and Deborah Briggs for two months in the house of correction in 1660.

The pattern (but not the degree) of prosecution of Quakers in Shrewsbury was the same as of other dissenters in the town. It was severest in the early and mid 1660s and immediately following the 1670 Conventicles Act. There was a cessation in 1672–3 following the Declaration of Indulgence, and then a steady, but not unduly harsh, period of prosecution until the Exclusion Crisis of 1679–81, which precipitated a period of severe repression, until respite came at the hands of James II, and freedom under William and Mary. Most of the Quakers prosecuted in the early 1660s were still being prosecuted in the 1680s; the same people appeared before the courts again and again. Despite their treatment many of them lived to a good age. Two of the principal sufferers of the years of persecution, John Simpson and Owen Roberts, were 90 and 86 respectively when they died in September 1713 and January 1719.[205] They had outlived their persecutors.

In the seventeenth century, the Quakers withstood all that the authorities and some local people had inflicted upon them. Their meetings were disturbed, some were beaten, others manhandled, and one or two were threatened with being shot by soldiers. They were imprisoned, fined, and they lost their household possessions, shop goods and working tools. They were perfectly prepared to suffer, as they felt that they were suffering for Christ's sake. 'We shall rather choose patiently to suffer than to sin against the God of our lives, nor can we or shall we rise up with carnal weapons to work our own deliverance'.[206] As Anne Hall and other Quakers had made plain in their writings, pleasing God was infinitely more important than pleasing men.

Notes on the Principal Sources

The main sources for this article are the Great Book of Sufferings, covering the years 1656 to 1676, the local Book of Sufferings for Shropshire, and the Shrewsbury quarter sessions rolls from 1659 to 1686. None of these sources is complete, and they all have quite substantial gaps in their contents. However, by using all these sources together, a fairly comprehensive record of the Quakers and their clashes with the law and its enforcers has been obtained.[207]

Notes

1 W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (henceforth Braithwaite, *Beginnings*), 2nd ed. 1955, 125, 158, 214, 388 note: Elizabeth Fletcher of Kendal and Elizabeth Leavens were also active in Cheshire and south Lancashire in 1654. In addition they visited Oxford in that year where they went into colleges and churches, preaching repentance and declaring the word of the Lord. They were attacked by scholars and the authorities alike. Elizabeth Fletcher, who was sixteen years of age and a modest, grave young woman, despite her misgivings, went naked through the streets of Oxford as a sign. In 1655 she travelled to Ireland and returned there in 1657 for more missionary work.
2 Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 3: Elizabeth Leavens (or Leven) of Kendal became the wife of the weaver Thomas Holme, who was the apostle of Quakerism in South Wales.
3 Shropshire Archives (henceforth SA): 4430/MM/1/4/, 28.
4 For biographies of all known Shrewsbury dissenters, including Quakers, see J. V. Cox, *The People of God, Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, 2 vols., Shropshire Record Series, **IX-X**, 2006–7.
5 G. Fox, *The Journal*, 1998, 221.
6 Shropshire Parish Register Society (henceforth S.P.R.S.), *Nonconformist Registers*, **i,** 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 1, 18, 28.
7 *The Priest's wickednesse and cruelty laid open and made manifest by Priest Smith of Cressedge, persecuting the servants of the Lord whose outward dwellings is in and about Shrewsbury, as also, the proceedings of Judge Nicholas and the court of justice, so called, against them so prosecuted by the priest at the last generall assizes holden at Bridgenorth for the county of Salop*, London, 1657. The account was signed by William Payne, Constant [sic] Overton, John Payne, Homfr. Overton, Thomas Jenkes, John Farmer and James Farmer.
8 John and James Farmer were brothers, sometimes described as of Cound and sometimes as of Condover. Their parents, John Farmer and Lucy Felton, were married at Berrington in 1621, their son John was baptised there in 1626, and their son James was baptised at Cound in 1632. Their sister Elizabeth was also a Quaker, married firstly to John Yardley of Hoult, Denbighshire and for a second time to [——] Andrews, both Quakers. Jane Farmer, daughter of John and Lucy, was baptised at Cound in 1629 and became the wife of Constantine Overton. It is possible that the Lucy Farmer, married to Thomas Sommerfield at the Quaker meeting house in 1663, was another daughter of John and Lucy Farmer, but her baptism has not been found. John Farmer the elder, of Cound Lane End, was buried at Cound on 13 February 1657. His widow, Lucy Farmer, was buried at Cound on 10 March 1680/1. James Farmer, the son of Lucy Farmer, assigned his right to the administration of his mother's estate to his kinsman, and possible principal creditor, Aron Downes of Stanton on Hine Heath, yeoman. Probate was granted by Lichfield consistory court, 19 October 1687. No reason was given, but the delay in the grant of probate, and its assignment to another, suggest that James Farmer could not obtain probate because of his Quakerism: S.P.R.S., 14, *Berrington Parish Register*, 37, 39; S.P.R.S., 2, *Cound Parish Register*, 14, 15, 35; *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc., 4th Ser,* **5,** 1915, 303–5; Lichfield Record Office (henceforth LRO): B/C/11, will of Lucy Farmer, proved 19 Oct. 1687; S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers,* **i**, 1903*, Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 2.
9 A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 1934, 449: Samuel Smith lost his livings at Cound and Cressage in 1660.
10 Including Richard Bagot, a local Presbyterian, elected mayor of Shrewsbury in 1661, and removed from office in August 1662 by royal commission: Presbyterians were not necessarily more tolerant of Quakers and other sectaries than adherents of the Established Church: M. Goldie, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691*, **i**, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, 2007, 235.
11 James, 2, 9: 'But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin'.
12 *'The Priest's wickednesse…',* 6.
13 R. Davies, *An Account of the convincement, exercises, services and travels of…Richard Davies,* 6th ed. 1825, 32.
14 R. F. Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire, 1662–1816*, 1964, 7, note 29.
15 Religious Society of Friends, Library, Great Book of Sufferings (henceforth GBS): GBS/2, Salop, 1.
16 The Quakers were mistaken in reporting that John Betton was mayor in November 1659, as he went out of office in September of that year. John Walthall became mayor in September 1659 and served until September 1660.
17 GBS/2, Salop, 6.
18 GBS/2, Salop, 1.
19 This was probably a considerable exaggeration.
20 GBS/2, Salop, 6.
21 D. Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640–1642*, 2006, 117.
22 Alderman John Walthall was removed from the corporation in 1662 by royal commission.
23 GBS/2, Salop, 6.
24 GBS/2, Salop, 6.
25 W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (henceforth Braithwaite, *Second Period*), 1961, 236; Thomas Jackson died in Bristol on 27 May 1665 and was buried in 'friends buryeing place': S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist* Registers, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of* Friends, 19.
26 Also called Bowyer and Bowres.
27 GBS/2. Salop, 1.
28 GBS/2. Salop, 6.
29 S.P.R.S., Register of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1911, 138: 'Mr Thomas Thornes, Ensign at the castle' was buried on 15 December 1666 [surname erroneously given as Thomas in printed edition].
30 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 3.
31 This was the upper of the two Castle Gates, adjacent to the School (now the public library). It was used for the town's prisoners and sometimes for county prisoners also.
32 http://www.northumberlandnationalpark.org.uk/understanding/historyarchaeology/historicvillageatlas/elsdonvillageatlas/elsdonhistory/borderreivingreligiousdiscord.htm <2 August 2007>. John Sheild disturbed the rector of Elsdon, Northumberland, in his pulpit in 1660. At the end of 1660 he travelled to Quaker meetings in the Staffordshire moorlands

with Oliver Atherton, James Harrison and Richard Moore at the suggestion of George Fox: Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 392 note.

33 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=22911 <2 August 2007>; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 392 note. At the end of 1660 Oliver Atherton of Ormskirk, Lancashire, went with James Harrison, John Sheild and Richard Moore to Quaker meetings in Leek and other places in the Staffordshire moorlands, at the suggestion of George Fox. Later, he was prosecuted by the countess of Derby for non-payment of tithes and imprisoned. He stayed in prison for nearly two and a half years, which severely affected his health and brought about his death: http://www.hallvworthington.com/George_Fox_Selections /foxmiracles.html <3 August 2007>.

34 S. P. R. S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 19: Richard Ward of Ruyton-of-the-Eleven-Towns died on 6 May 1671, and was buried in Friends' burial ground in Shrewsbury.

35 http://www.geocities.com/wbrackett14/Wooldridge.htm: He may have been the Thomas Woolrich who purchased 1000 acres from William Penn, and settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, *c*.1681.

36 His surname appears in the records in various forms, viz. Hewson, Holston, Houldstone, Houlson, Houston, Hughson, Hulston, Huson, Houlson. It is believed to have been pronounced 'Hewson'.

37 Also appears as Bold and Bould. http://worldconnect.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op= AHN&db= danbuckley62&id =I11876 <3 August 2007>; http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/QUAKER-BRITISH-ISLES/2006–11/1162565798 <3 August 2007>: Possibly the Benjamin Bolt born in 1633 in Knowsley, Cheshire. A Benjamin Boult of Liverpool, shoemaker, was a legatee of the Quaker Henry Thorpe who died on 9 June 1710 at Knowsley, Lancashire.

38 I. Carr and I. Atherton, '*The Civil War in Staffordshire in the Spring of 1646: Sir William Brereton's Letter Book, April-May 1646*', Staffordshire Record Society, 4th Ser., **XXI**, 174: George Hosier, son of George Hosier of Cruckton, was governor of Apley castle under Lord Capel and later Sir William Vaughan. He was made governor of Shrewsbury castle at the Restoration. By the time of his death in 1680 he had risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

39 http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~ttg13/bronfadoc.html <2 August 2007>; J. Besse, *Sufferings of Early Quakers; Ireland, Scotland and Wales, including Monmouthshire & Shropshire, 1653 to 1691*, 2003, 748: On 1 December 1661 Brian Sixsmith and other Quakers were dragged from a meeting in Wrexham by soldiers, and charged with an unlawful assembly. They were put into the gaol in Ruthin in Denbighshire. In 1676 he was a witness at the wedding of Thomas Wynne, Richard Moore's former apprentice, at Hadshaw East, Lancashire.

40 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 3.

41 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 3; J. Miller, 'A Suffering People: English Quakers and their Neighbours *c*.1650–*c*.1700', *Past & Present*, **188 (1)**, 2005, 76: In the 1650s Thomas Hill and John Milner denounced tithes at Tarvin, Cheshire, and were attacked by the local priest and his parishioners. Hill had his hair pulled out and was hit with a club. Some people threw stones at them, but, when that had stopped, Hill and Milner rode back through the crowd.

42 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 3.

43 SA: 3365/2257: in 1670, when three Quaker meetings were raided, the quarter sessions' lists of those attending showed that the ratio of women to men was 16–11, 19–14, and 19–7.

44 http://www.allredfamily.org/researchreportmarch2003solomon.htm; http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~ttg13/bronfadoc.html <2 August 2007>; http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/ lobby/2767/lippcott.html <2 August 2007>; Braithwaite, *Second Period,* 399, 404 and note: James Harrison from Kendal became involved in the Quaker movement during its early years and helped to organise many Quaker meetings. He was arrested several times as a consequence. He became one of the most trusted of William Penn's friends. Penn wrote to Harrison in August 1681 concerning setting up a colony in America. Harrison supported the idea and emigrated to Pennsylvania on the ship 'Submission' and was living in Bucks County with members of his family by 1682. He died in 1687 and his widow Anne Harrison, née Heath, died in 1690.

45 http://www.dsolar.com/myfamily/d0003/g0000050.html <3 August 2007>: John Bancroft was born 1633 at Etchell, Cheadle parish, Cheshire. He is reported to have been a Quaker minister for forty years.

46 Surname also spelt Buckstones.

47 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4.

48 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5; SA: 3365/2250.

49 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.

50 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=16041 <1 August 2007>: In 1727 the Exhall Trust was established when land in Exhall was bought with a legacy from Robert Astbury for the relief of poor Friends of the Coventry Meeting.

51 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4.

52 Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 237 and note: John Whitehouse was from Staffordshire. There are references to John Whitehouse, a 'hat man', in the Horsleydown Monthly Meeting minutes in 1667.

53 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, gives the date as 2 January; GBS/2, Salop, 7, gives the date as 16 January.

54 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4.

55 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.

56 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4.

57 R. Gough, *The History of Myddle* (henceforth Gough, *Myddle*), 1981, 172.

58 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.

59 G. Fox, *The Journal*, 1998, 107–8, 319–20, 327, 396, 409; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, article on John Braithwaite; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, 375; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 248 note, 260; Thomas Briggs of Bolton-le-Sands near Carnforth, Lancashire, was 'convinced' by the answers which George Fox gave to the Bolton minister Jacques at the Lancaster sessions in October 1652. Manchester Meeting owed its origin to Thomas Briggs. He became a faithful minister of the gospel, accompanying George Fox on some of his travels, including to Kent, Devon, Ireland and Hampshire. He died *c*.1685. '*An account of some of the travels and sufferings of…Thomas Briggs*' consisting of an autobiographical essay, letter and tributes, including one from George Fox, was published in 1685.

60 Richard Oatley and Francis Thornes.

61 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4.

62 http://uk.geocities.com/daves_ancestors/surnames/leadbetter.html: Anne Atherton formerly Leadbetter, born 1631.

63 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.
64 For a full account of Richard Moore's life, see J. V. Cox, *The People of God*, part 2, Shropshire Record Series, **X**, 2007, 17–21. See also http://www.british-history.ac.uk/ report.asp?compid=22911 <2 August 2007>: He and Oliver Atherton, two Quaker missionaries, visited Leek in Staffordshire in 1660.
65 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.
66 SA: 4430/MM /1/4, 4. 'One Gefferyes of Stanton' was described by Gough as a 'topping Quaker': Gough, *Myddle*, 172. His son Jeremiah was buried in Friends' burial ground in Shrewsbury on 15 March 1673: S. P. R. S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 20.
67 He was one of those royalists captured at Shrewsbury when it fell to the Parliamentary forces in 1645, together with Robert Sandford (see note 74) and others: H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (1825), **i**, 455.
68 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 4. See Gough, *Myddle*, 172–4, for a less sympathetic account of Richard Clarke and his religious activities.
69 SA: 5709, 4.
70 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 5.
71 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 6.
72 SA: 3365/2250.
73 http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~ttg13/bronfadoc.html <2 August 2007>; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, article on William Gibson; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 303: William Gibson was born in 1628/9 in Lancashire. By 1654 he was a Quaker, and suffered imprisonment several times before visiting in Shrewsbury in 1661. He married in Lancashire in 1662, but subsequently moved to London. Despite suffering more imprisonment and distraint of goods for non-payment of tithes, he played a prominent part in national affairs for the Quakers. As a leading and respected Quaker leader he was chosen to go to the north to meet Westmorland Friends in 1676 about an internal dispute, and he travelled to Bristol about the same dispute in February 1678. In 1684 on the way back from Lancashire to London he fell ill and died. William Gibson was buried at Bunhill Fields cemetery in a funeral attended by more than a thousand mourners. The mourners included his friend Thomas Wynne, Richard Moore's former apprentice, who was visiting England on business from his home in Maryland. Gibson bequeathed several hundred pounds to his wife and children and also 500 acres of land in Pennsylvania.
74 Robert Sandford was a justice on the county bench at this time: R. L. Kenyon (ed.), *Abstract of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, January 1660–April 1694,* Shropshire County Records, 1908, *passim*. Robert Sandford, a royalist, was seized at the capture of Shrewsbury, and taken prisoner at the same time as his father, Arthur, a zealous royalist: H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, **i**, 455.
75 W. C. Braithwaite, Second Period, 236; 248 note, 411, 691; Religious Society of Friends, Library, Dictionary of Quaker Biography; J, Besse, Sufferings of early Quakers, Ireland, Scotland and Wales…1653–1691, 2003, 750; Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, article on Alexander Parker. John Moone [the elder], husbandman, was born in Carhouse in the parish of Garstang, Lancashire. He became a Quaker, and then a notable Quaker minister. He wrote several books, published 1657–c.1660, viz. The true light hath made manifest darknesse (1657); The true light which shines in the heart…(c.1658); The Revelation of Jesus Christ unto J. Moone in the fourth moneth in the year 1658 (1658); The Great trumpet of the Lord God Almighty…blown and sounded out unto those that are ready to perish, that they may return (c.1660). He was attacked in print by John Price's The Sun outshining the Moon, (1658). John Moone is reported to have died near Garstang in 1689.
76 http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/NJ/2004–01/1074570567 <4 August 2007>: William Gibson must have been released before his marriage in Lancashire in 1662.
77 GBS/2, Salop, 3, 7.
78 T. Auden, 'Early Quakerism in Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 4th ser., **5,** 1915, 305.
79 S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 19: Richard Turner was buried on 25 July 1664 in Friends' burial ground in Shrewsbury.
80 SA: 3365/1325.
81 Local Quakers called it 'high mass day': J. Miller, ''A Suffering People': English Quakers and their neighbours, *c*.1650–*c*.1700', *Past & Present*, **188 (1)**, 2005, 96–7. Quakers opening their shops on Christmas Day and other holy days were highly unpopular with their neighbours.
82 Also known as Henry Richards.
83 GBS/2, Salop, 3.
84 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 7; GBS/2, Salop, 3.
85 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 7.
86 GBS/2, Salop, 3.
87 GBS/4/2, 387.
88 By 'sober people' he meant 'moderate' dissenters: Michael Watts, *The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution*, 1978, 228.
89 R. F. Skinner, 'Nonconformity in Shropshire 1662–1815' (London University Ph. D. thesis), 1967, 58.
90 Thomas Sommerfield married Lucy Farmer at a Quaker meeting on 2 January 1663; two witnesses to the marriage were John and James Farmer. Thomas Sommerfield was buried in Friends' burial ground in Shrewsbury on 24 December 1666 'in the site [*sic*] of many witnesses: S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 2, 18.
91 Thomas Orpe was instituted vicar of Stanton on Hine Heath in 1651, but driven out from there and various other places during the Commonwealth. He was re-instituted at Stanton by Francis Thornes, Esq. on 2 September 1662. He died in 1677. See A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 1948, 306, for more details of his life.
92 His wife Katharine was buried in their garden in Hawkstone on 3 December 1661: S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 18.
93 For comparable values of horses and mares during this period, see B. Trinder and J. Cox, *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford*, 1980, 82.
94 A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 1934, 318: Edward Lawrence was a friend and colleague of Philip Henry.

95 GBS/2, Salop, 4.
96 Amias Vaughan was instituted into Hinstock rectory on 7 November 1671: *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, 4th ser., **4,** 1914, 188.
97 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 9.
98 GBS/2, Salop, 4.
99 GBS/2, Salop, 4.
100 Probably Richard Beeston, vicar of Shrewsbury St. Alkmund.
101 SA: 3365/2253/19; J. Miller, ''A Suffering People': English Quakers and their neighbours, *c*.1650–*c*.1700', *Past & Present*, **188 (1)**, 2005, 92 note 142: When a Quaker was being buried in a Quaker burial ground, his non-Quaker family objected violently.
102 99 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 7: Eight local Quakers, John Millington, Constantine Overton, James Farmer, Thomas Jackson, William Trattle, Abraham Poyner, Richard Turner and John Houlston went to prison, and from there appeared before quarter sessions on 16 September 1663, and they were still in prison on 12 April 1664.
103 SA: 3365/2713: Royal Commission for the removal and appointment of the mayor, chamberlain, aldermen, common councillors, burgesses, etc. whose last day of power was 24 March 1663. Many of those who had supported Parliament during the Interregnum were dismissed from their offices or lost their burgess-ships, including Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, as well as these two Quakers.
104 Abraham Poyner and his wife, Richard Howells, Samuel Everall and Sarah his wife, William Payne, Arthur Poole, Margaret Payne, Richard Turner and his wife, John Simson, Mr. Henry Rawson, Constantine Overton and Jane his wife, Thomas Jaxson, Thomas Jenks, John Millington and his wife, William Trottle and his wife, Widow Winsor and Richard Moore.
105 SA: 3365/2253.
106 GBS/2, Salop, 4.
107 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 8.
108 GBS/2, Salop, 8, 23 February 1664/5.
109 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 8.
110 R. L. Kenyon (ed.), *Abstract of the Orders Made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, January 1660–April 1694*, Shropshire County Records, 1908, 90.
111 Thomas Overton, John Houlston, James Farmer, Owen Roberts, Arthur Poole, Samuel Everall, Randle Olcott, Richard Lowndes, John Simpson, Joseph Fletcher and Richard Uggon, 'with divers more unknown'.
112 In this instance, local magistrates were prepared to take Friends' words that they would appear at the next sessions, instead of requiring recognisances or, failing that, further imprisonment.
113 5 marks was £3 6*s*. 8*d*.
114 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 9.
115 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, parts 1 & 2, Shropshire Record Series, **IX-X**, 2006–7, *passim*. For other examples of lenient treatment of religious dissenters see M. Watts, *The Dissenters; from the Reformation to the French Revolution*, 1978, 234.
116 GBS/2, Salop, 5.
117 Arthur Poole, John Houlston, Samuel Everall, Owen Roberts, James Farmer, John Simpson, Randle Olcott [also spelled Alcox], Thomas Overton, Richard Uggon and Richard Lowndes.
118 Matthew 5, 34, 'But I say unto you, Swear not at all'.
119 Matthew 5, 37, 'But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil'.
120 SA: 4430/MM/1/2, 11.
121 LRO: B/V/1/72, parishes of St. Chad's & Holy Cross, Shrewsbury, and Condover.
122 Probably at a house belonging to John Millington, who is known to have lived in Shoplatch.
123 Convicted for the first time were Randle Alcox, Constantine Overton, John Millington, senr., William Fallowfield, John Houlston and Richard Llowns [also spelled Lowndes]. Convicted for a second time were Abraham Poyner, William Trattle, Richard Moore, Owen Roberts, Thomas Strangward, Thomas Overton and John Simson: SA: 3365/2254.
124 SA: 3365/2254, bundle (a).
125 The lesser form of excommunication (*ab ingressu ecclesiae*) involved exclusion from divine worship and the sacrament, and an excommunicate person could not be a witness to, or an executor of, a will. The severer form of excommunication (*de excommunicato capiendo*) had additional civil penalties, which could involve being detained in prison, as was plainly the case here, and also in others.
126 GBS/4/2, Salop, 387.
127 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, part 1, Shropshire Record Series, **X**, 2007, 54–5.
128 GBS/4/2, Salop, 387.
129 SA: 3365/2254 bundle (b), 3365/2255 bundle (b) & 2265/2256.
130 LRO: B/V/1/74, parishes of Holy Cross and St. Julian in Shrewsbury.
131 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, part 1, Shropshire Record Series, **IX**, 2006, 87. Anne Granger was taken to task in 1673 by the Quakers for marrying a man who was not a Quaker: SA: 3763/34/2: *VCH* notes on Acton Burnell. She is probably the 'Anne Heynes, Quaker' of Acton Burnell, wife of Thomas Heynes, presented to Lichfield consistory court in 1679 and 1685 for being a Quaker and not coming to church. An 'Ann "A." Haines' witnessed a marriage at the Quaker meeting house in Shrewsbury in November 1705, and 'Ann Haines' of Shrewsbury was buried in the Quaker burial ground in Shrewsbury on 12 September 1721.
132 SA: 3763/36/1: *VCH* notes on Condover parish.
133 John Swinshawe lived in Edgmond in a house taxed on one hearth in 1672. Could he be the 'John Swinyard' buried on 21 February 1681/2, recorded in the Shrewsbury Friends burial register?: The National Archives (henceforth TNA), RG6/1003, 6.
134 Robert Baker lived in Edgmond in a house taxed on one hearth in 1672.
135 William Tasker lived in Edgmond in a house taxed on one hearth in 1672.

136 John Baker lived in Edgmond in a house taxed on one hearth in 1672: *Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll* 1672, 1949, 94–5 for all those mentioned in endnotes 133–6. John Baker of Edgmond was buried on 26 April 1672 in Friends' burial ground in Shrewsbury: TNA, RG6/1003, 4.
137 GBS/2, Salop, 5.
138 Entitled 'An Act to prevent and suppresse seditious conventicles'.
139 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, part 1, Shropshire Record Series, **IX**, 2006, xxvi-xxvii.
140 He evidently served in the Parliamentary army.
141 Salop was a term used for both Shrewsbury and Shropshire.
142 Henry Prichard, Robert Line, Sydney Phillips and George Woodward.
143 SA: 3365/2257; GBS2/ Salop, 5.
144 Thirty-three Quakers met in Shoplatch (probably at a house belonging to John Millington) between 1 and 2 o'clock.
145 GBS/2, Salop, 5.
146 SA: 3365/2257.
147 Now called the English Bridge.
148 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D SF2, 565: When John Simpson died aged 89 in 1713, his death was recorded in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Wales, where he was described as a 'public Friend'.
149 GBS/4/2, Salop, 388; SA: 3365/2257.
150 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D SF, 320: Minutes of meeting held 28th 11th month [January] 1672 [1673 new style].
151 Staffordshire Record Office, D 3159/1/1, f. 13v: Friends Quarterly Meeting, minute book, meeting held at Stafford, 4 October 1675.
152 SA: 3365/2257.
153 GBS/2, Salop, 5.
154 GBS/4/2, Salop, 387.
155 GBS/2 Salop, 5.
156 SA: 3365/2258.
157 SA: 3365/2257.
158 SA: 3365/2257.
159 GBS/4/2, Salop, 388.
160 GBS/2, Salop, 4.
161 SA: 3365/2258, bundle with '1670' tag.
162 SA: 3365/2258 bundle with '1671' tag.
163 SA: P257/W/5/3/1.
164 She was the daughter of John Farmer of Cound Lane End, who was buried at Cound on 17 February 1656/7: S.P.R.S., 2, *Cound Parish Register*, 24.
165 It is likely that 'brother-in-law' was meant, as Andrews was her married name. Her maiden name was Farmer.
166 *VCH Salop*, **X**, 287, He may have been the nephew of the incumbent Robert Ogdon, who assisted him as his curate from 1671.
167 T. Auden, 'Early Quakerism in Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.,* 4th ser., **5**, 1915, 307; GBS/4/2, Salop, 388–9.
168 SA: 3365/2260; 3365/2261.
169 William Evans and Thomas Evans (eds.), The Friends' Library: comprising journals, doctrinal treatises and other writings of the Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, 1837–1850, XI, 431, 'persons appointed to meet upon account of Friends' sufferings, [for] Shropshire, Constantine Overton at Shrewsbury'.
170 SA: 3365/2262; 3365/2266; 3365/2264 (2).
171 S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 3: Owen Roberts and Anne Hall married at a Quaker meeting on 20 April 1674.
172 GBS/4/2, Salop, 390; SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 31.
173 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 31.
174 LRO: B/V/1/78.
175 LRO, B/V/1/81.
176 Except the parish of Shrewsbury St. Mary, which was a royal peculiar.
177 *Staffordshire Studies*, **XI**, 57; M. Goldie, *The Entring book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691*, **i**, Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs, 2007, 247. The Bishop of Lichfield between 1661 and 1670 was John Hacket, a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in the 1640s. During his term of office as bishop, his dean was Thomas Wood, whom he criticised for his leniency towards dissenters. Wood's successor as bishop was William Lloyd, another with a more tolerant attitude towards dissenters than some in the Established Church.
178 Thomas Overton and his wife of Holy Cross, Elizabeth, the wife of Henry Wright, Constantine Overton and his wife, Widow Corbett, Thomas Palmer and his wife, Owen Roberts and his wife, all of St. Chad's, Catherine Trattle, John Simpson and his wife of St. Julian's.
179 LRO: B/V/1/87.
180 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D SF 320: North Wales Quarterly Meeting, minutes, 25 January 1680/1, 30 October 1683, 29 January 1683/4. The pages for July 1681 to October 1683 are blank.
181 SA: 3365/2266–2271: These were: John Simpson, tanner, Constantine Overton, grocer, and his wife and his daughter, Sarah Overton, John Millington and his wife, Margaret the wife of Reynold ap Richard, William Trattle and his wife, Catherine Winsor, widow, Owen Roberts, baker, and his wife, Elizabeth the wife of Henry Wright, Widow Corbett, Thomas Overton and his wife, Thomas Palmer and his wife.
182 SA: 3365/2430: Shrewsbury borough quarter sessions, order book, 1680–1719, court held July 1684.
183 David Anderson, 'Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild. Ship Vine', http://www.immigrantships.net/v3/1600v3/vine16840717.html .
184 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, part 2, Shropshire Record Series, **X**, 2007, 39.

185 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, article on William Gibson; TNA, PROB 11/395, will of John Millington proved 20 May 1689.
186 SA: 3365/2270.
187 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D SF 320: North Wales Quarterly Meeting, minutes, April 1688.
188 Properly entitled 'An Act for exempting their majesties Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws'.
189 SA: 3365/2430: sessions held 15 January 1691/2; *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.*, **LXXII** (1997), 65; S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, iv: two messuages and their gardens on St. John's Hill had been bought as far back as 1670 by Constantine Overton and assigned to trustees.
190 R. L. Kenyon, *Abstract of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, January 1660–April 1694*, Shropshire County Records, 1908, 140.
191 R. L. Kenyon, *Abstract of the Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire, July 1694–January 1708–9*, Shropshire County Records, n.d., 172.
192 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D SF 320: Society of Friends North Wales Quarterly Meeting [incl. Shropshire], 1668–1752, minutes of meetings held between 26 July 1692 and 29 July 1701.
193 Hereford Record Office, Hereford consistory court, Administration of Thomas Palmer, granted 10 October 1704.
194. J. Besse, *Sufferings of Early Quakers; Ireland, Scotland and Wales, including Monmouthshire & Shropshire, 1653 to 1691*, 2003, 762.
195 J. Miller, ''A Suffering People': English Quakers and their neighbours, *c*.1650–*c*.1700', *Past & Present*, **188 (1)**, 2005, 102.
196 D. Scott, *Quakerism in York, 1650–1720*, 1991, 10, Scott found, for example, that there was no record of Quakers disrupting church services in York after 1661.
197 Ellis Hookes was a leading Quaker. Based in London, he was clerk to the Society for twenty-four years and served all the important meetings. He wrote more than twenty books: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
198 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, part 2, Shropshire Record Series, **X**, 2007, 5: Richard Taylor may have been 'Mr. Taylor, the attorney' who complained about Henry Maurice, the Independent minister, preaching in 'holes and corners' in 1672 (when the Declaration of Indulgence was in force), so it was not only Quakers of whom he disapproved.
199 J. Miller, ''A Suffering People': English Quakers and their neighbours, *c*.1650–*c*.1700', *Past & Present*, **188 (1)**, 2005, 95, reported that some magistrates were 'not at home' when informers called or 'not willing to be spoken with'.
200 SA: 4430/MM/1/4, 1–2.
201 J. V. Cox, *The People of God; Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, parts 1 & 2, Shropshire Record Series, **IX-X**, 2006–7, *passim*.
202 SA: Ms. transcript of St. Alkmund's Parish Register; S.P.R.S., Register of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1911, 166.
203 LRO: B/C/11: will of Thomas Overton, proved by Lichfield consistory court, 19 October 1687.
204 SA: 3365/2257.
205 S.P.R.S., *Nonconformist Registers*, **i**, 1903, *Shrewsbury Society of Friends*, 23.
206 SA; 4430/MM/1/4, 11.
207 Religious Society of Friends, Library, GBS/2, Salop and GBS/4/2, Salop. Quotations from the Great Book of Sufferings are reproduced with the permission of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain. SA: 4430/MM/1/4: 'A Book recording many grievous prosecutions and sufferings for truth's sake in Shropshire'; SA: 3365/2249 to 3365/2271: Shrewsbury Quarter Sessions rolls, 1659 to 1686. The surviving Quarter Session order books begin in 1680.

THE HISTORY OF THE TERN COMPANY

By PETER KING

Abstract: Tern Mill was an unusual eighteenth century metallurgical works in several respects. Initially (and exceptionally), it combined ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. Later, it was concerned in a major financial scandal. Finally, its position, adjoining one of the great mansions of Shropshire, led to its demise, for the mill was so close to Attingham Park (then known as Tern Hall) that the forge hammer made the house virtually uninhabitable to its owner. This in turn meant that it was utterly obliterated when its owner wanted to sell it in 1756, and for aesthetic, rather than economic reasons. At the cautionary level it demonstrates the rather different attitude to business of Quakers from others. Additional interest is provided by the existence of a lock at the mouth of the river Tern, enabling barges to pass up the river.[1]

The Tern Company operated works near the mouth of the river Tern with various others nearby. It began as a Quaker firm mining copper and making brass, but also slit iron. Iron was its main business from 1714, when William Wood of Wolverhampton bought into the firm, which was expanded, by Thomas Harvey (its founding manager) and Wood leasing or building further works. The business was returned in 1729 to Harvey, who had suffered considerably due to Wood's impecuniosity. At his death, the works were poorly stocked, but his son-in-law Joshua Gee provided finance to Benjamin Harvey and then took over the business in 1735. He continued it until 1756 when he retired to Cumberland to oversee his mines at Frizington. In the late 1740s Gee was perhaps producing more iron from his forges than any other Shropshire ironmaster. Aspects of this have been dealt with by others.[2] The major source for this account is litigation records. Some of these were discovered by Janet Butler, but sadly she died before completing her thesis (on John Wilkinson) or publishing her conclusions.[3] This paper is thus dedicated to her memory.

By the eighteenth century, some industrial enterprises were already carried on, both by Quakers and by non-Quakers, on a substantial scale. This was sometimes through a partnership and sometimes through a body corporate, usually a chartered company. The capital of these companies might amount to thousands of pounds, and sometimes tens of thousands. Capital on this scale was often beyond what one person could finance. This meant that loans or equity stakes had to be obtained elsewhere. With their strong moral stance against contracting debts that could not be paid, the Quakers stand out as different from other denominations. Bankrupts (and others who could not pay their debts) were disowned, excluded from their meetings and Society. This was for a time the fate of Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, who was partly an innocent victim. Conversely, their own name for themselves, 'Friends', seems to have applied literally, creating an atmosphere of trust, where the non-active 'sleeping' partners did not have to worry that the active ones would make an undue profit at their expense. This meant that Quaker firms often had more partners (and with smaller stakes) than non-Quaker ones, who were more likely to raise capital by borrowing it on the security of bonds.[4] The Tern Company, examined here, began as a Quaker company. It then received substantial investment from outsiders, and ultimately becoming a speculative joint stock company. Later, the works were bought back by the original manager (still a Quaker) and were continued by Quaker relatives.

In the 1690s there was a convergence between ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. First, Sir Clement Clerke and his son Talbot (later Sir Talbot) developed the reverberatory furnace, which they applied to smelting lead and copper, and then to remelting pig iron for foundry purposes.[5] Secondly, Abraham Darby who was a partner in the Baptist Mills brass works at Bristol may have transferred brassfounding techniques to iron after he built the Cheese Lane foundry, leading to his patent of 1707 for casting iron pots in sand. Darby, with Edward Lloyd, John

Andrews, and Arthur Thomas, built brass works at Baptist Mills in 1702. Its capital was increased to £8000 in 1706 by the introduction of new partners.[6] Shipments of 'callamy' (calamine – zinc ore) up the river Severn suggest the existence of a brass works in the Severn valley, almost certainly at Coalbrookdale, the partners in 1712 being Caleb Lloyd, Jeffrey Pinnell, Abraham Darby and Thomas Harvey, all Quakers and most with Bristol connections.[7] The existence of brass works there is confirmed by documents from the 1720s.[8]

The business was expanded in June 1710 by the acquisition (on long lease) of Tern Mill, the lowest mill on the river Tern, previously three dilapidated corn mills. The partners were Jeffrey Pinnell (merchant), James Peters (soap boiler), Samuel Cox (tobacconist), George Bridges (distiller), and Caleb Lloyd (grocer), all of Bristol; Graffin Prankard of Somerton, subsequently a Bristol merchant; Thomas Harvey (ironmonger), and Peter Smythes (chirgeon), both of Stourbridge.[9] Darby was not a partner, but the lease was negotiated by him and Harvey. Peters and Prankard were his partners at Coalbrookdale. No doubt, his resources were fully engaged at Coalbrookdale, leading him to withdraw from his brass interests at this point,[10] but his two partners were involved. The initial objective was to build a 'rowling mill to rowl brass plates'; the landlord's brother warned him that smelting produced smoke and stench, and the lease specifically excluded the erection of a rape mill, a mill for milling leather, oil mills, smelting houses, and any mill, engine or workhouse that would be a nuisance. The company built a mill for rolling brass plates and iron hoops, and for slitting bar iron into rods for making nails, costing £150. They followed this with wire mill, a forge, a furnace for converting iron to steel, and shops for about 40 men, as well as rebuilding the mill-house in brick as apartments for 8 workmen.[11] Harvey (the manager) leased part of Tern Hall.[12] By 1713, the landlord was evidently unhappy, and harassing his men in various ways. Harvey appealed to a 'respected friend though unknown' (probably Richard Hill), who must have dissuaded Thomas Harwood, the landlord, from this.[13] Most of the uses were probably innocuous, but the forge would have been noisy and he could probably have forced its removal as a nuisance, something his successors long regretted.[14]

The company smelted its brass at Coalbrookdale. It may also have used the nearly century-old steel furnaces at Coalbrookdale (once of Sir Basil Brooke). Their history is unclear in the period, immediately prior to conversion to a malthouse *c*.1728.[15] In April 1710, 'Abraham Darby and Company of the City of Bristol' leased copper mines at Harmear or Middle Hill in Myddle, the agreement also being signed by P. Smythies. This may have encouraged others to open mines, for example at Clive.[16] It is probable that this was all one business, and probably distinct from the Baptist Mills Company at Bristol. That was a joint stock company, which operated for a significant period. This Shropshire brass company might have been similar, but this Quaker partnership seems to have been dissolved in 1714. This may have resulted from the copper mine being exhausted. Brass making probably ended in 1714 when the equipment for it was shipped down to Bristol.[17] This also coincides with Darby renewing the lease of the Coalbrookdale Ironworks (prior to his erection of the New Blast Furnace there),[18] but the copper works there seem to have been on freehold land.[19] The number of partners was high for the period, but it was typical of larger Quaker businesses of that time, and probably reflects the antipathy of Quakers for debt.

The 1714 Partnership

Harvey had settled at Tern and devoted his time to building the works. Presumably, with the exhaustion of the mines, the works had turned to iron, but the Bristol partners evidently left. Harvey thus needed new partners for the Tern and Dale Company (as it seems to have been called). He admitted William Wood and several other persons into shares in the works in 1714.[20] Another source gives the names of the partners as Wood, Harvey, John Fowler (mercer), John Hayes, William Tomkys (ironmonger), and William Jordan.[21] John Hayes was a Wolverhampton attorney. William Tomkys' background is unclear, but Thomas Tomkys (probably his son) was subsequently one of the most important coalmasters in the northern Black Country, in partnership with Burslem Sparrow.[22] William Jordan was subsequently an ironmaster operating Grange Furnace and Heath Forge, near Wolverhampton; he may have withdrawn from the firm in order to be free to reopen Grange Furnace.[23] The date of the partnership agreement is variously given as April 1715 and August 1715. It had a capital of £6000 in 60 shares of £100, but Tomkys and Jordan only had five and two shares respectively, whereas Harvey had 15, Wood 16½, Fowler 10, and Hayes 11½.[24] By 1720, Harvey's shares had increased to 23 and he brought in his sister (with two shares).[25]

Harvey and Wood were the dominant partners. William Wood of Wolverhampton was born in 1671. In 1690 he married Mary Molyneux of Willenhall, daughter of Richard Molyneux, one of a family of prominent ironmongers. William followed his father-in-law's trade, but little is known of his activities. Over the next 24 years, his wife presented him with 15 children, on whose baptisms he was variously described as a 'chapman', an ironmonger, or an iron factor. Latterly (at least), he lived in a large house near the centre of Wolverhampton, known as the Deanery.[26] Some of his subsequent activities (described here) might have resulted from his need to find a role for so many sons.

Wood had suggested to Harvey in late 1713 that Harvey's business could be improved by enlarging the stock. This evidently involved the acquisition of further ironworks, for the new business involved 'running pig metal, making iron, the converting of steel, drawing iron wire, making nails and other goods and selling the same'; copper and brass were not mentioned.[27] The partnership agreement also mentioned Ruabon and Sutton.[28] There had long been a furnace at Ruabon and probably on the estate of the Eyton family. Gerrard Eyton leased two-thirds of a messuage and lands in Ruabon to Roger Hill of the Priory, Dudley, in 1631 and soon after this had a blast furnace on it. Eyton retained the third share in partnership with him, and later with William Boycott and William Fownes.[29] From 1664, William Cotton rented it from Kenrick Eyton, and worked it in partnership with Timothy Middleton of Chirk Castle, whose father Sir Thomas Middleton had earlier been a partner of Eyton and William Wilson.[30] In 1694 Thomas Lowbridge of Hartlebury (Worcs.) and Richard Knight of Pineton in High Ercall leased the furnace, but Knight transferred his share to Lowbridge in 1696,[31] probably to release capital needed in connection with his recently acquired Bringewood ironworks in north Herefordshire.[32] Lowbridge retained Ruabon furnace until at least 1710,[33] and quite possibly until the lease expired in 1715. It was then purchased by the company. At about the same time Harvey bought (alone) two messuages and some lands in Ruabon with large coal mines, also from the widow and sisters of Gerrard Eyton (evidently a descendant of his namesake of the 1630s), and built a 'pothouse or furnace for making and casting iron',[34] the Gardden Potworks, probably a foundry with an air furnace. In contrast, the ironworks at Sutton was entirely new. The forge seems to have been built by the company, who (unusually) owned its freehold.[35]

It is possible that other ironworks (including others later belonging to Harvey – mentioned below) were built by the 1714 company, but this is not clear. Certainly, the company leased 'a furnace near Wrexham of one Mr Meredith', named by Harvey as Thomas Meredith.[36] This was the furnace in Esclusham, being settled (with the rest of the Pentrebychan estate) by Ellis Meredith and his son Thomas following the latter's marriage. The occupier was Hugh Moore, who died in about 1709.[37] Following his death, Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, who had rented Mathrafal Forge in Montgomeryshire since 1698,[38] negotiated (but did not complete) a lease of Pontyblew Forge, about seven miles to the south, which had recently been occupied by Moore. He probably rented that forge by 1697, being preceded there by Ellis Meredith, who rented it from 1688.[39] This Esclusham furnace was evidently a different one from that at Bersham (but cannot have been far from it). Charles Lloyd and Richard Wood (one of William's sons) built a new furnace at Bersham in 1717. The landlord of this was John Roberts of Hafod y Bwch, rather than Thomas Meredith, whose property in Esclusham was all close to Pentrebychan.[40] It is thus possible that Bersham was a new furnace on a new site, but Hugh Moore 'Bersham' sold 19 tons of pig iron to the Foleys' Bewdley warehouse in 1697/8.[41] Nevertheless, Richard Wood, R. Bratt, and Timothy Lilly are said to have held the share of the former jointly,[42] but Lilly was a close associate of William Wood,[43] so that this might have belonged to the company. Lloyd intended to use it with a new forge that he built at Dolobran, having lost possession of the nearby Mathrafal Forge, which he had occupied since 1698.[44] He was replaced at Mathrafal by Adrian Duvall and Isaac Hollier.[45]

The 1720 Partnership

The new 'partnership or company carried on the works with very good success' until 1720. However William Wood 'did in about 1719 endeavour to get sole management of the works into his own hands thinking to make great advantage to himself thereby'. He probably bought out some partners, but Harvey (as indicated) had also increased his share. Wood wanted to buy out Harvey (offering £100 per share), but having established and developed the business, Harvey was reluctant to agree.

Probably in February 1720, Wood had published 'some proposals for erecting a company for manufacturing iron copper brass etc.'. Harvey went up to London in April asking to buy Wood's shares, but Wood declined because he had promised them to the new company. Harvey was unwilling so sell 'at so cheap a rate as some who had lately purchased of one another and had more an eye to buying and selling stock than carrying on trade, which [Harvey] had most at heart'.[46] This probably refers to a leaflet, *The Present State of Mr. Wood's Partnership*. The partnership claimed to have:[47]

- A lease of all mines in crown lands in 39 counties with pre-emption in subjects lands.
- Freehold rich in iron mines and pit coal with which their furnaces are conveniently situated [probably in Denbighshire].
- Some of the best ironworks in the kingdom, conveniently situated near the navigable river Severn with great stock of all necessaries – forges for refining and drawing out iron into bars; a slitting mill to roll slit and prepare iron for several uses in manufacture [presumably Tern and Sutton Forges].
- Houses shops and all conveniences for locksmiths, hingemakers, etc. [evidently Wood's original ironmonger's business around Wolverhampton].

- Sundry furnaces for making pig iron, pots, rails and banisters, backs and hearths for chimneys, and all sorts of cast iron.
- Copper and lead mines with furnaces for smelting, making and refining the[se] metals, all well situated for water carriage.
- The best conveniences for making brass in its several branches, viz. ingots, battery, or kettles, broad hammered plates and wire of all sorts.
- They had bought great quantities of ore in Cornwall and other places.

The leaflet then went on to discuss the danger of the country being reliant on imported iron, which was a significant topic at the time. Britain had recently lifted its embargo on Swedish trade that had applied from 1717. The embargo failed in its objective of starving Sweden of imported corn, but had instead starved our own manufacturers of imported Swedish iron on which they were significantly reliant.[48] This prospectus was of course issued at the beginning of the year of the South Sea Bubble, a period of intense Stock Exchange speculation, when subscriptions were sought for many joint stocks. That speculative bull market came to an abrupt end in August 1720. Further floatations were prohibited by the passing of the Bubble Act, which required joint stock companies to be incorporated by Act of Parliament or Royal Charter. Two insurance companies obtained charters, but no one else did. Wood's company had secured subscriptions (though perhaps not on the desired scale) before the cut off on 24 June but the formal conveyance of the property was completed only after the South Sea Bubble had burst.[49]

The list of possessions given above is a most unusual confection, but independent evidence exists for many of the matters in it. Some have been mentioned already. The first item relates to the rights of the Society of Mines Royal and Company of Mineral and Battery Works, companies established in the 1560s with the monopoly rights described.[50] However, their mining monopolies were abolished by the Mines Royal Act 1693 and the Mines Royal Society (having no business) ceased to meet in 1695.[51] The Mineral and Battery Works theoretically still had other monopolies, but its rent from its wireworks in the Wye valley was reduced to £5 per year in 1683 on account of competition,[52] and this probably ceased to be paid in the 1690s. Meetings continued, but achieved little. Dr. Moses Stringer, 'Her Majesty's Chymist and Mineralist', who had bought up many of the shares and become their Deputy Governor and Mineral Master, led a burst of activity to try to recover the business of both companies in 1709 and 1710, but to no avail. Nothing is known of the companies for five years after the Mineral and Battery Works' minute book ends in 1713.[53] The charters were bought to provide a front for a syndicate known as Onslow's Insurance in 1718. This was declared 'illegal and unwarrantable' in 1720,[54] but, for the payment of £300,000 towards the King's Civil List debts, the insurance business secured its own charter as Royal Exchange Assurance, whose stock was exchanged for that in the two Elizabethan mining companies in autumn 1720.[55] This again left the two ancient companies without any business, but they will reappear in this story. Onslow's Insurance evidently had no interest in the companies' grand sounding (but vacuous) original mining rights. These were leased off (or back) in 1718 for 10,000 years to Philip Peck, a merchant. Also in 1718, he leased them (except alum and calamine) for 14 years to Charles Tunnah and Thomas Waldick, who assigned their lease in trust for Wood, Harvey, Marsland, and Read. They petitioned the Prince of Wales against an application of a lease, possibly that of Thomas Liveings (of Harefield, Middlesex), of certain mines in Flintshire and Denbighshire, as derogating from their rights.[56] One of the leases gave rise to the name of an enterprise as the Grand Lessees of the Mines Royal and Mineral and Battery Works, who announced that they would seek a subscription of £1,152,000 on 2 February 1720 for a joint stock for purchasing, smelting, and refining copper and other ores and making brass.[57] This was probably an alternative name for 'Mr. Wood's Partnership'.

Apart from the blast furnaces, the furnaces making 'pots, rails and banisters, backs and hearths for chimneys, and all sorts of cast iron' probably included the Gardden pot works and the Falcon Foundry at Bankside in Southwark. These had air furnaces, using Sir Clement Clerke's reverberatory furnace technology, developed in the 1690s. The Falcon Foundry was probably 'a work…for remelting and casting old iron with sea cole at this time in use at Southwark', mentioned in a treatise by Dr. J. Woodward, probably in the late 1700s.[58] Peter Ellers had sold this in 1701 to Henry Glover. After Glover's death, this was the subject of competing claims by a mortgagee of Glover's lease and by Dr. Thomas Wadsworth and John Adams (a merchant), who had bought the stock (including a quantity of old guns) from creditors by means of a bill of sale, and leased the premises from a mortgagee of the freehold. The issues at stake related to who had possession of the stock, and whether the furnace was a chattel or fixed to the ground.[59] The outcome of this has not been discovered, but the works evidently passed to Richard Jones, who contracted to cast shells for the Board of Ordnance in April 1705. In July 1706, he was granted a further contract, to cast shot from old metal,[60] and that November he was authorised to set up a furnace in the saltpetre house at Woolwich.[61] Jones continued to be mentioned in Ordnance Board records until 1715, when he bought old gun barrels, and shortly after offered to supply £1,200 worth of new guns, which he no doubt subcontracted to others.[62] By 1723 John Wood (one of William Wood's sons) was running a furnace at the 'Faulcon' in Southwark, late of Richard Jones.[63] In July 1727 John Kelsall (Charles Lloyd's clerk at Dolobran

Forge) 'went to the Faulken in Southwark; saw W. Wood's foundry…'.[64] The ownership of the Falcon Foundry after the collapse of Wood's business has not been discovered, but Joseph Wright & Co. ran it from 1759; followed by Wright and Prickett by 1771; and then Prickett and Handasyde by 1789.[65] It continued into the nineteenth century, and is commemorated in the public house name, 'The Founders Arms'.

As mentioned, Thomas Harvey was evidently reluctant to join in Wood's great project, and would have preferred to buy Wood out, but found that he could not, as Wood had promised his shares to the new company. Accordingly, nothing came of meetings held in April 1720. However, Harvey was eventually persuaded that he should remain a partner, as he 'had been the erector and founder of the said works and it was his sole business'. Accordingly, on 1 July 1720, Harvey contracted to sell his 23 shares and his sister's two shares in the old company's works, and also his own freehold Gardden estate with its pot foundry, and various shares in White Grit lead mine on the Stiperstones, all for £17,100. In subsequent litigation, Wood gave a breakdown of the price:

Table 1

	The Whole	*Shares*	*Value of what was sold*
Company ironworks	£28,130 19s. 1d.	23 in 60	£13600
Gardden Works at Ruabon			£2000
Lease of Meredith's furnace			£500
Mary Baker's company shares		2 in 60	£1000
Total			**£17100**

No inventory for Gardden was available, so that the value of its stock and tools was to be an additional sum. Furthermore, the agreement (according to Wood) covered White Grit and Penally (now Pennerley) lead mines, also on the Stiperstones, at £30 per share for White Grit, and £5 per share for Penally. This covered Harvey's own shares and those of his father Nathan, and sister. Harvey denied any agreement over Penally, saying that this had been discussed, but that nothing had been agreed. However, the company took the profits despite the lack of an agreement. Relying on Wood's promises, Harvey bought in further shares in both mines from other partners.[66] Both these mines originated from a lease dated 9 July 1714, by Robert More of Linley to Thomas Harvey and Amos Davies of Shrewsbury, of mines of copper, lead and tin ore in the wastes and lands of the Manor of Shelve and in Moreswood in the parish of More.[67] This was of course just when the copper business had failed.

Table 2 Shares in lead mines

	White Grit	*Penally*
Thomas Harvey	11	4
Nathan Harvey (Thomas Harvey's father)	10	12
Mary Baker (Thomas Harvey's sister)	5	
John Beaufoy		2
Thomas Rammell	4	1
John Roberts	2	1
Total	32	20
Price per share	£30	£5
Total Value	**£960**	**£100**

On 17 August, the sale of the old company's works to the new one was completed by a 9–partite indenture. Wood, Harvey, and Hayes conveyed the company property to Charles Fowler of Penford and Rupert Huntbach of Seawall in Bushbury, esquires, John Eggington of Rodbaston, and John Jevon of Tipton, gentlemen, and James Hayes of Wolverhampton, apothecary. They were trustees as well for the vendors as for the new partners, John Jenkins (goldsmith), Robert Sparke (ironmonger), William Marsland (merchant), Philip Beach (factor), Joseph Read (merchant), William Buckland (brewer) (Wood's son-in-law), and Thomas Maynard (ironmonger). Wood was to have a full moiety and sole management, with power to nominate a son or some other as his successor.

The capital was to be £100,000 in 1000 shares.[68] £10, perhaps a deposit on subscription, was initially paid.[69] A subsequent call was made, perhaps on completion of the partnership deed, making the capital up to £50 per share. This was what Amplias Keepe of Hackney paid William Wood when Keepe bought 20 shares on 27 September. A further call (for another £50) was apparently made in November or December. Keepe objected to

paying because the call should have been approved by a general meeting of the proprietors, but none had taken place.[70] The significance of five assignments, each of 100, of William Wood's shares (thus covering all his shares) to Charles Driver on 29 September is not clear: it could be by way of a mortgage. If so, there would be a defeasance that does not survive. They are all endorsed with a note that that the dividends to Ladyday 1721, £2 10*s*.0*d*. on £50 for half a year to Ladyday 1721, and £1 5*s*.0d. from Christmas. This represents dividends of 10% (at a time when the legal maximum on loans was 5%) and accords with a call of £50 being due at Christmas 1720.[71]

Harvey probably agreed to take 40 shares (fully paid) and 20 more with only the deposit paid; he therefore gave a receipt for £4,200. Harvey was also given a series of bonds executed by Wood and others. Wood later asserted that Harvey was liable for both calls on all shares and should pay £5,400 more.[72] Harvey asserted it was for 420 shares of £10, and that Wood had promised to make no use of the receipt.[73] Both these assertions sound improbable, and it is suggested that he was liable for only £1,800 more, intended to be satisfied from the purchase price of the Gardden estate and its stock, which were excluded for the conveyance. The deeds of that estate reached John Taylor, the lawyer responsible, only some months later. He drew a further conveyance, which Wood sent to Timothy Lilly 'his clerk or agent' at Tearn Hall, so that Harvey could execute it, but Harvey would not do so. Taylor subsequently asked Harvey, two or three times, to do so, both in Shrewsbury and London.[74] Harvey said that he also did not execute the main conveyance until the February following its date. On 26 December Wood had agreed that Harvey's 60 shares should be of £100, and as all his money was already in Wood's hands he needed to pay nothing more.[75] Wood also agreed to rent his 60 shares, promising to pay any further calls. Harvey's objection was that the purchase money for his shares had not been paid. The dispute focused on whether £856 10*s*.0*d*. stock of the Gardden potwork was included in the price of £2,000 for it.[76] However the real problem may have been that Wood had overextended himself financially. It is difficult to estimate the value of his investment in the old company, but it was probably less than Harvey's. He was evidently selling his ironmonger's business at Wolverhampton to the new company, and possibly other assets, but it seems unlikely that he had the means to subscribe £50,000 for his 500 shares. Perhaps he intended to sell more of his shares to people like Amplias Keepe, but found this impossible in the bear market after the Bubble burst.

Harvey applied for the rest of the purchase price in February 1722 and Wood gave him a promissory note for £250, payable in one month (but not paid). In May Harvey managed to get another promissory note for £100 (also not paid). In April 1725 Harvey again pressed for payment, as a loan had been called in and had to be paid that August. He went up to London in June, but Wood told him that he could not pay until the King returned, when he expected to receive a considerable sum on account of his resignation of his patent for making Irish halfpence (of which more below). Harvey, 'during his attendances on [Wood] and with the great perplexity of his affairs fell into a violent illness and…was confined to his chamber for seven weeks', perhaps a case of depression.[77] In his distress, Harvey was visited by Joshua Gee, perhaps the prominent merchant trading to America, subsequently the author of *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain*, rather than his son (also Joshua) who married Harvey's daughter. Harvey explained his difficulty and Gee lent him £700 to cover his immediate needs, this being paid to Harvey's son Benjamin on 16 June. Gee advanced a further £1,300, which was paid at the house in Old Bailey of John Browning an attorney, presumably to pay off another mortgage.[78] As security, Harvey endorsed the unpaid promissory notes to Gee and subsequently assigned to him bonds for £2,500. These bonds (with another for £500 that Harvey had assigned to Nathan Beard of Drayton, which had been paid off) were securing part of the unpaid consideration for Harvey's shares in the 1714 company. They had been entered into by Wood, with this sons, William junior and Francis, and son-in-law, William Buckland, as guarantors.[79] Gee called on Wood several times for payment, but Wood put him off again, saying he should have money, when the Irish Parliament met in September. When Wood failed to pay, Gee told his attorney to enter an action against all four bond-creditors before the term ended, warning them to put in bail (so that they would be as little inconvenienced as possible). The attorney did this at Poultry Compter (the City of London Sheriffs' Court and prison).[80] The Wood family responded by beginning proceedings in Chancery against Gee and Harvey, proceedings that have been a major source for the foregoing.[81]

Initial hearings of the proceedings took place from March to July 1726, when Wood took exception to the adequacy of Gee's answer. That question was referred to a Master, with an injunction being continued against proceedings at law being taken beyond judgment.[82] Gee subsequently made a second answer.[83] The next hearing in court was in November 1728, when, the master having reported Wood to be in debt, the Lord Chancellor ordered that the injunction be lifted unless Wood paid £2,000 into court.[84] At that time Wood argued that Harvey ought to convey the Gardden estate, to which Harvey replied that he would do so, if paid. To this the Lord Chancellor said, 'For God's sake have done. Would you have a man assign you an estate without any consideration? Pay him his money and he shall assign'.[85] Wood borrowed the money from Sir John Meres on a bond guaranteed by his sons, William and Charles, William Buckland, and Kingsmill Eyre (whose role will be referred to later), with the promise that it would be repaid to him when released by the court.[86] This was perhaps part of money raised by the

Woods from the Mines Royal company (whose governor Sir John Meres then was) on an agreement to supply iron to the company (of which more below). The money was invested during the proceedings in South Sea Annuities.[87] Negotiations took place between the parties, leading to an order (by consent) in November 1729 for Harvey to be paid £1,212 out of the fund and the rest to be released to Wood.[88] Sir John Meres then complained about not getting his money back.[89] It was later stated that on 20 March 1729 (presumably 1729/30), it was agreed that Harvey should have the Tern, Sutton, and Coalbrookdale works, that is, two forges and a copper works to manage for himself and the other persons entitled (except William Wood). Of these the Coalbrookdale premises were subsequently sold to Abraham Darby for £400. There was apparently a clause allowing Wood to redeem the works, depending on the outcome of an arbitration (by Timothy Lilly and William Harwood of Bewdley). The sale became absolute, because the arbitration was not completed by 29 June 1731 (the time limit), but this did not prevent William Wood's grandson Thomas seeking to recover the premises in 1757.[90]

As noted above the 1720 company had several partners. In William Wood's proceedings Wood frequently behaved as if he was entitled to the company's money, possibly on the basis of his wide power as general manager. This applies to the dealing with Amplias Keepe, when Wood (with Marsland, Buckland, and Maynard as guarantors) borrowed £1,500 South Sea Stock (then worth £2,700) on the basis that the stock would rise and that they could repay £3,300 in 3 months.[91] It more particularly applied to his dealings with Harvey, where he listed payments, which Harvey, as agent for the company in its trade, made as if paid towards the £17,100 purchase price. Similarly, in proceedings by Wood's executors (of which more below), John Hawkins was called to account to the executors for £3,037 6*s*.7*d*. stock of 'Rhoslanachorigogg' [Rhosllanerchrugog] coal works, Gardden Potworks and Ruabon Blast Furnace, on which he had entered as clerk in 1720, despite his account having been taken by Timothy Lilly, and a discharge having been signed by several partners. They also called for an account from 1725, when he was re-engaged, until 1730, when he was forcibly expelled from the works by Daniel Ivie,[92] in circumstances that will be discussed below. Hawkins declined to account unless the court indemnified him against the claim of the other partners.[93] He further complained that he was also subject to other proceedings by Ivie, both in Chancery and in the Exchequer.[94]

In the early years (at least), the 1720 company had 'managers' or a committee, evidently similar to a modern Board of Directors. Harvey referred to 'those called managers' and to 'managers so called'.[95] Hawkins quoted his 1723 discharge as signed by William Wood, John Jenkins, William Marsland, Thomas Brett, and Thomas Maynard.[96] Harvey (writing to Hawkins in 1730) quoted from a letter from J. Read, J. Jenkins, William Marsland and Thomas Maynard, when they had decided that they did not want the Gardden Works after all.[97] This was apparently in April 1723, when the managers agreed that Harvey should take it himself. In July, they had written of 'turning Hawkins out of the house' there, but Lilly asked to retain it until 'Wood had built the conveniences up at Ruabon potwork'. Harvey (in his answer in 1726) believed there were copies of the 1723 letters 'in the company's letter book at their offices near the Three Cranes', evidently in London.[98] Hawkins' assertion (as above) that he should account to the company, and not to Wood's executors, suggests that he believed the company still to exist.

Wood's Projects

It is not known whether Wood succeeded in raising the full capital of £100,000 by floating his company in 1720. His failure to satisfy the purchase price to Harvey suggests that there were difficulties from the start. It is likely that he disposed of certain of his own industrial assets. Wood was among the original partners when Rushall Furnace (near Walsall) was built in 1717, but his share had been bought by John Vernon of Abbots Bromley (presumably previously the clerk of Bromley Forge) before 1723, when Vernon and all the other partners sold it to George Sparrow of Chesterton (in Wolstanton, north Staffordshire). Sparrow had widespread mining interests, mainly in coal mining, and was a pioneer of the use of steam engines to drain mines. Wood, with William Tomkys, had bought coal-bearing land, close to the eastern boundary of Wolverhampton, on which the first steam engine in the Black Country had been erected (perhaps briefly) in about 1712.[99] It is thus possible that Sparrow bought Wood's share of this coalmine. Alternatively, Tomkys might have exchanged it for his share in the 1714 iron company. Certainly, George Sparrow's son, Burslem, and Thomas Tomkys (probably William Tomkys's son) mined in partnership in later decades, and the association might go back to this period.[100]

In 1722, William Wood bought for £10,000 the right to mint £108,000 of copper coinage for Ireland from the Duchess of Kendal, who was George I's mistress. George needed to provide for her and her daughters after his death.[101] That sum (and other costs of this venture) presumably came from his company, not from his own (evidently straightened) resources. Unfortunately for him, Wood's halfpennies and farthings were unpopular with the Irish. A pamphlet war was waged against them by Jonathan Swift and others, as a dangerous economic imposition on Ireland. Wood was ultimately granted an annuity of £3,000 for eight years on the Irish Revenue to compensate him for his losses, which included the coining machinery, £5,000 for interest, and £10,000 for 'damage

to his reputation'. The latter might have been a disguised means of repaying the purchase price of the patent, while 'interest' might have included other fees to secure the patent, which we would regard today as bribes.[102]

Wood also developed other iron interests. Writing in 1769 Wallis recorded:

> There was some years ago and iron-work at Lee-Hall, on the edge of the river Tyne at North Bellingham… It was under the direction and conduct of Mr Wood, son of Mr Wood, famous for being the projector of the halfpence and farthings for Ireland by patent. He made a good deal of bar iron, but charcoal becoming scarce, he removed into Lancashire, where he attempted to make it with pit-coal.[103]

These might be 'several ironworks in the north of England', which John Hawkins agreed to manage for Wood in late 1724 or 1725. However, Hawkins' charge was ultimately the Works in Denbighshire,[104] and Lee Hall was apparently managed by Francis Wood. He developed a process there for making iron without charcoal, which was patented in 1727. He assigned one-twentieth share of his patent to his brother John, to encourage him to move to Lee Hall and manage those works. Shortly afterwards Francis assigned three-quarters of the patent to his father. John stated that he had found the works and furnaces of little use, and advised filling up the old furnace. John claimed to have improved the works. In January 1727/8, William Wood entered into negotiations to sell the patent to Sir John Meres & Co., and John demanded £2,000 for his share, for which his father gave him a bond. When this bond was not paid, he took proceedings, and Kingsmill Eyre gave John a bond as a guarantee.[105] Eyre was a lawyer, and became solicitor to Chelsea Hospital. The hospital was controlled by Robert Walpole (the Prime Minister). Eyre oversaw the building (for Walpole) of Orford House there, and took part in laying out Walpole's gardens at Houghton. Eyre was evidently Walpole's minion.[106]

Development of the patented process was transferred to Frizington near Whitehaven in Cumberland, where Thomas Baylies of Stourbridge (formerly Abraham Darby's partner at Coalbrookdale) had negotiated a lease of an iron mine in 1723.[107] Wood negotiated to buy coal from James Lowther, but Lowther refused Wood's request for 10,000 tons per year certain, and a further 40–50,000 tons if demanded, until he had built the works (when Lowther would have been able to name his own price). Baylies estimated that Wood had spent £11–12,000.[108] On Lowther's refusal, Wood found a thin coal seam at Frizington, but this proved expensive to work.[109] Wood financed his new business by the advance sale of a large quantity of the 'best malleable bar iron' to the (joint) Mines Royal and Mineral and Battery Works Company. This was evidently identical with Sir John Meres & Co., for the old charters had apparently been sold again. The Company made a call on their shareholders, Sir John Meres himself providing £18,000, but in the (depreciated) stock of the Charitable Corporation, not cash. The problem was that Wood's product was not (wrought) bar iron, but what Wood called 'raw iron metal prepared', 'being different from and much finer and better than sow or pig iron', when he applied for a new patent in his own name.[110] The term recalls 'metal prepared for battery', a variety of copper or brass, and suggests that Wood believed (or wanted others to believe) that his metal merely required forging, whereas the processes undertaken on pig iron in a finery forge involved changes to the composition of the iron. Wood tried to improve the quality of his iron by incorporating bits and pieces of scrap and by sending it 12 miles to a forge in Eskdale (probably hitherto a bloomery forge) for further processing, but (damningly to his critics) using charcoal. In July 1729 he employed James Crowley, a younger brother of Sir Ambrose, to supervise the works. Crowley would not make an affidavit, but James Lowther, John Carlisle Spedding (his agent), and James Gorton (who had been chief steward of Wood's collieries) made one, setting out what he told them in September 1730. Crowley had examined the fracture of bars of Wood's iron which he broke. Those made with ore, coal, and lime only were black on the fracture; those with pieces of better iron appeared to have bright pieces of iron intermixed with the black. The iron was very weak and would not work except at white heat. They concluded: 'Mr Wood has yet to learn how to make iron'.[111] Wood had applied for a patent of incorporation for the Company of Ironmasters of Great Britain with a capital of £1,000,000, prompting a detailed investigation into his claims by the Privy Council. Ultimately, incorporation was refused.[112]

At this point William Wood died. His will purported to give Charles Wood and William Buckland (allegedly now a 'domestic of the Duke of Wolfenbuttel' – probably a device to avoid his creditors) £15,000 each, but cut off John Wood with a shilling, presumably because he had obtained £2,000 for his share of Francis's patent. He divided the residue between his wife and children in a very conventional manner, but assets to pay legacies were lacking.[113] Attempts continued to get the new company incorporated, but in vain, for the new tests, conducted partly at Chelsea, merely proved their inability to make good and merchantable iron. His sons, William and Charles, and William Buckland were all made bankrupt a couple of years later.[114] Amazingly, John and Charles Wood later re-merged as ironmasters, but that is another story.[115]

Besides extracting an advance payment from the Mines Royal and Mineral and Battery Works company for iron that he could not deliver, Wood had another victim: Daniel Ivie of St. Paul, Covent Garden, paid him £5,000 in August 1728 for the yearly supply of 60 tons of the best tough bar iron. Wood, of course, was unable to perform his

contract, and in January 1730 agreed to sell to Ivie his half share in the Gardden estate and Ruabon furnace and potwork, and in a three-quarters share of a coalmine in Moreton Wallicorum (in Ruabon), as partnership property of his company. The company's trustees duly conveyed these. Wood also leased the other half to Ivie for life, or perhaps appointed him as its manager for life under Wood. This was presumably in purported exercise of his right of sole management. Ivie went to Ruabon in September 1730 and showed John Hawkins (Wood's clerk) the deeds. He later claimed to have appointed him to continue as clerk (though Hawkins did not admit the appointment). In July 1731, Ivie said that he discharged Hawkins, claiming that he was guilty of mismanagement. This allegedly exasperated Hawkins, who remained in possession. Ivie then had Hawkins arrested (for contempt – by ignoring court proceedings). He entered the house at Gardden one night without the consent of Hawkins, his wife and family, and Ivie's servants would have remained in possession if the constable had not removed them. Hawkins had been expressly ordered by some of the proprietors (presumably of Wood's Company) not to admit Ivie, but could not prevent Ivie breaking down the doors of the workhouses and the places where the books were. Hawkins considered that he could not give Ivie possession without injustice to the rightful owners of the land and the proprietors of the works.[116] Hawkins found it necessary to have himself removed to London by *habeas corpus*, so that he could deal with Ivie's Exchequer proceedings, and he probably called at Coalbrookdale on the way.[117] Thomas Sergeant Harvey (to whom Thomas Harvey had devised the Gardden estate) was also involved in this litigation.[118] Ivie probably retained possession of the Gardden, as he is mentioned as a rival in the pot trade in August 1733, but apparently left to marry a widow in Lancashire with a 'pretty good fortune' in 1735.[119]

Another victim of William Wood's failure was Charles Lloyd. It is not clear whether this was the result of poor trading conditions at his forge or money being drained by William Wood from Bersham Furnace, where they were partners. This was a period when iron prices were falling, because the market was glutted. Production had expanded greatly during the embargo on Sweden, but the resumption of Swedish supplies in 1720 was followed by the first arrival of significant amounts of Russian iron from 1725. It is possible that Dolobran Forge made a significant loss. On the other hand, furnaces produced pig iron, which did not immediately produce cash until bar iron made from it was sold. This meant that the furnace clerk needed a regular supply of money to pay wages and buy raw materials. Wood was no doubt not providing any funds for the furnace, so that the whole expense may have fallen on Lloyd, who was declared bankrupt in October 1727. His son (also Charles) borrowed money to buy back the stock and reopened the forge, but closed it in July 1729. The older Charles was disowned by the Friends in 1730, but was readmitted in 1742. He had moved to Birmingham, where he lived for many years. Dolobran was offered for sale (but not sold) and remained in the family until the 1780s.[120] Even the forge was subsequently reopened when trade looked up.[121]

Thomas Harvey's Other Works

Thomas Harvey was also concerned in other ironworks, but the evidence for several of these comes largely from his 1732 probate inventory, so that it is often not clear how long he had had them or how he had obtained them. In 1722, Thomas and his wife mortgaged a forge or ironworks at or near Eaton upon Tern for £300.[122] He left this to his wife Anne for life and then to Benjamin. This devise was subject to any claim that could be lawfully established under William Wood,[123] which implies that (like Sutton Forge) it was subject to the 1720 partnership, perhaps having been built by Harvey in or shortly before 1722 and leased to the company. Harvey's inventory included the forge, with three pairs of finery bellows (implying that it was a finery forge). There was little other stock except 36 dozen of charcoal, part damaged, which would be enough to make 18 tons of bar iron,[124] and suggests that the forge was not in use. Its closure seems to be confirmed by it not appearing in the *c*.1735 list of forges, now believed to be a comprehensive survey of the industry, either with a former output (*c*.1718) or the current one.[125] The forge appears as an address in Great Bolas Parish Registers in the late eighteenth century,[126] but perhaps only because cottages there continued to be occupied.

Sutton Forge, straddling the boundary between Sutton and Coleham (in St Julian's, Shrewsbury), was built by the 1714 partnership. There were four or five acres of land, a warehouse, a plating forge, and shops. These had a small stock for the production of frying pans in 1732.[127] Disputes with Bulkeley Mackworth concerning the forge were tried at the Assizes in Shrewsbury in April 1723.[128] However, it appears in the lists of 1718, 1735, and 1750, as a forge, making respectively 100, 50, and 260 tons of bar iron per year. The second figure no doubt reflects the family's difficulties and the third the cessation (or relocation) of the pan trade.[129] This was to go to Anne and then Benjamin (like Eaton). However, Benjamin was to have Tern Forge and the smelting houses at Coalbrookdale at once.[130] There were no goods at Coalbrookdale, but Tern was well used. The larger forge had blooms, pig iron, scrap iron, and scull iron (a waste from foundries – presumably derived from the Gardden potwork), and was evidently a finery forge. The lesser forge had shovel plates and was obviously another plating forge. The slitting mill and the warehouse also contained a little stock. They were in use, but probably suffering from a shortage of

working capital. The landlord was owed £100 and the buildings were out of repair, so that the lease was judged to be worth nothing.[131]

The inventory also mentions Redditch Forge, a forge whose history remains difficult to elucidate, but both it and the nearby Ipsley Forge disappeared in this period, both being idle in 1735.[132] A list of 'Readditch Forge debtors' appears in Philip Foley's accounts for 1669, suggesting that his father had operated the forge.[133] An undated account indicates that pig iron for it from the Forest of Dean was landed at Worcester.[134] In 1675, John Woodder (presumably its clerk) agreed on behalf of Lord Windsor to sell ten tons of bar iron to Philip Foley.[135] John Wheeler of Redditch bought Forest of Dean pig iron in 1705–08.[136] Mr Harward of Redditch Forges bought cordwood in Warwickshire in 1722.[137] At Harvey's death in 1732, the forge was clearly actively in use, but again with little stock. Nevertheless, it had iron and charcoal in its upper and lower forges and some pig iron in transit to the forge.[138] This indicates that Rollins's date of *c*.1729 for the conversion of it (or perhaps just the lower forge) to a needle mill is a little too early.[139]

Harvey left the Gardden potwork and its estate to his son, Thomas Sergeant Harvey, whom he also forgave considerable sums lent. Anne had his two houses at Evesham with their contents, one of them a large house with a little parlour, a kitchen, a back buttery, a great parlour, a hall, and a cellar, as well as chambers and garrets above. The lower warehouse had a tobacco engine, and the coach house contained a little decayed tobacco as well as a coach and harness. The warehouse contained some iron goods, more decayed tobacco, and some borax. This had probably been a flourishing retail ironmonger's business with a sideline in tobacco, but the Harveys were clearly ruined by the losses suffered from the connection with William Wood. However, Harvey also had a farm at Walcot, north of Pershore (and about seven miles west of Evesham).[140] The urgent need for money that led Joshua Gee to take Harvey's affairs in hand might have been to pay off a mortgage on this property. Neither the will nor the inventory contains any hint of lead mining, suggesting that the 1729 litigation settlement left the mines in Wood's hands.

Joshua Gee

The business of Benjamin Harvey (Thomas's younger son) had hitherto been at Stourbridge, where Amblecote town mills, to southeast of the bridge of Stourbridge, were let as corn mills to Benjamin Harvey (Thomas's son) in 1721. He converted it to 'a forge, battering mill, or slitting mill', but agreed in 1733 to procure a lease of it to a Stourbridge clothier, who converted it into a fulling mill.[141] Benjamin Harvey of Stourbridge was a buyer of oregrounds iron from Graffin Prankard of Bristol between 1729 and 1732. The main use of oregrounds iron (a particularly pure variety of bar iron made north of Stockholm) was converting it to steel.[142] This might indicate that he also had a steel furnace, and was using the forge for slitting and tilting steel.[143] He evidently gave up this business to take over his father's ironworks.

Harvey thus obtained Tern and Sutton Forges. In June 1733, his brother-in-law Joshua Gee came to visit, and suggested that the profits would be better if the stock were enlarged. Gee advanced £714 9*s*.2*d*. in the next six months and in January 1733 an inventory was taken, totalling £1273 5*s*.9¾*d*. They then agreed a partnership with a stock of £1,200, but due to the controversy with Wood, Gee did not want to be publicly known as a partner. Accordingly, the business was carried on in Benjamin Harvey's sole name (with Gee as a secret partner). However, Gee advanced further sums on loan to Harvey, and persuaded him in 1735 to rent a third forge, Upton Forge. Then in July 1736 Gee decided that he knew the business enough and to take over the business alone, apparently promising to pay Benjamin £100 per year (salary). Harvey was apparently at Frizington in Cumberland in 1737.[144]

Bersham Furnace was a conventional blast furnace, but unusual in that in the 1720s it was sometimes blown with charcoal and sometimes with coke.[145] As already described, it was managed by John Hawkins from 1725 to 1731, when he found himself caught between rival masters (as described above). By February 1733, Richard Ford was corresponding with his Coalbrookdale partner, Thomas Goldney, about a partnership at Bersham. They were providing capital for it by August, but Hawkins (now freed from arrest) was evidently also a partner but unable immediately to advance his quota of the capital, due to the trouble with Wood and Ivie having cost him £200. In January 1735, Hawkins bought Charles Lloyd's share.[146] It is not clear how long this partnership continued but John Hawkins died in 1739, after which his widow continued the works.[147] Joshua Gee evidently took over Ford and Goldney's interest in Bersham at some time between 1736 (when Ford's surviving letterbook ends) and 1743. In 1743, Gee asked Benjamin Harvey to move to Bersham to manage the furnace there at a salary of £60 per year. Things went wrong in 1751, when Gee proposed that Benjamin Harvey junior and John Harvey should take over the furnace from him. Gee had William Holmes (his clerk) make an inventory of the stock, but the negotiations ended in acrimony, the young Harveys saying that the stock was overvalued. Gee had Benjamin Harvey arrested for debt (apparently over loans from the early 1730s), leading him to seek relief in Chancery. Gee then counterclaimed over the problems at Bersham. In each case, only one side of the story is given, probably

because the claims were settled. At that time, Harvey was living at Sutton,[148] evidently managing Sutton Forge for Gee.

Gee was probably a successful ironmaster. He rented Upton Forge from 1735 to 1750,[149] and Pitchford Forge from 1746.[150] This meant that he was making nearly 1,000 tons of iron per year in four forges in the late 1740s.[151] By 1738, he was prominent enough to give evidence to the House of Commons, encouraging the import of American pig iron, which could be delivered to his 'works near Shrewsbury' as cheap as most English pigs.[152] He might have been particularly qualified to speak of America, due to his father's longstanding trading relationships there. He bought pig iron from Charlcotte Furnace in 1738 and 1742, taking delivery at Bridgnorth.[153] In 1742, he owed money his fellow Quakers, to the Backbarrow Company in Furness, probably for pig iron.[154] Sutton was described in 1754 as having two fineries, of which one was 'osburn [osborn or osmund] iron for wire [making]', suggesting that Tern Forge continued making wire, until the end of Gee's time.[155]

In 1755, Gee decided to dispose of his Shropshire ironworks, but he had difficulty in doing so due to the shortness of the remaining term of the lease of Tern Mill, which the landlord would not extend. He had had difficulties with his landlord, whose view was that the noise from the forge made Tern Hall (now Attingham Park) uninhabitable. He had tried unsuccessfully to stop the forge in 1737 by altering the roads locally. Gee vehemently protested at the stopping of the way over Tern Green to Upton Forge. He could prove that the way had been used for near 50 years, and he thought that it had been used since the forge was built, which he supposed to be another 50 years earlier.[156] The importance of this is that the southern end of the road was the wharf at Tern Mill. The lease of the mill in 1710 had reserved to the landlord:

> Sufficient wharfage for the loading carrying in laying down and taking away of timber and iron and all other sort of goods that…shall be carried and brought to and from Upton Forge upon a piece of waste land lying between the mill and the mill-house with liberty to carry and convey the same from thence with boats, carts or carriages as there shall be occasion, also the use of a storehouse for iron to be placed by the gate entering the piece of land and liberty of passage at all times to and from the same.[157]

Navigation from the wharf at Tern Mill involved passage through a lock at the mouth of the river Tern into the Severn. Upton Forge was probably built in 1654 by Francis Walker of Bringewood. Mr Boycott (subsequently a partner there) paid wharfage for 80 tons of pigs landed at Uffington in the 1650s.[158] Their destination is not clear: Upton Forge is likely, since he is not known to have had any other forge in the hinterland. Wroxeter would however be a closer landing place for Upton, but Tern Mill was nearer still. No road to Tern Mill would have been used, unless there was a reason to go there. The obvious reason for its use is that there was a wharf by Tern Mill throughout. This in turn implies that the lock existing at the mouth of the river Tern was made sometime in the mid to late seventeenth century, rather than in 1710 as hitherto supposed.[159] This fully justifies the assertion in Wood's leaflet of the ironworks being 'conveniently situated near the navigable Severn'.[160]

When Gee wanted to retire, his landlord at Tern Mill was willing to accept a surrender of the lease. He then demolished and obliterated the forge.[161] Bersham had already passed out of Gee's hands, being let to Isaac Wilkinson in 1753.[162] However, Gee still had two saleable forges, Sutton and Pitchford. He leased Sutton to Jeremiah Caswell of Hyde Mill in Kinver and John Gibbons of Kingswinford, ironmonger, in 1755 for 14 years, and assigned them the lease of Pitchford Forge at the same time. A schedule implies that Sutton was a standard finery forge with two fineries and a chafery.[163] The lease of Pitchford was renewed to Thomas, William, and Benjamin Gibbons in 1769.[164] The next lease was to William Hazledine, the Shrewsbury millwight, who used it until about 1800. In *c*.1794, it had a melting finery and a chafery, for the new 'potting and stamping' process of ironmaking.[165] In 1769, Sutton passed to Mr Rowlands of Ruabon, who advertised for cordwood for it in 1770.[166] It was probably converted to a corn mill by about 1790.[167]

Gee himself went to Cumberland to oversee the Frizington iron ore mines, which Harvey had leased in 1747.[168] He had to defend a claim in 1757 by William Wood's grandson Thomas, who seems to have hoped to redeem Sutton Forge under some clause in the 1729 agreement by which Harvey took over Sutton and Tern from William Wood.[169]

Conclusion

This article has followed the history of Tern Mill from its conversion to a metal works in 1710 to its suppression in 1756, and has explored the business activities of its successive owners. It started life as a brass works, with the ability to work iron too, but the exhaustion of the mines led to a new (successful) partnership between the old managing partner, Thomas Harvey, and various Wolverhampton investors, including William Wood. They adopted the successful business model of making pig iron in Denbighshire, making this into bar iron in Shropshire, and

probably selling much of it into the metal manufacturing region of the Black Country.

The quality of the pig iron was probably enhanced by mixing local ironstone (from the coal measures) with redmine (haematite ore) from Furness and west Cumberland, particularly from Frizington. This would have been shipped to Chester and (perhaps) up the river Dee to Farndon Bridge or even to Bangor (which was probably the head of navigation). The Dee was declared navigable under a private Act secured in 1551 by Chester Corporation, though goods had to be landed at Chester and loaded into barges above the weir there. However, evidence for the use of the river above Chester in this period is elusive.[170]

Wood's floatation of the company in 1720 was overambitious, and it was evidently hamstrung by its lack of resources. It was set up in a period of fevered speculation, but might have failed to find adequate outlets for its enormous capital (assuming it was all raised) until Wood bought his disastrous coinage patent. When that failed he embarked on another speculative venture, seeking to exploit his son's ironmaking patent and to set up an even larger joint stock, in order to do so. If his process had been successful and he had been able to undercut his rivals using the traditional process, he might have gained a monopoly in ironmaking. If so, the capital of his intended company and his proposed contract with Lowther for tens of thousands of tons of coal were proportionate to his ambition, but the process failed to produce iron of the quality promised. In consequence the venture ended in a mire of debt and even fraud.

The events were not merely the failure of a new technology, but a consequence of that period's weak controls on stock market activity. The activities of Wood's company and contemporaries such as the Mines Royal and Charitable Corporation were essentially unregulated, except that the Bubble Act prevented further floatations. As in a previous period in the 1690s when companies were in vogue,[171] they became a vehicle for stock jobbing, quite as much as for making profits from speculation as from genuine trade. This contrasts with companies, such as London Lead Company, the Bristol Brass Company, and Coalbrookdale Company, controlled by Quakers, that proved to be long enduring and successful in their trades, despite mostly being unincorporated, long after the bubble companies of 1720 had disappeared.

Notes

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4 This subject has not been fully explored since A. Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 1950 (*repr.* 1993). P. W. King, 'Management, Finance and Cost Control in the Midlands Charcoal Iron industry', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, **20(3)**, 2010 (forthcoming) examines the issue of use of bonds, mainly by non-Quakers.
5 P. W. King, 'Sir Clement Clerke and the Adoption of Coal in Metallurgy' *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, **73(1)**, 2001–2, 33–39.
6 BL: Add. MSS 22675, 36; N. Cox, 'Imagination and Innovation of an Industrial Pioneer: The First Abraham Darby' *Ind. Arch. Rev.*, **12(2)**, 1990, 128, 130; J. Day, *Bristol Brass: a History of the Industry*, 1973, 32–37.
7 Cox, 'Imagination…', 130, 139.
8 *Ibid.*, 131; The National Archives (TNA): C11/1379/19.
9 Shropshire Archives (SA): 12/11/box 15/65; Coulton, 'Tern Hall', 99; J. Day, *Bristol Brass*, 130; *cf.* SA: 112/5/5/5; 112/11/box 15/66–67.
10 *Cf.* Cox, 'Imagination'.
11 As note 9.
12 SA: 112/5/1/14.
13 SA: 112/11/box 15/66.
14 Coulton, 'Tern Hall', *passim*.
15 The history of these furnaces in this period is not clear: P. Belford and R. A. Ross, 'English Steelmaking in the Seventeenth Century: Excavation of Two Cementation Furnaces at Coalbrookdale', *Hist. Metall.*, **41(2)**, 2007, 108–109; P. W. King, 'The Cartel in Oregrounds Iron: Trading Relationships in the Raw Material for Steel' *Jnl. of Ind. Hist.*, **6(1)**, 2003, 28–9.
16 SA: 212, box 105, 29 Apr. 1710; G. Warrington, 'Non-ferrous Mining in North Shropshire and Cheshire' *Shropshire Mining and Caving Club Journal*, 1979, 12–13; Day, *Bristol Brass*, 130, n57.
17 Cox, 'Imagination', 130–1.
18 Recited in Wilts RO: 473/156, deed of 25 Nov. 1722; *cf.* A. Raistrick, *Dynasty of Ironfounders*, 3rd edn, 1989, 42–5; P. K. Stembridge, *The Goldney Family: a Bristol Dynasty* (*Bristol Rec. Soc.*, **49**, 1998), 16–20.
19 TNA: C12/1272/8; C12/1277/26 [hereafter Wood *v.* Gee 1757].
20 TNA: C 11/1819/32 [hereafter Harvey 1725].
21 TNA: C 12/1161/3 (from Janet Butler Papers) [hereafter Ivie Chancery].
22 P. W. King, 'Black Country Mining before the Industrial Revolution', *Mining History*, **16(6)**, 2007, 46; see also below at note 99.

23 P. W. King, 'Grange Furnace', *The Blackcountryman*, **41(3)**, 2008, 50–51.
24 TNA: E112/1339/21 [hereafter Ivie Exchequer], answer of John Taylor. The list of partners given by J. M. Treadwell relates to the 1720 partnership (see below): 'Swift, William Wood, and the Factual Basis of Satire', *Journal of British Studies*, **15**, 1976, 81.
25 Harvey 1725.
26 G. P. Mander and M. W. Tildesley, *A History of Wolverhampton to the Nineteenth Century*, 1960, 116.
27 Ivie Chancery.
28 Ivie Exchequer.
29 TNA: C 2/Chas.I/K20/45; *cf*. C 2/Chas.I/K11/12; C 2/Chas.I/B108/16; C 2/Chas.I/B90/63; C 2/Chas.I/B55/24; C 2/Chas.I/B129/18; C 2/Chas.I/B129/18; C 2/Chas.I/B109/6; C 2/Chas.I/B96/1; C 2/Chas.I/B29/16.
30 National Library of Wales [hereafter NLW]: Longueville 1447; I. Edwards, 'Charcoal Iron Industry in East Denbighshire 1630–98' *Denbs. Hist. Soc. Trans*., **9**, 1960, 28ff.; I. Edwards, 'Charcoal Iron Industry of Denbighshire 1690–1770', *Ibid*., **10**, 1961, 58.
31 Herefordshire Record Office [hereafter HRO]: T74/680.
32 R. Page, 'Richard and Edward Knight: Ironmasters of Bringewood and Wolverley', *Woolhope Nat. Field Club Trans*., **43(1)**, 1979, 10; L. Ince, *The Knight Family and the British Iron Industry 1695–1902* (1991), 2. The precise date is indicated by the Foley accounts: HRO: E12/VI/DEf/4–6; and by the bankruptcy of Job Walker: NLW: Powis Castle 17883; NLW: Cilybebyll 416.
33 Edwards, 1961, 81.
34 Harvey 1725; Ivie Exchequer.
35 Harvey 1725.
36 TNA: C 11/1453/28 [hereafter Wood 1725].
37 NLW: Chirk Castle 576–7. Edwards, 1961, 66–69, seems to have missed this reference and treats references to it as part of his account of Bersham.
38 H. Lloyd, 'The Iron Forges of the Vyrnwy Valley' *Mont. Coll*., **60**, 1967–8, 104–110.
39 NLW: Chirk Castle 238 6244 6941; Edwards, 1960, 48–9; Edwards, 1961, 66–69.
40 TNA: C 54/5420, no. 17; H. Lloyd, *The Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution*, 1975, 52–6; Edwards, 1961, 66–69; For Pentrebychan, see A. N. Palmer, *History of the Thirteen Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham…*, 1903, 17–25; NLW: Tithe awards and maps, for Wrexham: Esclusham Above and Below, property of Henry Warter Meredith. The most likely site for Esclusham Furnace is near the field called Bryn y Felin, grid reference SJ 304477.
41 HRO: E12/VI/DEf/6.
42 Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 52–6; Edwards, 1961, 66–69.
43 See below.
44 Lloyd, 'Iron Forges'; Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 37–52; NLW: Powis Castle Rentals, under Caereinion Iscoed manor, Llangyniew parish.
45 NLW: Powis Castle Rentals, *ut cit*.; Powis Castle MSS, 11446–8; *cf*. TNA: PROB 3/25/28; PROB 3/33/16. A. S. Davies ('The Charcoal Iron Industry of Powys Land', *Mont. Coll*., **46(1)**, 1939, 36–4) places Duvall at Pool Quay Forge, and rather earlier, but this is not supported by the rentals. However, I can find no evidence of a forge at Pool Quay before about 1757 (after the closure of the lead works there): NLW: Powis Castle Rentals, series RA RH & RL passim under Tirymynech lordship, Pool parish, Gungrogfawr township; NLW: Powis Castle MSS 4362–9 & 3422.
46 Harvey 1725.
47 British Library, Early Printed Books, 8223.e.9.
48 P. W. King, 'Early Statistics for the Iron Industry: a Vindication' *Hist. Metall*., **30(1)**, 1996, 28–32; P. W. King, 'The Production and Consumption of Bar Iron in Early Modern England and Wales' *Econ. Hist. Rev*., **58(1)**, 2005, 16–18.
49 J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, 1960, 157.
50 M. B. Donald, *Elizabethan Copper,* 1955; repr. 1994; Donald, *Elizabethan Monopolies: the History of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works from 1565 to 1604*, 1961.
51 BL: Loan MSS 16/3, 94.
52 BL: Loan MSS 16/2, 198–203; W. Rees, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution*, 1968, 334.
53 BL: Loan MSS 16/2, 207–266; *cf*. Moses Stringer, *Opera Mineralia Explicata*, 1713.
54 W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, 1910–12, **II**, 386–405, 411–27.
55 Scott, *Joint stock companies*, **III**, 396–409; E. B. Supple, *History of the Royal Exchange Assurance*, 1970, 12–47; J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, 138–40.
56 NLW: Duchy of Cornwall, P18.
57 *London Gazette*, 2 Feb. 1720 (no. 5822), 2 (from http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/5822/pages/2).
58 King, 'Sir Clement Clerke', 39–41, 45.
59 TNA: E112/827/215; E133/74/64; E134/3 Anne/East 36; E134/3 Anne/Tr 22. Glover was not the Midland ironmaster of the same name (who died in 1689).
60 TNA: WO 47/23, 320 403 (original pagination); *cf*. WO 47/24–25 *passim*.
61 O. F. G. Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal: its Background Origin and Subsequent History*, 1963, 238, citing TNA: WO 47/24, 151.
62 TNA: WO 47/28, 11 118.
63 M. W. Flinn, 'William Wood and the coke smelting process', *Trans. Newcomen Soc*., **34**, 1961–2, 56.
64 Friends' House (Euston Road, London), Transcript of John Kelsall's Diary **IV**, MS S.186, 10th 5mo. 1727. The foundry was also noted by A. Raistrick: *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 114. The tone of Edwards' allusion to this, 'searched for [Wood]' (1961, 73), does not reflect the context of the original.
65 TNA: WO 47/53–120 *passim*; *Kent's Directory of London* (1765 and 1774 issues); King, 'Sir Clement Clerke', 41.
66 Wood 1725; Harvey 1725. The agreement for sale is set out in the schedule to the latter.
67 SA: 4572/2/77.
68 Wood 1725; Harvey 1725; Ivie Chancery, and Ivie Exchequer. The trustees' addresses are from John Taylor's answer in

Ivie Exchequer.
69 TNA: C11/1818/24 [hereafter Wood *v*. Keepe].
71 BL: Add. Ch. 70568–70572.
72 Ivie Chancery.
73 Harvey 1725.
74 Ivie Exchequer.
75 Harvey 1725.
76 Ivie Exchequer.
77 Harvey 1725.
78 TNA: C 11/1453/28, answer of Joshua Gee; a further answer (misfiled) is attached to Wood *v*. Keepe [hereafter (together) Gee 1725].
79 Harvey 1725.
80 Gee 1725.
81 Harvey 1725; Wood 1725; Gee 1725.
82 TNA: C 33/346, 166 415 (*bis*) 417.
83 Gee 1725.
84 TNA: C 33/352, 49.
85 Ivie Exchequer, Hawkins' answer, quoting letter, 4 Apr. 1730, Thomas Harvey to Thomas Hawkins.
86 TNA: C 11/372/102.
87 TNA: C 33/352, 139.
88 TNA: C 33/354, 28.
89 As note 86.
90 Wood *v*. Gee.
91 Wood *v*. Keepe.
92 TNA: C 11/1502/54; C 11/1505/60; C 11/1515/41.
93 Wood *v*. Gee 1757.
94 Ivie Exchequer; Ivie Chancery.
95 Harvey 1725.
96 TNA: C 11/1505/60.
97 Ivie Exchequer.
98 Harvey 1725.
99 P. W. King, 'Black Country Mining', 43–4. It is likely that the engine was removed soon after the death of William Bache in 1712, and rebuilt at Tipton. This subject has recently been controversial: see 'Correspondence', *International Jnl. for the History of Engineering and Technology*, **80(2)**, 2010, 304–6, and references cited there.
100 *Ibid*., 45–6.
101 R. Hatton, *George I: Elector and King,* 1978, 50–4 153–55.
102 Treadwell, 'Swift': A. Goodwin, 'Wood's Halfpence', *English Historical Review*, 51, 1936, 647–674; Herbert Davis, 'Introduction', in Jonathan Swift, *Drapier's Letters*, 1935, ix-lxvii.
103 Wallis, *Natural History of Northumberland and…Durham*, 1769, **I**, 125, quoted in P. Riden, *A Gazetteer of Charcoal-fired Blast Furnaces in Great Britain in Use since 1660*, 2nd edn, 1993, 125.
104 TNA: C 11/1505/60.
105 TNA: C 11/257/23.
106 Andrew Eburne, 'Charles Bridgeman and the gardens of the Robinocracy', *Garden History*, **31(2)**, 2003, 199–202.
107 Treadwell, 'William Wood', 101, citing TNA: PC 1/4/106, 70; TNA: PC 1/4/107/6.
108 TNA: PC 1/4/107/6.
109 TNA: PC 1/4/107/6 and 33.
110 Treadwell, 'William Wood', 103–4.
111 TNA: PC 1/4/107/29.
112 TNA: PC 1/4/106/107; PC2/91 *passim*. Treadwell, 'William Wood'. I hope to deal with this more fully elsewhere.
113 *The Last Will and Testament of William Wood of Hampstead* (1730?): BL: Early Printed Books, 816.m.23 (132).
114 Treadwell, 'William Wood', 110–11.
115 I hope to address these matters elsewhere.
116 Ivie Exchequer; Ivie Chancery.
117 SA: Ford letterbook, 6001/3190, 23 and 29 Jan. 1732/3.
118 Ivie Exchequer.
119 SA: Ford letterbook, 18 August 1733.
120 Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 57–62.
121 NLW: Dolobran deeds, 7–15.
122 SA: RO, 6000/14620.
123 TNA: PROB 11/650, q.72, f.194, will of Thomas Harvey.
124 TNA: PROB 3/31/86, inventory of Thomas Harvey.
125 King, 'Early Statistics', 32.
126 *Great Bolas Parish Register* (Shrops, Parish Register Society, Lichfield, **XIII**, 1913).
127 Inventory of Thomas Harvey.
128 Kelsall's Diary III (transcript), 21 and 23 1mo. 1722/3; *cf*. SA: 112/5/14, these Mackworth deeds, not including the forge.
129 King, 'Early Statistics', 32–36.
130 Will of Thomas Harvey.
131 Inventory of Thomas Harvey.
132 King, 'Early Statistics', 32–36.
133 Schafer (ed.), *Philip Foley's Accounts*, **I**, 33, 99.

134 HRO: E12/VI/KAc/109.
135 HRO: E12/VI/KBc/55.
136 HRO: E12/VI/DFf/1–3, sales mostly from Blakeney Furnace.
137 Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO: DR35, vol. 12.
138 Inventory of Thomas Harvey.
139 J. G. Rollins, 'Forge Mill', *Industrial Archaeology*, **3**, 1966, 45.
140 Will and Inventory of Thomas Harvey.
141 Worcs. RO: b705:68 BA 309/4, 1721; *VCH, Staffs*. **XX**, 55, 60, 61.
142 Somerset RO: Graffin Prankard's accounts, DD/DN/433 and 436.
143 *Cf*. K. C. Barraclough, *Steelmaking before Bessemer: i Blister Steel: the Birth of an Industry*, The Metals Society, London, 1984, 70–1, 79, 98.
144 Edwards, 1961, 79. It is conceivable that this derives from a misprint for 1747, when Harvey leased mines on Frizington Moor, formerly leased by William Wood: Cumbria RO, Carlisle, D/Lons/box 1686 (Frizington deeds).
145 Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds,* 55.
146 SA, Ford letterbook, 6001/3190, n.d. – *c*. late Mar. 1732/3; 22 September 1733; 1 June 1734; 25 January 1734/5.
147 Edwards, 1961, 77–79.
148 TNA: C 12/1794/8; C 12/1763/10.
149 SA: 6000/18209.
150 NLW: Pitchford Hall, 893, 995, 1925–6. *VCH*, *Salop*, **VIII**, 118, states that Richard Jordan became tenant in 1746: however the estate rentals indicate that the agreement (NLW: Pitchford Hall 995) cannot have been completed.
151 Output date from 1749 Ironworks List: P. W. King, 'Early Statistics', 35.
152 *Journal of House of Commons*, **XXIII**, 111.
153 Worcs. RO: b899:310 BA 10470/5.
154 Lancs. RO: DDMc 30/9.
155 'Some observations on my journey…September 1754' in J. Gross (ed.), *The Diary of Charles Wood of Cyfarthfa Ironworks, Merthyr Tydfil 1766–1767*, 2001, 222.
156 Coulton, 'Tern Hall', 101.
157 SA: 112/11/box 15/65.
158 SA: 6000/18289.
159 Denton and Lewis (as note 1).
160 *The Present State of Mr Wood's Partnership* (as note 47).
161 Coulton, 'Tern Hall', 101.
162 J. T. Turley, 'The iron industry of East Denbighshire during the late Eighteenth Century', *Hist. Metall*., **12(1)**, 1978, 29.
163 BCA: 278121.
164 BCA: 278103; NLW: Pitchford Hall, 2101, 2103, 1925–6.
165 BCA: Boulton, MII/5/12.
166 *Aris Birmingham Gazette*, 1 and 8 Oct. 1770.
167 BCA: Boulton, MII/5/12 (not mentioned in list).
168 H. A. Fletcher, 'Archaeology of the West Cumberland iron trade' *Trans. Cumb. & Westm. Arch. & Antiq. Soc*., **5**, 1881, 10, 20; Cumbria RO, Carlisle, D/Lons/box 1686 (Frizington deeds).
169 Wood *v*. Gee 1759.
170 Private Act of 1551 (copy in Harvard University Library accessed *via* Early English Printed Books on-line); Terry Kavanagh, 'Commercial Traffic on the Upper Dee', *Liverpool Nautical Research Society Bulletin*, **39(3)**, 1995–6, 59–63.
171 C. MacLeod, 'The 1690s Patents Boom: Invention or Stock-Jobbing?', *Econ. Hist. Rev*., **39**, 1986, 549–71.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the late Mr. A. T. Foley of Stoke Edith and to Jim Lowther and the trustees of the Lowther Estates for permission to examine their family archives; to the family of Janet Butler for access to her papers at Ironbridge Gorge Museum; and to the archivists and staff of various record offices and libraries for their assistance in my research over many years.

A Bronze Age Palstave Hoard from Rednal, Shropshire

By M. D. WATSON

In September 2002 a hoard of three bronze palstaves was found on land at Station Farm, Rednal, Shropshire. The hoard was discovered by a metal detectorist, while undertaking a general search of the area. Shortly after recovery the find was drawn to the attention of the County Archaeology Service. The hoard has subsequently been acquired by the County Museum Service (Accession No. A.01336).

The Findspot

Station Farm is situated 1 km. southwest of Rednal in the parish of West Felton. The actual findspot (SJ35322720) lies some 300m. southeast of the farm on ground that slopes gently to the east and within a field whose northern boundary runs alongside the course of a now canalised small stream. The palstaves were found immediately adjacent to this field boundary. The field had been ploughed for the first time within living memory three years before the discovery of the palstaves.

The palstaves were located at a depth of 220–260mm and came wholly from within the topsoil. Two were found together and the other some 2 metres distant. Despite thorough further searching of the area of the findspot by the finder, no further metal detector finds were made.

Following reporting of the discovery a small excavation of the findspot was undertaken by Hugh Hannaford of the Archaeology Service, Shropshire County Council.[1] An area 3.5m. by 2.5m. was investigated. This seemed to confirm the recent ploughing as the likely cause of disturbance of the hoard from its original place of deposition. No evidence was found for any archaeological feature from which the palstaves could have come. It is suggested this may be due to their having either been buried in a shallow feature removed by ploughing, or that they had originally lain just outside the excavated area.

The Hoard

The palstaves are in fine condition, showing little trace of any original wear or damage or indeed of post-depositional plough damage. Each is a looped midribbed palstave.

Palstave 1 (Figure 1)

This palstave is narrow, with a blade expanding from straight side ridges to a well defined expanded edge that is bevelled and still sharp. The stop-ridge has a high projecting lip that defines a straight-ended septum. A single central rib, low and rounded, extends from the stop to some two thirds down the blade. The flanges which are low and narrow, rise from the flat-floored septum and taper slightly towards the butt end. The butt end widens slightly to a straight edge.

A smoothed down casting flash scar is visible on both sides, and is especially pronounced toward the butt end. Beneath the loop, which is somewhat elongated, the casting flash has not been removed at all.

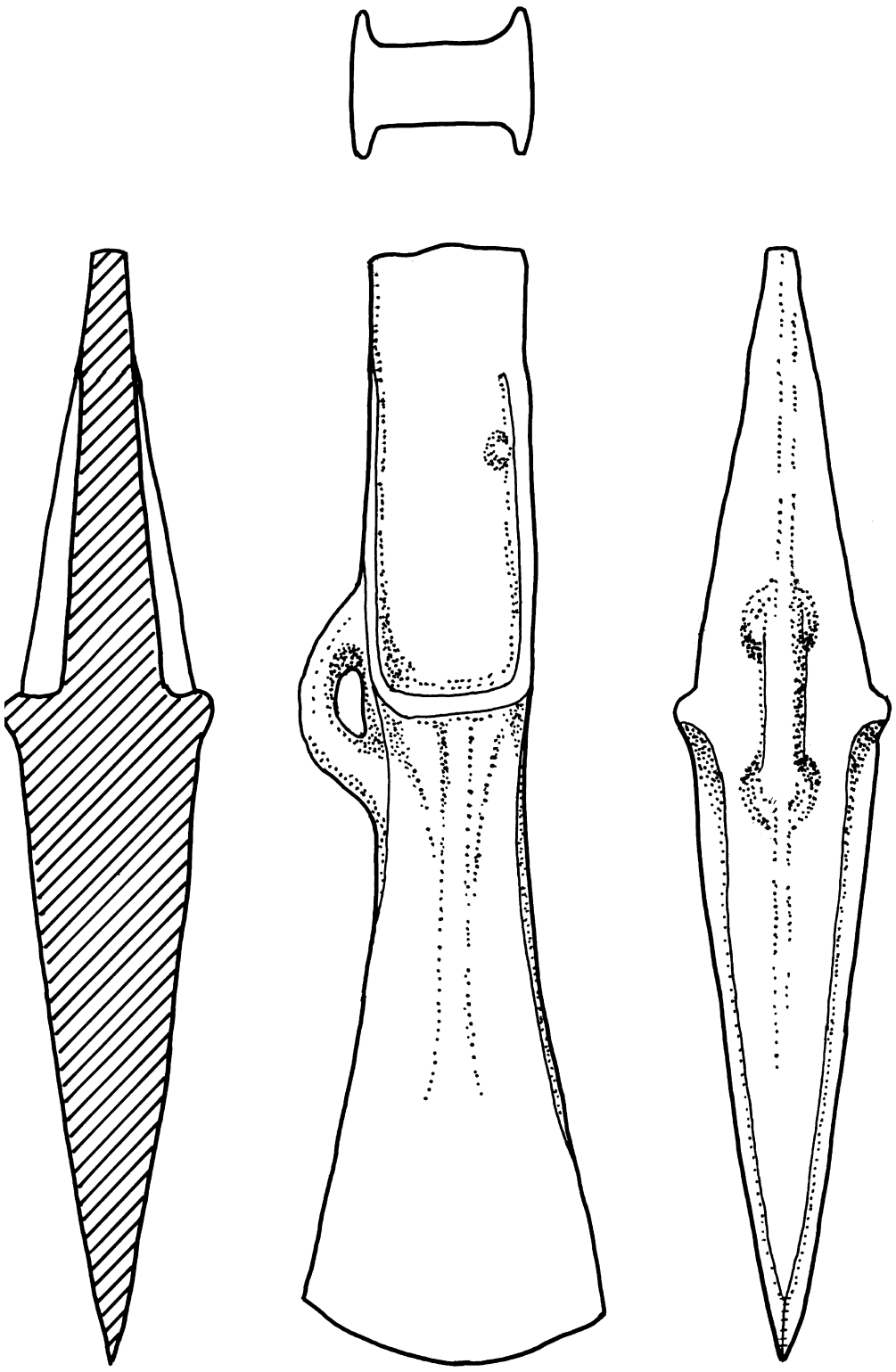

Figure 1 Palstave 1.

Palstave 2 (Figure 2)

A narrow palstave with long slender blade, still sharp, expanded at the edge and with pointed tips. The stop-ridge is slightly rounded at the angles. One septum is a little longer than the other and has traces of swallow holes below the stop. Further casting damage is evident in the form of an area of pitting on one side of the blade near to the stop-ridge.

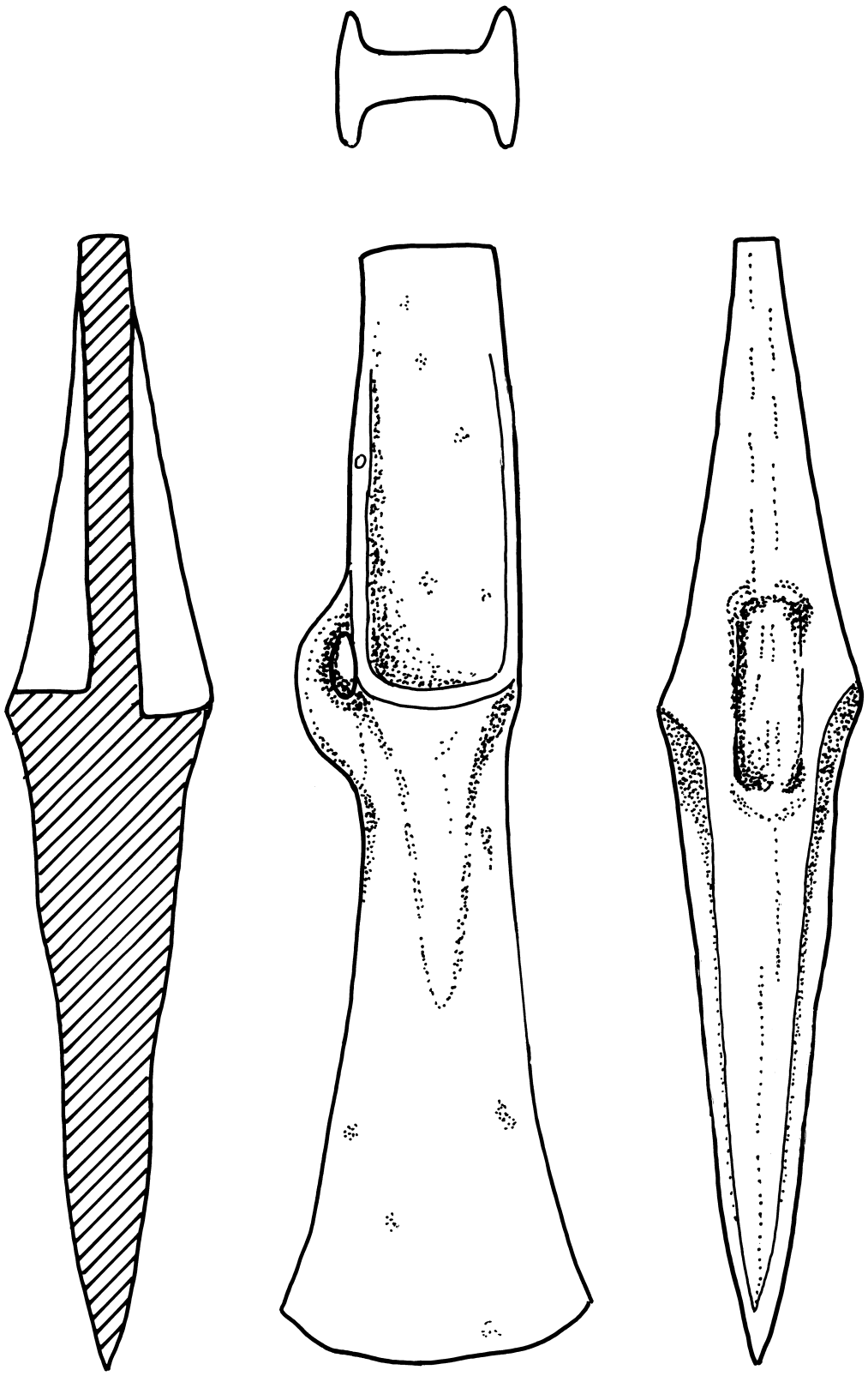

Figure 2 Palstave 2.

A broad short triangular shaped midrib extends from the stop on both sides of the blade. The square butt end is broad and well formed. A casting fault has resulted in the loop having only a narrow perforated aperture. The casting flash remains only as a slight ridge on one side and as a shallow narrow linear depression on the other. Smooth olive green patina appears in all patches on all sides of the palstave.

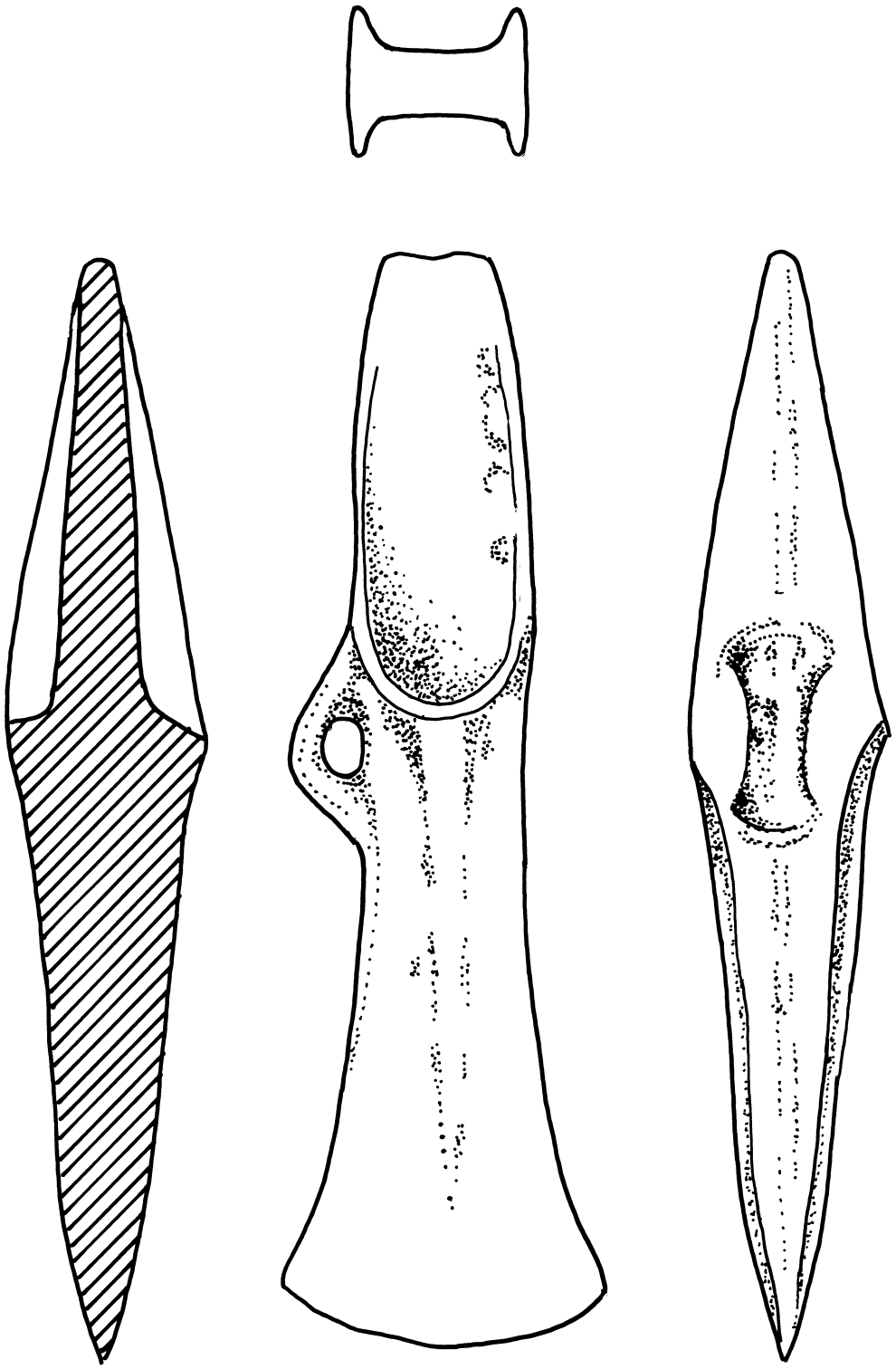

Figure 3 Palstave 3.

Palstave 3 (Figure 3)

The expanded bevelled blade of this palstave, although a little jagged at the edge and slightly blunted at the tips, is still on the whole sharp. It differs slightly from the other two in that its stop-ridge is distinctly rounded. From the stop a low rounded midrib extends down to the bevelled edge on one side of the blade, but is barely perceptible on the other side. The septum floor is slightly curved in cross section, and on one side angles upward toward its juncture with the stop. The loop is well rounded.

A casting flash is visible towards the butt as a rough low ridge, more pronounced on one side than the other, while along the sides of the blade virtually all trace has been removed. The smooth mid-brown patina is largely intact, but chipped in places to reveal areas of green corrosion.

Dimensions

		Palstave		
		1	*2*	*3*
Length	mm	167	179	165
Width (edge)	mm	48	50	49
(stop)	mm	26	27	27
(butt)	mm	26	25	18
Thickness (Stop)	mm	35	34	33
Weight	gm	479	515	477

Discussion

All three palstaves are contemporary in date and though not identical, are remarkably similar in design and form. Their characteristic features are the narrow blade and slender profile, the central midrib on the blade, and the side loop. These features are typical of so-called 'transitional' type palstaves, and as such they can be confidently assigned to the Penard phase metalwork assemblage (c.1275 – 1140 BC) of the Middle Bronze Age.

The circumstances of their discovery along with their contemporaneity leave little doubt that the palstaves were originally deposited together and hence can be rightly classed as a hoard. Tool dominant hoards from dry-land contexts such as this example have traditionally been regarded as 'utilitarian' hoards deposited with the objective of temporary safe keeping. Recent re-assessment however, has suggested that hoards of this type need not be precluded from being votive or ritual in nature.[2] The evidence from the Rednal hoard however, is inconclusive as to the motive for its deposition.

Hoards of Penard type and date are not very common nationwide and there is only one other known example from Shropshire. This is the Edgebold hoard, another tool dominated hoard, found in 1897/8, and comprising two palstaves and a trunnion chisel.[3] Palstave/tool-only Penard hoards are a feature predominantly of northern England extending as far south as Shropshire. The Rednal hoard is a welcome addition to this distribution.

Notes

1 Hannaford, H. R. and Watson, M. D. (2003) 'A Bronze Age Hoard from Rednal, Shropshire', SCCAS Report No. 226.

2 Needham, S. (2001), 'When expediency broaches ritual intention: the flow of metal between systemic and buried domains', *J. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* (N.S.) **7**, 275–298.

3 Chitty, L. F. (1926) 'Bronze Implements from the Edgebold Brickfield near Shrewsbury', *Trans. Shrops. Archaeol. Soc.,* 1925–26, viii – ix.

SHROPSHIRE ARCHIVES REPORT FOR 2007

By MARY McKENZIE, County Archivist

2007 was an incredibly busy year for Shropshire Archives with a number of projects being completed and others starting. All the projects contributed to the service's aims to make the history of Shropshire more accessible to everyone.

Discovering Shropshire's History Project

The **Discovering Shropshire's History** project, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, was completed this year. The project created a website at www.shropshirehistory.org.uk to link information from Shropshire Archives, Shropshire Museums Service and the Sites and Monuments Record. In addition the site has provided local independent museums and local history societies across the county with a web presence. During the year over 35,000 unique visitors used the site and its popularity is increasing.

The Lilleshall Collection Project

Work on the **Lilleshall Collection**, one of Shropshire's most significant estate archives, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, was also completed this year. The collection was purchased, catalogued, and conserved, and selected series were digitised. The project allowed us to do all the things we would like to do with our material but do not usually have the resources to achieve it. It has also helped us to develop new ways of making archives accessible through digitisation and on-line resources. Shropshire Archives worked closely with Staffordshire and Stoke on Trent Archive Service, who were also successful in securing funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, to work on their related Sutherland collection.

Discover Shropshire Project

Shropshire Archives, with the County Library Service and the County Museums Service, was successful in securing funding from MLA West Midlands to support the **Discover Shropshire** project. The project created Local History Centres at Bridgnorth and Oswestry libraries, supported by advice services provided by volunteers. The local collections relating to these areas were catalogued and digitised and a range of events organised for both young people and families.

The Records and Memories of the King's Shropshire Light Infantry (KSLI) Project

This partnership project, working with the Shropshire Regimental Museum, again funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, took place this year. The project collected and preserved over 50 memories of KSLI servicemen covering service in World War II, Korea and Kenya. The KSLI archive collection was also catalogued and digitised as part of the project.

Acton Scott Heritage Project

This community archaeology project started this year with the aim of investigating the history and archaeology of the parish of Acton Scott, including the Roman Villa site discovered in the nineteenth century. Over 50 volunteers were recruited to work on the project.

Events, Friends and Volunteers

Over 170 volunteers worked with Shropshire Archives during 2007 contributing over 1,000 days' work in all areas of the service. A two day Family and Local History fair in October attracted over 150 visitors. The Friends also had a busy year and organised events in Claverley and in Madeley, celebrating the Thomas Telford bi-centenary, as well as a very successful programme of summer walks.

Accessions

Accessions received during 2007 have included:

Telford Development Corporation records, 1960s-1990s (7612, 7624)
Ledger for jewellery business, 47 Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury, 1909–48 (7610)
Meole Brace parish records, 1975–2005 (7622)
Church Stretton parish records, 1820–1992 (7623)
Whitchurch parish book, 1802 (7625)
Shrewsbury Roman Catholic mission register, 1775–1817 (7626)
Ludlow Church of England school records, 1863–1958 (7635)
North Shropshire District Council minutes, 1999–2006 (7637)
Hope Parish records, 1985–1994 (7641)
Telford Methodist circuit records, 20th century (7642)
Leebotwood parish records, 1838–2006 (7645)
Shrewsbury Methodist circuit records, 1936–1987 (7647)
Clungunford Parish records, 1659–1989 (7648)
Shrewsbury Drapers' Company records, 20th century (7649)
Malinslee parish records, 1993–2004 (7654)
Dawley parish records, 1970s-1980s (7655)
Stirchley parish records, 1994–1998 (7656)
Broseley Church of England school records, 1863–1967 (7659)
Bridgnorth Historical Society records and printed items, 1661–1942 (7662)
Photograph album of Lady Forester hospital, Much Wenlock, 1950s-1960s (7666)
Albrighton infant school records, 1945–1990 (7674)
Sketches in Shropshire by David Parkes, 19th century (7675)
Deeds and papers relating to property in Bucknell and Clun, 1673–1899 (7686)
Deeds and papers relating to 6 Shoplatch, Shrewsbury, 1764–1969 (7689)
Baschurch Church of England school records, 1821–1992 (7690)
Deeds and papers relating to property in Wellington, 1794–1963 (7692)
Diaries of Mrs Margot Callendar Daniel, 1926–2007 (7697)
Shropshire Lesbian and Gay Campaign Group records, 20th-21st centuries (7698)
Edstaston parish records, 1903–1956 (7703)
Manor of Dorrington, Court Baron minutes, 1799–1818 (7710)
Minutes of the Telford Licensed Victuallers Association, 1955–2007 (7723)

SHROPSHIRE ARCHIVES REPORT FOR 2008

By MARY McKENZIE, County Archivist

2008 was marked by the completion of a number of projects started in 2007, as well as preparations for the formation of a new unitary authority, Shropshire Council, in April 2009, and also the build up to a significant anniversary, the bicentenary of Charles Darwin's birth in February 2009.

Their Past Your Future Project

Working with the Shropshire Regimental Museum, the **Their Past Your Future** project (funded by the Big Lottery Fund and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council) built on the success of the Records and Memories of the King's Shropshire Light Infantry project. Working with children from Oxon Primary and Sundorne Secondary schools in Shrewsbury, the project brought together veterans and young people to explore the themes of conflict and memory. Resource packs on World War I and World War II were developed as part of the project, and distributed to all schools in Shropshire and Telford & Wrekin.

Telford Culture Zone and Find Your Talent

Throughout the year Shropshire Archives continued to work on the **Telford Culture Zone** project, which supported access to culture for all school children in Telford & Wrekin. Partners involved in the scheme included Telford & Wrekin libraries, Ironbridge Gorge Museums Trust, the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. A number of projects and resources were developed during the year, including The Great Fire of Newport, and Making Connections, a project based on the canals of Telford, developed with art and drama.

During 2008 Telford & Wrekin Council was successful in securing government funding as one of 10 national pilots for the **Find Your Talent** programme which aimed to provide 5 hours of cultural activities for children aged up to 18. Shropshire Archives worked with partners to continue to develop exciting educational opportunities for young people rooted in the history and culture of the locality.

Acton Scott Heritage Project

Work on the community archaeology project continued, including excavations of the Roman Villa site in September. The work showed that well preserved remains had survived the previous nineteenth century work on the site. The volunteers continued to research various aspects of the parish, and a range of events and activities were arranged to support this.

Shropshire Audit

As part of the move to one unitary Shropshire Council in April 2009, an archives and records audit of Shropshire Borough and District Councils was completed. This identified approximately 120 linear metres of archives and

over 4,000 linear metres of records held by the Councils, a significant quantity of archives and records requiring processing and cataloguing. The audit also identified a number of issues which needed to be addressed to ensure that the new authority would be able to access and manage its information appropriately.

Events, Friends and Volunteers

Over 170 volunteers worked with Shropshire Archives during 2008 contributing over 1,200 days' work in all areas of the service. The Friends also had a busy year and organised events in Oswestry, the biannual local history conference at Shirehall, and an Eighteenth Century Day School on the Shropshire Enlightenment, the first such event held on a Sunday, as well as the annual programme of summer walks.

Accessions

Accessions received during 2008 have included:

Shropshire registrars' records, 1837–2004 (7740)
Llanyblodwel parish records, 1827–1860 (7743)
Edgton parish records, 1812–2006 (7746)
Ludlow Borough charters, 1461–29th century (7747)
Whitchurch parish records, 1689–1978 (7748)
Beckbury parish records, 1990–2008 (7754)
Sutton Maddock parish records, 1893–1990 (7755)
Records of Baschurch Church of England primary school, 1920s-1990s (7758)
Mary Webb Society records, 1950–2000s (7760), (7813)
Shelton Hospital records, 1893–1918 (7761)
Diary of Mrs. Caroline Wakefield, Wife of the Rev. John Wakefield of Hughley, 1878–1886 (7762)
Cardington parish records, 1837–2007 (7763)
Hope Bowdler parish records, 1837–2006 (7764)
Rushbury parish records, 1837–2007 (7765)
Eaton under Heywood parish records, 1813–2007 (7766)
Shropshire Ladies County Golf association records, 1921–2007 (7767)
Telford Methodist circuit records, 1841–1852 (7768)
Cold Weston parish records, 1913–1938 (7771)
Records of St John's Hill Methodist church, Shrewsbury, 1899–2005 (7780)
Acton Scott school minute book, 1903–1949 (7785)
Ratlinghope parish records, 1838–2007 (7786)
Records of J. P. Wood of Craven Arms, poultry producers, 1960s–1980s (7794)
Stirchley parish records, 1925–2004 (7795)
Ditton Priors parish records, 1699–1977 (7797)
Burwarton parish records, 1957–1964 (7798)
Shrewsbury St. Mary's parish records, 1864–1876 (7809)
Records of the National Farmers' Union, Shrewsbury branch, 20th–21st century, (7810)
Stanton Long parish records, 1953–1991 (7814)
Records of Hyssington primitive methodist chapel, 1897–1950 (7819)
Papers of the Philpott, Lewis and Edwards families of Brockton House, Brockton, Much Wenlock, 1780s -1940s, (7825)
Dudleston parish records, 1826–1840 (7826)
Clunbury parish records, 1901–1993 (7830)
Church Pulverbatch parish records, 1993–2000 (7832)
Longden parish records, 1975–1997 (7833)
The Michael Raven collection of topographical photographs and slides, 1938–2008 (7835)
Kinnerley parish records, 1962–1985 (7837)
Knockin parish records, 1837–2001 (7838)
Cash book of Thomas Owen, tailor of Shawbury, 1899–1914 (7848)
Library of archaeologist Stan Stanford, 20th century (7864)
Priorslee parish records, 1824–2008 (7868)

Hadley infants school records, 1886–2006 (7872)
Edstaston parish records, 1850–1994 (7873)
Tilstock parish records, 1719–1998 (7874)
Whixall parish records, 1847–1992 (7875)

Archaeological Investigations in Shropshire in 2005

By CHARLOTTE BAXTER

A summary of work undertaken in 2005 in the County of Shropshire and the Unitary Authority of Telford and Wrekin that was subsequently reported to the Historic Environment Record, Shropshire County Council. Further information on all these events and the related monuments can be found on the Discovering Shropshire's History website (www.discovershropshire.org.uk).

The references in brackets prefixed 'PRN' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual sites and those prefixed 'ESA' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual events or activities such as archaeological excavations. I would like to thank the contributors who provided summaries for some of the reports included in this review.

Acton Burnell; SJ 525 026. In March a new footbridge was erected over the Cound Brook near Acton Burnell, Shropshire, at the site of the Scheduled Roman bridge abutment (PRN 00290). An archaeological watching brief was carried out on the excavation of six post holes cut for handrails on the abutments of the new footbridge. No archaeological features or deposits were encountered.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2005: *Watching Brief carried out at Roman Bridge Abutment, Acton Burnell*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report, ESA 5963)

Acton Burnell; SJ 537 021. A desk-based assessment was carried out in May on the proposed erection of an accommodation block at Concord College, Acton Burnell. The site lies within Acton Burnell Hall park (PRN 07646), which was originally a deer park created in 1270 by Robert Burnell. The 13th century manorial complex was based around Acton Burnell castle (PRN 00287), which lies 200m. to the west of the site. The park was then remodelled in the 18th century with the construction of Acton Burnell Hall (PRN 13182), now Concord College. During this period it is likely that formal gardens, located directly north of the development site, were laid out. Despite the 18th century remodelling, it would seem the boundaries of the park have remained significantly unchanged since it was created.

(Wainwright, J., 2005: *Desk-based assessment on the proposed accommodation block, Concord College, Acton Burnell, Shropshire*, Marches Archaeology, Report 384, ESA 5965)

Astley Abbotts; SO 701 960. In February an archaeological and architectural analysis was carried out at the Grade II* listed Dunval Hall (PRN 11455), near Bridgnorth. Although the hall has been extended, the core of the building is still the original 'half-H' timber framed house of late 16th or early 17th century date, and consists of the hall range flanked by two wings.

(Morriss, R. K. et al, 2005: *Outline archaeological and architectural analysis of Dunval Hall, Astley Abbots, Shropshire*, Mercian Heritage Series: Report 248, ESA 5956)

B**ridgnorth; SO 516 932**. An evaluation was carried out between February and March, in advance of proposed construction and conversion works to Central Court, High Street, in Bridgnorth. The earliest evidence revealed was a buried soil, which produced several sherds of *c*.15th century partially glazed pottery, suggesting that during the late medieval period, this was a cleared area, possibly in horticultural use. A number of domestic waste and rubbish pits, dating from the 18th/19th century, were also identified cut into the late medieval soil horizon, but these were probably in use for only a limited period. Structural remains were also uncovered, which appeared to correspond in alignment to a one-room rectangular building shown on the Ordnance Survey 1st edition map of

1891. These results indicate the continuous land use of this area of Bridgnorth (PRN 05641) from the 15th to the 20th century.

(Jones, P., 2005: *Archaeological evaluation: Central Court, High Street, Bridgnorth, Shropshire*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0461FILCCB, ESA 5927)

Bridgnorth; SO 720 929. Between November 2004 and April 2005, a watching brief was undertaken at 1–4 St. John's Street, Bridgnorth in connection with groundworks for the construction of a residential development. The 1st edition map of 1882 shows a narrow tenement plot (PRN 5634) across the area, and a short distance to the west, a malthouse (PRN 6939). A number of pits and some isolated postholes were recorded, as were a brick floor and wall, believed to be part of the former malthouse. The finds recovered included a complete 'Torpedo or Hamilton' glass bottle and a cauldron thought to be associated with the malthouse and the malting process. Possible evidence was found of the tenement plots, taking the form of a broader and deeper feature than was found elsewhere on the site.

(Cook, M., 2005: *Watching brief at 1–4 St. John's Street, Bridgnorth, Shropshire*, Mercian Archaeology, ESA 5969)

Church Stretton; SO 453 937. An archaeological evaluation, comprising the excavation of two trenches, was carried out at Park House Cottage, Church Stretton, in December. The Park House Cottage was originally part of an estate belonging to Park House, an 18th century house situated to the north of the Church, demolished in 1818. Trench 1 produced no definite evidence of activity predating the post medieval periods; one of the earliest features revealed appears to have been either a natural watercourse or a holloway. Trench 2 was located over a structure or features recorded on the tithe map of 1840–41. No evidence of these was found and it was concluded that the structure or features had shallow foundations that were entirely removed during demolition in the 1880s.

(Cruse, G. et al, 2006: *Archaeological evaluation, Park House Cottage, Church Stretton, Shropshire*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0551BOCS, ESA 6015)

Ellesmere Rural; Selattyn and Gobowen St Martin's; SJ 308 355. Between October and December a rapid survey was undertaken of all industrial archaeology in the area around the proposed World Heritage Site of the Pontcysyllte and Chirk Aqueducts (PRN 13171) and the length of the Llangollen Canal (PRN 03414). The study found that the historic industrial landscape was in places remarkably dense and in some areas remarkably well preserved, as was the case with industrial settlement evidence, stone quarrying, limestone quarrying and processing, and also the transport systems. In contrast the historic industrial environment survived to a very limited extent, in respect of the coal-mining, iron-working and brick-making industries.

(Gwyn, D., 2007: *Industrial archaeological audit of the area around the Pontcysyllte aqueduct proposed Word Heritage Site*, Govannon Consultancy, ESA 6203)

Hadnall; SJ 522 200. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken in September at St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Hadnall (PRN 12246), during the excavation of a telephone cable trench to the south and east of the church. The church is medieval in origin and has occupied the site since the 12th century at least. The watching brief established that the location of the cable followed a pre-existing cable. No archaeological features were revealed and only one sherd of tin glazed earthenware, one piece of terracotta tile and one fragment of dark green bottle glass were recovered from the topsoil.

(Frost, P., 2005: *St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Hadnall, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief* Castlering Archaeology, Report 222, ESA 5974)

Hopton Castle; SO 366 779. In September and October a geophysical survey was carried out at Hopton Castle (PRN 01167), a medieval motte and bailey castle, with a ruinous tower keep. A resistivity survey and detailed magnetic survey was carried out over an area of 3.2 ha. followed by a ground penetrating radar survey on targeted areas of interest. The survey showed a complex of anomalies surrounding the castle, many associated with visible structural features. Some of these relate to former buildings, particularly areas within the bailey which may have been used for an industrial purpose. The area north of the keep may also contain structures of an industrial nature.

(Elks, D., 2005: *Geophysical survey report, Hopton Castle, Shropshire*, Stratascan, Report J 2057, ESA 6011)

Leighton and Eaton Constantine, Wroxeter and Uppington; SJ 626 081. An archaeological desk top assessment and a walk-over survey of the Wrekin were carried out on behalf of Shropshire Hills AONB Partnership, with the objective of enhancing land management. The work was carried out between February and April. The survey area included the woodlands owned by the Orleton Estate and the Raby Estate. Many new sites,

including house platforms and charcoal burning sites, were recorded in the woodlands surrounding the Wrekin hillfort (PRN 01069).

(Silvester, R. J., 2005: *The Wrekin: an archaeological survey*, Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust, CPAT Report 705, ESA 5949)

Little Ness; SJ 407 198. In March a watching brief was carried out on a trench cut for a new water pipe connecting to St. Martin's Church, Little Ness (PRN 00851). The pipe trench ran through a field to the west of the Little Ness castle motte (PRN 01100) and around to the north side of the churchyard. Within the field the machine digger cut through a large stone-filled pit of unknown function and date. Some 11m. south-west of the motte, a *c*.20m. wide shallow depression was crossed. Here a layer of black, soft, loose charcoal was found associated with a 19th century brick, glazed 19th century pottery and a large section of reinforced concrete beam or fence post. Within the churchyard, the pipe trench was excavated by hand over a distance of 11m. and no archaeological features or artefacts were found other than a ceramic drainpipe.

(Baker, N. J., 2005: *An archaeological watching brief at St. Martin's Church, Little Ness, Shropshire* Independent Archaeological Consultant & Contractor, ESA 5950)

Ludlow; SO 511 751. A watching brief was undertaken in February at the deconsecrated St. Leonard's Church, now a printing works (PRN 20047). Groundworks entailed the removal of a raised platform where the altar had previously stood against the east wall, and the subsequent excavation to match the ground level of the rest of the building. It was found the altar plinth and steps included dressed stonework, and sat on a build up layer of rubble. No other features or artefacts were recorded.

(Unknown Author, 2005: *St. Leonard's Church, Ludlow: an archaeological watching brief*, Border Archaeology, ESA 5926)

Ludlow; SO 511 745. An archaeological watching brief was carried out in May, on groundworks prior to the restoration and repair of a section of Ludlow medieval Town Wall (PRN 01177) located on Camp Lane. The works comprised the reduction of 19th and 20th century soil deposits against the south face of the wall, the clearance of debris from three gaps within the structure and the reduction of unstable masonry. The walls showed evidence of extensive maintenance and repair, including a complete rebuild of one section of the wall and a possible rebuild of another. No evidence was found to date these rebuilding phases or to confirm the date of the original construction.

(Cruse, G. et al, 2005: *Works to repair part of Ludlow Town Walls located at The Lodge Camp Lane*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0506DMCLT, ESA 5982)

Ludlow; SO 511 749. In June and July, an evaluation was undertaken on the site of the former Portcullis Furniture showroom on Corve Street, Ludlow in conjunction with a residential development. The earliest known period of settlement in this part of Ludlow dates to the later 12th century (PRN 06251), and a series of rubbish pits excavated on the site roughly date to this period onward. The pits were filled with domestic refuse consisting of fragmentary cooking pots, jugs and tiles, animal bones and plant remains including a charred hazelnut fragment. An early 14th century jetton or reckoning counter, used in commercial transactions, was also found. Large amounts of animal bone were also excavated indicating butchery, tanning and leather working on the site and roughly dating from the 16th to the 19th century. Metal slag associated with 19th century structures suggests the presence of iron working on the site as well. The association of the site with marginal industrial activities seems to have continued well into the 18th and 19th centuries.

(Unknown Author, 2006: *Final Report on the excavation at No. 29 Corve Street, Ludlow*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0457LPCSLS, ESA 6070)

Ludlow; SO 516 746. Between July and August, a watching brief was carried out in conjunction with the erection of a building for Youth Services located immediately to the north and partially within the Scheduled area of the Augustinian Friary at Lower Galdeford, Ludlow (PRN 01770). Although a wall and floor surface with possible links to the friary were excavated in the same location during a previous excavation [ESA 5966], no further evidence of this was observed during foundation trenching. No other significant archaeological structures, finds or features were identified.

(Children, G., 2006: *Archaeological Observation: Youth Service Building, Lower Galdeford, Ludlow*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0442SCCLGL, ESA 6035)

Lydbury North; SO 351 851. A geophysical survey was carried out on two former formal garden sites, now used as agricultural land, near Lydbury North, Shropshire in December. At Lower Gardens several possible linear cut

features and raised earthworks were identified during the magnetic survey and evidence of stone features and cut features were seen in the resistance data. At Walcot (PRN 07757) two strong linear features were identified during the magnetic survey, possibly representing trackways or paths, and more ambiguous features, possible representing areas of stone, or cut features were seen in the resistance survey.

(Elks, D., 2006: *Geophysical Survey Report on former formal gardens, Lydbury North, Shropshire*, Stratascan, Report J2094, ESA 6012)

Market Drayton; SJ 592 046. In February an evaluation took place in advance of the construction of a retail unit, northeast of Frogmore Road. The evaluation hoped to identify the survival of possible 13th century burgage plots (PRN 05698), and other archaeological evidence relating to the medieval and later development of Market Drayton. However, due to the high level of truncation and modern disturbance, no features or deposits of archaeological significance were recorded and no finds were recovered.

(Cherrington, R., 2005: *An archaeological evaluation on land at Frogmore Road, Market Drayton, Shropshire*, Benchmark Archaeology, ESA 5925)

Market Drayton; SJ 676 340. In early 2005, a desk based assessment and field visit were carried out on land straddling a brook, formerly part of a river meander of the River Tern. The assessment identified the presence of tanning and allied trades north of the brook, from at least the 16th century (though these probably began in the medieval period) into the 20th century (PRN 08626, 06592). South of the brook the land appears to have been in agricultural use.

(Stone, R., 2005: *Land at Phoenix Bank, Market Drayton, Shropshire*, Marches Archaeology, Report 377, ESA 5940)

Market Drayton; SJ 675 342. Between October 2004 and February 2005 an intermittent watching brief was carried out on the clearance and groundworks at a site on Stafford Street. The site was occupied by a fire damaged street frontage shop, which was taken down to ground level whilst retaining the façade. Removal of building rubble was monitored down to the existing floor surfaces. The watching brief revealed that the site had previously been cleared above the natural and subsoil during 19th century construction work. No archaeological features were revealed apart from the footprints of former 19th century buildings, with the finds recovered consistent with late 18th–20th century domestic occupation.

(Frost, P., 2005: *12 Stafford Street, Market Drayton, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief* Castlering Archaeology, Report 200, ESA 5921)

Moreton Say; SJ 621 335. Between December 2003 and February 2005, a Level 2 building recording survey and watching brief were undertaken at Bletchley Manor (PRN 14017), in advance of and during alterations made to the property. Written, drawn and photographic evidence was collated throughout. The 16th century double pile house is of close-studded timber frame construction. In the second half of the 17th century the house underwent a programme of modernisation, with new stair cases and two rooms fitted with panelling. The manor then remained reasonably unchanged until the earlier 19th century, when a brick built range was added to the south-east end of the building, and the house underwent a further programme of improvements.

(Fielding, S., 2005: *Bletchley Manor, Bletchley, Moreton Say: a report on archaeological building recording*, Marches Archaeology, Report 373, ESA 5978)

Much Wenlock; SO 622 997. An archaeological evaluation, comprising the excavation of two trenches, was carried out on land to the rear of the High Street and St. Mary's Street, Much Wenlock. The site lies within the core of the medieval town and occupies former burgage plots on the High Street (PRN 05008). Walls and floor surfaces were excavated in Trench 1, and were associated with finds of post medieval date. In Trench 2 however, medieval waste disposal pits and possible boundary ditches were identified. The presence of later post medieval pottery in Trench 1 is probably the result of the continued use of the building through the medieval period and into the post medieval period. This is typical of the medieval burgage pattern, with a building fronting onto the High Street and plots with associated waste disposal features to the rear. Possible remains of a telephone exchange were also found in Trench 1.

(Lewis, D. & Meadows, S., 2005: *Land to rear of High Street and St. Mary's Street, Much Wenlock: a post evaluation statement*, Archenfield Archaeology, Report AA/06/86, ESA 6021)

Much Wenlock; SO 586 947. In December 2004 and January 2005 a watching brief was carried out at the 18th century Patton House Cottages, Bourton, during the construction of a garage and extension. The site lies within the core of the deserted medieval village of Patton (PRN 00948), which existed from at least the 11th century. No

archaeology relating to the village was observed, despite earthworks being visible *c*.15m. away. A stone well, contemporary with the house, and a wall foundation, likely to be a former extension, were however identified. It is possible the medieval ground surface has been truncated by the building of the house.

(Hancox, E., 2005: *Patton House Cottages, Bourton, Shropshire: an archaeological watching brief*, Birmingham Archaeology, Report 1239, ESA 5981)

Myddle and Broughton; SJ 466 236. A watching brief and building survey were carried out at Well House (PRN 20707), in connection with proposals for a residential development. Excavations revealed the area was under cultivation from the 14th century or earlier. Well House itself was built in the 17th or early 18th century. Three pits identified during the watching brief are likely to relate to domestic activity undertaken in the yard area during this time. In the 18th or 19th century the house was extended northwards and outbuildings were constructed to the east, although several of these were later demolished.

(Wainwright, J., 2006, *Well House, Myddle, Shropshire: report on programme of archaeological works*, Marches Archaeology, Report 407, ESA 6073)

Newport; SJ 745 190. Between August and October a watching brief was carried out on groundworks for a development at Tucker's Place. Tucker's Place, situated in the medieval core of Newport (PRN 06096), has been heavily developed by the introduction of small industries in the 20th century. The seven test pits and foundation trenching revealed large amounts of demolition material and modern domestic waste. No activity predating the 20th century was identified and significant disturbance was observed.

(Phillips, S. et al, 2005: *Archaeological observation at Tuckers Place, Newport, Shropshire*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0523HCATP, ESA 6014)

Oswestry; SJ 289 298. An evaluation, comprising the excavation of two trenches, was carried out in February on land off Chapel Street behind a former furniture showroom. Initial archaeological assessment demonstrated that the remains of the medieval town wall (PRN 00493) and burgage plots (PRN 05796) were likely to survive on site. Trench 1 found deposits containing late 13th-14th century and 15th/16th century ceramics, and a probable medieval rubbish pit. In Trench 2 the alignment of the town wall was revealed, with stonework encountered at a depth of 0.32m. below the hardcore surface. Located within the town walls was another late medieval rubbish pit containing animal bone and ceramics. Outside the wall, a levelling deposit was seen, which could possibly conceal a ditch, though no evidence of this was found. The town wall appears to have been successively robbed out, before being used as the base of a limestone wall constructed in the 19th century (PRN 08622). The excavation also revealed a previously unknown feature of the medieval town wall; a D-shaped tower constructed in sandstone blocks (PRN 08623).

(Frost, P., 2005: *Land off Chapel Street, Oswestry, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 199, ESA 5933)

Oswestry; SJ 303 288. In October a desk-based assessment and field survey were carried out to assess three potential development sites south east of Oswestry, to the north and south of the B4579. On the western boundary of the study area is the line of Wat's Dyke (PRN 01001). Although this section is no longer visible, unlike scheduled sections to the north and south, buried archaeological deposits relating to the dyke may still survive. Within the study area is a late Iron Age or Romano British enclosure (PRN 02286) revealed through aerial reconnaissance. Although no upstanding earthworks survive and the site has been partially damaged by gravel extraction, the majority of the enclosure appears to be relatively undisturbed and significant buried archaeological deposits are likely to survive.

(Grant, F. & Jones, N. W., 2005: *Potential development sites east of Oswestry: archaeological desk based assessment*, Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust, CPAT Report 748, ESA 6037)

Oswestry Rural; SJ 289 274. A desk-based assessment and a walk-over survey were carried out in October at The Terraces, Morda, in connection with development proposals for the site. It is likely the area was used for agricultural purposes prior to the industrial activity of the 1830s, which saw the establishment of Sweeney Brickworks (PRN 06626). The spoil tip to the northwest of the site is the only visible remaining evidence of the industrial activity, as the buildings of the brickworks and colliery were demolished by 1926. The survival of archaeological remains therefore depends on the levelling that took place at this time, the depth of which is as yet unknown.

(Frost, P., 2005: *Land at The Terraces, Morda, Oswestry: archaeological desk based assessment and field survey (former Sweeney Brickworks)*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 225, ESA 5985)

Prees; SJ 579 340. A desk-based assessment and a walk-over survey were undertaken along two proposed routes for the new Sandford bypass. The two medieval manors of Stanford and Darliston lie along the fringes of the study area and during this period the land consisted of open fields and pasture along Bailey brook. In the post medieval period, the area continued in use as undeveloped agricultural land on the edge of the small settlements of Stanford and Darliston. Today the study area is entirely agricultural land. The walk-over survey identified a sand pit (PRN 20938) marked on the 2nd edition OS 25□ map of 1901, appearing as a scarp edge alongside Bailey Brook, and three areas of medieval ridge and furrow (PRN 20937).

(Hannaford, H. R., 2005: *An archaeological assessment of the A41 Sandford Bypass (DMRB Stage 3)*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS) Report 242.2, ESA 6000)

Sheinton; ST 610 519. In April a watching brief was carried out on the installation of new drains and a soak away at the medieval Grade II* listed St. Peter and St Paul's Church, Sheinton (PRN 13377). The base of the foundations of the north aisle north walls was not exposed, but evidence of underpinning work was seen in the foundations. The foundations of the chancel north wall were seen to be somewhat shallower than those on the north aisle. Several of the trenches revealed soil deposits, but no significant archaeological features were revealed during the works.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2005: *Watching brief at St. Peter and St Paul's Church, Sheinton*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 237, ESA 5967)

Shifnal; SJ 740 063. A dendrochronology survey was carried out on timbers from the Gazebo (PRN 17615) at Shifnal Manor (PRN 00748), which lies to the south west of the town. Although only a small portion of the Manor survives today, documentary evidence suggests it was much larger, with a set of sophisticated walled gardens, and a central octagonal 2-storeyed summer-house or gazebo. Ten core samples were taken from the Gazebo's oak timbers, providing a chronology spanning the years 1455 to 1628. All the dated timbers were therefore felled in a single phase in AD 1628. Such a date would indicate the gazebo was constructed during the time when the Dowager Countess of Arundel lived in the Manor, and not during the improvement works undertaken from 1594, by Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, as previously believed.

(Arnold, A. J. et al, 2005: *Tree-ring analysis of timbers from the Gazebo, Shifnal Manor, Shifnal*, English Heritage Centre for Archaeology Reports, Report 60/2005, ESA 5995)

Shifnal; SJ 749 075. In June and October an evaluation comprising the excavation of three trenches was carried out on land at the former Shifnal Squash Club in connection with proposals for a residential redevelopment. Previous archaeological investigation found burgage plots relating to 13th to 19th century tenement plots fronting Market Place and Park Street (PRN 05349). Trench 2 recovered 18th century ceramic material from ash pits, but elsewhere only evidence of 19th to 20th century occupation was recovered. It was concluded that 19th century development of the site obliterated any earlier archaeology; in particular the construction of the railway viaduct (PRN 05326) to the north would have required considerable rebuilding work in the area.

(Frost, P., 2005: *Land at Shifnal Squash Club: archaeological evaluation*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 210, ESA 5987)

Shrewsbury; SJ 494 128. In January a watching brief was carried out on excavations for new drains connecting to the down pipes on the south east side of the hall at Shrewsbury Castle (PRN 01097). A sequence of five contexts was observed beneath the present tarmac. There were no period indicative-inclusions or finds throughout the layers, but the material did contain a quantity of animal bone and a possible boar's tusk. The lowest soil layers encountered were most likely dated to the late medieval or early post medieval periods. Cut into the lowest context at the centre of the trench was a feature that appeared to be structural and was either the base or foundation of a feature whose superstructure has now gone, or possibly a mortar-mixer. No dateable objects were found in association with it, though its colour possibly indicates a post-medieval date.

(Baker, N. J., 2005: *Archaeological watching brief and excavation at Shrewsbury Castle*, Nigel Baker Archaeological Consultant & Contractor, ESA 5955)

Shrewsbury; SJ 489 128. During May and June an archaeological evaluation was carried out at the site of the proposed new entertainment venue in Shrewsbury. Of the twelve trenches excavated, only five contained archaeological remains, although further remains could lie beneath the depth obtained by the trenches. The findings provided a good indication of the location and minimum extent of St. George's Bridge (PRN 01471) and Frankwell Quay (PRN 04696). The evaluation also located a human grave, probably associated with the medieval St. George's Hospital (PRN 01470). Probable late medieval refuse deposits were also discovered, indicating the close proximity of the medieval settlement and/or industry of Frankwell. Finally, sandstone masonry found adjacent to the Welsh Bridge possibly relates to the 19th century buildings on the site, or a former waterfront structure.

(Higgins, J., 2005: *Shrewsbury NEV, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation and watching brief summary report*, GGAT, Report 2005/048, ESA 6025)

Shrewsbury; SJ 488 126. An archaeological evaluation was carried out in June at No. 7 St. Austin's Street in Shrewsbury in connection with proposals for the erection of new flats. The site lies within the core of the medieval town, with likely Anglo-Saxon origins. It comprises a former garage site and a brick building of 20th century date located on the St. Austin's Street frontage, probably originally constructed as part of the Cock & Sons Tannery (PRN06748). A single 5m. by 2m. trench was excavated and revealed a number of Anglo-Saxon features, probably rubbish pits, cut into the surface of the natural subsoil. A linear feature was also observed cutting into the tops of these pits, and this may have been the remains of a beam slot.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2005: *Archaeological evaluation at No.7 St. Austin Street, Shrewsbury*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 236, ESA 5961)

Shrewsbury; SJ 494 126. In August a watching brief was carried out at St. Mary's Water Lane, Shrewsbury, in connection with groundworks for a new garage. The work involved the reduction of the present ground level in front of the easternmost range of small 19th century buildings (PRN 20373). These buildings were constructed in 1823 with sandstone quarried from the remains of the 13th to 16th century Dominican Friary (PRN 01463) buried below. The ground removed proved largely to be tipped ballast from the construction of a housing development built opposite in the late 1990s. To the south, the excavations cut deeper into the rising ground, and tips of 19th and early 20th century material were found. No pre 19th century artefacts were found. An underlying friary destruction soil deposit, including a single piece of iron slag, was encountered along the eastern boundary wall and it is likely that intact friary structures lie below this deposit.

(Baker, N. J., 2005: *An archaeological watching brief at St Mary's Water Lane, Shrewsbury*, Nigel Baker Archaeological Consultant & Contractor, ESA 5984)

Shrewsbury; SJ 494 119. In September a survey was carried out at a former coach house at Coleham Primary School. The coach house was originally associated with 'The Limes', a Grade II Listed Building of *c*.1860 date, which incorporates fragments of an earlier house (PRN 17507). A programme of documentary research and building recording was undertaken. Hitchcock's Map of Shrewsbury, 1832, is the earliest map that shows the coach house. Two phases of construction were evident, each associated with a different function; firstly as an agricultural building and secondly as a coach house.

(Jones, N. W., 2005: *Archaeological survey at the coach house, Coleham Primary School, Shrewsbury*, Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust, CPAT Report 735, ESA 5980)

Shrewsbury; SJ 498 138. A watching brief was carried out in September in the grounds of Ditherington Flax Mill (PRN 06314) in Shrewsbury, during the excavation of 11 hydro-geological trial holes. The work uncovered several archaeological features including a 2m. deep brick lined chamber; brick structures complete with exterior yard surface; several layers of rubble and ash presumably associated with debris from industrial structures and processes; and outside the perimeter wall, deep build ups of dumped ash material containing glass bottles and fragmentary ceramics, suggesting the area was used as a rubbish dump. Excavations also revealed one of the railway tracks servicing the factory, located between the cross mill and the kiln structures (PRN 10235). A second railway line west of the dye house (PRN 17305) was found to be removed or destroyed. It was concluded that a significant amount of below ground archaeology still remains on the site, particularly in terms of the site's early development and its association with the railway.

(Bain, K., 2005: *Ditherington Flax Mill, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: an archaeological watching brief*, Birmingham Archaeology, Report 1344, ESA 6161)

Shrewsbury; SJ 498 138. In December a watching brief was carried out at Ditherington Flax Mill (PRN 06731), Shrewsbury, to observe the partial removal of blockings from five early windows within the main mill building (PRN 10235). The work aimed to expose the window heads and recover evidence for the methods of construction. Each of the blocked windows investigated retained a timber lintel, generally 9 inches wide, and, in the one case where it was possible to measure, 3 inches thick. There seems, however, to have been a degree of variation. One lintel was composed of two timbers, another had a chamfered outer face, and another lintel abutted a timber with a chamfered inner face. In one opening a splayed jamb was also recorded. The investigation concluded that it was difficult to draw any conclusions from this diversity without more extensive analysis.

(Hislop, M., 2005: *Ditherington Flax Mill, Shrewsbury, Shropshire: An archaeological watching brief*, Birmingham Archaeology, Report 1344.01, ESA 6160)

Shrewsbury; SJ 501 123. In late 2005 a photographic survey was carried out at the Monklands, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, in advance of the conversion of the existing offices into flats, and the demolition of a single storey building. One hundred and thirty photographs were taken of the interior and exterior of the Grade II listed early 19th century house and the Grade II listed mid 19th century boundary wall and gate pier.

(Stephens, K., 2005: *Photographic Survey of Building Conversion of Monklands, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury*, ESA 6001)

Stirchley and Brookside; SJ 699 067. A building and photographic survey were carried out at St. James's Church, Stirchley (PRN 00694) in May. The church has a 12th century chancel but was significantly rebuilt in the 18th century. It is likely that medieval fabric survives underneath the 18th century work. Any Norman footings are probably beneath the current church also.

(Appleton-Fox, N., 2005: *The Church of St. James, Stirchley: archaeological building assessment*, Marches Archaeology, Report 387, ESA 5977)

Wellington; SJ 657 106. In March a desk based assessment and a walkover survey were carried out on two parcels of land either side of Limekiln Lane, Wellington, in advance of potential redevelopment. The results suggested the area lay within the northern boundary of the medieval royal forest of Wellington Haye (PRN 03890). The area may also have been used for both medieval and post medieval industrial activities within Wellington Haye, such as lime and brick production. The later history of the study area suggests a reconfiguring of the land boundaries prior to redevelopment of the eastern portion of the study area for houses in the 20th century.

(Hewitson, C., 2005: *Desk based assessment of land off Limekiln Lane, Wellington, Shropshire*, Birmingham Archaeology, Report PN.1293, ESA 5952)

Whittington; SJ 325 311. A watching brief was carried out at Whittington Castle in August, in conjunction with a programme of restoration of, and development at, the castle. The watching brief involved five test pits, six small and one large borehole samples, and one evaluation trench. None of the test pits or the evaluation trench encountered significant archaeological deposits.

(Baker, N. J., 2005: *An archaeological watching brief at Whittington Castle, Shropshire*, Nigel Baker Archaeological Consultant & Contractor, ESA 5975)

Archaeological Investigations in Shropshire in 2006

By CHARLOTTE BAXTER

A summary of work undertaken in 2006 in the County of Shropshire and the Unitary Authority of Telford and Wrekin that was subsequently reported to the Historic Environment Record, Shropshire County Council. Further information on all these events and the related monuments can be found on the Discovering Shropshire's History website (www.discovershropshire.org.uk).

The references in brackets prefixed 'PRN' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual sites and those prefixed 'ESA' are the Historic Environment Record numbers for individual events or activities such as archaeological excavations. I would like to thank the contributors who provided summaries for some of the reports included in this review.

Abdon; SO 557 870. In May archaeological survey and building recording were undertaken on the bell frame and its supporting timbers at the Church of St. Catherine, Tugford (PRN 11393) in connection with the restoration of the tower and bells. Evidence suggested that the 13th century tower was originally surmounted by an earlier timber spire which was subsequently taken down and partially reused in the tower. There is no documentary evidence for the existence of a spire and the reason for its removal is unknown, but it is possible it was in a poor condition or was causing damage to the tower itself. In 1549 there were three bells, which increased to four at the latter end of the 17th century. In 1695, the bell frame was extended to hold five bells. In 1720 the upper two stages of the tower were rebuilt, perhaps due to the weaknesses caused by the spire. The frame was also remodelled to spread the load across the offset in the tower.

(Eisel, J. C., 2006: *The Church of St. Catherine, Tugford: a recording of the bell frame and supporting timbers*, J.C. Eisel Bell Frame Series, Report 24, ESA 6033)

Acton Burnell; SJ 534 019. An evaluation and a watching brief were carried out in May, in connection with the construction of a new science building at Concord College, Acton Burnell (PRN 13182). The site lies within the medieval manorial centre of Acton Burnell. A concentration of post holes was seen in the north western part of the site, and although no clear footprint for any structures could be observed, it is possible that a building or buildings existed here before *c*.1250. Cess pits, pre-dating 1250, were also identified in the south of the site. These may form part of the manorial complex pre-dating the construction of Acton Burnell castle (PRN 00287) in 1284. It appears these features were followed by a period of spade cultivation up to *c*.1250, followed by a further phase of occupation until the 14th century. There was little pottery from the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries which may reflect the decline of the lordship and cessation of use of the castle as a residence in the early 15th century. In the 18th century the estate was remodelled, Acton Burnell Hall was built, and the development site was utilised as a garden.

(Wainwright, J., 2006: Concord *College, Acton Burnell: a report on a programme of archaeological works*, Marches Archaeology, Report 418, ESA 6034)

Aston Eyre, Morville; SO 667 938. In April and May a walk-over historic landscape survey and a brief standing buildings survey were undertaken at the 16th century country house, Morville Hall (PRN 11348). The building survey identified aspects of the evolution of the agricultural buildings, and the historic landscape survey revealed a number of previously unrecorded archaeological features. In Aston Hill Wood and the surrounding fields a complex of tracks, charcoal burning platforms and a possible saw pit were identified. Furthermore a fragmentary field system, of medieval or earlier date, was identified on the north-facing slope below the woodland. Evidence of an iron working industry was also revealed in a small woodland plantation north of the estate.

(Sherlock, H., 2006: *Morville Hall, Morville, Shropshire: an archaeological and historic landscape survey*, Archenfield Archaeology, Report AA_87, ESA 6164)

Bridgnorth; SO 718 931. In May an architectural appraisal was undertaken at the Grade I listed Bishop Percy's House, Bridgnorth (PRN 11519), to inform proposals for the future use of the building. Bishop Percy's House is a substantial timber framed building built in 1580, and appears to have been built around the core of an earlier stone building. It was named after its most famous occupant, Bishop Thomas Percy, born in 1729. By the late 18th century the house was used for a variety of trades and businesses, and by the mid 19th century became an iron foundry. In the 20th century the house was used by the Boy Scouts; then as a soup kitchen; and then by the Boys' Club from the 1940s onwards. Bishop Percy's House has remained substantially the building erected in 1580, even though it has been repaired, altered and extended over its life.

(King, M., 2006: *Bishop Percy's House, Bridgnorth: an archaeological and architectural appraisal*, ESA 6095)

Bridgnorth; SO 715 930. An archaeological evaluation, comprising the excavation of two trenches and four geotechnical pits, was undertaken at 36 High Street, Bridgnorth in June. Post medieval and modern finds were made on the site along with the discovery of a post medieval ash pit deposit. Four clay pipe bowls containing stamps were found, one of which contained the name Oliver Price and two the name Richard Legg. The fourth bowl, also containing the name Richard Legg, had the date 1687 marked on it as well. Research indicates that the Legg Brothers of Broseley were among the founding fathers of the clay pipe industry in the area.

(Statter, C., 2006: *Archaeological evaluation at 39 High Street, Bridgnorth*, LP Archaeology, Report LP0463–AER-v1.1, ESA 6057)

Bridgnorth; SO 719 930. Between September and December an archaeological desk-based assessment and a walkover field survey were carried out at the Old Mill Antiques Centre, Bridgnorth, following proposals to redevelop the site. The site comprises a 17th or 18th street frontage range (PRN 11618) and a mid 19th century malthouse range (PRN 06931). The eastern part of the malthouse was rebuilt in the 1950s following a fire, at which time several modifications were made to the majority of the range. Map evidence and aerial photography suggest a mid-18th century bylet channel (PRN 20948) ran through the western area of the site. This went out of use by the early 19th century, when an iron foundry was built in its place. The iron foundry (PRN 06935) located to the southwest of the malthouse is said to have continued working until 1914 under the direction of the Pope family. Map evidence also suggests other buildings, now demolished, once stood within the area of the malthouse.

(Watson, S., 2006: *Archaeological assessment of Old Mill Antiques Centre, Low Town, Bridgnorth*, Ironbridge Archaeology, ESA 6183)

Chetwynd Aston and Woodcote Sheriffhales; SJ 768 148. In June an evaluation was carried out at Woodcote Wood, near Newport, in connection with proposals to extract sand and gravel from the site. The area lies on the boundary of the medieval chapelry of Woodcote (PRN 08634), and two trenches were excavated across the line of the earthwork boundary. It was found the boundary ditch was re-cut on at least one occasion and the bank had been rebuilt. There was also more than one attempt to combat the effects of erosion. Such attempts at maintenance imply a relatively long lived and locally significant feature. The lack of finds means it was not possible to date the construction of the boundary, though it appears the earthwork evolved as a woodbank, defining the Woodcote chapelry boundary and an area of medieval (or possibly earlier) managed woodland.

(Harvard, T. & Morton, R., 2006: *Woodcote Wood, Newport, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation*, Cotswold Archaeology, Report 05107, ESA 6030)

Cleobury Mortimer; SO 673 757. At the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Cleobury Mortimer (PRN 10827), between June and July, a total of seven timbers from various elements of the south porch roof were cross matched and dated using dendrochronology. The likely felling date was found to be between AD 1212 and 1242, making this one of the earliest dated roofs extant in the county. The roof construction was also found to be of exceptional national importance with its use of a T-shaped central wallplate, the early use of compass or curved timbers, and its use of side-lap joints for the ashlars and soulaces. These show it to be an important transitional timber roof, retaining features of Norman carpentry and also prefiguring the 14th century Early English compass timber roof.

(Bridge, M. & Miles, D., 2007: *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Cleobury Mortimer, Shropshire: tree-ring analysis of timbers from the south porch roof*, English Heritage Research Department, Report 25/2007, ESA 6119)

Cleobury Mortimer; SO 673 758. In October a programme of emergency archaeological recording was carried out on groundworks undertaken as part of the construction of a house. The site sits on the remains of Cleobury Mortimer medieval castle (PRN 03248). Motte construction deposits and possible structural elements, including a

collapsed revetment wall, were observed during the work, though no datable finds were recovered. A small assemblage of post medieval ceramics was recovered from the upper layers, associated with garden soils.

(Priestley, S., 2006: *Documentary survey and emergency archaeological recording: No 4 Castle Hill, Cleobury Mortimer, Shropshire*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0626ICM, ESA 6120)

Culmington; SO 493 819. At All Saints' Church, Culmington (PRN 00976), in June, twelve timbers were sampled for dendrochronological dating from various elements of the roof and one ex-situ timber from the west tower. Cross-matching was only found between two timbers, and none of the series gave acceptable consistent matches with dated reference material. The timbers therefore remain undated. The lack of cross-matching was considered unusual; it may indicate several sources for the timbers, or that the source woodland was atypically managed or had a distinct microclimate.

(Bridge, M., 2007: *All Saints' Church, Culmington, Shropshire: tree-ring analysis of timbers*, English Heritage Research Department, Report 24/2007, ESA 6118)

Dawley Hamlets, The Gorge; SJ 673 061. In March an evaluation, comprising the excavation of eleven trenches, was carried out at Lightmoor Urban Village, Stocking Park Way, Telford, in connection with planning proposals to develop the site. A previous survey identified the presence of Bath Spout Farm within the area, as well as house platforms, a formal canal and tramway (PRN 03408 & 03875), and Neolithic activity. No structural remains of Bath Spout Farm were found, though a layer of demolition rubble excavated in Trench 11 could have been from the farm. A shallow smear of clinker observed in Trench 9 maybe all that survives of the former tramway in this location. No evidence of the former canal, or Neolithic activity was identified.

(Hart, J., 2006: *Lightmoor Village, Stocking Park Way Infrastructure Works, Telford, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation*, Cotswold Archaeology, Report 06041, ESA 6020)

Dawley Hamlets, The Gorge; SJ 673 062. An archaeological watching brief was undertaken in April during groundworks associated with the construction of an access road for the new residential development at the Lightmoor Village, Stocking Park Way. No features or deposits of archaeological interest were observed during the groundworks, and no artefactual material pre-dating the modern period was recovered.

(Hart, J., 2008: *Lightmoor Village, Stocking Park Way Infrastructure Works, Telford, Shropshire: archaeological watching brief*, Cotswold Archaeology, Report 08053, ESA 6196)

Ellesmere Urban; SJ 401 350. Between November 2005 and March 2006, a desk-based assessment and field evaluation, comprising the excavation of three trenches, were carried out on land off Sparbridge and Talbot Street, Ellesmere. The desk-based assessment identified a limited number of known archaeological sites and identified several blocks of 19th century buildings. The evaluation found the area had undergone a process of natural infilling, which included lenses of organic material, indicating periods of vegetation. A few sherds of abraded medieval pottery recovered from Trenches 1 and 2, and post medieval pottery sherds found in the uppermost deposits, may have resulted from incorporation during cultivation or from the deposition of waste material at the edge of the settlement. The incorporation of marl into post-medieval deposits in Trench 3 again possibly indicates a period of cultivation or attempted soil improvement. In Trench 2, these later post medieval deposits were truncated and levelled, and to the northwest, levelling material including building rubble, was deposited for the creation of a caravan park. The site most likely remained as a cultivated area or possibly as waste since the medieval period, until the caravan park was built in the 20th century.

(Grant, F. & Jones, N. W., 2006: *Talbot Street, Ellesmere, Shropshire: archaeological assessment*, Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT), Report 788, ESA 6038)

Ellesmere Urban; SJ 398 343. In August an initial archaeological assessment was carried out on land at Ellesmere Creamery, in advance of an application for planning permission. It was found that the area could potentially reveal archaeology related to medieval remains associated with the town, the site of the Bridgewater foundry and gas works (PRN 05229, 06556), and two areas of early farming practice. Peat deposits in close proximity to the Ellesmere castle (PRN 01004) to the east, would also require further archaeological analysis.

(Crowe, C. J., 2006: *Land at Ellesmere Creamery, Wharf Road, Ellesmere: an archaeological assessment*, A A A Archaeological Associates, ESA 6121)

Highley; SO 74952 82767. Between April and June a watching brief was carried out on groundworks associated with the construction of a display for the Severn Valley Railway (PRN 06024) at Highley. The groundworks entailed the burial of the remains of a small battery of 19th century limekilns (PRN 08615). These were photographed and planned before being buried with surplus topsoil. The battery of kilns appeared to comprise

three chambers, rather than two as previously thought. No further archaeological features were revealed by the land re-grading work.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2006: *Watching brief at the Severn Valley Railway, Highley, Shropshire*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, Report 247, ESA 6100)

Llanymynech and Pant; SJ 268 212. In September a community based archaeological project was undertaken at the Hoffman Kiln, on behalf of the Llanymynech Limeworks Heritage Project. The late 19th century Hoffman kiln (PRN 04600) and its chimney (PRN 03815) is one of only three remaining examples in the British Isles that were used in the preparation of lime. It is the most complete example and the only one with the chimney still intact. Five trenches were excavated around the kiln and the fourteen volunteers uncovered remains of former yards, evidence of repeated firing, tramways beside the kiln (PRN 08410), and parts of the structure for a steel roof that once covered the kiln. Further understanding was also gained of the operations of venting and draft control at the kiln.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2007: *An interim report on archaeological investigations at Llanymynech, Shropshire*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, Report 249, ESA 6151)

Llanymynech and Pant; SJ 267 230. A watching brief was carried out in December on the installation of a kissing gate on the right of way at the Iron Age hillfort of Blodwell Rock Camp, near Pant (PRN 01439). Four post holes, cut to a maximum depth of 0.6m., and a shallow trench, 0.3m. deep, were cut for the gate. These cut through a topsoil of a dark grey humic loam with limestone fragments, over a limestone rubble. No significant archaeological features were observed during the excavation.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2007: *Blodwell Rock: watching brief*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, ESA 6103)

Ludlow; SO 516 745. In the first half of 2006 an archaeological evaluation, comprising the excavation of a single trench, was undertaken on a piece of rough ground to the south of the Youth Centre at Lower Galdeford, Ludlow, prior to the construction of a housing estate. The site lies to the west of the 13th to 16th century Augustinian Friary (PRN 01770), a Scheduled Ancient Monument. The evaluation confirmed the scarcity of archaeological remains from the friary to the west of the scheduled area, as only 20th century levelling and make up material was observed to overlie the natural soil during this excavation.

(Williams, G., 2006: *Archaeological evaluation at Lower Galdeford, Ludlow*, John Moore Heritage Services, Report LWLG06, ESA 6062)

Ludlow; SO 510 743. In February an archaeological evaluation was carried out at Palmers Hall, Ludlow College (PRN 11225), in connection with proposals for new class rooms. The excavations at the northwest end of the site uncovered the remains of two possible 14th century outbuildings of Palmers Hall. A contemporary stone yard surface adjacent to Palmers Hall was also uncovered. From the medieval period onwards, the north eastern part of the site was utilised as a garden. A flagstone floor uncovered to the north of the site could represent a late medieval or early post medieval building, or possibly an external yard surface. In the south part of the site, excavations revealed no deposits or features of archaeological interest

(Wainwright, J., 2006: *Palmers Hall, Ludlow College, Ludlow: a report on a programme of archaeological works*, Marches Archaeology, Report 411, ESA 6022)

Ludlow; SO 512 742. In September and October a watching brief was carried out in conjunction with flood alleviation works by Severn Trent Water in Ludlow. A vertical access shaft 3m. in diameter and 4m. deep was excavated on the west side of the road at Lower Broad Street, just north of the Grade I listed medieval Ludford Bridge (PRN 01178). The modern road surface was found to lie above a stone road surface and above a layer of clayey soil with jumbled stone. This clayey deposit proved to be the fill of a culvert whose top was 3m. below the current road surface. The culvert ran west to east and curved from the north out of Lower Broad Street. It seems likely that any medieval or early post medieval road was destroyed by the construction of the later post medieval road and culvert.

(Britnell, J., 2006: *Lower Broad Street, Ludlow: watching brief*, Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust, ESA 6092)

Much Wenlock; SO 625 997. An archaeological evaluation was carried out in October on land adjacent to Barrow Street, Much Wenlock, in connection with a planning application to erect a new dwelling. The site is situated at the front of a tenement plot (PRN 05011), thought to have been laid out in *c*.1200. A wall identified during the excavation was probably part of a medieval building, built soon after the tenement plots were laid out. A cobbled surface to the west was probably part of a yard associated with the building at this time. This surface became

covered over during the second half of the 16th century, though it is likely the building remained in use and possibly became part of a building shown on the 1847 tithe award map. This post medieval building was finally demolished in the late 19th century, and a concrete floor was added to the north-east side forming a drive. It is possible the medieval wall was retained as a garden wall, before finally being demolished sometime in the 20th century when the entire area including the drive became a garden.

(Wainwright, J., 2006, *Land adjacent to 36 Barrow Street Much Wenlock: report on an archaeological evaluation*, Marches Archaeology, Report 430, ESA 6079)

Neen Savage; SO 668 796. In June an earthwork survey and a field evaluation were undertaken on land adjacent to Detton deserted medieval village (PRN 01289). Although the survey revealed earthworks suggesting the continuation of the deserted medieval village into the study area, no features were found in any of the three trial trenches. Only a small amount of medieval pottery was found in the topsoil. It is likely that ploughing during the post medieval period has destroyed any evidence of the settlement in this area.

(Craddock-Bennett, L., 2006: *Detton Hall, Cleobury Mortimer: archaeological evaluation*, Hereford Archaeology, Report 722, ESA 6040)

Oswestry; SJ 294 298. In early 2006 a single trench excavation and a field walking survey were carried out in the former rail yard of the Cambrian Railway Co. (PRN 05704), in advance of proposals for a residential development. The work aimed to determine the location and state of preservation of Wat's Dyke (PRN 01001), a linear boundary comprising a bank and ditch, commonly dated to the early 8th century. No original bank material was found to survive but the ditch of the dyke was well preserved. No artefacts or organic remains were recovered in association with the dyke. The remains of a carriage shed (PRN 20702) and a loading wharf (PRN 20703) belonging to the rail yard were also uncovered.

(Krawiec, K., 2006: *Former railway lands, Oswald Road, Oswestry: archaeological evaluation* Birmingham Archaeology (BUFAU), Report 1442, ESA 6066)

Oswestry SJ 289 298. In July a second phase of evaluation was completed at a site off Chapel Street, Oswestry, during the demolition of buildings before the residential development of the site. In March 2005, the first phase [ESA 5933] uncovered significant medieval deposits and the medieval town wall (PRN 08622). A 19th century limestone wall was found constructed on the basal remains of the 13th century wall and during the second phase evaluation the entire length of this was uncovered. The width of the 13th century wall was 2.163m. (7ft.). Ceramic material recovered revealed that the wall had been robbed out during the late 16th or early 17th century, presumably to retrieve facing stone for building work within the town. The limestone wall seems to have been deliberately reduced in size and utilised to form the foundation of the back wall of the furniture showroom building. Evidence of the wall was reburied for posterity and the alignment was to be defined in paviors to the rear of the new residential units by the building contractor.

(Frost, P., 2006: *Land off Chapel Street (No.s 1 -9 Willow Mews), Oswestry: phase 2 archaeological evaluation*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 240, ESA 6065)

Oswestry SJ 301 306. During August and September a desk-based assessment and a site walkover survey were carried out on land belonging to Oldport Farm, Oswestry. The site is surrounded by a rich archaeological landscape, though no archaeological sites have previously been recorded within the study area. In the period following the Civil War, the area appears to have gone over to agricultural use. Two railways, constructed in the mid 19th century (PRNs 05779, 05892), and an underground aqueduct built in 1888, crossed and ran along the boundaries of the study area. Apart from these features, the study area has remained intact as arable and pasture land. The majority of detectorist finds have been musket balls presumably from the Civil War period. Only scatters of post-medieval ceramics were noted during the site walkover.

(Frost, P., 2006: *Land at Oldport Farm, Oswestry, Shropshire: an archaeological assessment*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 243, ESA 6097)

Oswestry; SJ 294 298. In November an archaeological watching brief was undertaken at the site of a former carriage shed (PRN 20702) on Oswestry Railway lands, prior to a future residential development on the site. A concrete pad was all that remained of the carriage shed structure. During its removal it was found that within and beneath the concrete pad were three sets of railway track with their associated railway chairs (which connect the rail to the sleeper), some sleepers, gas and oil outlets, and other railway-related ironwork.

(Kelleher, S., 2006: *Former carriage shed, Oswestry Railway Lands, Oswald Road, Oswestry: an archaeological watching brief*, Birmingham Archaeology (BUFAU), Report PN 1512, ESA 6099)

Pimhill; SJ 476 141. Between May and June a geophysical survey was undertaken on the Berwick cropmark complex, north of Shrewsbury by ArchaeoPhysica on behalf on Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, prompted by proposals for the Shrewsbury North West Relief Road. The cropmark complex includes a series of ring ditches, rectangular enclosures and linear features dating from the Bronze Age to Roman period. The survey confirmed the survival of below-ground features identified by aerial photography and also identified a number of other features both within and between the areas of the cropmark features. The extent of the buried archaeology is large and multiphase and although substantial truncation has occurred, important elements of the archaeological resource remain intact.

(Roseveare, M. J. & Roseveare, A.C.K., 2006: *Shrewsbury north west relief road: geophysical survey report*, ArchaeoPhysica, Report SNR061, ESA 6074)

(Hannaford, H. R., 2006: The *Shrewsbury north west relief road: geophysical survey of the Berwick cropmark complex*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, Report 245, ESA 6074)

Pimhill; SJ 514 174. An archaeological and architectural appraisal was undertaken on Battlefield Farm, Battlefield (PRN 08725), in August. The three main farm buildings surveyed during the work – the barn (PRN 20709), cowsheds (PRN 20710) and stables (PRN 20711) – were all built using good quality materials and details, which have survived well. All the buildings were built in the 19th century and all included two phases of construction. The buildings form a prominent and attractive element in the landscape, and provide evidence of the evolution of farming in the region and of the application of 'model farm' principles to the construction of farms during the late 19th century.

(King, M. J., 2006: *Battlefield Farm, Battlefield: an archaeological and architectural appraisal*, King Partnership, ESA 6096)

Ruyton-XI-Towns; SJ 394 221. In February an excavation was carried out on land to the rear of Purton Villa, Ruyton-XI-Towns, in connection with development proposals. The site lay roughly two thirds of the way down the terraced western slope of the curtain wall of the early 14th century Ruyton Castle (PRN 01123). The trench, measuring 8m. by 2m., identified two linear features, a rectangular pit and a relic topsoil. These all proved to be of 18th century date or later, and no direct evidence for medieval activity was found. These findings, along with map and documentary evidence, suggest that Purton Villa was first developed in the late 19th century, and it was at this time that the castle's natural defensive slope was first modified by excavation to provide a terraced garden.

(Tavener, N., 2006: *Land to the rear of Purton Villa, Ruyton-XI-Towns: an archaeological evaluation*, Marches Archaeology, Report 412, ESA 6018)

Selattyn and Gobowen; SJ 301 332. In January an archaeological evaluation was undertaken on land off Oswestry Road, Gobowen. Three trial trenches were placed across a proposed access road to a housing development that crossed the line of the Wat's Dyke (PRN 01001). The remains of Wat's Dyke, surviving as an infilled ditch *c*.8m. wide with associated partially robbed out bank *c*. 5m. wide, with later cut features, were recorded in each trench. Six broad phases of activity were identified dating from the original ground surface, through construction of the Dyke, various erosion and refurbishment episodes, to final infilling and reuse as a fenced boundary in the late post medieval period. No artefacts were recovered to date the various phases.

(Webster, T. & Malim, T., 2006: *Wat's Dyke, Gobowen: report on an archaeological evaluation* Gifford, Report 13159.R02, ESA 6016)

Selattyn and Gobowen; SJ 304 341. During September a watching brief was carried out in conjunction with the excavation of 0.90cm. deep foundation trenches for a housing development at the former site of Perry's Garage, Gobowen. The site lay on the line of Wat's Dyke (PRN 01001). The top of the silted up ditch was observed in the base of some of the foundation trenches to the west, but, otherwise, the Dyke was not disturbed by the site works. No trace of the bank component of the Dyke was visible during the excavation. The River Perry, forming the northern boundary of the development site, had recently been cut back on the northern side, and upon examination revealed both the ditch and bank components of Wat's Dyke, continuing as an earthwork north from the development site.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2006: *Watching brief at Perry's Garage site, Gobowen*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 246, ESA 6090)

Sheinton; SJ 612 042. Sheinton Heritage Group, working with ArchaeoPhysica and Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, undertook a community archaeology project between 2004 and 2006 which included field walking, geophysical survey and trial excavations around Sheinton village. The geophysical survey identified a number of buried features mostly of either Roman or Post medieval date. One cropmark to the north of the village

was confirmed by excavation to be part of a ditch from an Iron Age or Romano-British farmstead that had silted up in the early Roman period (PRN 08712). The finds revealed included well preserved 3rd and 4th century Romano-British pottery and several pieces of Roman roof tile, suggesting the presence of a Roman domestic settlement of some status in the vicinity.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2006: *Archaeological investigations at Sheinton*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 244, ESA 6076)

Sheinton; SJ 608 040. Sheinton Heritage Group, working with Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service, undertook a community archaeology project between 2004 and 2006. This included field survey and excavation of a site to the west of the village, where documentary evidence indicated that a farmstead named Getting's Farm (PRN 20765) stood until the early 19th century. The field survey of a number of earthworks visible in the pasture field revealed a series of banks and platforms, along with a tail race from the former Shelton Forge watermill (PRN 00318) and a holloway. The excavation revealed no structural remains of the farmstead, although yard surfaces and a spread of demolition material were found. A substantial quantity of post-medieval pottery, and some medieval pottery, was also recovered.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2007: *Archaeological investigations at Gittens' Farm, Sheinton*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 250, ESA 6126)

Shifnal; SJ 747 080. In April an archaeological desk-based assessment was carried out on the site of the former Tanyard, Shifnal, in advance of a proposed residential development. A tannery (PRN 07301) was on the site between 1828 and 1929, although it may have existed before that. It fell out of use in the inter-war period and was demolished in the 1950s. At some point the ground level of the site was built up, being almost 2m. higher than areas to the south and west. Given its location within the historic core of Shifnal, there could be industrial and domestic features potentially dating to the 13th century onwards on the site (PRN 05347).

(Pearson, N. & Nichol, K., 2006: *The Tanyard, Shifnal: desk based assessment*, Birmingham Archaeology (BUFAU), Report 1436, ESA 6027)

Shifnal; SJ 747 080. Following the desk based assessment [ESA 6027 above] at the site of a Tanyard, three trial trenches were excavated in May. Structures from the tanning complex (PRN 07301) were well preserved and included the footings of buildings and tanning pits. The pits were found to have been constructed variously from brick, wood, and reused masonry. Environmental evidence showed that the pits were back filled up to ground level circa 1929 after the closure of the tannery. The buildings were then reused as stabling until the tannery buildings were demolished in the 1950s. Prior to the establishment of the tannery complex, there was an accumulation of garden soil across the site, which contained 18th century pottery. All finds recovered from the site were post medieval in date, and the majority of these post-dated the tanyard.

(Duncan, M., 2006: *The Tanyard, Shifnal: an archaeological evaluation*, Birmingham Archaeology (BUFAU), Report 1436, ESA 6041)

Shrewsbury; SJ 501 123. Between October 2005 and March 2006 a watching brief was carried out at Monklands, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, on groundworks for a residential development, following the demolition of 19th century buildings (PRN 10067). Abbey Foregate is probably the earliest suburb in Shrewsbury, dating back to the Saxon period. In spite of this, no archaeological features earlier than the 19th century or late 18th century were found. The majority of these features consisted of the footings, walls, cellars and rubble associated with the demolished 19th century buildings. It is likely that post medieval activity destroyed any earlier archaeology on the site. It is however possible that the footings of medieval buildings may survive closer to the road immediately north.

(Wykes, R., 2005: *Monklands, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury: A report on an archaeological watching brief*, Marches Archaeology, Report 415, ESA 6031)

Shrewsbury; SJ 490 121. During April a watching brief was carried out at 21a Town Walls, on groundworks to remove the first tier of stepped garden landscaping. The groundworks, located between 11m. and 7.8m. from the outer face of the medieval town wall (PRN 62590), found no evidence of the outer ditch (PRN 62570). This does not however preclude the possibility of a smaller ditch closer to the wall. Evidence of a possible cultivation headland and ridge and furrow of unknown date were found during the excavations. With ridge and furrow so close to the town wall, a ditch may never have been constructed here. In addition, the marshy ground close to the river and the 8m. rise to the base of the wall was perhaps considered defence enough.

(Wykes, R., 2006: *21a Town Walls, Shrewsbury: an archaeological watching brief*, Marches Archaeology, Report 417, ESA 6032)

Shrewsbury; SJ 488 129. In May and June a watching brief was undertaken during redevelopment at a former car park on Nettles Lane, Frankwell. Map evidence of the area suggests a significant degree of building activity occurred between 1832 and 1887 and that, before this date, the area appears to have been occupied by gardens and orchards. Once the topsoil was stripped to a depth of 1.2m., a series of interlinked foundation pits and trenches was excavated, and revealed a series of heavily truncated brick walls and ceramic drains. These were probably associated with mid to late 19th century tenement housing, workshops and sheds (PRN20706) shown on the 1st edition (1887) and 2nd edition (1900) OS maps. These buildings were demolished in the 1960s, when the site was converted to a car park, and the brick rubble material from the demolition was used for levelling across the site.

(Hancox, N. & Priestley, S., 2006: *Archaeological observation: new Autotyres depot, Nettles Lane, Frankwell, Shrewsbury*, Border Archaeology, Report BA0545PWATS, ESA 6071)

Shrewsbury; SJ 498 124. A watching brief was carried out in August during the removal of 18 tree stumps from land adjacent to Old Potts Railway station, Shrewsbury (PRN 08465), prior to restoration work. A considerable amount of debris had built up in the area. The trees were growing on the remains of a brick floor *c*.10cm. below the current pavement level on Abbey Foregate. The uneven brick floor appeared to date to the 1911 phase of the station and included a cracked manhole cover. The footings were found to be 0.7m. below the level of the brick floor in an area excavated adjacent to the west wall of the station. The area had been severely disturbed by a water pipe and a 4 inch wide ceramic drain. No finds were recovered from the site.

(Frost, P., 2006: *Old Potts Railway Station: archaeological watching brief*, Castlering Archaeology, Report 242, ESA 6063)

Shrewsbury; SJ 488 126. Between September and October a watching brief was undertaken in connection with groundworks related to the underpinning work on the party wall between Nos. 6 and 7 St. Austin's Street, Shrewsbury. The site lies within the core of the medieval town, which is likely to have Anglo-Saxon origins. Much of the affected area had been cut through by drains. A medieval yard soil (PRN 08726) was encountered during the excavation, similar to that found in an evaluation in 2005 [ESA 5961], but no features of Anglo-Saxon date were seen. No other significant archaeological features or deposits were encountered.

(Hannaford, H. R., 2006: *Watching brief at 7 St. Austin Street, Shrewsbury*, Shropshire County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS), Report 248, ESA 6101)

Shrewsbury; SJ 490 124. In October an evaluation and a building survey were undertaken as part of the conservation management plan at the 19th century Music Hall, Shrewsbury (PRN 10575), which encapsulates structural remains of the medieval Vaughan's Mansion (PRN 62426). The evaluation revealed evidence for a mortar surface and two phases of an associated wall, constructed in Tudor bricks and red sandstone blocks. This may have been associated with the medieval hall, though it is possible that the wall was constructed from reclaimed material during the 19th century demolition of Vaughan's Mansion. The evaluation revealed a slate lined pit, brick walls and a brick-built soakaway, probably associated with the Music Hall. The southern wall of Vaughan's Mansion was also exposed, and was constructed from rough hewn sandstone blocks.

(Matthews, B., 2006: *The Music Hall, Shrewsbury: archaeological evaluation report and building assessment*, Oxford Archaeology Unit, Report 3422, ESA 6094)

St George's and Priorslee; SJ 700 102. In January a desk-based assessment and a building assessment were carried out at Snedshill brickworks (PRN 17516), which was in operation from the early 1800s until 1966. Up until the late 18th century, the area appears to have been agricultural land or managed woodland. Mining and mineral extraction then developed in the area until the site was levelled and terraced for the brickworks. The building assessment demonstrated that two brick kilns with the remains of four kiln chimneys survive. A range of brick buildings, metal framed sheds and structures also survive, dating to the 20th century, though few of the original buildings remain. Few internal fixtures or fittings survive and there is no evidence to suggest the purpose or flow of work through the structures, although evidence may lie under the modern ground surface.

(McAree, D., 2006: *An archaeological desk based assessment and buildings assessment at Snedshill Brickworks, Telford, Shropshire*, Northamptonshire Archaeology, Report 06/007, ESA 6009)

The Gorge; SJ 666 037. In March five evaluation trenches were excavated at Dale End Garage, Coalbrookdale, in connection with proposals for a residential development. The middle section of the site known as 'Lower' Forge (PRN 07266), has been used since the early 1600s for plating (the production of pots and pans). The site for a time came under the control of Abraham Darby (I), the major pioneer of the Industrial Revolution. Excavations found surviving elements of the 'Lower' Forge both below and above ground, and also parts of the rail system for a tramway (PRN 00673). The southern, higher part of the site appeared to contain only deep sequences of industrial

waste. To the far north the site contained a standing industrial building of mid 19th century date with a yard surface to the south, *c*.0.8m. below current ground level. This may be associated with the possible coal yard depicted as 'Coal Wharf' on the tithe map of 1847.

(Tavener, N., 2006: *Dale End Garage, Coalbrookdale: report on an archaeological evaluation*, Marches Archaeology, Report 413, ESA 6067)

The Gorge; SJ 675 059. In September two evaluation trenches were cut in an attempt to locate the remains of the Coalbrookdale Branch of the Shropshire Canal (PRN 03408). No clay lining or built structures associated with the canal were identified, but a substantial cut feature was recorded within one trench on the alignment of the putative canal route and it is possible that this was a vestige of the line of the canal. This feature was heavily truncated by open cast mining, which is known to have taken place across a large percentage of the development area. The evaluation could not establish whether the canal was deliberately removed before the commencement of mining activities, or was removed during the mining works.

(Thorogood, S., 2007: *Stocking Park, Lightmoor Village, Telford, Shropshire: archaeological evaluation*, Cotswold Archaeology, Report 06107, ESA 6115)

Wem Urban SJ 509 289. A watching brief was undertaken in October on groundworks for a new building at Thomas Adams School, Lowe Hill, Wem. The development area lies north of the site of Ellesmere Gate along the postulated course of the 17th century Civil War defences of Wem (PRN 01637), as taken from the 1880 Ordnance Survey map. The lack of archaeological evidence recovered during the watching brief, and previous archaeological works within the town suggest that the Ordnance Survey maps give only a very general approximation of the route of the defences.

(Frost, P., 2006, New ACF Cadet building, Thomas Adams School, Wem: archaeological watching brief, Castlering Archaeology, Report 248, ESA 6093)

Whitchurch Urban; SJ 541 415. In March an archaeological excavation was undertaken at 11 and 11a High Street, Whitchurch. Three trenches were excavated partially by mechanical digger and partially by hand. The features excavated consisted of a possible post medieval boundary wall, a Victorian soakaway, a medieval pit, and a Roman ditch. These all included datable ceramic finds in sealed contexts.

(Statter, C., 2006: *Archaeological evaluation report of 11 – 11a High street, Whitchurch*, LP Archaeology, Report LP0449C-AER-v1.4, ESA 6024)

Whitchurch Urban; SJ 541 415. In June and July a further archaeological excavation was undertaken at 11 and 11a High street. Following the excavation in March [ESA 6024 above], both the soakaway, comprising red moulded bricks, and the medieval pit were excavated. The bottom of the pit was not attained in the 1.3m. deep trench. A post medieval wall (previously identified as a boundary wall) and floor structure were also excavated, and this was believed to be a detached kitchen dating to the 18th century. All finds recovered on the site, came from a make up deposit comprising demolition debris spread across the whole site.

(Statter, C., 2006: *Archaeological mitigation report of 11 – 11a High street, Whitchurch*, LP Archaeology, Report LP0449C-AMR-v1.2, ESA 6056)

Whittington; SJ 32615 31143. In December 2005 and January 2006 excavations were undertaken within the south tower of the outer gatehouse at Whittington Castle (PRN 1003) in connection with the installation of under floor heating. Three phases of activity were identified, with the most recent being the 20th century fittings and suspended wooden floor installed within the gatehouse. Below this was a surface that included hearths and stake holes. This appeared to belong to a period of activity dating to the 19th century, probably after *c*.1809 when the gatehouse was reconstructed. The third phase of deposits related to the medieval castle. The top 0.3m. of medieval deposits were removed probably in the early 19th century.

(Baker, N. J., 2006: *An excavation in the outer gatehouse of Whittington Castle, Shropshire*, Nigel Barker Archaeological Consultant and Contractor, ESA 6013)

Book Reviews

Paul Anderton, *Exploring Whitchurch History: Growth of a Shropshire Town*, Whitchurch History and Archaeology Group, Shropshire, 2009. ISBN 978 0 9564059 0 6. 121 pp. £9.95.

Of the making of books on Whitchurch there seems no end, and this excellent and delightful book is the product of the work of the members and friends of the Whitchurch History and Archaeology Group led by Paul Anderton for Keele University. Maps form its backbone. An introduction sketches the essential elements of the town, and then the expansion of the town is traced, with especial reference to George Grey's plan of 1761, the map of 1859 for Earl Brownlow, the 1911 Special Edition Ordnance Survey map, and a striking coloured map by Jean North showing Whitchurch's growth from 1761 to 1970. Other topics are the market, watermills, the Jubilee Park, and Black Park. The development of the village of Tilstock is also presented. All these are superbly illustrated by maps and plans.

Paul Anderton acknowledges that the book does not contain all aspects of the history of Whitchurch, but there is an outstanding amount of information here, presented with clarity and enthusiasm. All those interested in the history of Shropshire's northernmost town will learn a great deal, and historians of other towns would do well to explore this book for sources for their work. We are told that the 'book includes only a small part of the findings of the research group', and that 'it leaves open many more possibilities for further inquiries and publication'. For what we have here received we must be truly thankful, even as we look forward to further publications by this dedicated and gifted group of local historians.

William Price

Bob Burrows, *It Happened in Shropshire*, Merlin Unwin Books, 2010. ISBN 978 1 906122 19 5. 223 pp. £7.99.

Bob Burrows, a retired Area Director of Lloyds TSB Bank, has produced an unusual, perhaps unique, book. He presents a brief account of the history of Shropshire, followed by short studies of famous Salopians, grouped under several headings. Clive of India, Charles Darwin, Wilfred Owen, Mary Webb, Edith Pargeter, Barbara Pym, and Percy Thrower in chapter two are followed by Fulk Fitz Warin, Dick Whittington, Sir Humphrey Kynaston, 'Old Tom Parr', Judge Jeffreys, Molly Morgan, and 'Mad Jack' Mytton in chapter three. Two very different clergy – Robert Foulkes of Stanton Lacy (hanged for murder) and Edmund Donald Carr of Woolstaston – represent men of the cloth. A chapter on 'Birthplace of Changes' introduces us to William Penny Brookes, Captain Matthew Webb, Sir Gordon Richards, Billy Wright, Sandy Lyle, Ian Woosnam, and Richie Woodhall. 'Murder most Foul' considers George Riley (the last man hanged in Shrewsbury), Hilda Murrell, the murder at Heath House, Hopton Heath, in 1987, the tragedy of the Foster family of Maesbrook in 2008, and murders at Shawbury and Frankwell in 2008 and 2006. The next chapter deals with Shropshire ghosts, paranormal apparitions, and legends, and these are followed by a chapter on disasters, accidents, and tragedies, while the final chapter considers the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. The book concludes with the addresses of visitor centres and historical sites, a short bibliography, and an index.

All this wealth of material, some of it remarkably recent, is contained within just over 200 very readable pages. One hopes that the brief sketch of, say, one of the personalities will kindle an interest in the reader and lead to further study. The book is also a godsend for those who know the names, but little else, of famous Salopians. There is sufficient information here to enable one to discuss their lives with some semblance of knowledge.

William Price

Michael Burtscher, *The Fitzalans: Earls of Arundel and Surrey, Lords of the Welsh Marches (1267–1415)*, Logaston, 2008. ISBN 978 1 904396 94 9. 182 pp. £12.95.

I can thoroughly recommend this book. The Fitzalans were the mightiest of the overmighty subjects of the Crown in the late 13th and the early 14th centuries, and of those treated in this book Earl Edmund went to the block for his support of Edward II and for tangling with Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella. His grandson Earl Richard III, one of the Appellants, was attainted in the Revenge Parliament of 1397, when Richard II took his revenge on his aristocratic opponents. The family was a major Shropshire landowner, owning a tranche of rich manors outside the March, as well as the lordships of Clun and Oswestry, and, at the apogee of their influence, the lordships of Bromfield and Yale, and Chirk. They were founders and patrons of Haughmond Abbey, where they were buried until 1326. Dr. Burtscher tells their story most eloquently and places them firmly in the wider perspective of the history of the period. They were not only politically powerful, but under Richard Fitzalan II (*c*.1307–1376) immensely rich, partly as a result of efficient sheep farming in the March and from financial exactions in the Marcher lordships, but also as moneylenders on a large scale. This is particularly apparent from a list of assets and debtors, including incredible cash reserves held in treasuries in the March, made in 1370–1 and at his death in 1376. Shrawardine Castle, known as Castle Isabel, was one of the favourite residences of the later Earls, and so was Castle Philip, which Burtscher equates with Shrawardine, but I think dubiously, as both Castle Isabel and Castle Philip were names used contemporaneously.

The author is less forthcoming on the relations of Richard Fitzalan II and III with the local community in Shropshire. When Edmund Fitzalan was apprehended in the Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, in 1326 his goods were seized and pillaged by the townspeople, and these were subsequently granted to them by the Crown. When Earl Richard II was restored under Edward III he did not forget, and the borough was made to repay £300 by annual £20 instalments continuing until at least 1350. The borough also had to found a chantry in the Hospital of St. John Baptist in Frankwell to pray for Earl Edmund's soul and in expiation of their fault. Subsequent relations with him and his successor were good, and in 1380 Richard Fitzalan III intervened in the constitutional quarrels of the borough, calling them to order at Castle Isabel (Shrawardine). There he oversaw the making of a Composition which was to govern the town until 1389. This was so conducive to the peace and tranquillity of the borough that it was made permanent in that year in a ceremony at Shrewsbury Abbey presided over by the Earl. In early 1398, after the attainder and execution of the Earl by the packed Revenge Parliament, the parliament was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The loyalty of the town was called in question, all the arms and armour owned by the inhabitants were confiscated, and the King attempted to install members of his élite guard of Cheshire archers as gatekeepers.

After the attainder of Earl Richard III cart-loads of luxurious hangings and furnishings, and silver plate, were seized from Castle Philip and sent up to the Treasury at Westminster. The extensive royal inventories of plate and

jewels made at this time were full of the plundered goods of the Appellants, and illustrate the almost unimaginable wealth of the aristocracy. These goods were either subsumed in the Treasury, or sold, or melted down.

The last Earl of this creation, Thomas, was not unnaturally a supporter of the Lancastrian usurpation and a prominent courtier under Henry IV. He was absent from the county for most of the reign, and the records on the Peace Roll demonstrate that his officers behaved corruptly and rapaciously; they went unchecked until the reign of Henry V. Thomas had no legitimate heirs and although the Fitzalans retained their lands in the county they never again wielded political power, which fell to the Talbot family.

James Lawson

Janice V. Cox (editor), *The People of God: Shrewsbury Dissenters 1660–1699*, parts 1 and 2. Centre for Local History, University of Keele: Shropshire Record Series, vols. 9 and 10, 2006–7. ISBNs 0 9536020 7 9 and 978 0 9536020 8 7. lxxxiv + 157 pp and 224 pp. £15 each post free, obtainable from Dr. D. C. Cox, 12 Oakfield Road, Shrewsbury SY3 8AA.

These two most attractively produced volumes present, with meticulous care, the result of many years of scholarly research. They must be required reading for all interested in the religious history of Shrewsbury in the later seventeenth century, but they also contain much of value for all those who wish to learn more about the social history of the county town during these years.

In a very full introduction Janice Cox begins by attempting to calculate the number of Protestant dissenters in Shrewsbury at this time. Although the 'Compton census' of 1676 revealed the existence of about 80, the author has discovered 150 dissenters in that year, with 91 of them being 'obstinate refusers'. The discrepancy reminds us of the different types of nonconformity. The majority of dissenters were Presbyterians, still willing to attend Anglican worship, and therefore spared prosecution for non-attendance. Less ready to bow down in the house of Rimmon were the Independents, the Baptists, and especially (as Janice Cox has shown in a paper in this volume of *Transactions*) the Quakers. But even adherents of these three denominations who were either very poor or wealthy usually escaped prosecution. It is significant that, although there are no surviving membership lists of the dissenting congregations in seventeenth-century Shrewsbury, it is likely that two-thirds of the members were female, most of whom were too poor to be prosecuted.

Persecution of dissenters was spasmodic. The worst times for the dissenters were the early years of the restored monarchy and the period of the Exclusion Crisis of 1679–81. After Charles II's death, however, persecution came to an end with James II's policy of religious toleration, designed, of course, to rehabilitate his fellow Roman Catholics. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave freedom, under certain conditions, to Protestant nonconformists, and at last the Presbyterians left the Church of England.

Janice Cox's introduction also contains useful discussions of the history of the borough corporation, and the role of burgesses and guilds, in which some dissenters, especially those with wealth, were very active. The economic status of dissenters ranged from very poor to very rich. The editor then considers the evidence of wills and inventories, with important caveats about the use of probate records. She continues by discussing bequests to ministers and the poor, the dedicatory clauses at the beginning of dissenters' wills, the ownership of books, and, perhaps most important, denominational and family relationships. Dissenters lived in every part of Shrewsbury, co-existing with members of the Established Church and with members of other denominations. The general attitude was 'live and let live'. Many families were of mixed denominations, although the Quakers tended to marry within their membership. Most dissenters, except Quakers, were married in the parish churches, to ensure the legitimacy of children and their inheritance rights. Only the Quakers had their own burial ground; other dissenters were buried in parish churchyards.

The work contains 437 biographies of individual dissenters, presented in a standard format – family details, including wills; taxes assessed on the individual; civic and economic life; and religious and political activities. The cross references to other dissenters are clearly indicated. At the end of the 437 biographies the author provides a list of a further 169 people who might have been dissenters. Janice Cox also provides a very full list of manuscript and printed sources, together with excellent indexes of people and places.

One minor point intrigued me. Janice Cox spells St. Alkmond's thus. When did it become St. Alkmund's? I have often observed that the noticeboard outside the church names it St. Alkmund's, while the street sign across the road proclaims it to be in St. Alkmond's Place. Samuel Bagshaw in his *History, Gazeteer, and Directory of Shropshire* (1851) spells the name Alkmund.

This is an outstanding investigation of Protestant nonconformity in Restoration Shrewsbury, fascinating in detail, a work of impeccable scholarship. It will be essential reading for all those with an interest in the religious, social, civic, and economic history of the town at this time. I commend it very highly.

William Price

Kathryn Davies, *Artisan Art: Vernacular Wall Paintings in the Welsh Marches, 1550–1650*, Logaston Press, 2008. ISBN 978 1 904396 92 5. viii + 230 pp. £17.50.

Kathy Davies's important and attractive survey of wall paintings opens with a figure – and as to those key reader's queries with such a book, 'What is the quality of the pictures, and are they in colour?' the answers are very good, and yes – of Richard Ellis and his wife at Althrey Hall (Flints.) about which she poses the questions, what did the painting mean to the Ellises and contemporaries, and what is the significance of a vivid red ribbon entwined through his codpiece?

A foreword by Professor Ron Brunskill, who supervised the doctoral thesis on which this book is based, draws out some of the study's themes: the schemes, pigments and colour palettes used by the artists to create decorative schemes on the walls and ceilings of houses of the 'middling sort', those who might in some cases have aspired to gentry status; what the work cost; and the paintings' iconographic intent. The last is rather more problematic to answer than it is to arrange a simple classification of the types of work encountered: figurative, decorative, architectural motifs, texts and heraldry. In many ways it is the figurative representations which are the most immediate: religious characters, people at play – hunting was a very popular subject, presumably as it drew attention to the owners' perception of themselves as belonging to the segment of society which had the right and opportunity to pursue game – and portraits of the householders. The last appears to have become a popular conceit around 1580, part of a flowering of interest in wall painting as house decoration which Davies shows had a relatively short duration, from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Many rooms so treated, with garish swirling patterns covering virtually every surface, must have been almost overpowering in impact; it is perhaps not surprising that the fashion came to an end, and it may well be that young married couples in the 1630s and 1640s looked in horror on their grandparents' idea of decoration, and applied whitewash with vim.

In chapter three, on Social and Cultural Context, and chapter eight, on Significance, Davies explores themes including the complex and subtle grades of rank and status which society observed in the decades either side of 1600, and how these were articulated through titles of address, and via indicators such as costume. We may associate sumptuary laws with the Middle Ages, but there were ten proclamations between 1559 and 1597 which attempted to regulate who could wear what; the aim was not to inhibit social mobility, but rather social emulation. Intertwined with such notions was a growing puritanical unease among some in the late sixteenth century with ostentation in dress: '*monstrous ruffes…which goe flip flap in the winde like rags flying abroad, and lye upon their shoulders like the dishclout of a slut*.' (Philip Stubbes, 1583). But whatever the commentators' lip-pursing, most socially and economically aspirant householders wished to see themselves depicted in their finery, and if they could not afford to have this captured in oils on board or canvas, and aspired to something more than painted wall-cloths, a representation on the best parlour wall in water-based paints was an acceptable substitute. Often a key life event, such as marriage (the conventionally-arranged husband and wife pose perhaps indicative of hoped-for domestic harmony) or elevation to public office, seems to have been the spur. As for the painting of Richard Ellis, commissioned towards the end of his life, his beribboned codpiece may well be a visual nod to his fecundity, amply manifest in nine sons and four daughters: this was not a man with doubts about his lineage.

This is a richly rewarding and engaging study, broad and humane in scope and treatment, which throws new light on the surroundings and aspirations of a segment of Marcher society in the later Elizabethan and Jacobean era. Three hundred or so examples of wall paintings are illustrated here; many more must lie unknown or unregarded behind later coverings or in ceiled-off attic spaces. As these are discovered this study will be an essential aid to understanding them, appreciating their significance, and ensuring that they are conserved and cared for.

Paul Stamper

Douglas Grounds, *Son and Servant of Shropshire: The Life of Archdeacon Joseph (Plymley) Corbett 1759–1838*, Logaston, 2009. xiv + 258 pp. ISBNs: 978 1 906663 14 8 (hardback, £18.50) and 978 1 906663 13 1 (paperback, £13.95).

Joseph Plymley, who took the name Corbett in 1804, was one of the leading men in Shropshire for much of his long life, and his biography has now been well written by Douglas Grounds, who thus adds to his earlier distinguished contribution to Shropshire history.[1]

In a formal sense Plymley's life changed in 1806 when, aged 47, he inherited the Corbetts' Longnor estate from an uncle.[2] Until then his adult occupations had been those of a country parson and county magistrate, by no means an uncommon conjunction at that period; thereafter for his remaining 32 years of life, as the owner of a substantial landed estate,[3] he was a fully fledged squarson.

Plymley came of respectable professional stock: his grandfather, a 'gentleman' and a Shrewsbury burgess, was clerk to the Mercers' Company in the town, where his son (the Archdeacon's father), who had artistic talents, became an apothecary. Plymley was educated at the King's School, Chester, and Pembroke College, Oxford. After university he was made deacon in 1781 and ordained priest in 1783; and in 1784 his uncle Robert gave him the family living of Longnor and Robert's neighbour gave him the adjoining living of Church Preen; he also acquired the family living of Leebotwood.[4] Eight years later the bishop of Hereford, impressed by the serious young clergyman just beyond his diocesan boundary (in Lichfield diocese), made him Archdeacon of Salop in Hereford diocese—i.e. south Shropshire. To offset the costs of the archdeaconry the bishop collated him to the rectory of Holdgate in 1802, although in 1799 he had received the living of Coreley (from his uncle) for the same reason. Thus between 1802 (or 1808)[5] and 1815 (when he resigned Church Preen) Plymley was an archdeacon with five parochial benefices in two dioceses. The mere recital of benefices, however, is misleading: he was no rapacious pluralist like his contemporary Dr. Woodhouse, from 1798 to 1807 Archdeacon of Salop in Lichfield diocese—i.e. north Shropshire, whose exorbitant clutch of plum livings in the 1830s brought him over £3,000 a year, not counting his deanery of Lichfield cathedral.[6] No, Plymley's benefices were for the most part poorly endowed perpetual curacies which he served conscientiously, providing assistant curates to do those duties he could not do himself; and the quite extraordinary thoroughness of his archidiaconal visitations, of which a full record survives, shows him to have been a man of uncommon industry and inquiring intelligence.

During those hardworking clerical years moreover he began to accumulate secular responsibilities. By 1792 he was a director of the Salop Infirmary (treasurer in 1808) and about then became deeply involved in the discussions[7] that led to the promotion of the 1798 Shrewsbury School Act, under whose provisions the school was reformed by one of its most famous masters, Dr. Butler. The president of the Board of Agriculture asked Plymley to produce a *General Survey* of the county's agriculture fuller than that which John Bishton had been able to write, and that took several years' work before it appeared in 1803. From 1798, as a county magistrate, he was the leading justice of his divisional (petty-sessional) bench, and he became active in the county administration of quarter sessions and its committees, auditing the accounts (Uncle John was county treasurer),[8] acting as a visiting justice of the county gaol, and eventually, in 1822, invited to become chairman of the court; aged 63, he wisely declined. After Pitt's introduction of income tax in 1799 he had become a local commissioner of the new tax.

More important than his Plymley ancestors for the Archdeacon's family were his maternal relations. His mother's father John Flint, a journeyman stationer, had died young, but his young widow, a Corbett descended from the first baronet of Longnor and left with three sons and a daughter, attracted the compassion of her distant kinsman, the bachelor 4th baronet; he supported them and eventually entailed his estate (away from the heir male of the first baronet) on the Flint brothers, who were to take the name Corbett; Robert and John,[9] successively enjoyed the estate from 1774 to 1806, which then passed to their sister's son, the Archdeacon. Naturally there was Chancery litigation about the disinheritance of the male-line Corbetts, in 1791–4 and again, more threateningly, from 1809 to 1813, of which a full and entertaining account is given; it was far from entertaining for the Archdeacon and his family, but in the end all was well, with pealing bells and tenant rejoicing.

This is a densely told story, an episode of family history centring on the biographical subject. The details pile up from one of Mr. Grounds's principal sources, the diary of the Archdeacon's talented and intellectual sister Katherine Plymley;[10] with another spinster sister, Ann—a lifelong invalid, she lived close to her brother's large family (of thirteen children by two wives), which she helped to care for, recording among much else all the births, illnesses, marriages, and deaths, and the daily talk and doings of the household and its visitors (many of them distinguished) and neighbours. These matters are skilfully woven into the successive phases and crises of the Archdeacon's life and work, of which Mr. Grounds gives a thoughtful retrospective evaluation (pp. 231–6). In the management of Shropshire's affairs the Archdeacon was one of the men who counted; and even so, with all that he had to do, and newly widowed for the first time, from 1788 he yet found the energy and time to contribute manfully over many years to the anti-slave trade campaign, collaborating with Wilberforce and Clarkson and seeing in due course the 1807 Act receive the royal assent (chapters 5–7).

The Plymleys' rise in society, from respectable professionals to landed gentry, rightly amazed Katherine (p. 130), a housekeeper's granddaughter, the daughter of a Shrewsbury apothecary, and the niece of a steward and a postmaster (to the latter of whom a long dynasty of county officials owed their rise).[11] The family's rise was not due to her brother's merits but to more accidental causes: the unsatisfactory lives of Sir Richard Corbett's heirs male; Sir Richard's care for his distant kinsmen, the Flints; and the failure of the Flint brothers, Robert and John Corbett, to leave a son.[12] Nevertheless the Archdeacon deserved his family's gratitude for nurturing the beginnings of a Corbett line that long continued active in public life: his eldest son, Panton, and his grandson Edward represented Shrewsbury and South Shropshire in Parliament;[13] Panton became chairman of quarter sessions and his half-brother Uvedale, another active county magistrate, became a county court judge and recorder of Wenlock;[14] two of Uvedale's younger brothers became clergymen (one of them rising to become Hereford diocesan chancellor), and the family livings of Leebotwood and Longnor, formally united in 1821, were enjoyed by four

Corbetts until 1867; and Uvedale's third brother served in the India Office. A Corbett was still serving on the county council in the later 1980s,[15] and the Longnor estate remains in the hands of the Archdeacon's descendant.

The Archdeacon well deserved the gratitude of his family and of his contemporaries—and posterity—for his strenuous, reforming contributions to public life, made possible by a robust constitution and a strong sense of duty. In due course, however, it is in the nature of things that the gratitude of family and contemporaries will be outlasted by the gratitude of social historians: for each of the 120–odd parishes of his extensive archdeaconry—over half of a large county—he recorded and analysed in great detail the landowning pattern and the wages, diets, education, and conditions of life of the labouring population and paupers. That was no part of an archdeacon's official duties. Yet that is what he did and left behind him, and the excellence of his work will soon become more apparent than even Mr. Grounds has made it (in Chapter 8), for Keele University's Shropshire Record Series is about to publish his visitation records in two volumes edited by Dr. Sylvia Watts. When her work is out it will surely enable the Archdeacon's social research to bear comparison with the work of such of his contemporaries as Sir Frederick Morton Eden and the Revd. Thomas Robert Malthus—and thus perhaps earn him a place, prepared by Mr. Grounds and Dr. Watts, along with his sister in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Meanwhile this book deserves to be widely read and will be enjoyed by all who take it up.

Notes

1 *A History of the Church of St. Laurence, Church Stretton: a Rural Parish through a Thousand Years*, (Logaston Press, 2002).
2 The book (pp. 14, 129–30, 135) corrects the descent of Longnor in *VCH Salop*, **VIII**, 110, which fails to note that John Corbett (d. 1806), formerly Flint, inherited the estate (settled by Sir Richard Corbett, d. 1774) from his brother Robert in 1804.
3 In the 1880s his grandson, Col. Edward Corbett, owned 4,767 acres, almost all in Shropshire: J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Gt. Britain and Irel.*, 1883, 106.
4 A rare, and minor, loose end in this excellent book is the perpetual curacy of Leebotwood. Mr. Grounds seems to imply (p. 215) that the Archdeacon (as he became) held that benefice with Longnor from 1784, which seems compatible with *VCH Salop*, **VIII**, 105. But perhaps he held it only from 1808 (when Lewis Williams died: pp. 23, 143, 193–4), having served as Williams's assistant curate until 1802 (pp. 20, 23, 26, 126). Shropshire Parish Registers, *Lichfield*, **V** (6), vi, is perhaps even more confused.
5 See preceding note.
6 *VCH Staffs*, **III**, 185.
7 About which one would like to know more. Cf. *VCH Salop*, **II**, 155, n. 50.
8 And was succeeded in that office by a relation, Joshua Peele—his son-in-law according to Mr. Grounds (pp. 173, 220) or grandson (according to *VCH Salop*, **III**, 361, n. 93). Mr. Grounds is probably correct.
9 Besides being county treasurer John was the Shrewsbury postmaster and lived in the town, not at Longnor.
10 See J. Dahn's article on her, added to the on-line *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in 2005.
11 After their initial connexion with the county treasurer (above, n. 8) the Peeles gained a toe-hold in the clerk of the peace's office and filled various official roles in county government from the 18th to the 20th century—in fact until the late Michael Peele ceased to be undersheriff around the late 1970s: *VCH Salop*, **III**, 129, etc.
12 One may savour the careful phrasing of Katherine's record of her feelings about Mrs. Robert Corbett's illusory pregnancy in 1793: as the possibility of a disinheriting cousin had been contemplated 'without depression' so 'we may allowably rejoice in the present circumstances as it [*sic*] enables my brother to look forward with more pleasure to the future provision for his growing family' (p. 91).
13 *VCH Salop*, **III**, 274–5, 317–18.
14 *Ibid.*, 139, 167, 360; **X**, 209.
15 D. C. Cox, *Shropshire County Council: A Centenary History*, 1989, 57–8, 95, n. 31.

G. C. Baugh

Colin Jones, Bernard Lowry and Mick Wilks, *20th Century Defences in Britain: The West Midlands Area*, Logaston Press, 2007. ISBN 978 1 904396 99 4. xii + 164 pp. £9.95.

One of the areas of the British heritage which has seen the greatest advance in understanding, and public interest, since I was an undergraduate thirty-odd years ago is twentieth-century military remains. From a position of near bafflement about the range and logic of military structures of all sorts, we now have a pretty fair grasp of what was built and why, and how much survives. From the point of view of heritage professionals like myself, it's the easiest 'heritage' to sell to the public; no matter how unprepossessing the brick building or the concrete lumps, people understand that they represent a tangible connection with momentous times, and their local link to them. Increasingly owners and communities cherish their particular pillbox or underground bunker, and thereby become the best of custodians.

That growth of understanding came through a mixture of local studies and amateur enthusiasm with national initiatives such as the Defence of Britain Project and English Heritage's work on Cold War structures, many of the latter little-known because of the demands of national secrecy and security. There is now a reliable core bibliography, and works like the Council for British Archaeology's *20th Century Defences in Britain* (1995), William Foot's *Beaches, Fields, Streets, and Hills* (2006), Mike Osborne's *Defending Britain* (2004) and Wayne Cocroft and Roger J. C. Thomas's *Cold War: Building for Nuclear Confrontation* (2003) provide authoritative catalogues and contextualisation of the very wide range of sites, monuments and buildings still to be encountered in almost every corner of the British Isles; with twentieth-century military remains the past truly is all around us – if only we know where to look, and indeed what we are looking at.

County and regional studies are now starting to identify local survivals, including a series – of which this volume is one – originating in records made for the Defence of Britain Project. It offers a concise, thematic, guide to the range and variety of remains to be found in the West Midlands local government region, including Shropshire, and provides a handy introduction either for groups and individuals wishing actively to research what can be found in their neighbourhood, or to anyone curious about strange structures in thickets and on field edges – or forgotten features in urban environments such as the spigot mortar emplacement in Shrewsbury Cemetery, part of anti-tank defences covering the railway line and the pre-war bypass.

Some of the stories associated with these structures are well known, others less so. During the Second World War Pitchford Hall was earmarked for occupation by the royal family if a staged withdrawal northwards (code name Black Move) away from invading German forces became necessary, while Whitchurch Old Rectory was a Y Station picking up radio intercepts and passing them to Bletchley Park. But often it's the mundane-looking and sounding sites which were the most strategically important: at Fordhall Farm, near Market Drayton, is one of the pumping stations from the Pluto petroleum pipeline, which eventually ran beneath the Channel to provide fuel to the allied forces after D-Day; at Peaton a 'shadow factory' which produced aircraft fuel tanks; while at Newport is one of the huge concrete grain silos which were used to assist in the distribution of foodstuffs in the Second World War and then recommissioned or enlarged as nuclear attack threatened in the Cold War. While few of the constructions had ambitions beyond the purely functional there are exceptions. During the 1930s as airfields expanded in terms of scale and manning to accommodate the new heavy bombers, the Royal Fine Arts Commission, mindful of the enormous impact these bases had on the look of rural England, kept a watchful eye on architectural standards. The elegant neo-Georgian buildings at RAF Shawbury are witness to this enlightened concern, while the station water tower stands a match for any Odeon cinema.

Overall this is an exceptionally useful and informative little book. For instance, for twenty-five years I have been driving past what was clearly a wartime aircraft hanger near RAF Shawbury. Now, thanks to this book, I know it is a type called the 'Robin', and that this was the smallest hanger used by the air force. Sir Hugh Casson was responsible for the camouflage schemes intended to conceal Robins' whereabouts; the illustrated example – I think the one I have in mind – has traces of brick-red paint, perhaps to make it resemble a farm building. For those with enquiring minds, knowing these things makes life more interesting. There is an excellent Glossary (invaluable given the military's fondness for acronyms), a selective Gazetteer of easily accessible or visible sites, bibliography and index. Few pages are without at least one photograph, and the general design and production (and proofing) standards are excellent. Firmly recommended.

Paul Stamper

Madge Moran and Henry Hand. *A Jacobean 'Market Hall', Bishop's Castle, Shropshire*, Logaston Press, 2008. ISBN 978 1 906663 11 7. 24 pp. £4.95.

This is an excellent little book, published by the South West Shropshire Historical and Archaeological Society as a memorial to the late Chris Train and Marion Roberts, who each did so much to foster an interest in history and archaeology in SW Shropshire.

No one had suspected, until the catastrophic fire of 2000, that a seventeenth century Market Hall was concealed behind the modest frontage of 28 High Street, Bishop's Castle. Indeed, there were no obvious records that suggested that such a building had ever existed. The careful detective work of the authors and their reconstructional drawings have revealed a timber-framed structure that was once a common-place in the market towns of the Welsh Borderland in the early modern period. The date of the building was at first uncertain – constructional techniques were retro – but dendrochronology established that it was 1619. The researches of George Baugh and the Marion Roberts have revealed the historical context in which the lords of the manor, rather than the borough authorities, decided to build a new market hall. Markets and fairs have been kept in the town since the Middle Ages and these are described. However, in addition there was a St. John Baptist fair traditionally

kept on 29 August, the patronal festival of the church. (This is the feast of the Decollation of St. John Baptist rather than the feast of his Nativity which is on 24 June.) The puritan vicar of Bishop's Castle between 1576 and 1629, Gualter Stephens, persuaded the borough authorities to move this fair to a Monday when 29 August fell on a Sunday in 1591, but in 1593 the 24 June fair was held regardless on a Sunday, presumably against his admonition. Just before this fair, plague broke out in the town which ultimately left 174 dead before it abated in October. The vicar regarded this as divine retribution for Sabbath breaking and he subsequently campaigned for the abolition of Sunday fairs, especially across the border in the Welsh shires. A catastrophe of this kind led to the total cessation of all economic activity, and at the end of 1593 the town appealed to the town of Shrewsbury to relieve their distress in cash and or grain. The Bailiffs and preachers of the town duly mobilised relief. An anonymous later 17th century biographer claimed that Stephens had considerable influence over the town council, and in particular that he upbraided his parishioners for what he called the 'Friday devil'- drunkenness on the Friday market day. A by-law of 1611 dealing with false measures clearly refers to this. If this was all that ailed a 17th century Friday market there had been progress in the previous century. Markets and fairs in the Marches in the 1530s and earlier had often ended in riots and affrays. These were occasions, perhaps, well lubricated with ale. In 1534 Bishop Rowland Lee, president of the Council of the Marches, ordered that no one should carry weapons to them, an order repeated under Queen Elizabeth I in 1576. However, despite the order in 1534, market day at Bishop's Castle on Friday 3 July in that year ended in a major affray with considerable bloodshed. All was duly reported to the omniscient minister of Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell.

Comparative evidence of early modern timbered and stone market halls is mentioned, but it stops short of the Welsh border. In the near vicinity there was already a timbered hall at Montgomery by 1610 and one at Welshpool before 1629. This had two storeys and at least four bays, carried on wooden pillars. The upper storey was used for the Great Sessions and latterly, at least, the ground floor was occupied by a flannel market. It was in decay by the mid-eighteenth century and demolished *c*.1761. Deeper into Wales, and now the only surviving timbered market hall in the principality, is the fine hall at Llanidloes. It is brave to name John Abel as a possible carpenter, for there must have been others capable of major structural work, but carpenters are regrettably ill documented. The most likely roofing material was the local Corndon slate, but in SW Shropshire the evidence for roofing on churches demonstrates that local stone slates were used wherever a suitable material could be found.

James Lawson

Michael Shaw, *The Lead, Copper and Barytes Mines of Shropshire*, Logaston 2009, ISBN 978 1 906663 09 4. 310 pp. £12.95.

Mike Shaw has provided an excellent introduction to the history of non-ferrous metal mining in the county, which I can thoroughly recommend. Brooke and Allbutt's *Shropshire Lead Mines* (1973) has long been out of print and was strictly limited in scope. The present volume covers all known lead and copper mines, and the subsidiary barytes industry. Shaw describes the geology of the various ore fields, their mineralogy, mining methods and processing and where appropriate the smelting. His treatment of the barytes industry is exemplary and explains not only the nature of the mineral and its uses to the present day, but also its processing and the novel means used to transport ore from the Bog and Huglith to the state of the art processing mill at Malehurst in the 20th century. The illustrations are excellent and aptly deployed. The main body of the book is a gazetteer of the mines area by area describing the visible remains of workings and surviving buildings including those of smelt-houses. Within the space available there is a mass of detail about the history of each mine, production records where available and the succession of Companies and individuals involved. It is not an economic history and particularly in the 18th century does not pretend to examine the composition of partnerships in any detail.

Within such a short book it is impossible to be entirely comprehensive. As long ago as 1908 Professor Haverfield urged caution in reading too much into the Roman villa at Linley. More recently Dr. Webster and Professor Barri Jones have thrown caution to the winds, Webster followed Thomas Wright and interpreted the remains as a lead processing complex, for which there is no evidence, and Jones interpreted aerial photographs at Norbury as hushing. In fact, as demonstrated in volume 79 of these *Transactions* (pp. 144–5), what Jones saw was indubitably medieval ridge and furrow and nothing to do with Roman mining.

Your reviewer found no evidence of medieval lead mining at Shelve after 1379, but this may be because of defective records. The revival in the 1550s was driven by Lord Stafford's need to generate income and his antiquarian researches. He found the 1379 entry and persuaded an official of the Mint to take a lease of the mines, presumably in search of silver. It was a rather inopportune moment to start mining lead when there was so much monastic lead clogging the market. The history of the resumption of large scale lead mining in the late 17th century and through the 18th century very largely remains to be written. The archives are regrettably dispersed or no longer

extant, or sometimes not accessible, and whilst there are plenty of mining leases there are rarely production or royalty records. The persistence of partnerships over long periods, however, suggests that there were good profits to be made, particularly at Pennerley where a group of Shrewsbury drapers from 1728 was responsible for driving the first major drainage level, later known as the 'Boat Level', which was extended up to the Bog between 1809 and 1812. In the later 17th century Derbyshire miners and entrepreneurs were still to be found on the More estate, but throughout the 18th century partnerships were normally Shrewsbury orientated, after the disappearance of the London Lead Company, and, except for the new Snailbeach Company of 1782, they emanated from Oswestry and the Minera. Some of the partners were also active in Merioneth and Cardiganshire, notably the 'Shrewsbury Company', in which Henry Bowdler, Jonathan Scott and later Edward Jeffreys and his family were involved. From the 1770s John Probert of Copthorne not only served his master, Lord Powis, but also himself in Cardiganshire mines. He was a major participant in the Shropshire White Grit Company, for which there is useful material, of which the author seems unaware, in the Powis Castle collection in the National Library of Wales. Cardiganshire miners were employed at the Bog mine in the 1760s, but by the early 19th century the mining population was indigenous. Census material is used, but nothing is said of the remarkable squatter settlements and smallholdings, which grew up around the South-West Shropshire mines which, although reduced in size, are still a feature of the landscape.

Inevitably there are some quibbles. Westcott copper mine was opened briefly in the 1750s after the Gatten estate was purchased by Thomas Hill. An estate map of 1798 points to a location near Westcott Birches. John Weston, who took the Bog mine about 1789, was an outsider from North Wales, He floated the mine on the London Market as the 'Good Chance' mine to raise £6,000, and by 1796 he had exhausted the capital to little effect, observed somewhat cynically by John Lawrence. Weston, like all later miners at the Bog, spent deeply for little if any profit. The Bog always lived up to its name. Unlike in Brooke and Albutt's work there are neither output tables for any of the minerals by mine nor comparative tables with other lead producing areas. Inevitably the book is skewed to the 19th century because of the standing remains especially at Snailbeach and Tankerville. Regrettably in well meant tidying up operations in the later 20th century much surface evidence has disappeared.

James Lawson

OBITUARIES

MARION TRENCHARD ROBERTS, M.A., D.A.A. (1933–2008)

Marion Hill was born in Ealing and educated at Berkhampsted School for Girls and the University of St. Andrews, where she read Medieval and Modern History, graduating in 1955. She took a secretarial course in London, of great benefit to her in her later work, and then read for the post-graduate Diploma in Paleography and Archive Administration at University College London. In 1957 she came to Shropshire as Assistant Archivist under Miss Mary Hill, who was the first County Archivist, appointed in 1946. Shropshire was to be Marion's home for the rest of her life, to the inestimable benefit of our county.

At the time of Marion's arrival the County Record Office was in the old Shirehall in the Square in Shrewsbury. This was when Shropshire landowners, solicitors, and many others began to deposit material in the Record Office. Hundreds of documents were deposited, and Marion, as the only car driver in the Record Office, went all over the county to collect them. Sometimes there were urgent rescue missions. For example, the archivists had to rush to Church Stretton when the Poor Law Institution in the town was being demolished, after workmen had informed the Record Office that documents, which proved to be the archives of the poor-law union, were turning up in the rubble of half demolished masonry. On another occasion a solicitor in Shrewsbury telephoned the Record Office to say that next day many of his documents had to go – either to the Record Office or to the tip. Immediate action was required to save the papers.

And then, in 1966, there began 'the Move' from the Square to the Record Office in the new Shirehall. Every box of documents had to be transported, in an arduous process which took almost a year to complete, and it was at this time that Marion, by now Senior Assistant Archivist, gained her astonishing knowledge of every collection. In the early 1970s the parochial records of the Church of England in the county came into the Record Office, many of them collected by Marion from church vestries, just as the 'family history industry' was beginning to grow. At about the same time the reorganization of local government, with the disappearance of many small authorities, led to many more acquisitions. In 1975 Marion became County Archivist, holding the post until 1989.

Retirement did not mean the end of work by any means. Marion worked as Honorary Archivist at Hereford Cathedral for five years, and, for many years, she cared for the private archives of Sir Michael Leighton at Loton Park, Mr. Algernon Heber-Percy at Hodnet Hall, and Mr. Justin Coldwell at Linley Hall. She was Vice-President of the South-West Shropshire Historical and Archaeological Society, and also Honorary Archivist to Bishop's Castle Town Council, leading the group which produced the *Bishop's Castle Parish Register*, the seventh and final part of which was published just before her death. For some years she was, with David Lloyd and Paul Stamper, a tutor for the Birmingham University Diploma in Local History course, held at Shropshire Archives. Marion also conducted a research class on eighteenth-century Shrewsbury and another on paleography and medieval Latin. And for our Society she served as Honorary Secretary and Honorary Publications Secretary for almost twenty years. Her home became a warehouse for storing our publications.

Marion was a very active churchwoman, at St. Chad's Church when she lived in Shrewsbury, and later she served Ford Parish Church in many ways, not least as treasurer. She was always ready to help at church events, behind the scenes and without fuss. She also gave of her time in pastoral work in the parish, and she was a valued member of Pontesbury Deanery Synod and of the Deanery Pastoral Committee. Marion was also a member of several local choirs.

She married Bruce Halford in 1969 and they lived at Old Well Cottage in Ford. Bruce died in 1988, and in 1990 Marion married Keith Roberts, becoming a very active farmer's wife at Lower Wallop. She looked after Keith with great care after his stroke in 1997, and as his condition gradually worsened Marion took on more and more work on the farm.

I first met Marion in the old Shirehall in the early 1960s when I was a pupil at Adams' Grammar School in Wem. Later I worked closely with her when I was Assistant Editor of the *Victoria County History* in the new Shirehall. She was the kindest colleague, with her superb sense of humour. She seemed to know everyone, and when I had to visit a holder of historic documents she would always give me a description of the particular foibles of the individual concerned. Our friendship was rekindled when I returned to Shropshire in 2000.

Marion could have published much, but she chose rather to give generously of herself and her scholarship to help others to write. Her friends hope to publish a volume of historical papers, including articles by Marion herself, in her memory. She will long be remembered by all those who had the good fortune to know this generous, energetic, self-effacing, and courageous woman, not least in her final illness.

She died on 20 August 2008, and her funeral in Ford Church on 29 August was attended by a huge number of friends, far more in number than the church could contain. Tributes were paid by Mr. George Baugh and Mr. David Preshous, and the Revd. Val Tait, Priest-in-Charge of Ford, herself a close friend of Marion, gave a full and moving address.

William Price

KENNETH CHARLES LOCK (1929–2008)

Ken was well known among the old miners of the Pontesbury and Snailbeach areas where he had done much collecting of information, old photographs and documents. He was also well known in the County record office where he found all manner of things which he freely shared with his fellow workers, including the author. He contributed occasional articles to various journals including the Shropshire Magazine. He joined what is now the Shropshire Caving and Mining Club in 1964, eventually becoming an honorary member. It was Ken who, in 1965, introduced the Club to the old Clive copper mines, where as an electrician he descended regularly to service the pumps then used to provide water to the local estate. By 1970 he was giving regular lectures to Shropshire County Council's Education Department adult classes on mining history around Shrewsbury and also leading mining walks. Ken often shared his series of talks and walks with the writer, particularly when he suffered a bout of ill health in the early 1970s.

Ken and the writer went on several camping trips to mining areas including a full week in Cornwall at the time of the tin-mining revival in 1970. Ken was thrilled to see the surface and underground operations at Geevor, Levant, Tywarnhale, Hydraulic Tin as Bissoe, Wheal Jane, Holman's, Wheal Peevor, Tolgus and South Crofty. During the 1960s and 70s Ken also helped with several mining 'digs', for example, along the line of the flue at Snailbeach and at the old assay house. This was long before their location and uses were fully understood. He helped the writer on practical archaeology during the closure period at Rock and Shortwoods mines in the Coalbrookdale Coalfield.

Ken was always ready to swap photos, documents and information on mines which helped greatly in the production of the writer's books on the mines of Shropshire (Moorland Press, 1974 and Tempus, 1999 and 2001). Without his help, these works would have been much less complete. The latter book was dedicated to him.

Ken was very approachable, knowledgeable and a good conversationalist; a radio programme he helped to make with some of the surviving miners of the Shrewsbury coalfield is still well remembered by many.

Ken died on 22 August 2008, aged 79.

Ivor Brown

DAVID JAMES LLOYD, M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D., M.B.E. (1935–2009)

The sudden death of David Lloyd on 17 May 2009 aged 73 has robbed Shropshire, and particularly Ludlow, of one of its most notable historians of recent years.

David Lloyd was born in the heart of Ludlow and educated at Ludlow Grammar School, from whence he went up to Balliol College, Oxford, as a Greaves Exhibitioner to read Geography. After Oxford he made his career in education in Yorkshire, Kent, and the West Midlands, eventually becoming Deputy Head of a large Coventry comprehensive school. David's heart was always in Ludlow, and in 1976, while still based in Birmingham, he became one of the co-founders of the Ludlow Historical Research Group. For the rest of his life David was to be closely involved with the LHRG, directing its researches for much of the period.

Early retirement enabled David to devote far more attention to his local history interests, and for a time he was running groups in Chaddesley Corbett and Bewdley in addition to that in Ludlow. Moving back to Ludlow in the

early 1980s he was able to take an active part in the life of his home town. He served on the Town, District and County Councils, and was Town Mayor in 1988–9. Other organisations in the town with which he was closely involved included the Ludlow Festival and St. Laurence's Church, where he served as churchwarden and masterminded three major fund-raising campaigns. In 1998 he was awarded an MBE for services to local history and the Ludlow community. Eight years later David gained his doctorate from Wolverhampton University, for a thesis on eighteenth-century Ludlow society.

Though a member of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society for nearly 40 years, and its Treasurer for a short time in the early 1980s, David never contributed to the *Transactions*. His output of published work was, however, prodigious, ranging from pamphlets to substantial works for respected publishers such as Phillimore, Logaston and Tempus. At the time of his death he was working on a definitive history of St. Laurence's, which is to be published posthumously. Collectively these form an impressive and learned body of work on a town which has been blessed with a wealth of documentary material. Probably the most outstanding, and certainly most ground-breaking, of these works was *Broad Street*, published in 1979, and originally intended as the first of a series on Ludlow's streets by members of the LHRG, which unfortunately never materialized. In recent years David's Tuesday morning lectures in the Ludlow Assembly Room, on a variety of historical and architectural subjects, drew regular audiences of 150 and more.

David leaves his wife, Wendy, who was a constant support in all his endeavours, three surviving children, and six grandchildren.

Martin Speight

THE SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society was founded in 1877 (as the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society), and from that time it became, and has remained, the foremost continuous promoter of research into the archaeology and history of the county. The Society's regularly published *Transactions* have become the journal of record for the county's history and archaeology.

In its early years, and for long, the Society organized an annual excursion for its members. In recent times, however, that side of its activity has increased, and there is now a regular programme of summer excursions and a winter programme of lectures, for which speakers well qualified in their specialisms are engaged. Early in December there is also an annual social meeting, and from time to time day schools are organized—sometimes on topics such as industrial archaeology (so important in Shropshire) and sometimes on a subject of current interest such as that provided in 2009 by the Anglo-Saxon treasure found in Staffordshire.

In 1923 the Shropshire Parish Register Society (founded in 1897) amalgamated with the Archaeological Society, and the work of publishing the county's parish registers was continued. After a lapse that work has been resumed, and the most recent achievement has been the publication of the Bishop's Castle register. Work continues on other parishes, and the Society's as yet unpublished transcripts are available for use.

In addition to its *Transactions* and the parish-register programme, the Society has published occasional monographs and other works: notable in recent years have been the cartularies (registers of property deeds) of Haughmond Abbey (1985; jointly with the University of Wales Press) and Lilleshall Abbey (1997); Dr. Baker's *Shrewsbury Abbey: Studies in the archaeology and history of an urban abbey* (2002); D. and R. Cromarty's *The Wealth of Shrewsbury* (1993; a detailed study of early 14th-century Shrewsbury people from taxation records – which survive so abundantly in the Shrewsbury borough archive and so rarely elsewhere); H. D. G. Foxall's *Shropshire Field-Names* (1980); and the historic county maps published by Robert Baugh in 1808 (1983) and by Christopher Greenwood in 1827 (2008). These maps, whose detail was unrivalled until the Ordnance Survey began work in Shropshire, give a vivid bird's-eye view of the county before the great changes of the Victorian period. Greenwood's map is available as paper sheets and on a CD. Further details of the Society's publications for sale (most of them at a 10 per cent discount to members) appear elsewhere in this volume.

In addition to the *Transactions* members receive a twice yearly *News Letter*, which keeps them in touch with all the Society's activities and work and with its programmes of excursions and lectures.

For further information about the Society, and how to join it, see:

www. shropshirearchaeology.org.uk

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 *Newsletter*, 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, £15 for family and institutional members, and £18 for overseas 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 the Secretary 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.