

Transactions
OF THE
Shropshire Archaeological
Society

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED 1877

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

VOLUME LIII.

PART 1

(1949)

SHREWSBURY :
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

WILDING & SON, LTD., CASTLE STREET
SHREWSBURY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Colliers' Wages in Shropshire, 1830-1850, by H. SCOTT, M.A.	1
An Industrial Relic, by L. C. LLOYD, F.L.S.	23
Flint Implements Recently Found in Shropshire, South of the Severn, by LILY F. CHITTY, F.S.A.	24
Caradoc's Last Battlefield, by LIEUT.-COL. A. H. BURNE, D.S.O.	37
The Agatha Tile in the Abbey Church, Shrewsbury, by the late the RIGHT REV. BISHOP MORIARTY	53
First Impressions of the Acton Burnell Missall, by the late the RIGHT REV. BISHOP MORIARTY	56
An Early House at Upper Millichope, by M. E. WOOD, M.A., F.S.A., with introductory note by J. SALMON, B.A., F.S.A.	61
A Shrewsbury Subsidy Roll, 1445-46, edited by J. L. HOBBS, F.L.A.	68
Shrewsbury Borough Seals, by MICHAEL PEELE	76
"Henry Tudor" House, Shrewsbury, by A. W. WARD	78
Bishop's Castle Burgesses, by F. LAVENDER... ..	80
Interim Notes on (A) Subsidiary Castle Sites West of Shrewsbury, (B) Three Unrecognised Castle Sites in North Shropshire, by LILY F. CHITTY, F.S.A.	83
Deeds Relating to Oswestry, abstracted by REV. R. C. PURTON, M.A.	94
John FitzAlan I, by the late LAURA LUCIE NORSWORTHY, F.R.Hist.S.	112
A Sixteenth Century Poisoning Case	140
Obituary	142

*The Society does not hold itself responsible for the statements,
opinions or errors of authors of papers.*

COLLIERS' WAGES IN SHROPSHIRE, 1830-1850¹

By H. SCOTT, M.A.

Any investigator who attempts to trace the course of the earnings of colliers in the West Midlands in the early nineteenth century is beset with several difficulties. The generally prevailing practice was for the owner or lessee of the mine or colliery to let out a portion of it, or in the case of small mines the whole of it, to a sub-contractor or charter master, commonly referred to as a *butty*. To this contractor payment was made for minerals brought to the surface, and this was the person who employed the miners, and consequently paid them. Since the miners were employed and paid by the *butties* the colliery records for the most part contain no record of the payments made to individual workmen. What the colliery records do show is the amount paid to each *butty*, as for example the following, taken at random from a Colliery Journal² :—

FLINT COALS

Month, 29th March to 25th April, 1845

TO ROBERT BAILEY :—

LANDSALE				SEVERN				FURNACES				FORGE				Price s. d.	Total £ s. d.
Coal		Slack		Coal		Slack		Coal		Slack		Slack		Coal			
Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt	Ton	Cwt		
1	19			120	—	45	—	144	5					538	—	3 4	6 6
																3 4	20 0 0
																3 4	7 10 0
																3 4	24 0 10
																3 4	98 0 0
TOTAL PAID TO ROBERT BAILEY																	£149 17 4

¹ This paper is composed of material from the following sources: The Papers and Accounts of the firm of Botfield, who worked the coal and ironstone mines on the Titterstone Clee hills in Shropshire for many years. These papers are now in the Library of Manchester University. The Report of the Midland Mines Commission, 1843. The Report of the Children's Employment Commission, 1842. The Appendix (Part I) to the First Report of the Children's Commission, 1842. Reports of the Inspector appointed under Act 5 and 6 Vic. Cap. 99. Accounts and Papers for the year 1842. In addition odd references will be found to other works.

² *Old Park and Stirchley Colliery Journal*, Botfield MSS.

Such entries are, with very few exceptions, the only references in the colliery accounts to monies paid to employees.

Not only did the butty find the workmen for the carrying on of operations in the mine, but he also found whatever was requisite for carrying out the work within the pit—horses, skips, tools and timber, the labour requisite for the excavation of gate roads, air-heads, etc. The shafts themselves were sunk at the expense of the owner or lessee, who also bore the charges of additional sinking when the lower measures were to be worked, and who provided clerks and other necessary attendants at the surface, engines, ropes, iron-work, timber for surface work, rails and every species of apparatus and assistance for conveying the coals from the pit's mouth to the boat or waggon in which they were to be conveyed.¹ The butties often were two in partnership, one being down the mine, and the other being on the surface.² But this was not always the case, those working the mines of the firm of Botfield all worked individually. Some butties had an interest in more than one mine, often indeed working both coal and ironstone.³

The butties normally had a written agreement with the owner or lessee of the mine,⁴ and the agreement provided that the prices to be paid by the owner or lessee should be subject to advance or reduction according to the fluctuations of workmen's wages. The coal industry was not dependent for its prosperity on the selling of coals for domestic purposes, but it was dependent to a very great extent on the prosperity of the iron trade. A demand for coal for the furnaces, for the forge, or perhaps for some other industry, would induce the owner or lessee of the mine to offer a higher price per ton to the charter-master in order to meet the demand. When the demand for coal was not so great the owner or lessee of the mine would have to sell his coals at a lower rate in order to effect a sale, hence a reduction in the price paid to the charter-masters or butties. The changing of the price to be paid to the butties for each ton of coal brought to the surface could easily be effected as the butties took the pits only from month to month and had their

¹ Thomas Smith, *The Miner's Guide*, 1836, p. 64.

² Report of the Midland Mines Commission, 1843, p. lxiv.

³ Botfield MSS. *Old Park and Stirchley Colliery Journals*.

⁴ See Appendix.

charters altered when circumstances required.¹ The rate per ton of coal raised which was paid to the butty was dependent on the general prosperity of the industry and on the wages which the butty would have to pay to his workmen.

The butties were raised from the ranks of the pitmen, first becoming "doggies," and then when they had saved a little money they became butties. "Doggies" were a sort of foremen to the butties, and were paid by the butties a regular rate, often 1s. 6d. per day more than the miners. Their duty was to set the men to work, to measure off the work done by each man, etc. That the capital which was necessary was not small will be realised by the fact that money was required for cutting out gateways through the pit before the butty was able to send much coal up the shaft and begin to receive charter from the tenant or proprietor. It was said that some butties laid out as much as £500 in this way.² The butty was entitled to have any water which might come into the pit drawn off at the expense of the owner or lessor. In the technical language of the mine he was entitled to have water-ease. If in consequence of a fault, the bed of coal was lost, it was the business of the employer to find it again. In general, all difficulties which could not be foreseen, and of an unusual nature were to be removed at the expense of the employer and not of the butty.³

It is believed that the pit's company, as the miners working together in a pit were called, used in former times to engage in a body with the proprietor to raise the mineral at a given price per ton, and that there was a head man of the company, chosen by the rest for his superior age or experience, hence called a "gaffer," who used to enter into the contract in the name of the rest, used to direct operations and work alongside them, all having a common interest in the concern, like the crew of a fishing boat.⁴ But, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the "gaffer" had become known as a Butty, had become a middleman, and the pit's company his hired labourers, from whom it was his interest to squeeze out as much

¹ Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, 1843, p. 19.

² Appendix (Part I) to First Report of the Children's Employment Commission, 1842, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Report of the Midland Mines Commission, 1843, p. xxxiv.

profit by any means that circumstances would allow.¹ By this system the man of property who possessed or rented the royalty, sank the pits and erected the machinery neither hired nor dismissed the labourers from his mine, but handed over the whole concern, as far as the labouring classes were concerned, or any interest in their welfare as his servants, to an inferior.

This system of working the mines by using sub-contractors or *butties* existed not only in the Shropshire coalfield, but also in Staffordshire, in Warwickshire around Nuneaton, in Derbyshire and in Yorkshire.²

As already mentioned, this system of working the mines by means of sub-contractors presents great difficulties to anyone attempting an investigation into the wages paid to the various classes of miners. The only entries in the Botfield MSS. which give any indication of the prevailing rate of wages are those referring to miners known as "*datallers*," men employed as occasional workers and paid at the rate of so much per day. The wages paid by the firm of Botfield to these *datal* workers during the period under review were as follows :—

<i>Month and Year</i>				<i>Pikemen</i>	<i>Bandsmen</i>	<i>Sinkers</i>
				s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
January	1831	...	...	1 10	2 3	1 11
January	1832	...	...	2 1	2 6	2 2
May	1836	...	...	3 1	3 6	3 2
January	1837	...	...	2 7	3 0	2 8
January	1839	...	...	2 10	3 3	2 11
January	1840	...	...	2 7	2 0	2 8
January	1841	...	...	2 3	2 9	2 6
January	1842	...	...	2 0	2 6	2 3
January	1844	...	...	2 3	2 9	2 6
April	1845	...	...	2 9	3 3	3 0
August	1845	...	...	2 6	3 0	2 9
October	1845	...	...	2 9	3 3	3 0 ³

Some explanation of these terms is necessary. The term which is self-explanatory is the class of workers known as "*Sinkers*," these being the workers responsible for sinking the shafts. The other terms are less obvious. The "*Pikemen*," sometimes known as "*Holers*," made a hole under the mass of coal by cutting out with light picks the bottom measures, building up small supports called

¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

² *Ibid.*

³ Botfield MSS.

"cogs" of stone to support the mass of coal under which they were to work. A sufficient mass of coal having been thus undermined, the next operation done by the same men was to cut upwards a cavity between the mass of coal which was intended to fall and that which was intended to stand as a pillar, to support the roof of the mine. After the cutting was completed, the coal that was to be brought down was pulled down by these same men, armed with a long pike. The Bandsmen were the various labourers in the mine—the turners out broke the huge masses of coal which had fallen into manageable sized pieces, which the loaders placed upon the skips. The pitchers, lads of 12–15 surrounded the coal with iron hoops, then the horse-drivers took the skip away along the iron tramways where the hanger-on attached to it the hook and rope, or chain by which the engine hoisted the load to the surface. In the process of holing out the coal, or undermining it, and afterwards at each successive fall of coals, a quantity of small dust coal, in general not thought worth raising to the surface was produced—slack. Dirt-carriers carried this back in baskets or iron trays with handles, from where the men were working, to the empty space behind them, commonly called the gob. Besides these dirt-carriers there was the cleanser who separated the stony pieces from the coal.

From available figures it would be imagined that the Pikemen were the worse off in respect of wages, yet employment as a Pikeman was "considered in ordinary times the best, and the object of the ambition of the young and vigorous miner."¹ This seems hardly feasible, for according to available figures the wage of a Pikeman was below that of other workers in the pit, but, the truth is that the rate per day is a very deceptive index of the actual condition of the workmen. The Pikeman was paid so much per day for the day's task or "stint," *i.e.*, a certain number of feet of work, one such stint being called a day's work irrespective of how long it took to do the stint. Thus, supposing work to have been plentiful, and the coal of a soft quality, and easy to work, a workman might do eight or nine days' work in a week, or if the demand for coal was not brisk and the Pikeman could get through his day's work in eight or nine hours, he might have the rest of the day at his own disposal. The Bandsmen on the other hand were paid by the day

¹ Report of the Midland Mines Commission, p. xxxviii.

of twelve hours and could not earn more than seven days' wages in seven days.

These remarks, however, applied only to a state of trade, which afforded full employment to the miners, but even in prosperous times, labour, as now, was subject to many interruptions as the result of accidents to the machinery, fires in the pit, deleterious gases, etc., so that perhaps five or six days' work per week was as much as in the best of times a pit's company could be working. In addition there were all the idle times from accidents to the miner himself, or illness to be deducted.¹ Moreover, no matter how favourable circumstances might be for steady work—a steady demand for coal, and a freedom from accidents, illness and other occurrences which might limit the length of time available for work, some men would not work. Several witnesses testified to this before the Midland Mines Commission in 1843, one butty declared that "If there was trade like there was in the French wars, there are many of those shackling fellows that would not come to their work above two days a week; and 19 out of 20 would not come to work regular, I am certain, even if the masters went down on their hands to them."² A coal owner also testified to this, "... as wages rise my men begin to work irregularly, and when trade is brisk they will not work four days in the week."³

Further difficulties are encountered when trying to assess the weekly wages of the mineworkers because there would be deductions for coal and rent, for candles and gunpowder, and for the sharpening of tools and in some cases for sick clubs.⁴

It is thus very difficult to determine what would be the average weekly wages of the various classes of wage-earners in the coal-mining industry, but assuming that the pikeman did eight days' work in a week, his wages during the period under review, in the Shropshire coalfield, would be from 15s. to £1 per week and a bandsman 12s. to 18s. per week of six working days.

As to the financial condition of the butties there appears to have been a vast inequality. In Shropshire it was quite notorious

¹ *Ibid.*, p. cxiv.

² Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, p. 43.

³ Report of the Inspector appointed under Act 5 and 6 Vic. Cap. 99, for the year 1844, p. 62.

⁴ Report of the Midland Mines Commission *passim*.

that ignorant men in many cases made fortunes in a few years. One man after having been a butty for twelve years was reported to be worth from £10,000 to £13,000.¹ However, although some were reputed to be worth thousands of pounds, few of them were possessed of much property, and the greater number of butties were in very limited circumstances.²

The Midland Mines Commission found, when visiting the Midland Coalfields in 1843, that the very name of "Butty," was most odious to the ears of the lower orders. Some of the actual replies received by the Commissioners when they unexpectedly asked people whom they came across (not necessarily miners), their opinion of butties, were as follows:—

"The Butties are the devil."

"They are negro drivers."

"They want hanging, the masters are getting ill-thought of by means of the butties."

"They play the vengeance with the men."³

The main reason for the unpopularity of the butties was over the question of wages. At a strike meeting held at West Bromwich on August 1st, 1842, attended by miners from North and South Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Shropshire, a resolution was passed unanimously to the effect that "the men consider that half-days, quarter-days and buildasses are oppressive and must be wholly done away with."⁴ The word which will no doubt appear enigmatical is the one spelt "Buildasses." It is thought that this is the first time that the word has appeared in print and its derivation is not known for certain. It has been suggested that it originated in Shropshire, being one of the oldest coal producing areas in the Midlands, and had gradually spread throughout the Midlands. In Shropshire, close to the borders of the Coalbrookdale coalfield, on the banks of the Severn, there existed the ancient abbey of Buildwas, a name perpetuated in the modern village of the same appellation. It has been suggested that some ancient service, to

¹ Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, p. 98.

² Appendix (Part I) to First Report of the Children's Employment Commission, p. 2.

³ Report of the Midland Mines Commission, p. xxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.*

which the brethren of this abbey were entitled from their tenants, may have caused the term Buildwas to be applied generally to any labour for which no wages were paid.¹ At the beginning of the century the term was applied to a practice which resulted from a shortage of carts arriving at the pit to take off the coal, the main trade of the area as a whole being at this period Landsale. The men went down at the usual hour, 6 o'clock and if no carts or waggons came by 7 or 8 o'clock the men were called up and a bottle of ale was given to them, but no money. By degrees the time of working crept on and cases have been reported of a butty drawing a boat-and-a-half of coal for a Buildas, *i.e.*, 30 tons. On this he would get a charter of from 3s. to 3s. 3d. per ton—on the whole a total of from £4 10s. to £5. Later, when the furnace trade became the main trade of the Shropshire area the butties changed the excuse for a Buildas, laying the men off work by saying that the coke-hearths were full. In some cases the Bandsmen were kept down the pit to mend the roads for a Buildas.²

In the resolution passed at the meeting at West Bromwich (mentioned above) the miners objected also to working half-days and quarter-days. The principal reason for this objection to working half or quarter days arose from the fact that the butties were apt to have a watch which went very slow, or to forget how time passes, with the result that when the men emerged from the pit, where all hours are alike, they "found the sun advanced on his daily career much further than they expected or than they found reckoned to them on the pay day."³ The evidence of the existence of these practices was admitted by persons who, being themselves of the employer class, would undoubtedly be anxious to rebut any imputations of dishonesty on the part of the employers.

These methods of exacting work without pay could only affect men paid by the day, *i.e.*, the bandsmen. The pikemen, paid by piecework or the stint would put down any work done one day as so much towards the next day's stint. These men, however, had a grievance, commonly referred to as "cleansing." The custom was for a man and boys to be employed in clearing and cleansing the place of work and carrying back the small waste coal, the stone,

¹ *Ibid*, p. xxxv, footnote.

² Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, p. 84.

³ Report of the Midland Mines Commission, p. lxxxv.

etc., which was an impediment to the workmen and throwing it into the vacant space behind them. It was the practice of many of the butties, to avoid the wages of a man and sufficient boys for this purpose, to force the pikemen to spend an hour or two in clearing away the obstructions to their work before they could set to at it. As they were paid according to the extent of the coal holed out it is evident that the time and labour spent in clearing away the obstructions was unrequitted. Cases were reported to the Midland Mines Commission in 1843 of pikemen having to spend as long as two hours clearing dirt away from their holing before they could start their day's work.¹

Another complaint of the pikemen was that their work was sometimes falsely measured by the doggy, a sort of overlooker or foreman appointed by the butty. One witness before the Midland Mines Commission declared "I measure my work every day with a yard stick and I keep it in a book, and more than will pay my rent, that's 2s., is docked off my account every week. I could take my oath on it for the four months since I've been here, I've spoken to the butty many a time and did last Saturday night, but he goes by what the doggy says. The work is not measured fair, the butties put the doggies to do what they are ashamed to do themselves and cheat us in the measurement."² The fact that butties and doggies did cheat was admitted by some butties, who said that the men submitted rather than lose their places.³

But, despite these malpractices on the part of the butties the Shropshire miners suffered much less than the miners in the neighbouring coalfields in North and South Staffordshire, and those in Derbyshire where the butty system was also in operation. In these areas, especially the South Staffordshire coalfield, it was a common practice for the butties to keep public houses, at which, by various devices they induced the miners to part with their wages, instead of taking it home to their wives.⁴ Many butties regulated a man's employment and treatment according to the quantity of ale consumed by him. Many enticed the miners to their public

¹ Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

houses by means of immoral women,¹ others were in the habit of paying their workmen at their public house, and frequently the men were made to wait one, two or even three hours at the public house before being paid.² There is no evidence of anything like this being practised in Shropshire.

In another respect also the Shropshire coalminer appears to have been better off than his counterpart in South Staffordshire, and to a lesser extent than those in North Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The Botfield MSS. contain nothing that would suggest that payments were ever made to the miners in Truck, and writers who have examined the papers of another great coal-owning concern, the Coalbrookdale Company, have asserted that at Coalbrookdale there is no evidence of anything but cash payments.³ A witness before the Children's Employment Commission in 1842, who had formerly been employed by the Madeley Wood Iron Company, at that time one of the largest in Shropshire, employing 500-700 persons of all ages in the mines said that "Tommy Shops" which were common in many coal-ming areas did not exist in Shropshire.⁴

Although the Shropshire miner thus was free from some of the grievances of the miners in other areas, working under a similar system, the wages he got were very poor. It was thus impossible for the coal miner to maintain his children, for no return, any longer than was absolutely necessary. Consequently the Shropshire miner sent his children, male and female, to work at an early age, that they might contribute towards, if not entirely provide for, their own maintenance. The wages of the children employed in the mines were kept high because of the difficulty of obtaining a supply of labour. Only children of strong constitutions were fit, and there were many who considered the work disagreeable. But, chief of all it was the danger of broken bones and death which deterred competition. Hence boys in the towns were working at one-half or one-third of what boys of the same age were earning in the mines.⁵

¹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

² Report of the Midland Mines Commission, p. xlvii.

³ T. S. Ashton and J. Sykes, *The Coal Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 147.

⁴ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of the Children's Employment Commission, p. 80.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 10.

This was deemed one of the great advantages of the coal-miner. In a pamphlet published in Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1825, called "A Voice from the Coal Mines," wherein the Northumberland and Durham miners were complaining of their lot, a critic of the miners' cause has written "Collier better off than other labourers because he can employ his children at seven or eight for high wages." The superiority of the miners' position in later years was acknowledged in a Lancashire song:—

" Collier lads gets gowd and silver,
Factory lads gets nowt but brass."

Although one contemporary writer¹ did assert that in Shropshire, within a few weeks of his writing, three young women were killed by an explosion of fire-damp, and another as a result of getting her foot entangled in an ascending corf, the Midland Mines Commissioner in 1843 declared that in no part of the West Midland coalfield had women ever been employed underground²; although in many parts of the district they were employed on the surface of the coal-mines,³ but this was not the case in Shropshire.⁴

As regards boys, however, a far different story is to be told. In Shropshire, like the other mining districts of England, children were sent to work in the coal and iron pits at an early age, and probably much earlier than the proprietors could have been aware.⁵ It was customary for boys to start work underground at the age of seven or eight and at all ages upwards, whilst there were occasions when boys started underground at even earlier ages. That the proprietors could not be aware of the early age at which children were sent down the pit seems hardly feasible, but it must be remembered that neither the proprietors nor the lessees of the mines came into direct contact with the workpeople employed in their mines—it was the butty who employed and paid the men. The butty might be induced, at the pressing instance of the men working under him, to

¹ J. Holland, *History of Fossil Fuel*, p. 242.

² Report of the Midland Mines Commission, p. xxxix.

³ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 1.

⁴ Report of the Commissioner appointed under Act 5 and 6 Vic. Cap. 99, for the year 1850, p. 15.

⁵ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 33.

give employment to very young children without the owner or lessee being aware of it. A member of the Children's Employment Commission was exploring a pit in Shropshire known as the Hill's Lane Pit belonging to the Madeley Wood Company, accompanied by the doggy, two charter-masters (butties) and a labouring collier. "I say Jonas," said the doggy to one of the charter-masters, "there are very few children working in this mine. I think we have none under 10 or 11." The labouring collier with the party immediately replied "Sir, my boy is only a little more than four."¹ Besides showing the ignorance on the part of some officials of the employment of children, this case shows a child of four working in a Shropshire coal mine.

As the Northumberland and Durham miners pointed out in 1825, it was not the desire of the mining classes to condemn their children to the subterranean caverns, but they were compelled to do so because they found themselves "starving in a land of plenty, wives and children destitute of those things which his affection would gladly supply them with, but which his earnings would by no means allow."²

The children being employed and consequently paid by the butties, references in the colliery accounts of the Shropshire firms are scarce, being confined to the few instances when "datallers" were employed. As in the case of the adult workers, any attempt to translate these daily wages into weekly earnings must only be approximate, since work in the pit was subject to many interruptions for reasons already mentioned, whilst some of the deductions already mentioned as applying to the adult workers would also apply to the younger workers. However, allowing for the children being employed for six days, and without taking into account any deductions that might have been made, the wages for a week's work at the various types of employment are given below:—

1. *The Gin Drivers*.—A Gin was erected where the mine was very small and the occupier unwilling to be at the expense of a steam-engine. At this spot a boy with a whip kept the horse going round and round. Frequently he had a hovel with a good fire, at the side of the horse track, where he often stood and pelted the horse with small stones and coals, to keep it going whilst he was warming

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

² *A Voice from the Coal Mines*.

himself. When there was not a hovel the employment was very disagreeable in wet weather.¹ At this type of work were employed the younger children, *i.e.*, those in the region of seven or eight years of age² and in general the wages they received were in the region of 2s. 6d. to 3s. per week.³

2. *The Air Door Boys*.—The air which came into the pit from the down shaft had to be forced round the workings and roads of the pit to the upshaft, in order to supply fresh air for breathing to the people and horses, and to carry off the noxious gases, carbonic-acid gas, or choke-damp, and the carburetted hydrogen gas, or fire-damp. It was necessary, however, for men and horses to go along roads through which the current might not be allowed to pass, and for that reason a door was placed there, which could be opened so long as was required, to be shut again immediately after use; where there were two doors in the line of communication, the opening of one of them did not produce a draught. The air-door boys opened and closed these doors; they had to be constantly at their post, and attentive to their duties.⁴ The wage appears to have been sixpence per day⁵ for a working day which lasted from 5-30 a.m. to 6 p.m.⁶ The boys engaged on this type of work sat in a small hole in the wall, a string in his hand, in darkness and solitude.⁷ Although this employment scarcely deserved the term labour, yet as the children engaged in it were commonly excluded from light, and were always without companions, it would, were it not for the passing and re-passing of the coal carriages, amount to solitary confinement of the worst order.

3. *The Pushers and Drivers*.—Boys were employed in the pit as "Pushers," and where the seams of coal were too shallow to enable the horses to go up to the workings they pushed the carriages (or skips) from the workings to the horseways, or to the foot of the shafts if there was still not sufficient room for horses. The pushers

¹ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of the Children's Employment Commission, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ Botfield MSS.

⁴ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Commission, pp. 10-11.

⁵ Botfield MSS.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ J. L. and B. Hammond *Lord Shaftesbury*, p. 71.

were, however, usually met by horses in charge of boy drivers which dragged the skip to the bottom of the shaft. There were candles all along the horseways to afford light, and the boy drivers walking naked from the middle upwards at the horses heads presented figures equal to the best of Grecian sculpture. The youngest of the boys employed at this type of work were in the region of 10 to 11 and the oldest were in the region of 17-18.¹ The scale of remuneration for this labour was roughly as follows:—

Age	<i>Pushers</i>				<i>Drivers</i>			
	s. d.				s. d.			
9-10 ... 4s. to	5	0	per	week				
10-11 ...	7	6	"	"	5	0	per	week
11-12 ...	8	4	"	"	7	6	"	"
12-13 ...	9	4	"	"	8	0	"	"
13-14 ...	10	9	"	"	9	0	"	"
14-15 ...	11	4	"	"	10	6	"	"
15-16 ...	12	3	"	"	12	0	"	"
16-17 ...	13	6	"	"	13	6	"	"
17-18 ...	15	0	"	"	14	0	"	" ²

The most remarkable part of the work of the children was drawing by the girdle and chain. It was at this time not totally unknown in South Staffordshire and Derbyshire³ in working some thin seams of coal, but it was not nearly so common as in Shropshire. At the beginning the nineteenth century it was a very general custom to employ young boys, both in the coal pits and iron pits, to draw carriages by means of a girdle put round the naked waist to which a chain from the carriage was hooked, and passed between their legs, the boys crawling on their hands and knees, drawing the carriage after them.⁴ The lowness of the roof, or the thinness of the bed of coals was the reason for employing boys instead of horses or asses which would have been cheaper.⁵ John Anstice, partner in the Madeley Wood Iron Company in the Coalbrookdale District, said, "The coalpits of this district have beds of various thickness, but very many are very shallow, in consequence of which it becomes

¹ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 11.

² Botfield MSS.

³ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, pp. 35 and 117.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 34.

necessary to employ boys to push the carriages on railing, as it would be impossible in such beds to introduce horses or asses for the purpose. Wherever horses or asses can be employed it is much more advantageous for the proprietor, and for his own interest, if he had not higher motive, he certainly would not employ boys."¹ But the lowness of the mines—in some places they were as low as eighteen inches, while perhaps a justification for the employing of boys to move the small carriages or "dans" to the horse road was no justification of the girdle and chain method. A far more humane method was for the boys to crawl along on their hands and knees pushing the carriage in front of them. By about 1840 all the larger companies had substituted the railroad and dan method for the girdle and chain. But, the latter method still survived to a considerable extent in the smaller pits in Shropshire.²

A perusal of the evidence of the children concerned in this type of labour shows amply the severe pain which this manner of working inflicted, yet they endured it with great fortitude and resignation. One boy aged sixteen who had worked with the girdle and chain said it still existed in many pits and was performed by boys from 10 to 18. He recounted his own experiences as follows :—

" If I had a bit of time in the pit I laid myself down on my back ; we had no time unless something was wrong with the engine. The girdle often makes blisters. I have had pieces like shillings and half-crowns, with the skin cocking up, all full of water, and when I put on the girdle the blisters would break, and the girdle would stick, and next day they would fill again. These blisters give very great pain."³

Another witness said : " When I drew by the girdle and chain, the skin was broken, and the blood ran down. I durst not say anything. If we said anything, they, the Butty and the Reeve who work under him, would take a stick and beat us. I have seen many draw at six, but they were not able to draw the full day out."⁴

The cruelty of this system is obvious, and it was without doubt the worst feature of the employment of children underground.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 78.

² *Ibid*, p. 35.

³ *Ibid*, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 85.

4. *Fillers and Pitchers.*—The Fillers were older boys or young men employed to fill the skips with coal. After the pikemen had undergone the coal, the fillers crawled in, pushed out the large pieces of coal, brought them and placed them in the skips, to be "pitched" or arranged by younger boys called "pitchers." The filling was done by older boys, as the coals were obtained in large masses and the younger boys were quite unable to load the skips. The younger boys were, however, found exceedingly useful in pitching the coals in the skips, that is, in balancing them, or adjusting them so as to build up a load and in placing the broad iron rings around them.¹ The wages paid to these boys were roughly as follows :—

<i>Fillers</i>				<i>Pitchers</i>			
<i>Age</i>	<i>Wage</i>			<i>Age</i>	<i>Wage</i>		
	s.	d.			s.	d.	
13-14	12	0	per week	8-9	4	6	per week
14-15	13	0	" "	9-10	5	0	" "
15-16	13	6	" "	10-11	6	0	" "
16-17	14	6	" "	11-12	7	0	to 7s. 6d. per week
17-18	15	6	" "	12-13	7	9	per week
				13-14	8	0	" "
				14-15	8	6	" "

5. *Slack Carriers.*—After the older boys had carried away the large coal to put it on the skips, there were little boys who crawled on to take the small coal and coal dust into baskets. They carried the baskets backwards, threw their contents into the gobbing, as the empty space behind from which the coal had been taken was called. These boys were employed also in cleaning the airways, and there were instances of their driving the horses.³ The boys employed on this class of work had necessarily to be small, were usually aged up to 10, and were paid at rates varying from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day.⁴

6. *Boys on the Bank.*—One of the employments of the boys on the bank was the same as that of the girls who were employed on the bank—assisting in emptying the skips after they were brought up. The skip was drawn up from the pit a little above the level of the ground, a slide was then pushed forward over the mouth of the shaft, and the engine-man let the skip down upon it. It was

¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

² Botfield MSS.

³ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 11.

⁴ Botfield MSS.

then rolled forward on its wheels and emptied of its coals. An empty skip was hooked on and the skip was withdrawn to let it go down. The boy working on the bank sometimes had to go to the blacksmith with picks which were sent up the shaft to be mended. A little boy of seven or eight frequently carried as many as half-a-dozen picks, and as he got stronger he could carry a dozen or more.¹ Other boys often were employed to go to fetch beer.²

With regard to another aspect of child employment the Shropshire coalmining area was an improvement upon neighbouring areas. This was the non-employment of apprentices. Apprentices were the children left chargeable to the parish who were sent to work for an industrialist either in the area, or in many cases at quite a considerable distance. The apprenticeship was in all cases till the age of 21, the age at which apprenticeship commenced being from 10 to 14. The boys received no wages until they reached the age of 21, although in occasional cases it was reported that the butty gave his apprentices a small allowance for pocket money. These boys were, in the last few years of their apprenticeship doing the same work as full grown men.³ At the age of 14 apprentices were working side by side with boys earning 14s. per week, and at 17 or 18 he was working alongside free men who might go wherever they pleased, and earn 20s. to 25s. per week. The financial loss to this class of worker was not only immediate—the system militated against their future advancement. Very few apprentices became pikemen and the reason is not far to seek. If the apprentice became a pikeman he would perhaps get his day's work done in 8 or 9 hours, and the butty would thus be deprived of 3 hours labour.⁴ Consequently the apprentice was kept in the band, with the result that when their days of apprenticeship were over the apprentices had learnt nothing. The whole system of apprentices was a blot on the industrial scene, and it is to the credit of the Shropshire coal-owners that this form of unpaid labour was not employed in the Shropshire

¹ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ Appendix (Part I) to First Report of Children's Employment Commission, p. 82.

⁴ Minutes of Evidence given before the Midland Mines Commission, p. 20.

coalmines.¹ The Madeley Poor Law Union, however, not being able to find an outlet for its parish apprentices in the neighbouring collieries was not above sending boys to work as apprentices to butties in South Staffordshire.²

In contemporary reports on conditions in the West Midland coal-mining areas no suggestion is made that there was any wide divergence in the wages of the coal-mining population of that area from any other area. But anyone studying the financial condition of the miners must take cognisance of the special conditions prevailing in certain areas which make apparently similar wages in different areas vary considerably. In some areas it was the prevalence of truck that reduced the real wage of the miner. In the Shropshire coal area it was the prevalence of the butty system that caused the miners to be denied the full reward for their labour. Half-days, quarter-days and buildasses, unsatisfactory arrangements regarding cleansing the place of work, faulty measurement of the work done, resulted in many cases occurring where a miner took home as his wages less money than he had actually earned. The butty system was practised by the coal-owners, not because it was necessary, but because it was much less trouble for the owners. Instead of having perhaps several hundred workmen to pay each week, a large coal-owner would have perhaps only a dozen. Despite these oppressions, however, one thing is certain—the Shropshire miner was not nearly so oppressed as his colleagues in nearby North and South Staffordshire, and to go farther afield, as his colleagues in the Northumberland and Durham coalfield.³ These last mentioned areas were probably the blackest spots in the country. The Shropshire miner could have counted his blessings.

The closing years of the first half of the last century did see a considerable improvement in the general condition of the mining population of the West Midlands as a whole, and it seems certain that the Shropshire miner, probably never so harshly treated as his colleagues in other parts of the West Midland coalfield, benefited along with the rest of the mining population in the area. This

¹ Accounts and Papers for 1842, Vol. XXXV.

² *Ibid.*

³ See my article in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Vol. XI, No. 2, entitled "The Miners' Bond in Northumberland and Durham."

improvement can be attributed largely to the revelations of the Midland Mines Commission in its Report, published in 1843, and the First Report of the Children's Employment Commission published in 1842, and the legislation resulting therefrom.

The exposure of the exaction of buildasses, quarter-days, half-days and cleansing by the Midland Mines Commission led to the removal of such abuses—the most considerate among both masters and contractors taking steps to abolish these abuses when their injustice was brought to light.¹ When the First Report of the Children's Employment Commission was published in May, 1842, "its revelations took England by storm, for it shocked the humanity and the delicacy of Victorian England by the general picture it gave of the social conditions, and the details of the employment of women and children in the coalfields of this country."² As a result of the revelations made by the Commission an Act of Parliament, which became law on August 18th, 1842, decreed that Parish apprentices could not be employed before the age of 10, or beyond the age of 18, and free-labour children were not to be employed in the mines before the age of ten, and women and girls could not be employed underground at all. Children were thus to some extent protected from avaricious employers and parents.

The last decade of the first half of the last century marks a great advance in the general improvement of the mining classes in Shropshire.

¹ Report of the Inspector appointed under Act 5 and 6 Vic. Cap. 99 for the year 1844, p. 54.

² J. L. and B. Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, pp. 70–71.

APPENDIX

In the Minutes of Evidence attached to the Report of the Midland Mines Commission published in 1842 there appeared a typical Form of Agreement, used for contracts between the owner or lessee of a mine and his butties. A copy of such a Form of Agreement is printed here.

This indenture, made the ——— day of ———, between the Butties of the one part, and the masters of the other part, whereas the said masters are possessed of a colliery in the parish of ———, and it has been agreed between them and the said butties that the latter parties shall work, get, and raise the unwrought mines of thick coal from the pair of pits at the said colliery, distinguished as ——— at the charter, and upon the terms and under and subject to the provisions, covenant, stipulations and agreements hereinafter expressed and contained. Now this indenture witnesseth that in consideration of the charter and payments and of the covenant of agreements hereinafter made payable and contained on the part of the parties hereto of the latter part, they, the said butties, for themselves jointly and severally, and for their respective executors and administrators, hereby covenant and agree to and with the said masters, their executors and administrators, in manner following; that is to say, that they the said butties, shall, and will immediately proceed at their own cost and charges in all things to work, get, and raise and undergo the unwrought mines of the thick coal from the aforesaid pits of the said parties hereto of the latter part, and shall and will deliver such coal at least 70 yards from the pits' mouth in the usual way and according to the best and most approved method. Nevertheless, under the inspection, control, directions and orders of the ground bailiff of the said masters who shall for the time being be employed at the said colliery, and also that they the said butties will, at their own expense, make and maintain all requisite gateroads, airways and headways, and do all necessary dead work, except dams and driving through faults, in and about the said pits, and will in all respects manage and carry on the same in a sure and regular course of mining, as practised in the neighbourhood of ———, with as much diligence, industry and despatch, as can be reasonably expected, and so as to obtain as great a weekly produce as the state of the mines will allow. And also shall and will employ a sufficient number of competent miners and workmen, and provide at their own expense all necessary tools and implements (except such things, tools and implements as are hereinafter mentioned), and covenanted to be provided by the parties hereto of the latter part; and will also provide slack for the engine without charging any charter for the same, and deliver such slack at the slack hole at the said colliery, and also will pay one half part of the expenses of the sick workmen and surgeon's charges, and also that they the said butties will not, during the subsistence of this agreement, engage with or work for any other coal master, or any other person whatsoever, but will, on the contrary, wholly and individually work for and attend to the interest of the said parties hereto of the latter part at the aforesaid pits, according to the best of their ability and judgment, and also that they the said butties will not do or commit any act, matter or thing whereby the said pits or the property in or about the same, may or can be in any manner injured or deteriorated in value. Also that they the said butties will pay unto the said masters, their executors, administrators or assigns, the sum of £—, being the balance paid by the parties hereto of the latter part to the late charter masters, on relinquishing the working of the said pits with interest after the rate of £5 per cent per annum thereon, by regular equal fortnightly payments of £—, at the least, and that the

same shall be deducted and allowed from the charter prices at each reckoning, and that the said master, shall and may retain the same accordingly, and they shall have a security by way of lien on all the property of the said butties at the said pits, in addition to the other remedies hereinafter provided; and further, that they the said butties shall and will from time to time keep and maintain the pit workings, stock and property of equal and adequate value, with the amount of the valuation remaining due and unpaid, and in consideration of the covenants and agreements hereinbefore contained on the part of the said butties, they, the said masters, for themselves, their executors and administrators, hereby covenant and agree to and with the said butties, their executors and administrators, in manner following, that is to say: that they the said parties hereto of the latter part will pay and allow the said butties the following charter prices for each and every parcel of coals, lumps and slack, to be worked, raised, and delivered by them according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; that is to say for every parcel of best coals, —; common coal, —; lumps and slack (except such slack as may be consumed in working the engine, —; fine slack, —. And for all cokes for the use of the furnace — per barrow, such cokes to be made three parts of coal and one part of round slack, each such parcel to be of the weight of —; such charter to include all the monies paid for wages; tools and implements to be provided by the said butties as aforesaid, and all dead work, save dams and driving through faults) for which the said butties are to be compensated under the clause of reference hereinafter contained; and such charter prices are to be subject to advance and reduction according to the fluctuations of workmen's wages, as hereinafter provided and also that they the said persons, parties hereto of the latter part, will make, find and provide all necessary dams, and all pit timber, rails, sleepers, pit ropes and trolley waggons, that may be necessary, and will also work the engine (subject to the supply of slack) and find water ease, and make reasonable compensation for driving through faults, and will pay one half part of the expenses of sick and surgeons' charges, and will pay the usual allowance to the widow of any workman who may be killed in the pit, and also pay and allow the said butties — per yard for gate-roading and — per yard for air heading. Provided always and it is expressly declared and agreed by and between the parties hereto, that so long as any part of the said amount of valuation or sum of £— and interest shall be due and owing by the said butties, or if they shall not work the said pits in a regular and proper manner to the satisfaction of the said parties hereto of the second part, or if they the said butties shall suffer the pits and property to be lessened in value below the amount of the valuation from time to time remaining unpaid, it shall be lawful for the said masters and the survivor or survivors of them, and the executors and administrators of such survivor, without giving any notice and without any further authority than such as is hereby given, to determine and put an end to this agreement if they think proper, and to seize and take possession of all the property in and about the said pits belonging to them the said parties hereto of the latter part and of all the horses, carriages, tools, implements and other effects of the said butties in and about the said colliery, and to sell and dispose of the same in such a manner as they think fit in order to satisfy the amount of valuation remaining unpaid, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided also that (subject to the next preceding clause) if the said masters on their part or the said butties on their part shall be desirous of putting an end to this agreement, it shall be lawful for either of the said parties to do so on giving to the other parties one calendar month's notice in writing of their intention on that behalf. But it is hereby expressly understood and agreed that no such notice shall be given by the said butties unless for some reasonable cause to be ascertained and determined under the clause of reference hereinafter contained, and that after the expiration of such notice these presents and every covenant stipulation, and agreement herein contained shall cease and be void except as to any breaches by the said butties of the covenants herein contained on their part, and as to any claims by the said parties hereto of the latter part in respect

of the said sum of £— and interest, or any part hereof. And the said butties shall, subject as aforesaid, be entitled to a valuation or remuneration for the gateroads, headways, headways, undergone coals and deadwork. Provided always, and it is hereby also agreed and declared, that if there shall be any advance or reduction in the wages to be from time to time paid to the colliers and workmen employed in getting the said mines, then there shall be a proportionate advance or reduction of the charter prices to be fixed by the referees under the clause hereinafter contained. Provided also, and it is hereby lastly declared and agreed, that all matters to be determined by reference, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents shall be decided by two disinterested competent ground bailiffs, one to be chosen by the said masters, and the other by the said butties or by an umpire to be chosen by such ground bailiffs.

In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first written above.



OLD BEAM ENGINE, FORMERLY STANDING BETWEEN WELLINGTON AND OAKENGATES

AN INDUSTRIAL RELIC

The photograph reproduced herewith is one of two which were brought to my notice on March 17th, 1949, by Mr. L. Jones, of Ketley Bank, Oakengates, by whose permission it is reproduced. It illustrates an old beam engine which stood formerly at "Rats' Pits," beside the Great Western Railway line between Wellington and Oakengates, and which long ago disappeared. The original photographs have the name "G. F. Hill, The Nabb"—perhaps that of the photographer—written on the back, and are said to have been taken about 1899, when the engine was obviously already derelict.

The engine was of a type which I did not recognise, so I submitted copies of the photographs to the Science Museum, and Mr. A. Stowers, the Deputy Keeper, was good enough to write as follows on April 4th, 1949 :—

"I have been unable to trace any record of the old steam winding-engine of which you have sent two photographs. I have also shown the photographs to Dr. H. W. Dickinson, past president of the Newcomen Society and an authority on the history of the steam engine. He does not recognise the engine and all we can say about it is as follows : it was a beam engine, double-acting, rotative, geared for colliery winding. It was probably non-condensing, as we cannot see any trace of a condenser. The piston rod was cross-head guided, and possibly the cylinder had a long D slide-valve ; the crankshaft was probably of cast-iron. The arm like a spoon handle, shown in one photo [that reproduced], was probably one of those of a spider for the winding rope. The engine does *not* resemble those made by Messrs. Boulton and Watt. As regards date, we cannot say nearer than very early nineteenth century. The gearing shown may mean that it was used for other purposes in addition to winding, but what they were we cannot say now. The two photographs were obviously taken at different times, as the one without the man [not reproduced] shows a broken inclined wooden support for the main bearing of the beam, and a broken arm."

Shropshire played such an important part in the early development of the coal and iron industries that it seems desirable to put on permanent record this interesting relic of an early phase of the county's industrial history.

L. C. LLOYD.

FLINT IMPLEMENTS RECENTLY FOUND IN SHROPSHIRE SOUTH OF THE SEVERN

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON TWO NEWLY-RECORDED STONE
AXE-HAMMERS

BY LILY F. CHITTY, F.S.A.

At the end of August, 1946, Professor E. Estyn Evans, D.Sc., F.S.A., kindly sent me, for presentation to Shrewsbury Museum, two small flints he had recently picked up during a visit to Shropshire. I am indebted to him also for precise records of their sites of discovery.

I.—FLAKE FROM LOWER EYTON, ALBERBURY (*Fig. 1*)

One is a thin bulbar flake of buff-coloured opaque flint with matt surface (22 by 30 by 5 mm.), probably struck from a Drift pebble; it has a long narrow striking platform and there are rings on the bulbar face, which is plunged so that it gives a natural scraping edge; the edges are sharp but, beyond being humanly struck, with a possible minute retouching (4 by 1 mm.) on the top angle, there is no evidence of artificial trimming.

It was found when Dr. Evans was rabbit-shooting on the flood-plain of the Severn 100 yards N.E. of the N.E. corner of the wood known as Eyton Gorse, on Lower Eyton Farm, Alberbury (6 in. O.S. Shropshire XXXIII N.W.).

This is interesting as the second piece of evidence for the use of this sector of the Severn Plain in early times. The site of the Bronze Age cist near Eyton, Alberbury, is just over a mile to the south-west on somewhat higher ground.¹

II.—CORE-SCRAPER FROM LYTH HILL (*Fig. 2*)

The other specimen is a stout little core-scraper (17 by 22 by 13 mm.), of opaque yellow-brown flint showing dark grey on the face and on the ventral half of the base; this too may well be Drift material. There are four good flake-facets on the back. The edges are battered, perhaps by use as a strike-a-light.

¹ *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions*, LI (1943), 139-145.

The implement comes from the steep southern face of Lyth Hill, on the path leading up to the cottage at the entrance to the wood, *i.e.*, Spring Coppice, in the parish of Condoover.

It is worthy of note that this is not the first flint from the locality. In 1923 Mr. W. T. Rennie dug up four flint flakes at various times in his garden on the top of Lyth Hill at the S.W. end of the ridge, between the Chapel and Spring Coppice; he also found one at the foot of the hill near Westley Farm: all these he presented to Shrewsbury Museum. The first found in the garden, and the Westley flint, were recorded in *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, October 12th, 1923, by Mr. H. E. Forrest, F.L.S.; the three other rough small flint flakes, humanly struck, subsequently came to light and were exhibited to the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club on November 23rd.¹ Mr. Forrest marked the two sites near and just east of the centre of the southern margin of my 6 in. O.S. Sheet XLI N.W.

If found in flint-producing country, such as the English downland, these scraps would be deemed unworthy of record, but the rolled and weathered flint pebbles of the Glacial Drift in Shropshire were too tough for making good implements²; where such pebbles were employed they may be taken to imply knowledge of working in the more adaptable material of freshly-mined flint, *i.e.*, contact probably with the chalklands of Wessex, whence good flint was certainly imported.

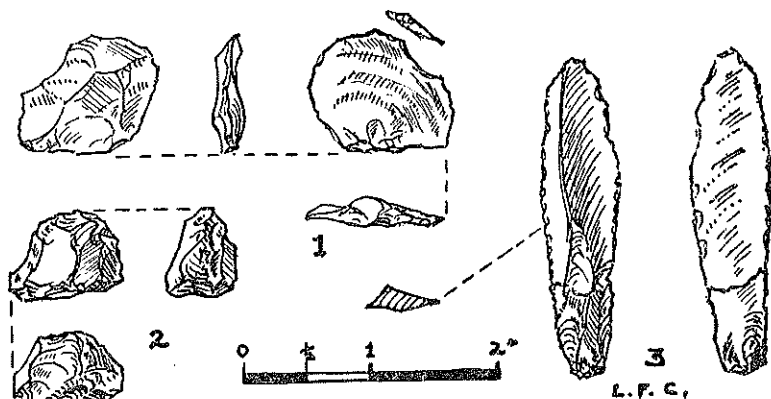
The late Professor E. W. White held that the ridgeway along Lyth Hill was a British trackway leading from the Buries Camp at Bayston Hill up Betley Lane, past the Observatory and over Lyth Hill towards Stapleton and on to the foot of the Longmynd, over which it continues as the Port Way, its course marked by round barrows. Ultimately this would link on to the main trail of the flint traders from the South, moving from the Severn westward to the Clun and Kerry Hills.

Again, these are not the only flints from Condoover parish. The late Prebendary T. Auden, F.S.A., recorded³ that, on the high ground at Pentre, a few flints had been found; their fate is unknown to

¹ *Transactions, Caradoc and S.V.F.C.*, VII (1923), 107.

² T. C. Cantrill, *Shrops. Arch. Trans.*, XLVI (1931), 21.

³ *Shrops. Arch. Trans.*, 3, VI (1906), xx, Misc. X; *Vic. Co. Hist.*, I (1908), 197.



I.—FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM SOUTH SHROPSHIRE

1. BULBAR FLAKE FROM LOWER EYTON, ALBERBURY.

2. CORE-SCRAPER FROM LYTH HILL.

3. KNIFE FROM DORRINGTON SANDPIT.

(Shrewsbury Museum)

Miss H. M. Auden. The site is about half-a-mile from Little Ryton, where two Bronze Age urns came to light; these are in Shrewsbury Museum.¹

III.—FLINT KNIFE FROM DORRINGTON SANDPIT (Fig. 3)

While referring to flints found in the parish of Condover, it is opportune to record a flint implement of a far superior standard from the Dorrington sand-pit just within the adjacent parish of Stapleton. The site is in a drumlin north of Wayford Bridge, and stands between the railway and the east side of the Shrewsbury-Church Stretton road opposite its junction with the road from Stapleton (6 in. O.S. XLI S.W.). The implement was found in gravel, in 1937, by Mr. Evason, the proprietor of the sandpit, who gave it to (the late) Mr. Forrest; he said it had probably been lying on the surface and came down when the gravel was dislodged. The bulbar end was broken after discovery.

The implement is a flake knife of grey translucent flint with grey-brown transparency and sharp edges, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long (L.63, w. 16 mm., the dorsal ridge 5 mm. thick). On the back one edge is

¹ *S.A.T., op. cit.*, 4, X (1926), xxxiii-xxxv, *Misc.* XVII.

lightly trimmed; the bulbar face is plain and lustrous, showing slight gloss on the worked edge (possibly due only to gum used in an attempt to mend the fracture). In a strong light both edges appear to be finely and minutely serrated, a feature inadequately shown in the illustration. It probably dates from the Early Bronze Age and was certainly made from imported flint.

Mr. Forrest exhibited it to the Caradoc Club on October 15th, 1937, and it is noted in the Report for Archaeology, 1937,¹ but has not been previously illustrated. This beautiful little implement has now been presented by Miss Forrest to Shrewsbury Museum.

IV.—FLINTS FOUND AT DARNFORD AND ON THE LONGMYND, ALL STRETTON PARISH, SHROPSHIRE

In July, 1947, Mr. C. Baker, of Darnford, Picklescott, Leebotwood, brought in to Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury, six flints found by him on the Longmynd range. These comprise two scrapers, a large trimmed flake, a small prismatic flake, a bulbar flake of peculiar form, and another fragment. Subsequently Mr. Baker added five other pieces and has generously presented the collection to Shrewsbury Museum. (See also Note p. 36.)

(1) *The Darnford Flints*

All except the two largest specimens were found, about 1935-6, in digging up half an acre of ground for cultivation. The site is at the S.W. end of the Betchcott Hills, in the upper part of the second field S.E. of Top Darnford (now a ruin; marked near the centre of 6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet XLVIII S.E.). This field was formerly known as "Davies's Leasowe"; Mr. Baker has built his house further down its southern slope. The flints were picked up separately in different parts of the patch and derived from a few inches under the turf; their area of discovery is now open ground within a young plantation of Scotch firs near the N.W. side of the field and is the finest local view-point (about 1350 ft. O.D.), commanding a lovely panorama from the Ruabon Hills to Radnor Forest, dominated westward by the Stiperstones and eastward by the Longmynd, with the Stretton Hills leading away towards the

¹ *Trans. Caradoc & S.V.F.C.*, X (1937), 138; *Record of Bare Facts*, No. 47 (1937), 3.

Wrekin and the Shropshire Plain. The soil is sand overlying rock in which are clay veins with occasional springs—an admirable camping ground for early man.

An ancient branch of the Longmynd ridgeway flanks the north side of the field; this, as Mr. Baker tells me, is referred to in the Darnford title-deeds as "the Road called or known by the name of the Portway¹." The whole extent of the field lies within a curious elongated strip of the parish of All Stretton, running between the parishes of Smethcott and Ratlinghope from B.M. 1444.4 west of Hawkham Hollow² to the Golden Valley, where it expands to include Prestley, The Thresholds and the upper part of Cothercott Hill, with a round barrow on its summit.³ This strip is obviously related to the trackway, which actually forms the boundary with Smethcott between the first two points named.

The flints are of interest in relation to the locality of their discovery rather than as individual specimens; for being found on the old rocks of the Shropshire Hills they bespeak influences from afar in early times; thus they merit a brief description, although only the little scraper may be deemed worthy of illustration.

1. (*Fig. 4*). A small scraper (25 by 25 by 8 mm.) of fresh dark grey flint, highly lustrous, with a brownish translucency; it was finely worked round the upper edges; subsequently the bulbar face has been roughly chipped over and the striking platform battered, possibly by use as a strike-a-light.

2. A very small prismatic blade (24 by 9 by 4 mm.) of lustrous grey flint with a tiny bulb at the base of the flake face; one sharp edge is chipped and appears to have been used, but it lacks evidence of trimming and so cannot be classed as a microlith.

3. An irregular pointed piece, with broad base and concave sides (31 by 29 by 12 mm.), of weathered whitish-grey flint, apparently struck from near the edge of a polished axe (doubtless a broken fragment), of which part of the surface remains on the back and near the tip of the peaked end; this was perhaps used as a piercer. The striking platform at one side of the face is concave and might be used as a little gouge: there is a strong bulb with surface scar.

¹ The Blakeway MSS. xvii, 33 a (Bodleian Library, Oxford), mention a *Portway* near Powderbatch (Pulverbatch).

² This should be Holcombe, *i.e.*, Hollow Combe: information from Miss H. M. Auden, F.R.Hist.S.

³ Scheduled O.W. Shropshire 43/1929: Hartshorne, *Salopia Antiqua* (1841), 87; Cobbold, *Church Stretton*, III (1904), 46-7, No. 25.

The material is remarkably similar to that of the large scraper from the Longmynd, described below, but the surface is more lustrous.

4. A thin fragment, almost triangular (29 by 24 by 4 mm.), of glossy dark flint with chalky cortex adhering to the back in which there is a small natural hollow-scraper near the tip: the point is very sharp and shows slight retouching.

5. A stout plunged flake with pronounced lateral bulb (49 by 24 by 12 mm.), struck from the side of a brown-skinned pebble of black, highly lustrous flint. Springing up from the striking-point is a strong spur, sharp-edged, slightly concave on the under-side; it would afford a useful push-plane, gouge or strike-a-light and appears to have been so used, but there is no certain retouching.

6-8. Three fragments which proved, when I came to draw them, to belong together and to have formed part of a single piece of a flint pebble, evidently fractured during the recent digging. One parallel-sided pointed piece (39 by 13 by 10 mm) shows a pure white chalk cortex in section, the surface stained yellowish-grey; the flint it covers is cherty, brownish-grey in colour and very lustrous. One side, sharp from the blow, fits exactly the upper edge of a larger fragment that has been burnt almost white and reddened on the dorsal surface in a bonfire on the spot, and a calcined chip fits into a space at the side. The contrast in colour between the burnt and unburnt pieces is most interesting. There are no signs of secondary working.

(2) *The Longmynd Flints*

Over a mile to the south-east, on higher ground known as Duckley Nap (1532 ft., near the N.E. edge of 6 in. O.S. LV. N.E.), two round barrows, called Robin Hood's Butts,¹ stand between the Longmynd Port Way and its Darnford Branch, to which they approach closely. It was in their vicinity that Mr. Baker found the two larger flints, at separate spots, one near the pathway past the barrows just N.W. of the signpost (B.M. 1525.1 ft.), the other just east of the Port Way and south of the spot where the path leaves it. He cannot recollect from which site either flint came, but it is definite that they were not connected with the barrows or with each other. They were on the surface of ground that had been churned up by Bren carriers during the war and may have come from about a spade's depth in the soil, here dry heathery peat, but with marshy ground adjacent at the head of streams draining from this part of the Longmynd. Later, in November, 1947, Mr. Baker picked up a

¹ Scheduled O.S. 50, 50 a; Hartshorne, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Cobbold, *op. cit.*, 35-7, Nos. 1, 2.

burnt piece of flint (No. 3), between the two previous sites, within the fork of the roads, in a rut on the track towards Darnford, on its east side, S.E. of the signpost and south of the hill road to Ratlinghope.¹

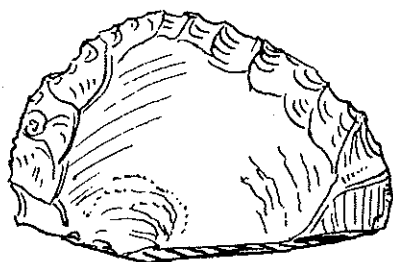
It was in the bog close by, at the head of High Park Hollow, that the late Mr. J. G. Dyke found his beautiful polished stone axe in 1895,² but hitherto the only flint known from the Longmynd was an oval scraper in the Clunbury School Collection (No. F.158/1932), found by G. Morris, and of that the site was not recorded.

From the presence of Round Barrows of Bronze Age types clearly related to the Longmynd ridgeways, both near their course and sited on skylines visible from them, it had long been evident that Bronze Age folk must have journeyed along these hills and buried their dead on the crests. On analogy, one expected that flint implements were used hereabouts, but it remained for the watchful eyes of Mr. Baker to establish the fact beyond question. A careful watch should now be kept by those who have an opportunity of studying the ground disturbed by recent wartime activities.

1. One of the flints (*Fig. 5*) is a semicircular scraper (48 by 32 by 12 mm.), with broad base and lateral bulb, perhaps originally planned as a large discoidal scraper on a flake that snapped in half when struck. The material is exceptional for Shropshire; the flint is weathered to a pale whitish-grey with matt surface (compare Darnford No. 3); the edges, still sharp, show big shallow flaking, lightly retouched; a wide area of the back is plain, as are the base and the bulbar face, apart from a flake-scar reducing the bulb. A smooth facet at the dorsal angle of the bulb suggests that the implement was made from the body of a polished axe of cherty flint, but as this facet appears to be very slightly concave it is more probably part of a surface that had been exposed on chalky ground. The technique is fine and this lovely implement may well

¹ Mr. Baker notes that the ancient Port Way where it branches westward is defined by the parish boundaries of All Stretton and Ratlinghope as far as Robin Hoods's Butts; it has been superseded by the present trackway which leaves the main ridgeway at a higher level.

² *Shrop. Arch. Trans.*, 4, X (1925), *Misc. No. VIII*. Since I wrote that record, great strides have been made in British prehistoric research and the high date suggested by the late Mr. Reginald Smith might now be reduced to 2000 B.C., or later, even perhaps contemporary with the barrows, which probably date from the Middle Bronze Age (about 1500 B.C.), to which period the flints may well belong. Mr. D. O. Dyke has recently presented his father's axe to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, which has kindly supplied the photograph here reproduced by permission (*Fig. 6*). Note the slight expansion of the edge at one angle, presumably a late feature.



L.F.C.

II.—FLINT SCRAPERS FROM THE LONGMYND

4. DARNFORD.

5. NEAR ROBIN HOOD'S BUTTS.

(Shrewsbury Museum)

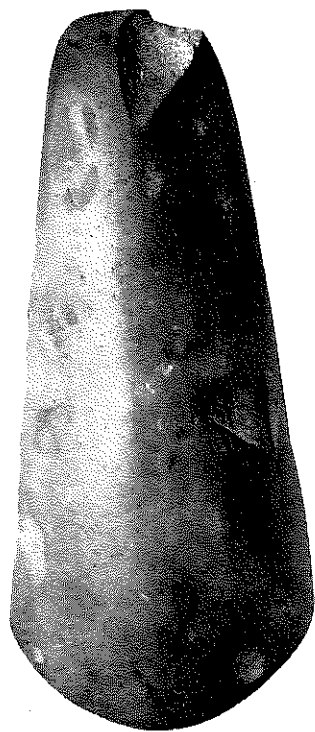


FIG. 6. STONE AXE, FOUND ON THE LONGMYND, NEAR ROBIN
HOOD'S BUTTS, 1895.
By Permission of the National Museum of Wales.

have been imported ready-made from the south, as such weathering would not be likely to occur in South Shropshire.

2. The other flint is totally different in character ; it is a big curved flake (91 by 42 by 19 mm.) of fresh lustrous black flint with very sharp edges : the bulbar end has been snapped across by a hinge fracture and two long secondary flakes were struck off the back, leaving a central platform with a peculiar gloss covering a cherty inclusion : below this the back is sharply keeled and terminates in a patch of cortex, stained light brown. The edges have been used, but show only slight evidence of trimming. Flakes of such size and weight and so boldly struck are most uncommon in in Shropshire and this is clearly an import from a flint-mining area. There is indeed a possibility of its introduction in modern times as a core for striking gun flints.

3. A heavily calcined spall (L.28 mm.) burnt grey, probably in a heather fire.

It should be added that, although the generally accepted course of the Longmynd Port Way is prolonged north-eastward by way of Woolstaston,¹ the branch that forks from it S.E. of Robin Hood's Butts and passes by the more westerly barrow on its course north-westward by Darnford may well have been the more important trackway in early times, as suggested by my reference maps of ridgeways and round barrows in South Shropshire. The routes need to be followed on foot, but there appears to be a continuation westward by way of the Gatten, the round barrows above Pennerley, and past Shelve Church, to connect with *Yr Hen Ffordd*, the Stapeley Hill ridgeway through Hemford, with its stone circles and cairn sites. There was also, in all probability, a way connecting up with Lyth Hill and the Severn : see above, p. 25.

In conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to the Rev. E. P. Comber for motoring me to Darnford (on October 9th, 1947) and to Mr. C. Baker for his kindness in showing us the site and describing his interesting discoveries.

¹ Cobbold, *op. cit.*, 50-51, and Map Fig. 19 (p. 36). It is fairly certain that this would be " the King's Highway on *Longemuned* " of a Perambulation of 1278 : see Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, XI (1860), 199, quoting Cantilupe's *Register*, fo. xxij.a

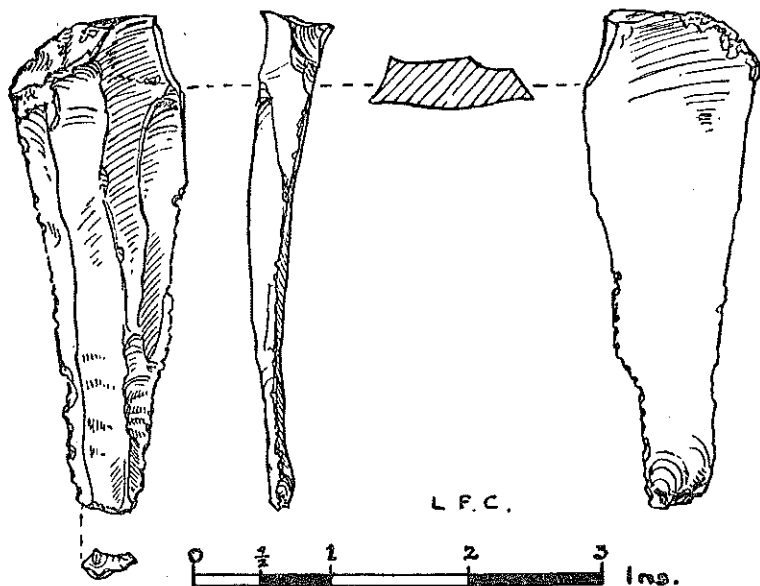


FIG. 7. FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM SOUTH BANK OF RIVER SEVERN
NEAR LOWER BROMPTON, BERRINGTON, PRESENTED TO
SHREWSBURY MUSEUM BY IVOR WILLIAMS, 1949.

V.—LONG FLAKE IMPLEMENT FROM SOUTH BANK OF RIVER SEVERN,
NEAR LOWER BROMPTON, BERRINGTON

(Fig. 7)

While this paper was in the press, two important new objects were added to the Prehistoric Collection in Rowley's House by pupils of the Priory School, Shrewsbury. Both boys are to be heartily congratulated on their discoveries, as well as on their public-spirited action in placing their finds in Shrewsbury Museum. The exact sites have been duly marked on the new set of 6 in. maps recently placed in the care of Mr. J. L. Hobbs in Shrewsbury Public Library for purposes of record.

In February, 1949, Miss M. C. Hill, M.A., County Archivist, drew my attention to a flint implement shown to her by Brian

Williams, a junior clerk in the Shirehall, Shrewsbury. It was found by his brother, Ivor Williams, of 38 Roselyn, Harlescott, while fishing on the south bank of the Severn between Atcham and Wroxeter. It lay on the ploughed surface near the hedge at the west corner of an alluvial field containing the word "Floods" (6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet XLII N.W.), at the east end of the big meander of the river N. of Brompton in Berrington Parish, below the "t" of "Liable to Floods," $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N. of Lower Brompton.

This interesting specimen is a long flake implement of cherty grey flint, somewhat mottled, which grows darker and more lustrous towards the thick end, where a patch of buff cortex adheres half-way across the overhanging terminal, which is suitable for use as a scraper but has not been trimmed. The main dorsal flake also turns outwards at the top opposite. There are four major facets on the back, all in mint condition, and the edges of the implement are so sharp that they will cut a pencil. Their lower halves approaching the thin and narrow bulbar end show minute serrations, probably caused by use; there are a few tiny specks of gloss on them. The bulbar face is plain; the bulb is curiously small, with a conchoidal scar and a narrow striking platform. Dr. Grahame Clark, F.S.A., kindly examined the flint and describes it as a "Flake struck from the base of a pyramidal core, of which the apex is found at the thicker end. Fine quality flint, presumably imported. Signs of (?) use on either edge." From such an isolated find he declines to give any cultural or chronological indications: further search for other finds in the locality should be encouraged.

The length of the tool is 3.7 in. (92 mm.), the breadth at the upper end 31 and at the bulbar end only 9 mm.; the maximum thickness at the double overhang is 12 mm., at the bulb 4 mm. The size is large for Shropshire, where I can recollect no flint implement closely analogous in form; but a remarkably similar blade, slightly smaller and thinner, was found in Cheshire, in 1929, by the late Mr. Procter, rabbit-catcher; it was on a sandy deposit on the road side of Peckforton Mere, opposite Peckforton Castle Lodge, south of Tarporley. The Cheshire specimen, however, differs in having a large and perfect bulb at the broad end, from which the dorsal flakes incline down a narrowing blade, of which the point has been snapped off; the cutting edges are brilliantly sharp and minutely serrated. The Rev. E. P. Comber obtained it from Mr. Procter's widow and has presented it to the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.

VI.—PERFORATED STONE AXE-HAMMERS FROM SHARPSTONES AND
FROM BROMPTON FORD

(Figs. 8, 9)

Hitherto the country immediately south of the Severn between Shrewsbury and Wroxeter had presented a blank on my maps of stone and flint implements, but now, in addition to Ivor Williams's flint, two perforated stone axe-hammers must be placed on record, although full publication should await the report of their petrological examination in the Geological Department of Birmingham University.

(1) A short distance below the top of the Sharpstones Hill, a bare pre-Cambrian ridge east of Bayston Hill, at the N. end of Condover parish, on newly-ploughed ground where four fields meet (6 in. O.S. XLI N.E., N.W. corner), F. G. Davies, of 96 Monkmoor Road, Shrewsbury, found a very fine perforated stone axe-hammer in the early summer of 1948. He took it home, and for a time it was used as a door-stop, but later on he brought it to Rowley's House for identification and subsequently lent it to the Museum, in May, 1949. The tool is of medium size for its type, nearly seven inches long; it was originally ground and polished and is in remarkably good preservation. The faces are parallel and almost flat, inclining towards the cutting-edge; the butt is squarish and shows a distinct facet; the shaft-hole was countersunk but is almost cylindrical. One side of the implement is scored by the ploughshare that evidently turned it up. The form is derived from the Beaker-type "Battle-Axe" of the Early Bronze Age and the specimen may belong to any date from about 1600 B.C. A track along the Sharpstones, with its far-extending views over the surrounding country, clearly carries on the Port Way—Lyth Hill line above mentioned (p. 25) towards the Severn and it had long been obvious that it ought to produce prehistoric evidence such as F. G. Davies' keen observation has now brought to light.

(2) Mr. W. A. Seaby, F.S.A., Keeper of Archaeology and Applied Arts in the Birmingham City Museum, reports that there is a large broken axe-hammer bearing the label, "Brompton Ford, 1940," among a small collection of antiquities purchased from Wroxeter in the war and now exhibited in the newly-established Bantock House

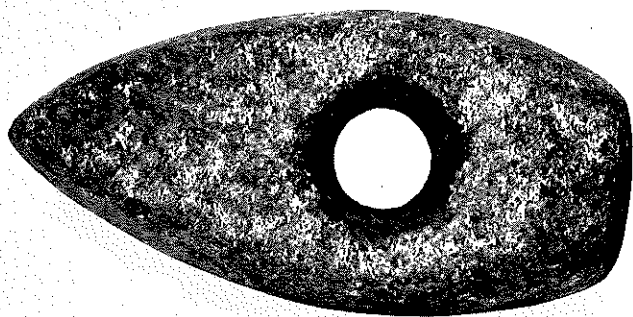


FIG. 8. PERFORATED STONE AXE-HAMMER. FROM SHARPSTONES HILL: ON LOAN TO SHREWSBURY MUSEUM.

Photographs taken by Birmingham City Museum.



FIG. 9. CUTTING END OF LARGE PERFORATED STONE AXE-HAMMER, BROMPTON FORD, NEAR WROXETER, 1940.
(Bantock House Museum, Wolverhampton).

Photographs taken by Birmingham City Museum.

Museum, Wolverhampton. Its history is unknown, but it was presumably found in, or dredged from, the Severn at Brompton, which is near Wroxeter but on the south side of the river. Brompton Ford is not marked on the map, but Mr. W. J. Slack has kindly told me that it is at the end of the long field that stretches north from Brompton to the Severn (1.3 in. just W. of N. of the "B" of Brompton on 6 in. O.S. Shropshire XLII, N.W., and 2 in. W.S.W. of the site of the flint implement above described). Mr. Slack says the river was dredged in 1940 to steepen the banks as an anti-tank precaution and this may have resulted in the discovery of the implement, which is now for the first time recorded in Shropshire.

Mr. Seaby has most kindly sent the photographs here reproduced (Fig. 9), as well as those of the Sharpstones axe-hammer (Fig. 8), with the following description:—

Brompton Ford, near Wroxeter, Shropshire (Sh. 39/ah).

Cutting half of a large perforated Axe-Hammer broken across perforation. Grey, fairly closely grained stone. Cutting edge much worn with use, but this and the broken end show considerable rounding off of the edges due to water erosion. Axe expands towards the cutting edge; sides almost straight and squared off; both faces dished.

Present length, 170 mm.; present width (at break) 98 mm.; present thickness at cutting edge, 83 mm.; at perforation (dished face to dished face) 58 mm. approx.; original diameter of perforation, which is of hourglass construction, 40-30 mm. approx. Present weight, 3 lb. 12½ oz.

Wolverhampton Museum and Art Gallery (Bantock House Museum).

Judging from the surviving length of 6¾ inches, the complete tool would have been about 10 in. long and a formidable implement. It is a serious matter that such an object should have been sold outside the county without any local record being made.

VII.—PRE-ROMAN FINDS FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF WROXETER

There is some evidence to suggest that the site of the Roman city of Viroconium Cornoviorum was not unknown in earlier times. During the years of his Curatorship, the late Francis Jackson used to pick up flint implements on ploughed fields around Wroxeter,

including the area between Bell Brook and the Shrewsbury and Norton roads. What became of them I have been unable to discover: certainly he gave away specimens to young people visiting the site, and one of these proved to be of outstanding interest as a graver of Late Mesolithic type (*Antiquaries Journal*, XIV, 63-4, Fig. 1; the captions are reversed). Perhaps local enquiries might lead to the recovery of others, and it may be suggested that their recipients might now be willing to place the implements in the Museum, either at Shrewsbury or at Wroxeter. I hope to publish notes on flint implements recently found north and east of the Severn in the next issue of our TRANSACTIONS, and any such finds from the Wroxeter neighbourhood should certainly be included.

This paper was in page proof when Mr. Baker brought in to Shrewsbury six more flints from his Darnford site, found diffused about the field which he was working, within a hundred yards of the previous finds. Three of the flints are partially worked; two are small bulbar flakes, and one a burnt fragment. The largest is an irregular bulbar flake of lustrous black flint with the cortex left down one side; the opposite edge has been trimmed for hollow-scraping: length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Another (L. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is a side scraper, showing fine work down one edge. Further finds will be awaited with interest.

CARADOC'S LAST BATTLEFIELD

BY LIEUT-COLONEL ALFRED H. BURNE, D.S.O.

In the mid-nineteenth century the question of the site of Caradoc's¹ last battle was keenly debated, chiefly in the pages of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. The controversy was revived towards the end of the century in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* and elsewhere. Since then little regard has been paid to the question. Possibly would-be investigators have been put off by the rather damping assertion of Sir J. E. Lloyd in *The History of Wales* that "the description of Tacitus carries the reader no further than that it was a hill fortress in the country of the Ordovices, protected on one side by a river not easy to ford."² But it is perhaps possible to squeeze out some further information regarding the site of the battle from Tacitus' well-known account. Indeed, I was attracted to the problem by the very fact that Tacitus had gone into unusual detail on this occasion. I felt that he must have received the report of eye-witnesses when compiling his account. This is not improbable; he was afterwards the friend of Vespasian, and the son-in-law of Agricola. His account has the air of being fair and in accordance with military probability, though we must assume that his informers would tend to exaggerate their own difficulties and magnify the natural advantages possessed by their opponents. Discounting his story to this extent, it should be possible to construct a coherent account of the battle and even to locate its site with some degree of probability. Not being an archaeologist or professional historian I have accepted the conclusions of others on these points, and have tried to build up a thesis purely on considerations of military strategy and tactics. I start with the assumption that Collingwood is correct in his supposition that in A.D. 48 "a double fortress was established there (Uriconium), in which both these legions (14th and 20th) took up their quarters. It was from this new base that Ostorius attacked the Degeangli."³

¹ I prefer the British to the Roman form of the name, Caratacus.

² *Op. cit.* Ed. 2 (1912), p. 53. In point of fact Tacitus does not even say that; he says the opposite. The river was forded without difficulty (*haud difficulter*).

³ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), p. 93.

While Ostorius was constructing his base at Uriconium, what was Caradoc, the leading British general in the west, doing? The danger was clear; Uriconium was evidently intended as a "pistol pointed at the heart of Wales." Counter-measures of a defensive nature were called for. Ten miles to the south-west of this "pistol" and two miles north east of the modern Church Stretton, lay a steep hill, admirably suited for the type of hill-fortress usual in that age. Here, as a first step, Caradoc constructed such a fortress. The steep end of this hill points towards Uriconium, and the vallum that girdled it was not weakened by an entrance at that end. The sole entrance was made on the other, the south-west end. Here the slope is more gentle than elsewhere, and provides the only obvious line of approach. The hill to this day is known as *Caer Caradoc*, the Castle of Caradoc.

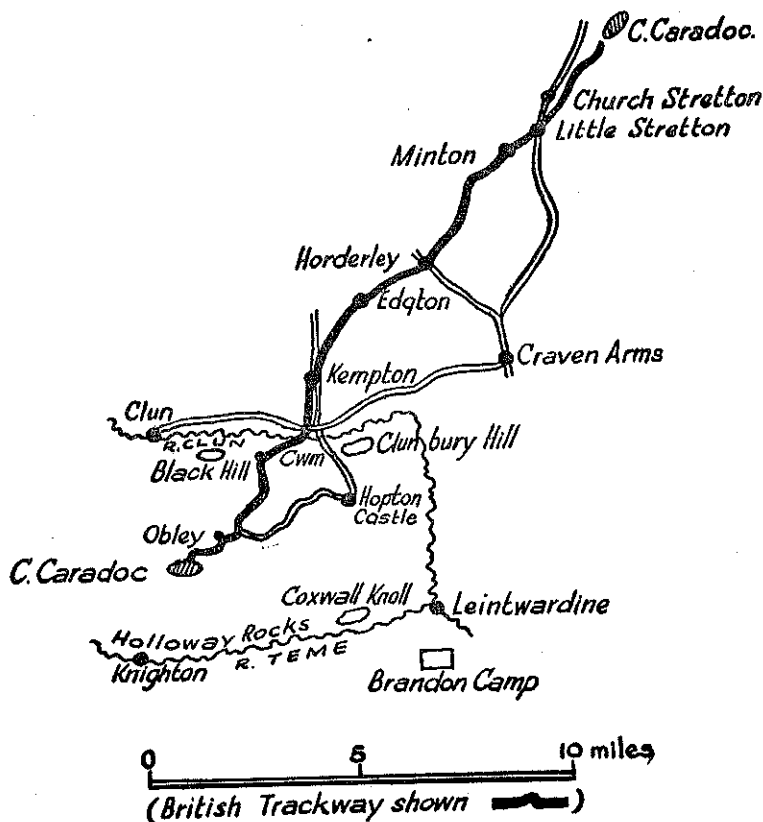
The second step was to make a second and still stronger fortress, further away from the Roman base, but within supporting distance of *Caer Caradoc*, and if possible within sight of this British forward camp. Again nature provided the obvious; fifteen miles south-west of *Caer Caradoc* (Church Stretton) as we will hereinafter call it, a hill, similarly shaped in all but its south-western end, points its nose straight towards the forward camp.¹ Here Caradoc constructed his second and main camp, and a most impressive piece of military engineering it is, in some ways reminding one of Maiden Castle, Dorset. Tremendous labour was spent in its construction, the ditches had to be hacked out of the naked rock—much more so than in the first camp, though there is a distinct family resemblance between the two. The main difference is that the new camp contained a narrow entrance to the front in addition to the main entrance in the rear. This was necessary because if the Romans penetrated so far, the remnants of the garrison of *Caer Caradoc* (Church Stretton) falling back before them, would require an opening, albeit a narrow one, on the front side to enter by.²

The camp is sited rather further forward than might be expected, but the reason for this probably was to bring the camp into visual connection with the forward camp, so that smoke signals could be exchanged between the two. By this means warning of a Roman

¹ The Roman base, Bigbury Camp, held by the Britons against Julius Caesar, also pointed its nose towards the enemy.

² There are plans of the camp in *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, by General H. Roy (1793), p. 172, and *Transactions of the Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, 2nd Series, Vol. iii (1890), 23.

advance would quickly reach the commander in his headquarter camp. This fort also has, at least since the year 1572 when Humfry Lluyd visited it, been known as Caradoc's Castle.¹ The inhabitants told Lluyd that a "certain king Caradoc" fought there. Gough in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (III, 13) writes that "if not the royal seat of Caradoc it was probably his fortress during the war."² Most writers suppose that Caradoc's queen resided there, in which case it would be his royal seat.



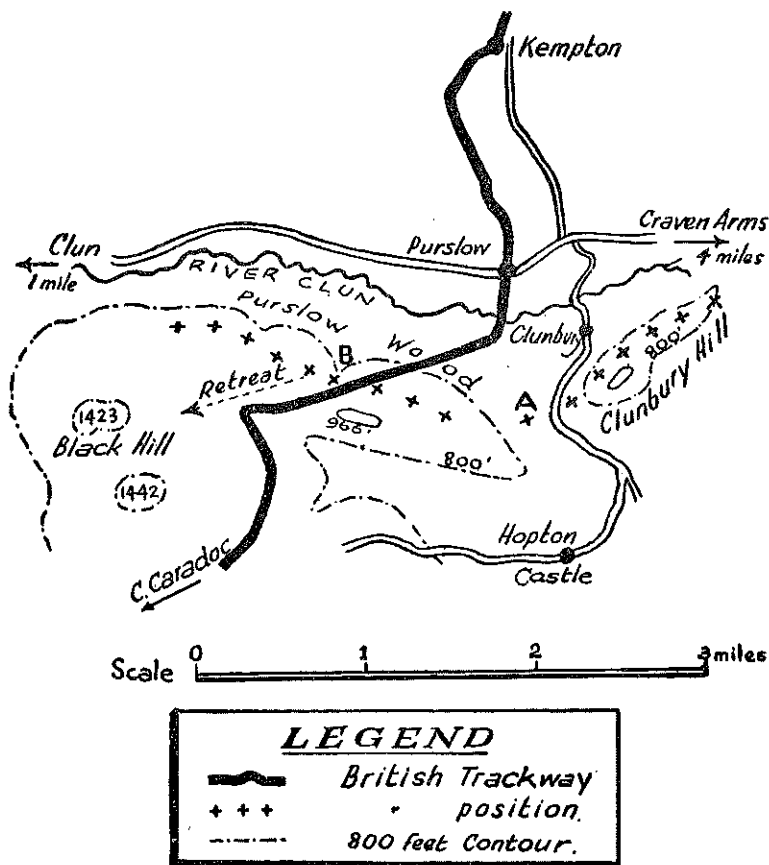
THE CARADOC COUNTRY

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 2, ii (1851), 128 n.

² *Op. cit.*, iii, 13.

course without much difficulty. (See sketch map I). Starting from *Caer Caradoc* (*Church Stretton*) a deep-banked track, betokening

The third step was to connect the two forts by a military road. I think this road can be traced through the greater part of its its great age, winds down the hill into the valley, taking the line of the by-pass road as far as *Little Stretton*, then it hugs the foot of the *Longmynd* through *Minton* and *Hamperley*, reminiscent of parts of the so-called *Pilgrim's Way*. Crossing the river *Onny* at *Horderley*, it mounts the bank, past *Castle Ring* to *Ridgeway* (significant name). Sometimes the modern road follows it and



THE BATTLE OF THE CLUN

occasionally it diverges. Hereabouts an old farmer informed me that it was a Roman or British road and that some old holly trees lined it higher up, which he connected with Roman times. Down the hill it goes into Edgton (one of the most secluded villages in England) and presently passes through the fields, joining the Kempton road just north of that village. It then crosses the river Kemp and reaches the Clun-Craven Arms road at Purslow. At this point the roadman informed my friend Mr. E. R. Morris and myself that it was a Roman road, giving the odd explanation that "it twists about so." We could see no trace of it crossing the Clun valley, but this did not worry me because I assumed that it made for the defile between Clunbury Hill and Purslow Wood (Sketch Map II).

However, while after fording the river,¹ we were clambering up the steep slopes of that wood, we came across its unmistakable tracks in the undergrowth. It takes the slope on a natural diagonal.² On attaining the crest the track disappears again in the open fields. We did not pursue it further but the map shows a fairly obvious and direct continuation through Cwm and Obley (where it is joined by an alternative track via Hopton Castle). Thence, again hugging the foot of the hill, it drops into the valley of the Redlake at Chapel Lawn, a few hundred yards from its destination, Caer Caradoc.

Now if a ruler be lined on the two Caer Caradocs, it will be seen that this track, twisty though it may be, never diverges as much as a mile from this straight line.

* * * *

So much for topography. Now for the strategy of the campaign. After subduing the Brigantes in the north, Ostorius turned against the Silures in South Wales. Then comes a passage in Tacitus that has caused much speculation. Caradoc, we are told, cleverly transferred the war (*astu transfert bellum*) into the territory of the Ordovices. The puzzling thing about this statement is that the

¹ The 6 in. O.S. map shows a footpath continuing the line from the foot of the hill to the river, but I cannot trace it on the ground. Evidently it preserved the line of the old trackway—an interesting survival.

² Which we did *haud difficulter*.

initiative is normally in the hands of the attacker, in this case the Romans. Yet the expression seems to imply that in some way the British general took the initiative and decided where the campaign should be fought. After much thought I can only see one reasonable solution. If we agree with Collingwood¹ that the 2nd Roman legion was based on Gloucester, Ostorius would presumably employ that legion in South Wales, possibly reinforced from the others. Now, if Caradoc had reason to suppose that the garrison of Uriconium had been weakened for this purpose, and that Ostorius himself was absent from this station, he might attempt a sudden concentration of the local tribes in his own domain on the borders of the Silures and Ordovices, with a view to counter-attacking the Roman base. Caradoc evidently did collect an army in that neighbourhood. Parry quotes from the *Triad* LXXIX "an ancient tradition." "When the British hero Caractacus went to battle none would stay at home, they followed him freely and maintained themselves at their own expense. Unsolicited and unsoliciting, they crowded to his banners."² If, as Tacitus seems to suggest, Caradoc took the initiative here, it would seem that Ostorius, getting wind of his opponent's intentions, hurried back to Uriconium, no doubt taking a portion of his troops with him. Then, collecting the 14th and 20th Legions, he himself took the offensive from that base. Thus it could be said that Caradoc cleverly brought the operations into that part of the country where his greatest strength lay.

We may therefore, I think, postulate the two Roman legions setting out against the British headquarters on the line of the two *Caer Caradocs*. The sequence will then be as follows. The approach of the enemy is seen from *Caer Caradoc* (Church Stretton) and signalled back to the main camp. The general rides forward with some of his followers to relieve his advanced post, but it is too late; it has already been over-run. Met by the survivors he falls back along the trackway.

If the above is a correct reconstruction Caradoc was now faced with the alternatives of either falling back to his main camp, where his wife and family were living, or of taking up a position barring the Roman approach to it. Now we know that on at least two

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

² *Royal Visits and Progresses to Wales*, p. 141.

occasions the British leader eluded capture by the Romans ; indeed they never managed to take him in the field.¹ He was no doubt elusive and wily, a man like De Wet in the Boer War, to whom the adjective "slippery" would apply. A general with such a character would not allow himself to be shut up and speedily starved into surrender in a hill-fortress, such as *Caer Caradoc* ; he would look for a position barring the approach to his own headquarters. Such a position should be as wide as possible, with strong flanks so that the Romans could not easily turn it and reach his camp. One such position would meet Caradoc in the course of his retreat along the trackway. On reaching Purslow from the north, the traveller is struck by the formidable looking line of heights immediately in his front. (See sketch map II). The trackway leads, as we have seen, across the valley, and slants up the ridge beyond. This ridge rises 450 feet above the valley at an average slope of 20 degrees. Away to the left is the still steeper slope of Clunbury Hill, with a dip or re-entrant separating it from Purslow Wood. On the right hand Black Hill rises to over 1,400 feet, with a slope equal to that of Purslow Wood. It would form an extremely strong position, at all ages of warfare, and in such a strategical situation as I have sketched, "cries out to be occupied." There appear at first sight to be two weak points about it : first, it is markedly concave, but there is no real objection in this so long as the flanks are firm. This they are, both of them resting on commanding localities. The other point is the wide extent of the position—over three miles. Such an extent is far beyond the normal conception of defensive positions in those days. But there are exceptional features in this case. If Caradoc was as slippery as we give him credit for, he would above all things be careful not to occupy a position that could easily be outflanked. It was therefore most desirable to hold Clunbury Hill as well as Purslow Wood.² Moreover it would be unnecessary to hold the whole extent of the line everywhere in strength. Nature, in the shape of steep slopes, helped Caradoc to economise in the number of men required. A hastily constructed wall-rampart added to his strength. Finally from the top of the

¹ The undisguised delight of the Romans at eventually getting Caradoc into their hands, probably indicates that they had made many previous attempts to capture him.

² The wood is modern.

ridge at point 966 every move of the attackers could be seen, and a mobile reserve could be dispatched in good time to the point of the line where attack threatened. The river crossing would impart a measure of delay to the attackers, and the steepness of the slope would make progress slow and add to the time available for reinforcing the threatened point or points. This brings us to the strength in numbers of the two armies. Haverfield computes that the strength of a legion together with its auxiliary troops would be about 10,000.¹ Thus with two legions the numbers would be about 20,000. Tacitus says that the Britons were inferior in strength (*vi militum inferiori*). This does not necessarily mean in numbers, though this is generally asserted; the superiority of the Romans might show itself in training, discipline, arms or armour. But even allowing that the Britons were inferior in number they might still amount to about 15,000 men, which would seem ample to hold the position I have indicated in the manner suggested.

The troops, having been apportioned to the ground, would start constructing defences where the slope of the ground made this desirable. The subsoil is shallow here and a very little digging would throw up stones and chips of rocks. With these a loose stone rampart would be constructed. It would run along the crest of the hill, so sited that the steepest part of the slope lay just in its front, *i.e.*, along countour 850 feet most of the way. Caradoc would take up his position at the top of the hill at point 966, and await with calm confidence the Roman onslaught.

* * *

Thus far, it will be observed, I have selected a position for the battle purely on strategical and tactical grounds, endeavouring to place myself in Caradoc's shoes, and thus deciding on his probable course of action, the whole reconstruction being based on the assumption of the Roman distribution of forces with which I started, and without any reference to the description of the position given by Tacitus. We will now examine in some detail the account from his pen, noting at each successive point how far it agrees with my suggested position.

¹ *Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 107.

TACITUS' DESCRIPTION OF THE POSITION

There is no need to quote in full the famous passage which the Latin historian devotes to the battle ; crucial words and phrases only will be given in the original.

A river (*amnis*) flowed in front of the position of uncertain or doubtful depth (*vado incerto*). This has usually been construed "with a shifting ford." But why should Tacitus mention shifting fords ? " (Incidentally it would be only one ford—not much for an army of 20,000 men to use in the face of the enemy !) Fords do not shift every few hours, and are not likely to have shifted while the army was about to cross. The natural translation of *vado* in this context is depth ; after a little rain the water of the Clun becomes muddy and thick, the bottom cannot be seen. If heavy rain fell just before the Romans arrived the depth of the river would at first look doubtful and uncertain. The description would thus fit the Clun at this spot. It has, however, been asserted that the Teme, and so all the more the Clun which is about 25 per cent smaller, is too small a river. Now, whatever its size it could not be bigger than the Severn, the biggest river in those parts. Tacitus uses the word *fluvio* to describe the Severn, and *amnis* for this river. The presumption is that by *amnis* he means to denote a smaller river than the Severn. The word can of course mean a big river, but it can also mean a mountain stream, and the Clun at this spot is little more. We do not know at what time of year the battle took place, but even in the summer, after heavy rain it can be a considerable obstacle. It seems likely that such was the case. An anonymous article in *Archæologia Cambrensis* (but written by E. Rogers) states that "it is recorded and proved by its channels, to have brought down formerly a much larger body of water than at present."¹ Ostorius was loath to attack, one reason being specified as the river ; but the troops clamoured to be allowed to attack, and we are told Ostorius acceded to their wish. This is not the action of an experienced general who considers the chances of victory unfavourable—to be jockeyed into attacking by clamour. He hesitated ; for how long we do not know, but Tacitus is apt to foreshorten time, and it may be he paused for a day or more. Now, if the river was in spate when he reached it, a brief pause for the level to fall would

¹ *Op. cit.* 2nd Series, iii (1852), 205.

be only natural and prudent. This is what probably happened, with the result that when they did attack the troops got across without difficulty (*haud difficulter*). Returning to Tacitus, the position was such that advance and retreat alike would be difficult for the Romans and easier for the Britons. The meaning of this is rather obscure, but the only ground that could suit it, as far as I can see, is a position where the attackers have to mount a steep slope to reach it, but the defenders can retreat from it by a gentle slope. This condition is served by the position of our conjectural defensive line, which runs along the crest of the hill, just below the top.

There was high ground beyond the position to which the defenders eventually fell back (*decedere barbari in juga montium*). This agrees with our position, whether we picture the retreat to the immediate top of the ridge, which is about 300 yards from the rampart, or whether we envisage the massive bulk of Black Hill immediately in rear of the position.

Parts of the position were impenetrable, and parts were negotiable (*quae impenetrabilia quaeque pervia*). Now, since the ridge was level at its foot, being in the river valley, it follows that where the slope was gentle (*clementer*) a dip or re-entrant would be formed in the ridge. There are two such; a big one, already noticed, between Clunbury Hill and Purslow Wood, marked "A" on the map, and a small one on the left marked "B" on the map. It is these re-entrants in particular that the Britons defended with a stone rampart. This then is in keeping with Tacitus, and moreover the fact that Ostorius did a reconnaissance to find these weak points seems to imply an extensive position of varying nature.

There are, however, two objections that might be lodged against this position; there is an absence of "rugged and frowning rocks" and a "craggy hill."¹ "Craggy rocks . . . a rugged and inaccessible eminence" (*Salopia Antiqua*, by Hartshorne, p. 51)² and many similar expressions. But the words of Tacitus do not necessarily imply these things: *Arduis montibus* can mean merely "steep mountains"; *Saxa* need not mean more than "stones"; the fact that the Romans were able to pull down the rampart with their hands in the middle of the fighting seems to indicate this. Even

¹ *Roman Britain*, p. 95.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1879, 276.

imminentia juga need not mean "overhanging" but "adjacent mountain ridges." If they had been overhanging the heavily armed Roman legionaries would not have been able to climb them, as we are assured they did. In short, if we bear in mind that Tacitus' informers would tend to exaggerate the physical difficulties even unconsciously (for the size of obstacles grows in the imagination with the passage of time)¹ his description of the ground adequately fits our position.

THE BATTLE

The course of the battle then becomes perfectly comprehensible, and one can stand on the ridge-top and in imagination follow it from beginning to end. The position is too extensive for Caradoc to deliver the usual speech to the assembled army; he is obliged to flit hither and thither (*huc illuc volitans*). Ostorius on the far side of the valley hears the Britons cheer—the prevailing S.W. wind would carry the sound. (Such would not be the case in the other sites suggested for the battle). The morale of the British troops is high and when the Romans, toiling painfully up the steep slope arrive within range of missiles, they suffer heavy casualties. Closing up to the rampart however and forming their famous *testudo* of shields, they pull down the stones and engage the defenders on more level terms. Eventually the Britons fall back up the hill and the Romans pursue.

As a result of his reconnaissance Ostorius no doubt directed his legionaries principally against one or both of the two re-entrants, while the light armed auxiliaries were thrown against the steeper parts of the hill. It seems in the natural course of things that the break through should occur in these re-entrants. The effect of that in re-entrant "A" would be to cut off the defenders of Clunbury Hill, whilst the successful penetration of re-entrant "B" would force the left of the line backwards up the long slope of Black Hill. If this indeed happened, it leads to an interesting speculation. We know that Caradoc's brother surrendered after the battle; the general's wife and daughters were also captured. The natural presumption is that this took place in *Caer Caradoc*. But Caradoc himself made his escape. How came it that he got away but not

¹ Anyone who takes a big fence out hunting and visits the spot years later is surprised to find how it has grown in his imagination.

his brother and his family? My speculation is as follows. The portion of the position on Clunbury Hill, being somewhat detached, would require a local commander. What more natural than that Caradoc should place his brother in this command, himself retaining the command on Purslow Wood ridge? A break-through at "A" would split the army in two, separating the two brothers. Frater, as we will call him, would either be cut off on Clunbury Hill and captured, or would make his way across country to Caer Caradoc. In the meanwhile his brother would be fighting a rearguard action on Black Hill, resisting grimly, while the break-through troops pushed on to the camp, and surrounded it. Alternatively, Frater may have been sent to the camp by Caradoc with a message to warn Uxor, as we will call her, to escape and join him in the north. But Uxor delayed collecting her possessions, etc., till it was too late. No doubt the garrison fought bravely before surrendering. There are indeed traditions of a battle. A farmer on the spot told us that the enemy approached from the south west. This seemed an improbable direction until I reflected that the Romans, wishing to capture the garrison rather than to storm a formidable barbarian hill-top would be likely to sweep round the camp and approach it from the rear, which also was the easiest line of approach. So the farmer's story may not be entirely baseless. He also said that the inhabitants from the dwellings in the valley below used to bring up food to the garrison, but that one of them betrayed the whereabouts of the camp to the Romans. The river Redlake at the foot of the camp is said to owe its name to the fact that it ran red with blood—an almost invariable tradition about any watercourse near a battlefield.

RIVAL SITES

In the above thesis I have tried to show that what one might describe as the inherently probable course for events to take on military considerations fits closely the narrative passed down to us by Tacitus. It cannot, in the nature of things be proved, but the case for it is strengthened if it can be shown that rival sites have less claim to our credence. Let us therefore briefly examine them. Those most generally advanced are *Cefn Carnedd*, six miles north east of Llanidloes; the *Breidden*, six miles north of Welshpool; *Coxwall Knoll*, five miles east of Knighton; and *Holloway Rocks*, two miles north east of Knighton.

CEFN CARNEDD was suggested by Hartshorne in 1841, but only "conjecturally."¹ I have not heard anyone else advocate it, and it is not likely that many people have visited it with that object. The reasons that Hartshorne gives are unconvincing, the locality has no connection with Caradoc. His assertion that the attacker was bound to cross the river Severn before making the attack is not true—an attacker advancing up the river valley could approach the hill from either bank; the hill is isolated and not the sort of position that a canny general like Caradoc would allow himself to be trapped in. Even Hartshorne's observations do not seem very accurate. He writes: "It is fortified with a single vallum on the north western and with a double one on the north eastern side."² Presumably he means the south-eastern, not north eastern side. On the N.E., so far from there being a double vallum, there are only the slightest signs of a single one. Indeed, I climbed the hill from this side and arrived at the top without passing any apparent entrenchment at all.³

THE BREIDDEN I should like to believe the site of this great battle on personal and family grounds, but I fear it is impossible to reconcile with strategic considerations, for the river is the wrong side of the hill, *i.e.*, on the west. What would bring Ostorius to attack it from that direction? Advocates of the site make various attempts to explain it, the most usual being that Ostorius advanced from Welshpool, on the north bank of the Severn. But why should he advance by the north bank if he knew the enemy was on the opposite bank? His natural course would be to cross the river at once and advance straight towards the hill. If the Britons were holding a position facing the river he would thus turn its left flank. A curious reason was advanced at a meeting of the Shropshire Archaeological Society in 1908, namely that the Breidden was "isolated."⁴ I should consider that an argument against the site, not in favour of it; Caradoc was not the man to allow himself to get trapped on an isolated hill. As a result of his excavations on

¹ *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 64.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

³ Wynne Ffoulkes in 1851 asserted that he could find no trace of a "double wall" on the Breidden that Hartshorne stated was there.

⁴ *Shrop. Arch. Soc.*, 3rd Series, Vol. viii.

the hill in 1937, Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil pronounced against this site for the battle.¹

COXWALL KNOLL is more generally favoured than any other site, the main argument being that there was a Roman camp at Brandon, three miles to the south east, with the river Teme between, which the Romans would have to cross.

The river, in fact, laps the foot of the hill, which rises steeply almost from the water's edge. A crossing *haud difficulter* in these circumstances is hard to conceive; the attackers would be within easy missile range of the defenders, whilst wading across the stream. The slope is at its steepest at this spot, indeed it would be almost inaccessible to the heavily armed legionaries. Moreover there would be no necessity for the Romans to cross the river at this point and attack the most difficult side of the hill. Once again the natural course for them to take would be to cross the stream just to the north of the camp, and approach the knoll over the open ground which would lead them to the east end of the hill, where the gradient is easiest. Just as in the case of the Breidden, if the Britons were holding a line facing the river they would have their left flank turned. Furthermore the premises seem to be weak. It is improbable that there was a Roman camp at Brandon in A.D. 51. The camp stands just to the west of the old Roman road connecting Caerleon with Uriconium, and is evidently sited to give flank protection to this road against an irruption from the Welsh hinterland down the valley of the Teme. It is hard to conceive of this road being built whilst Coxwall Knoll was occupied by Caradoc, for it passes within three miles of it. No doubt there was fighting at some time between Romans and Britons hereabouts—there is a good deal of evidence pointing to this—but it presumably occurred during the struggle subsequent to the defeat of Caradoc. Coxwall Knoll is an isolated hill and the "isolation" argument applies here even more than in the case of the Breidden because the hill is smaller in area.

Lastly we come to HOLLOWAY ROCKS. So far as I can ascertain, the case for this site has been put by only one investigator, Sir Roderick Murchison.² In the course of his argument he said

¹ *Arch. Camb.* (1937), p. 86.

² *Arch. Camb.* 2nd Series, Vol. 3 (1852), p. 319.

"The chief resistance must have been made in the rocky precipices which lead up from the Teme to Holloway Rocks and Stow Hill. Driven from that line Caractacus would necessarily fight in retreat to the *Caer Ditches* (*Caer Caradoc*).” I think Sir Roderick took Tacitus’ description concerning the precipitous rocky nature of the terrain rather too literally, for the reasons already given. After all, we know that the slope was not too steep for the Roman legionaries to negotiate. Nevertheless this site does fit in fairly well with the description of the historian, the weakest point, to my mind, being that which has vitiated the other proposed sites, namely that there would be no necessity for the Romans advancing up the valley to cross the river at that point; they could have approached along the northern bank. But, if we accept the question of the river, this position is one that I should expect Caradoc to hold on the grounds of inherent military probability if he had to defend his headquarters against an attack from the south east. I find it preferable to all the other sites noticed, and if the assumption on which I have built my thesis is wrong—namely that the Roman base for the campaign was *Uriconium*—then I fancy Holloway Rocks must be the site we are looking for. A slight variant, that has never been propounded, suggests itself. If for some reason Ostorius advanced from due south, *i.e.*, from *Presteign*, making for *Caer Caradoc*, he would be obliged to cross the Teme in the face of the enemy. In this case the British position would presumably be along the high ground immediately north of Knighton, extending eastwards to Holloway Rocks. But if (as I think) the Roman campaign against the *Ordovices* was based on *Uriconium*, an advance from *Presteign* towards Knighton seems out of the question.

CONCLUSION

The verdict in a murder trial is frequently influenced by the consideration: “Someone must be the murderer, if not the prisoner in the dock, then who?” If Caradoc did not fight his last battle on the banks of the Clun, then where did he fight it? I have visited the other suggested sites, and in addition have examined all the ground up the Severn from the Breidden to Cefn Carnedd, and can find no locality that fits the description of Tacitus, for in no case

need Ostorius have crossed a river in order to attack his opponent. Of course Tacitus' reference to the crucial river may be a falsehood (not on the part of the historian but of some unscrupulous informer), but if we cannot build on Tacitus's account we cannot build at all. Accepting, then, his account as essentially correct, I have come to the conclusion that there is only one site on the Welsh border that adequately fits his description and that is on the Black Hill—Clunbury Hill ridge on the southern bank of the river Clun in Shropshire. A suitable name would be the Battle of the Clun.

POSTSCRIPT

Miss Lily F. Chitty, F.S.A., who has read this paper in manuscript, points out that a few scraps of Roman pottery and a small bronze fragment, believed to be a scale of Roman armour, have been found in and west of the re-entrant A—the very area where one would expect such finds (Clunbury School Collection : publication pending).

THE AGATHA TILE IN THE ABBEY CHURCH, SHREWSBURY

It was about the year 1897 when Rev. Mr. Drayper, Vicar of the Abbey Church of Shrewsbury, first invited me to see a tile which he had found in the floor of the nave on the north side of the Church, and which, in spite of the necessary traffic and movement of chairs, had survived in a remarkably good state of preservation. I found the tile to be a fourteenth century so called "Agatha Tile," bearing the well-known inscription which was regarded as a prayer to Saint Agatha, Virgin and Martyr, to whom there was a very marked devotion in the whole of the West in medieval times. Her prolonged martyrdom took place during the severe persecution of the Emperor Decius (249-251), and the Roman Martyrology has the following words on the feast day of Saint Agatha, February 5th :—

"At Catania in Sicily the day of Martyrdom (dies natalis) of
"S. Agatha, Virgin and Martyr, who in the reign of the
"Emperor Decius, under Quintianus, judge," [the Sarum
"Breviary calls him the proconsul of Sicily] "after much
"violence and imprisonment, after her breasts had been cut
"off, after she had be dragged over broken pottery and hot
"coals, at last calmly in the name of God gave up her life."

When the Martyr's body was laid in its tomb it is said that a young man placed at her head a small marble tile on which was written the Latin inscription :—

MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM HONOREM
DEO ET PATRIE LIBERACIONEM

It is said further that in the year following the death of Saint Agatha, and on several subsequent occasions, the city of Catania was threatened with destruction by the lava of Mount Etna, and that the veil which covered the Saint's head was carried out on a lance to meet the flood of lava, and that immediately the flood was stopped, and from that time forward S. Agatha became to be held in great reverence as a protection against fire and lightning.

By medieval times, on account of this tradition, it had become a widespread custom throughout the West to use the words inscribed on the tile which was, as tradition has it, laid at the head of the

Saint in her tomb, as an inscription and prayer to the Saint for preservation from fire, lightning and other catastrophes.

It was very usual to place a floor-tile in Churches bearing the inscription, and it was a favourite inscription too for Church bells, presumably as protection against lightning in particular. There are records of bells so inscribed in Rome, France and England. In Rome the inscription was found on the bells in S. Peter's, S. John Lateran's and S. Mary Major's. In England bells bearing the inscription were once at Kenilworth, and in Preen in Shropshire, and another (an Italian inscribed bell) is now in a Church at Hendon. A bell in Alpthal in Switzerland, instead of the above inscription, bears the words :—

SANCTA AGATHA A TERRESTRIS IGNIBUS ET
AETERNI PERICULO, LIBERA NOS

The inscription has been also found on rings as a prayer to S. Agatha for protection against sudden death, and I have been told that it has been found too, perhaps with the same purpose in view, on a medieval flagon !

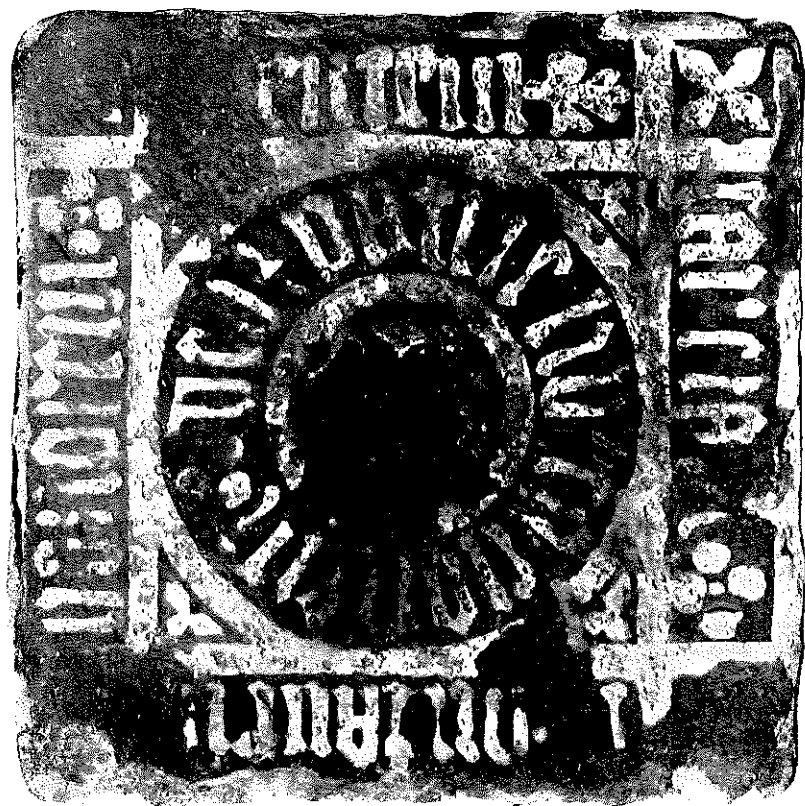
The tile in the Abbey Church at Shrewsbury was photographed by me some years ago, when it was being moved from its original site to its present sheltered position in the north-east end of the choir stalls.

The words *Mentem Sanctam Spontaneam Honorem* are on the edges of the four sides of the quarry ; and within the central circle are the words *Deo et patrie liberacionem*.

It is not easy to construe the inscription, seeing that *mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem liberacionem* are left in the accusative case without a governing verb. The Sarum Breviary offers an explanation of the inscription in the 9th lesson for the Saints' Feast on February 5th :—

“ On the day of her burial there appeared a youth accompanied by a hundred gaily dressed youths. The youth carried with him a panel which he placed by her head on which were written the words *Mentem*, etc. The meaning of these words is : ‘ the holy virgin had a *holy mind*, she offered herself *freely*, she showed *honour* to God, and she obtained *freedom for her country*. ’ ”

Whatever the explanation of the inscription, at least there is no doubt of its frequent use in medieval times as protection against catastrophe.



The history of the Abbey Agatha tile seems to have been completely neglected. I have not seen any reference to its existence in any publication of the Church ; but without doubt it is worthy of record.

We know, and the buildings show ample evidence of it, that the nave of the Abbey Church was being re-formed from a Norman Church to one of late Decorated style in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and this makes it probable that the tile was placed in the floor at the time of the change by Abbot Nicholas. Stevens (1388-1399), as recording a prayer against fire and other catastrophes.

I have in my possession a photograph of an Agatha Tile found at Tewkesbury Abbey, which is an exact replica of the one at Shrewsbury. The size is the same, and the script in both is identical.

✠ AMBROSE MORIARTY,

Bishop of Shrewsbury.

THE COUNCIL HOUSE,
SHREWSBURY.

August 1st, 1948.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS ON THE ACTON BURNELL MISSAL, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

This Missal first came to my notice when the late Sir Walter Smythe, Bt., succeeded to the Acton Burnell property in or about the year 1900. It had been for generations an heirloom of this recusant family and would doubtless have so continued had not the direct male line of the Smythes come to an end on the death of Sir Edward, who died unmarried. Mrs. Bruce, daughter of Sir Walter, who succeeded to the estate, had very kindly promised me that when the Hall, estate and furniture were sold I should have the opportunity of acquiring the Missal, which I was happy to do in March last.

The M.S. consists of 257 folios and is in excellent preservation. Two are missing from the last Preface and the first paragraphs of the Canon. Three others are missing, two from the Temporale and one from the Sanctorale, but they are not important. The folios measure 15 inches by 10 and have been bound by Zahnsdorf in boards and covered with skin. The book is not illuminated except for the capitals of the "officium" for great feasts. It is, however, profusely furnished with chants in the usual plain-chant notation.

The parish Church of Acton Burnell was built in the thirteenth century by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Chancellor of the Kingdom. It is very small and would not seat more than one hundred even if the transepts were used. Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, says it was in medieval times a chapel of the Mother Church of Condover and so not likely to need such an elaborate missal with a great abundance of rubrics which could only serve the use of a much larger Church and served by a staff of many priests. There is no direct evidence that it was used at Acton Burnell beyond what appears in the Kalendar where there occur about a dozen obits dating from the seventh year of Henry VI to the twentieth year of Henry VIII. The obits, however, all bear local names, such as Scryven of Frodesley, Merle of Salop, Kinton, Typton, Stapulton and Carles.

There can be little if any doubt that the Missal belongs to the use of Sarum. The words "secundum usum ecclesie Sarum" and "secundum morem ecclesie Sarum" occur at least forty times in the rubrics. Only once is another diocese mentioned. That occurs

in the *Kalendarium* for March 2nd : "Sci Cedde epi IX lect sed non Sarum" ; again in the *Sanctorale* : "Sci cedde epi sed non de usu Sarum sed de usu lichifeldensi."

As to the date of the book : there are two dates within which it must be placed : 1319 and 1381.

In 1319 the feast of the Relics of the Church of Sarum which had hitherto been kept on September 15th, the octave day after Nativity of Our Lady, was changed to the Sunday next occurring after the feast of the translation of the body of S. Thomas of Canterbury, July 6th. Our book has the feast of the Relics on the new date, which makes 1319 one sure point of departure. In 1381 Urban VI issued a Bull constituting the feast of S. Anne, the Mother of Our Lady, a Holy Day of Obligation on which no servile work is allowed, or as the rubric has it, "ab omnibus operibus." In the *Kalendar* for the month of July there are three feasts whose rubric is red and marked "ab omnibus operibus," viz. "The translation of S. Thomas, S. James Apostle and S. Mary Magdalene." Then is added to this list in cursive writing : "festum S. Anne matris beate Marie." In the *Sanctorale* for July 26th there is the following note in the margin in the same cursive writing : "Quaere hoc festum de sca Anna in quaternio quod jacet in fine libri hujus," where there is inserted the new mass "gaudeamus omnes in celebratione festi S. Anne, etc." This is written out in full but in a markedly inferior writing to the rest of the book. The writing of the new mass seems to bear all the distinguishing features of fourteenth century writing.

We have now therefore a period of 62 years during which the book was written. It might be possibly urged that the fact of the feast of Corpus Christi with its Octave appears in its proper place in the *Temporale* viz. : on the Thursday after the feast of the Holy Trinity might be a sign of a later date, say about 1350. This feast was first ordered to be kept by Urban IV in 1264, but owing to the turbulent state of Italy it was not universally carried out. At the Council of Vienne in 1311 under Clement V, it was decreed that the Bull of Urban IV should be observed and John XXII in 1318 decreed that an Octave should be added to the feast. King Edward II had been present at this Council and possibly his influence was brought to bear on the early acceptance of this feast, as we find it very soon afterwards promulgated in the Dioceses of England.

Thus on May 21st, 1325, the Bishop of Winchester after reciting the Bulls of Urban IV and Clement V enjoined the feast to be kept on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday and complains that certain priests neglect to celebrate it and orders his "officialis" to enforce the decrees (John de Stratford's Register). So our Missal might well have been written any time about 1325-1330. If the feast had not been observed before 1325 there would have been no justification for the Bishop's definite instruction to take action against the defaulters.

What, however, strengthens the probability of an early date, say before 1330, is an entry in the Kalendarium where it seems to have been inserted as an addition to the feast of the translation of S. Thomas. It runs as follows :—

lacionis sci Thomae
Martirum eccle Sarum."

"notandum est quod proxima
dnca post festum trans-
celebretur festum Reliquiarum

What, however, is still more convincing occurs in the Sanctorale under date of July 6th (the feast of the translation of S. Thomas) where is the following rubric: "Sciendum est quod proxima dnca post festum translacionis S. Thomae Martiris celebretur festum reliquiarum Sarum eccle quod *nuper celebrari consuevit* in octava Nativitatis B. Mariae." The words "*nuper celebrari consuevit*" added as a special note do seem to be evidence of an early date inclining towards 1319, the actual year when the change of the feasts had been made. Such a phrase as "was until recently kept on September 15th" can hardly be stretched to a period longer than, say, ten years. The Missal, therefore, does seem to have a strong claim to have been written not later than 1330.

What can be said for its place of origin? It can hardly have been written for a small country chapel which was subsidiary to the Mother Church of Conover. There is no direct evidence of any Church mentioned except the frequent references to the "eccle Sarum." There is, however, one entry in the Kalendarium for January 15th: "Dedicatio ecclesiae de Fradesley," which is written by a later hand; obviously our modern Frodesley which was the home of the Scryven family.

The rubrics envisage a large Church with other altars and attached to a "claustrum," and a "suburbium" through which the Rogation Procession passed. Moreover, it takes for granted that

there is a staff of clerics of two classes or orders, "*de primaria et secunda classe vel ordine.*" There are Archdeacons, and a Dean occasionally with the Bishop when he is singing mass; many priests who vary in precedence of "*gradus excellentioris.*" It is taken for granted that most of the services are "*cum regimine chori*" with cantors. Moreover, the processions are sometimes as on Rogation Days and S. Mark's Day, directed which way they shall leave the Church into the cloisters and from thence into the "*suburbio.*" There are also directions given that on certain feast days when there is an obligation of a Mass of Requiem over and above the mass of the feast, the Requiem Mass shall be said "*in capitulo,*" presumably the "*domus capitularis.*" Many of the responsories, sequences, graduals and special prefaces are written out in full plain chant musical notation. Notably is this the case of the Holy Week ceremonies and Ash Wednesday or the "*caput jejunii.*" On the latter day there is the ceremony of the "*ejectio penitentium.*" On Palm Sunday the procession of the palms or "*frondes*" is directed to leave the Church "*per medium claustrum*" and to return by the West door. In this procession there are four "*stations.*"

On Maundy Thursday the reception of penitents is conducted by the Bishop, or in his absence by the Dean or the senior priest. The whole of this service is choral and it is taken for granted that the Bishop is celebrant of the mass, partly doubtless on account of the Blessing of the Holy Oils, which is a blessing reserved to the Bishop, and takes place during the mass. Nothing is said in the Missal of this blessing, as the book used for it would be not the Missal but the Bishop's Pontificale. The only reference to this blessing of the oils is the rubric which says that on this day the kiss of peace is not given but the deacon and sub-deacon kiss the "*ampulla chrismatis.*" On Holy Saturday the site of the various ministers who took part in the ceremony of the Blessing of the Fire is laid down as being between the two last piers on the south side "*ad fontes*" and near the West door.

All these rubrics are to be found also in the Processionale of Salisbury edited by Christopher Wordsworth in 1901. The rubrics of the Missal are, however, more detailed than in the Processionale.

On Rogation Days the procession is very elaborate and detailed. First the cross, then the dragon (banner), then that of the lion, and then follow the other banners. What the banners of the dragon

and lion are I cannot discover. Probably they have some Salisbury heraldic significance. Then the procession goes to a Church "in suburbio" and details are given as to procedure in case it passes any other Church. A similar procession is made on S. Mark's Day, April 25th, but the dragon and the lion take no part.

Since writing the above notes, I have received a suggestion from a Dutch liturgical scholar, Rev. A. Puts, to whom I had suggested my difficulty of the "dragon and the lion" (banners) taking such an honourable position in the procession on Rogation Day. He writes: "The order in procession is (1) Crux, (2) Draco, et (3) Leo. The carrying of emblems of the dragon and lion, and also of the wolf on staffs, came from France. We find the same in the Processionale of Sarma. This finds its origin in a legend of S. Avitus, who tells us that the Town of Vienne was visited by a plague of wild animals. From this town the Rogation Days take their origin. The procession on S. Mark's Day is much older. The carrying of the dragon has its origin in the following: In the beginning of the reign of Pope S. Gregory the Great, there was a pest in Rome which is said to have been caused by a dragon. For their liberation from this pest, the Pope ordered a procession in imitation of the procession on the Rogation Day in France."

The similarity, in fact one almost might say the identity of the rubrics of the Missal and the Processionale make a strong claim for this Missal having been written for use in Salisbury Cathedral. Moreover, besides the mention of the Bishop, Dean and Archdeacons, there is one reference to "Alii Prelati."

The erasures of S. Thomas of Canterbury's name and that of the Pope ordered by Henry VIII after the mock trial and Bill of Attainder, by which the goods and the great wealth of four hundred years' offerings to his shrine from all over Europe became the property of the King, were evidently carried out with energy by the parish priest in Henry's reign—in fact, so great was his zeal to erase the name of Thomas from the Missal that he erased that of S. Thomas of Hereford, whose feast is on October 3rd. The word "Papa" after S. Gregory the Great's name was erased as were those of S. Leo, S. Linus, S. Anacletus and others. There are signs that he thought better of this action in Queen Mary's reign, as on December 29th he evidently had tried his best to erase his former erasures.



AMBROSE MORIARTY,

Bishop of Shrewsbury.

THE COUNCIL HOUSE,
SHREWSBURY.

AN EARLY HOUSE AT UPPER MILLICHOPE

BY MARGARET E. WOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

with an introductory note by

JOHN SALMON, B.A., F.S.A.

Upper Millichope is a hamlet situated in the beautiful Wenlock Edge country about midway between Rushbury and Munslow. Its most interesting building is the farmhouse which generally goes by the name of the Forester's Lodge, as, according to tradition, it was the home of the head forester of the district who, such were the severity and unpopularity of the forest laws, required a strongly-built house for self-protection. Very varying accounts as to the date of the house have been given from time to time. Mrs. Stackhouse Acton¹ says, "The architectural details of the principal door and window belong to the thirteenth century; but the stones which now form a round arch in the doorway are not *in situ*, and (being sculptured with the ball-flower ornament) probably formed a pointed arch originally." Here are some other opinions. Augustus Hare²: "At Upper Millichope . . . is an exceedingly curious XII c. *Norman Farmhouse*, which is almost unique . . . The entrance is by a Norman arch with ball-flower ornament, and in each gable is a fine window of two lights divided by a pillar." H. T. Timmins³: "The house is considered by connoisseurs to have been built in the twelfth century, and may thus claim to be the most ancient abode in Shropshire; in point of age, indeed, it probably has few rivals throughout the whole of England." H. E. Forrest⁴: "At Upper Millichope is a very remarkable old house dating back to Norman times . . . The present doorway on the ground floor appears at first sight to be Norman, but on closer examination it will be seen that the stones forming the semi-circular arch do not fit together in that form: they have evidently originally been portions of a pointed arch with ball-flower ornamentation,

¹ Quoted by Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1857), Vol. iv, p. 6, *note*.

² *Shropshire* (1898), p. 78 (illustration).

³ *Nooks and Corners of Shropshire* (1899), p. 124 (poor illustration).

⁴ *The Old Houses of Wenlock* (1914), p. 67 (photograph of interior).

but have been rebuilt later in their present form. Probably there was no doorway at all to this basement when first built, but it formed a cellar or store-room for venison, and was entered from the floor above by a trap-door and ladder." More recently Miss M. Wight, of Hereford¹: "The house itself goes back to the twelfth century." What presumably gave rise to these conflicting opinions was that the doorway is circular, therefore suggesting a Norman date,² while the ball flower³ is typical of fourteenth century Decorated. To add to the confusion the original windows show definite thirteenth-century Early English features.

As the architectural evidence did not seem to support the majority view of a Norman date it seemed important to obtain an authoritative opinion and when Miss M. E. Wood, M.A., F.S.A., was visiting the district the opportunity was too good to miss. We made a preliminary visit in September, 1947, followed about a year later by two more detailed visits, when we were equipped with tape measure and camera.⁴ Miss Wood is the authority on early houses. She has already published a paper on "Norman Domestic Architecture"⁵ and has in preparation a similar paper on thirteenth century houses. We have no Norman house in Shropshire, the nearest being the very interesting remains of the wooden great hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford, dated c. 1160.⁶ As the only other two thirteenth-century houses in Shropshire, Acton Burnell Castle (1283+) and Stokesay Castle (c. 1260-80),⁷ are uninhabited, Upper Millichope may justifiably claim to be the oldest

¹ *Country Life* for July 19th, 1941, p. 120 (two good photographs).

² But circular arches do occur as late as the thirteenth century, e.g., the nave arcades at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (actually generally dated c. 1190) and at Barnack, Northants, and in windows at Norton Mandeville, Essex (these last are early fourteenth century).

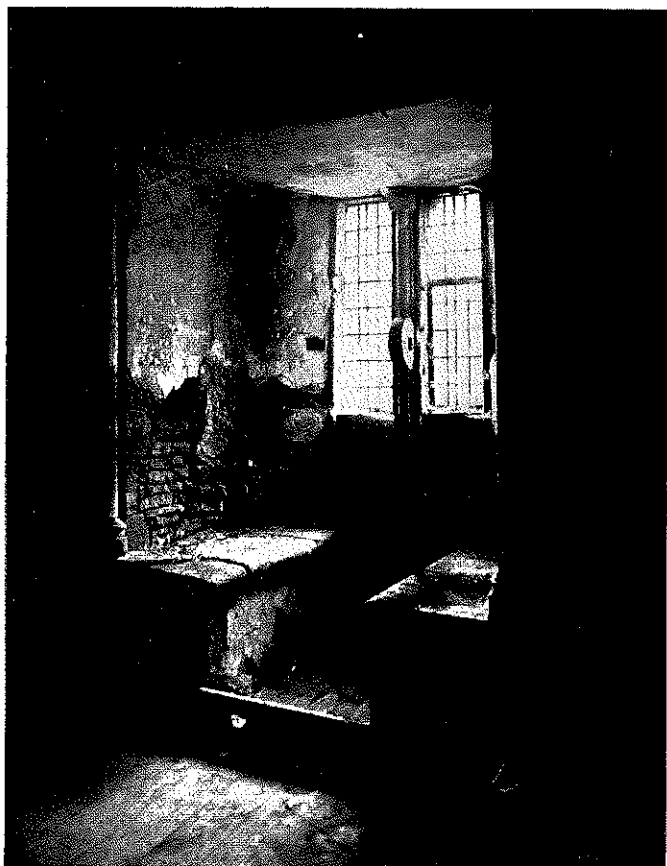
³ An excessive use of this ornament is characteristic of certain large Churches in the area to our south, e.g., Hereford, Gloucester, Leominster, Ledbury, Weobley and (in the west window of the north aisle) Ludlow. It occurs in a more normal manner on tomb recesses at Diddlebury and Eaton-under-Heywood in this district, both obviously the work of the same masons.

⁴ Sincere thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Edwards, the present occupiers, who most kindly gave us every facility.

⁵ *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. xcii (1935), pp. 167-242. A copy is in this Society's library at Shrewsbury.

⁶ Illustrated in the Report of *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Herefordshire*, Vol. i (1931), plate 24.

⁷ It is possible that the lower portion of the north tower at Stokesay is twelfth century.



UPPER MILlicHOPE—HALL WINDOW (N.E.)



N.E. FIRST AND GROUND FLOOR WINDOWS

inhabited house in the county, though it is now only used as kitchen premises, more recent living quarters having been added in an attached building about 200 years ago. The only other possible claimant to a thirteenth century date is the Provost's House at Edgmond, near Newport. This has been very much altered and added to at various dates. For example, two very attractive "Queen Anne" sitting rooms have been added at the back, but the original screen passage with three doorways remains in very good condition and may be dated circa 1300. The ruins of the manor house incorporated in farm buildings at Aston Eyre, near Bridgnorth, and described by Timmins¹ as thirteenth century, are two centuries later in date, though the gatehouse may be as early as the fourteenth century.²

J.S.

(Since the above was written, Miss Wood has visited the Provost's House at Edgmond, and she considers that the mouldings of the arches in the screen passage indicate a fourteenth-century date, the period of the manor house at Aston Eyre.)

"FORESTER'S LODGE"—UPPER MILLICHOPE.

The so-called forester's lodge is part of a farm-house, and dates from c. 1280. It is an oblong block (c. 42 ft. by 29 ft. 3 in.)³, lying N.E.-S.W., forming the kitchen and offices to a range added on the S.E., thus making an L-plan, in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century. The chief room or hall was on the first floor, and retains two shafted windows with seats, and loops lighting an angle staircase, now partially blocked. The walls are of local sandstone, and exceptionally thick,⁴ but there is no sign of a vaulted undercroft. The N.W. wall has been partially rebuilt, and the roof was thatched within living memory.

Exterior.—The N.E. wall shows most original features, including a roll-moulded and steeply chamfered plinth which ends 1 ft. 6 in. from the N. angle, suggesting that the N.W. wall has been refaced.⁵

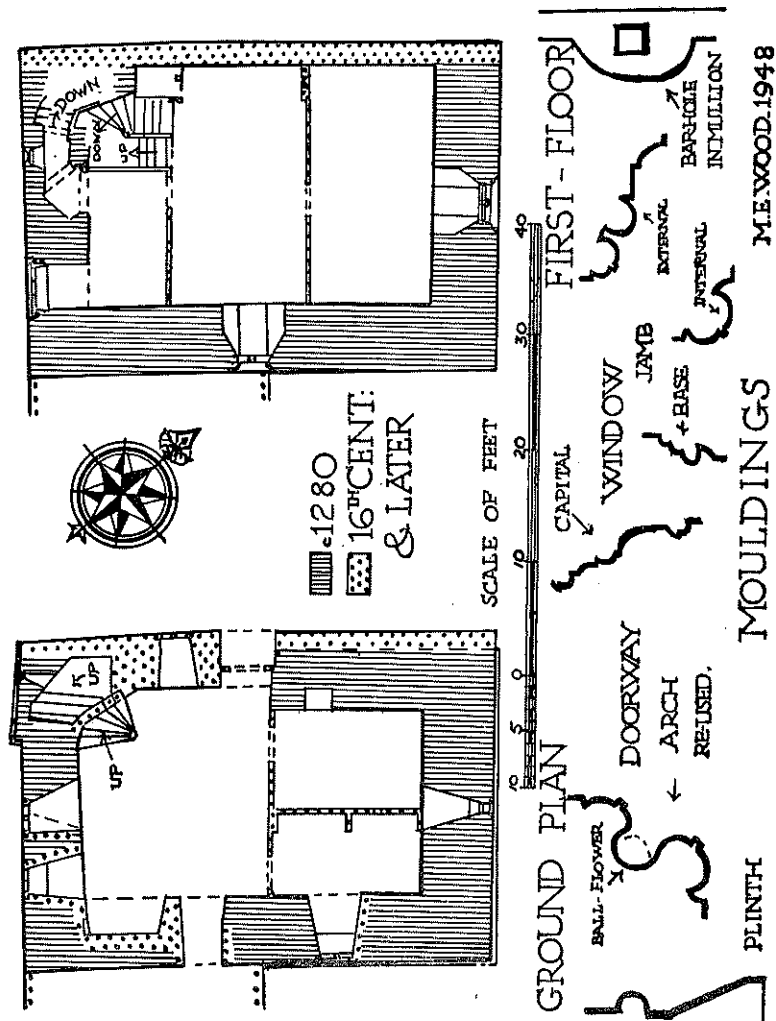
¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

² See architectural drawings in H. E. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³ External measurements.

⁴ c. 6 ft. on both floors.

⁵ This is confirmed by the plan where the N.W. wall is over 1 ft. wider than the N.E. and S.E. walls.



The basement window is also original, with chamfered head and jambs. The hall two-light window is obscured by creeper, except on the N.W. jamb; the head may have been pointed, but was replaced by a lintel when the gable was rebuilt and timber-framed in the sixteenth century; the outer order is hollow-chamfered, the inner roll-moulded with capital and base, and flanked by roll-and-fillet towards the lights; the jambs are built up of separate stones unlike the mullion, of triple plan, which is in one piece; the capitals are scroll-moulded with nail-head¹ ornament on the visible jamb; all three bases show a triple roll.

The S.E. wall continues the moulded plinth, and the hall window is similar, but with mutilated capitals, and the mullion renewed except the base. The S.W. gable was also timber-framed in the sixteenth century, but the wall below is original, although a chamfered plinth is only left to the slight stair projection² at the W. angle. Narrow chamfered slits light the staircase on two levels, the upper now blocked internally. S. of them is a wider loop lighting the staircase vestibule, and S. again can be seen the lines of the original hall entrance, presumably once accessible from an outside stair,³ with an inserted three-light window, also blocked, of the sixteenth century. The N.W. wall has been very much disturbed, and certainly rebuilt on the first floor, where it is only 2 ft. in thickness. A refacing is suggested at ground level by a lack of plinth, and by significant breaks some 1 ft. from the angle, on the adjoining walls, especially, as we have seen, on the N.E., which also lacks plinth just here.⁴ S.W. of the entrance the basement wall is 4 ft. 11 in. wide, but N.E. of it the wall has thickened internally to 7 ft. 2 in. (see plan). Pieces of roll-moulded stone are built into the walling, and reused thirteenth-century moulding in the segmental head of a later window W. of the entrance. This doorway is most puzzling,

¹ Unusually late.

² This is 11 in. out, but dies into the wall at first floor level.

³ Cf. the contemporary Stokesay and Aydon (Northumberland) Castles. The external stairs are probably rebuilt, but the weathering of their pentise roof remains on the parallel wall above.

⁴ There seems also a break in the soffit of the entrance doorway.

with ball-flower¹ ornament flanked by roll-and-fillet reused to form a semi-circular arch²; there is a brick segmental arch over the actual door, and the rear-arch, possibly a repair, chamfered segmental, rests on a curved corbel to the N. Probably there was no lower entrance originally.³

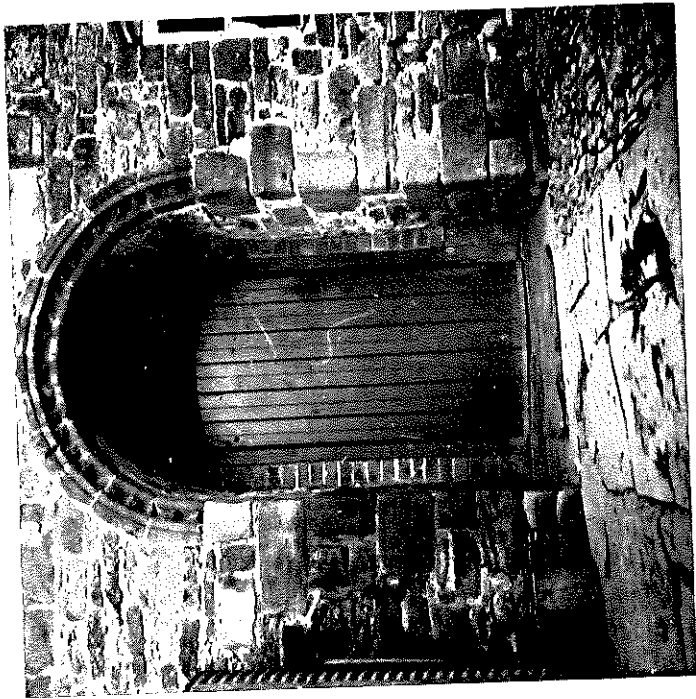
Interior.—The basement has been sub-divided into kitchen, dairy and coal-cellar, in which can be seen the splayed jambs of the N.E. window. The other windows have been altered. A sixteenth-century stair now gives access to the hall above, but on its side can be seen the chamfered jamb of a blocked doorway, giving onto the thirteenth century staircase, which lies, partly blocked, in the W. angle behind it. This stair, lit by loops, enters the hall through a lobby, with splayed oblong window and double doors, having a bar-hole in the N. jamb. In the same S.W. wall is a deep doorway embrasure with chamfered jamb, and a blocked sixteenth-century window, with filleted-roll jamb and mullions. The thirteenth-century windows have straight jambs, splayed half-way to the lights, and seats with roll-moulded cappings, set at right angles to the wall; the jambs are edged with roll and fillet with three roll bases; the capitals have gone except to the mullion of the N.E. window, where it is of straight profile hollowed below; here, too, the mullion is swollen midway to a chamfered semi-circular projection, containing a bar-hole, to secure the shutters.⁴

¹ It is strange to find nail-head and ball-flower in the same building, both included in thirteenth-century mouldings.

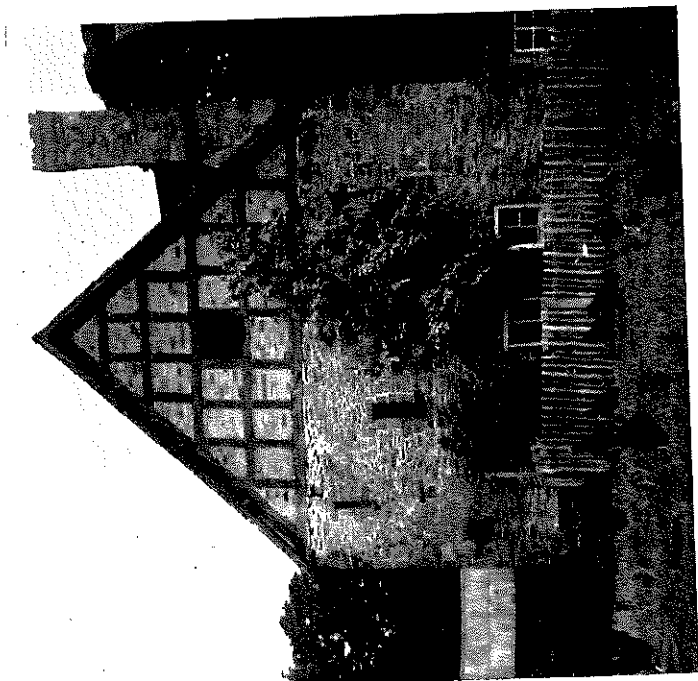
² This has caused confusion in the print in an American text-book (A. Thomas: *A History of England*, p. 95), entitled "Manor House in Shropshire, built in the twelfth century." This has several divergences from the original, showing a three-light window on the N.E., a plinth on the N.W. wall as well, together with an extra window, round-headed, to the N. of the entrance doorway.

³ The fortress-like character of the house is said to be due to the severity of the forest laws and consequent unpopularity of the head forester (*vide* H. E. Forrest).

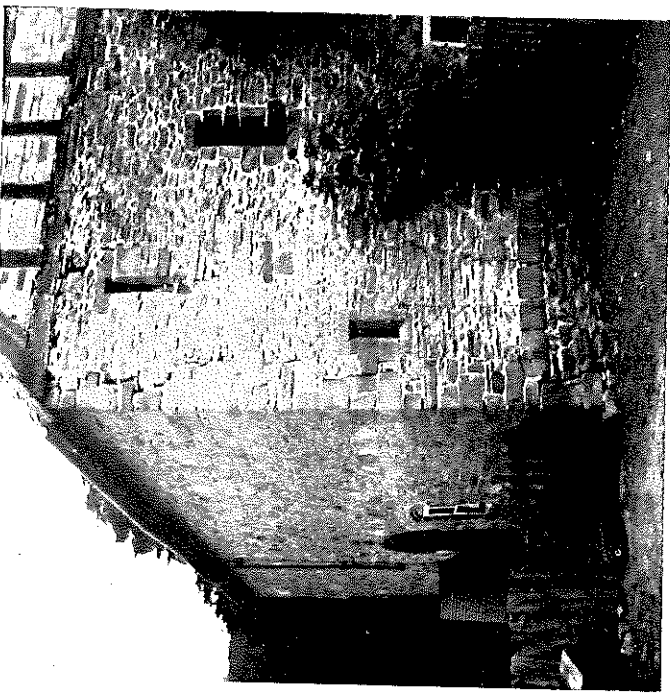
⁴ Similar bar holes on the central window mullion occur in other early houses; Brinsop Court, Herefordshire, Cogges Manor, Oxfordshire, Barnston Manor, Dorset, Martock Manor House, Somerset, also Conisborough Keep, Yorkshire.



N.W. Doorway



S.W. Gable



STAIRCASE CORNER (W).



N.E. WALL WITH PLINTH

The hall would be open to the roof originally, and the attic storey with fireplace is a sixteenth century insertion. The house was remodelled then, and the great beams on both floors are probably of that date. The sixteenth-century stair has good detail, an octagonal post with finial, and curved bracketted heads to the first-floor doorways.

M.E.W.

NOTE.—Since Miss Wood and I wrote the above, Mr. L. C. Lloyd has drawn my attention to an article on "Upper Millichope," by Miss Hope-Edwardes, in the *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, Vol. vii (1907), pp. 125-138. The article is of little value from the architectural point of view, though there is interesting historical data and four good photographs, one of which shows the thirteenth century window in the end of the house nearest the road, without its present covering of creeper.—J.S.

A SHREWSBURY SUBSIDY ROLL, 1445-46

The Shrewsbury Borough Records at the Guildhall offer a mine of information for the would-be historian of the town, and one still largely unexplored, although Owen and Blakeway and a few later researchers have delved into them from time to time. This is all the more surprising since, more than fifty years ago, they were examined, sorted, arranged and calendared by a Committee of five local antiquaries, and are thus far more accessible than they had hitherto been. One or two classes of record have been transcribed and printed, but for the most part they still await detailed examination and study.

The Subsidy Rolls and Poll Tax assessments, ranging in date from 1296 to 1786 and giving lists of the principal inhabitants of the town, are not the least interesting of these records. Fully printed and correlated they would be of inestimable value for the study of genealogy and family history, greatly supplementing the early Gild Rolls and the later Burgess Rolls. These local rolls are all the more valuable since the Subsidy Rolls preserved at the Public Record Office between the years 1380 and 1522, with very few exceptions, do not contain the names of persons assessed.

A specimen of these Rolls, that for 24 Henry VI (1445-46) [No. 162 in the Borough Records] is given here. This Roll was selected because it is the only one which gives the street or district in which the persons taxed lived, and also because lists of residents in fifteenth century Shrewsbury are not common. Earlier residents are given in the Gild Merchant Rolls, transcribed by the late Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, and printed in early volumes of the Transactions, while for the later periods, Forrest's "Burgess Roll" record those persons admitted as burgesses.

It would appear from the preamble that the assessment given here does not refer to the burgesses of the town, but only to "foreign burgesses, tensors and other men not burgesses or tensors." Not one of the persons named in the document would seem to have been a Burgess at the time of the assessment. Owen and Blakeway give a list of Alderman (v. 1, p. 212), and of the principal burgesses (v. 1, p. 215) elected in 1444 as "continuell assistants and of counsell to the bailiffs and aldermen," but none of these appears on the Subsidy Roll. The name of John Fox appears in each, but it is

unlikely that the John Fox, corvisor, shown in High Pavement in the Roll is the same person as John Fox, saddler, one of the chief burgesses.

Nevertheless, several persons named on the Roll were later admitted to Burgess-ship, and I have identified 25 who are named in Forrest's Burgess Roll (denoted with an asterisk in the text). All of these were admitted after 1446, most of them in 1450-51, when there seems to have been a big recruitment of new burgesses.

It would seem, therefore, that the present Roll represents only part of the total subsidy, the resident burgesses paying the remaining part. If the present Roll adds little to our knowledge of Shrewsbury's burgesses, yet it does reveal that a large number of tradesmen and others in the town found it either unnecessary or impossible to claim admission as burgesses. Others were possibly tensors and traders waiting to be admitted. It does, too, give some idea of the potential field open for recruitment to the burgess-ship. The Roll contains the names of 350 people assessed, of whom 287 apparently paid their due.

The street-names, while interesting, do not call for explanatory notes. Bakerrowe evidently refers to the whole of High Street, and Alto Pavimento to the entire street from the Castle Gates to High Street, no mention being made of Pride Hill, Corvisors' Row or Butcher Row. Glovers' Row was the row of shops which lay opposite Mardol Head, between Gullet Passage and High Street.

The roll occupies one parchment, size 20 by 12½ in., the names being written on both sides of the document. It is in a fair state of preservation, although the outer page is rubbed in places. The portion for Dogpole, for example, was almost undecipherable, but with the aid of ultra-violet light the majority of the names have been identified with reasonable certainty. I am indebted to Mr. Michael Peele for the translation of the preamble to the document, and for much assistance and advice in checking the roll.

J. L. HOBBS.

Roll of divers foreign Burgesses, Tensors, and other men not burgesses or tensors, within the town of Salop *c'ouerant* (?) of the assessors for a one-fifteenth share in respect of a part of two entire fifteenths to the lord King Henry VI granted in the 24th year of

his reign, payable at four terms, to wit, at the feast of St. Martin in the said 24th year, one share, at the feast of St. Martin in the 25th year of the reign, another share, at the feast of St. Martin then next following, a third share, and at the feast of St. Martin Next after that, a fourth and last share, to wit, in respect of the same two entire fifteenths for the term of St. Martin in the said 25th year and the second term payable of the said two entire fifteenths, taxed by Richard Taverner, Philip Grace, Richard Merchall, Richard Warynge, Roger Pontisbury and Hugh Kynton, in the time of Thomas Forster and Adam Goldsmyth, Bailiffs of the aforesaid town.

SHREWSBURY SUBSIDY ROLL, 1445-46

Mathew Peyntor, sen.	iid.	Henry Henster	vid.
Guttyn Longeford	iid.	William Fox, Glover	iiid.
William Welynton	iid.	John Child, Glover	iid.
William Bent, Glover	iis.	David Werkeman	iid.
Guttyn Whelewright	vid.	Jenin Gunerson	iid.
*John Closse, Glover	iid.	John Grene, Barker	iid.
Simon Brugge	iid.	Thomas Churcheyord	vid.
John Wright, Glover	iiid.	David ap Mattowe	iid.
Deio ap Yollyn	xd.	Martin Laborer	iid.
John Gogh, Smyth	viiid.	Jenin Werkemon	iid.
Thomas Balle, Glover	xiid.	Rankyn ap Deykin	iid.
Willm. Powis-fil JohnWalke'	iiid.	Philip Blake, Glover	iid.
John Cario'	xd.	*Thomas Bradewey	
John Danby Cardemaker	iiid.	Geoffrey Barker	
William Leton	iiid.		
Sm. xs., vid.			

MARDEFOLL

Maurice Corvisor	vid.	Richard Wever	iid.
William Sadiller nup de pola	iid.	John ffourbor	vid.
Christopher Wever	iiid.	*John ffelowe	iid.
William Phelypes	iiid.	John Bagh	iid.
John Coup	iiid.	*Thomas Botfeld	iid.
David Grefford	iiid.	Richard Goodale	iiid.
Guttyn Coup	iiid.	Thomas Boseworth	xiid.
David Bille, Baker	iid.	*John Westbury	iiid.
*John Wotton, Baker	vid.	John Barbor	iid.
John Wiche, Corvisor	xiid.	Jenn'ap Yollyn, Tailor	nl.
John Wright	vid.	Roger Orchard	nl.
David Sheynton	iiid.	Agn' Souster	nl.
Maurice Wever	iid.		
Sm. viiid.			

KNOKYNSTRETE

William Selke	iid.	Benet Boulger	iiid.
Deio Cario'	iiid.	John Nesse, Corvisor	iid.
Lodewick Gogh	iiid.	Richard Colyn	iid.
John ap Hoell	iiid.		
	Sm. xixd.		

ROMALDESHAM

Mathew Peyntor, jun.	iiid.	John Edwards, Cario'	iiid.
William Bent, Corvisor	iiid.	*Adam Shrawardyn	xiid.
John Perle, Wright	iiid.	John Moris	iid.
William Tomys, Bocho'	iiid.	Geoffrey Gye	
Richard Rouse	iid.	Roger Swifte	
John Kenrik	iid.		
	Sm. iis. xid.		

DOGGELONE

Thomas Parker, Bocho'	xd.	John Parker	iid.
	Sm. xiid.		

SHEPLACHE

Thomas fforton	iid.	William Shawbury	iid.
Richard Holte, Glov'	iid.	John fforton, Glov'	iid.
Edward Leche	iid.	John ffrankton	nl.
Thomas Moxton	iiid.	David Boulger	nl.
John Conynton, Corvisor	iiid.		
	Sm. xvid.		

GLOVER ROWE

Geoffrey Cutteler	iiid.	William More	iid.
David Baghin	iiid.	John Gaye, Goldsmyth	iiid.
	Sm. xiiid.		

COTON

John Coton	xiid.	John Hatton	iid.
John Sharpe	xd.	Griff Botemon	iiid.
Thomas Pontisbury	vid.	William Walker	iiid.
William Dryver	iiid.		
	Sm. iiis. vd.		

CASTELFORIATTE

Deyo Coton	iid.	Richard Whistarde	iid.
Warin ap Jerwarshe	iid.	Galfrid Ellesmere	vid.
William Payne	iid.	Thomas Leton	iid.
Jenin' Boulger	iid.	Reginald Couland (Conlond?)	nl.
John ap Hoell	iid.	John Sutton, Glasyer	nl.
Deio Boulger	iid.	Mathew Werkeman	nl.
Roger Coton	iiid.	John Conland	nl.
David Kedewen	iid.		

Sm. iis. iiid.

ALTO PAVIMENTO

Hugh Glover	iiid.	Thomas Staynor	iiid.
Thomas Ashton	iid.	John Whelok, Goldsmyth	vid.
Galfrid Taillor	iid.	John Glasier	xvid.
John Ellesmere	vid.	Lodewick Taillor, jun.	viiid.
William Gregory	iid.	*John Norhandy'†	xiid.
Thomas Staunton	iiid.	Thomas Norhandy	iiid.
John Bragedon	iiid.	John Bower de ffyshestrete	nl.
Thomas Goodale	xd.	Richard Gwynne, Cario'	iiid.
John Taillor	iid.	*Thomas Manfelde	xviiid.
Richard Carter, Draper	vid.	John Norton, Cutiller	iid.
Thomas Bullyman, Sherman	xd.	John ffoxe, Corvisor	iid.
William Draper, Smyth	iiid.	Mathew Taillor de pridehull	vid.
David Wright, sen.	iiid.	John Nicholl, Goldsmyth	iiid.
John Osteler	nl.	*John Dun, Taillor	nl.
Lodewick Taillor, sen.	nl.	Roger plymer	xd.
William Stryng, Sadiller	iiid.	Thomas Fletcher	vid.
Reginald Wright	iiid.	John Leton, Taillor	iid.
Ralph Sayntpier	iid.	Hugh Meke	iid.
Maurice Taillor	iid.	John Moldersdale	iiid.
Guttyn Wright	iiid.	Richard Baghe, Glov'	iid.
John Orchard	iiid.	Griff Wynn	iid.
David Baschurch, Wright	vid.	Thomas Reve, Cooke de	
*John Reynald, Couper	vid.	ffyshestrete	iiid.
Thomas Werkemon	vid.	Johanna Adcote	iid.
William Bulkeley, Wever	iiid.	William Dackin, Stryng'	iiid.
John Hadnall, Barbor	vid.	Richard Brugge, Wever	iid.
William Staynor	iid.	*John fferemay, Wever	iiid.
William Adames, Barbor	viiid.	William ffenymore	iiid.
Richard Kenr'	iid.	Richard Plymer	nl.
John Fletcher	vid.	William Helpurby	nl.
David Fletcher	vid.	William Walker	iiid.

† "Norlander" in Forrest's Burgess Roll.

Sm. xxiis. iid.

COLNEHAM

William Tomkis	xxd.	William Corvisor	iid.
Thomas Blake	viiid.	John Goghe, Bulger	iid.
John Mendapas, Wever	iiid.	John Mulwarde	iid.
Robert Cooke	iid.	Griff Werkemon	
John ffeyr	iid.		
Sm. iiis. vid.			

LE WYLE

John Codynton, Carp'	iid.	Richard Gwyn, ffletcher	iid.
John Halywode, Sebege	iid.	Robert Glademon	iiid.
Agn' Malborn	iiid.	William Tiler	nl.
John Bayly, Pynn'	iiid.	John Berde, Wever,	vid.
Henry Wright	viiid.	Johanna Kelsall	nl.
William Crue, Purcer	vid.	*John Powis, Baker	iiid.
John Plymer	vid.	Thomas Grenth'm	nl.
*John Hopkys, Smyth	iiid.	William Belle, Taillor	viiid.
John Hubarde	iid.	Thomas Latoner	nl.
Adam Shermon	xd.	John Ercall, Wever	nl.
*John Ruyton, fferro'	iiid.	Thomas Bradeley	iiid.
Lodewick Wright de Colh'm	viiid.	William Roo, Couper	iiid.
John Wright, et p'da lod'	iiid.	Robert Vrian (?)	iid.
*John Goghe, Couper	viiid.	Robert Jonerson, Barbor	iid.
Hompfrey Leche	vid.	Murull (Michael ?), Soust'	iid.
John Shery, ffletcher	vid.		
Sm. xs.			

MERYVALE

John Tame, Glov'	iiid.	Henry Bille	iid.
William Meghen, Glov'	iiid.		
Sm. xd.			

BAKERROWE

*Roger Souresby	iiid.	David Bagh, Taillor	iiid.
*John Honde, Wever	vid.	*John Reynolds, Cuttiller	iiid.
David Llyneor'	vid.	David Westely, Baker	iid.
Ralph Barbor	vid.	John Walker, Baker	iid.
Galfrid Tirer	xd.	John Jennings, Draper	iiid.
John Walle, Shermon	xxd.	*John Bold	nl.
William Gambon and		Roger Horton, Baker	iid.
Elizabeth Bidell (?)	xiid.	John Honde, Wever	iiid.
Thomas Goldsmyth	iiid.		
Sm. viis.			

Sm. to -fomo ptio lxxvis. id.

DOGPOLL

Richard Couland	nl.	Richard Mascot	iiid.
William Sawndys (?)	iiid.	Roger Rose, Smyth	nl.
Roger (illegible)	nl.	William Glys, Chandeler (?)	nl.
*William Sadiller	iiid.	John Grene, ffuysh'	
William Spurier	vid.		
	Sm. xviiid.		

CORNECHEPYNGE

Richard Lye, Wever	xvid.	Richard fforiate	vid.
Thomas Perks	xvid.	William Taylor	vid.
John Ince, Wever	viid.	Roger Wever	nl.
John Rote'	nl.	John ffrenssh	viid.
Galfrid Hoell	iid.	John ffriser	nl.
Roger More, Wever	nl.	Roger Mason	iid.
John Geffrey	iiid.	Richard Holt, Glov'	iid.
	Sm. vs. xd.		

BEHYND WALLIS

Hugh Werkemon	nl.	John Cardemaker	nl.
William Champeney	iiid.	Jenn - - Werkemon	nl.
William Hadnall	nl.	Galfrid Werkemon	iid.
Mathew Wright	nl.	Walter Sarnes	vid.
Juliana Boulger	iid.	Thomas Clerke	nl.
Robert Gilberde, cuttiller	nl.	John Wiche, Taillor	iiid.
William Kynton	iid.		
	Sm. xxd.		

Abbat Salop'	vis.	viiid.
Abbat de Haghmonde	iiis.	
Abb de Lilleshulle	vis.	viiid.
Prior' St. John Baptist	iiis.	iiid.
ffrat'nitas cruc's S'ti Alkmundi		viiid.
	Sm. xxis.	iiid.

Meolbracy	} xxviiis.	iiid.	Hencote	vs.	iiid.
Pulley			Shelton	vs.	
Newebald			Monkemeole	iis.	vid.
Newton			Sutton	iis.	vid.
Eggebold					
			Sm. xvs.	iiid.	

BURGENS FORINE

Richard Laken (?) Souver	iiid.	Richard Acton	iid.
John lloyt de Oswestry	iiid.	Ph'us Oteley	iiid.
William Brigge of fforton	iiid.	Reginald Dra (torn) slene	iiid.
John Brigge of Oswestry (?)	iid.	Ralph Husee	iid.
John Betton of Berwick	nl.	Sibilla Cochet, Richard and	
Edward Betton of Betton	vid.	Th. Cochet	iiid.
John Betton of Rossale	iiid.	John Bynethewey del	
John fil William Betton de		Lythe	nl.
Berewyke	iiid.	John Baker de Ellesmere	iid.
Reginald Baker	iiid.	Ralph Colfoxe	iiid.
William Beiston of Bayston	iiid.	John Sorynen	iiid.
John Byrton of Pitcheford	xiiid.	Richard Hoorde	iiid.
Robert fil John Byrton	vid.	Richard Boerley	viid.
Ph'us Taillor de fforiet		William Draper de Clive	iid.
monach'	xiiid.	William ffynche	vid.
William fil William Brysto	xiiid.	John Clerke de Nesse	iid.
John Mason de Monks		John Meendon	iid.
fforiett	iiid.	William Barker de Ruyton	iid.
William Poyner	viid.	Thom. Coly de Mitton Walker	iid.
John fil Ric. Dun de		Thomas Corbet de Moreton	iiid.
Adscote	iiid.	William Lowe	iiid.
Thomas Marshall de Hueleye	iiid.	John Paris	iiid.
Heredeo de Whiche	iiid.	Thomas ffrenssh	iiid.
Richard Ketulby	vid.	Heres Hugh Withiford	vid.
Thomas Hobalde	iiid.	John Marshall de Hurste	iid.
William Pip	iid.	Roger Clerke de Nesse	
Robert Gosnell	iiid.	John Eggonlby de Oswestry	
John Byketon	iiid.	John Atkis de Rowton	
Richard Cleobury	iiid.	Richard Husee	
Here de Arthur	viid.	Thomas Beresford de Hadnall	
Hugh Hoggens	vid.	Richard Grene	
Henry Preoste	iiid.	John Dycher	
John Walker	iiid.	Richard Gosnellde Rodyngton	
Griff Caldecote	vid.	John fil William Beiston de	
Thomas Hoggekis de forieta		Beiston	
monach	iiid.	William Drap. de Clyve	
Roger de eton Mascote	iid.	John fil Hugh Hordeley	
Oen Hordeley et filius eius	viid.	John Poyner	
Hugh de Yoculton et fil	iiid.	William Gosnell de Preston	
William Mitton	xd.		

Sm. xxis. vid.

Sm. viii l. xis. vid.

SHREWSBURY BOROUGH SEALS

By MICHAEL PEELE

(*Ref. Vol. LII* (1948), *p.* 213)

Mr. R. F. Prideaux has kindly called my attention to the fact that the seal to which I made a reference on the above page, as being the earliest known seal of the *Bailiffs* (described and sketched in Vol. XLVII, pp. 61, 72) is not that, but the earliest known seal of the *Community*, or corporate body, of Shrewsbury. The distinction is necessary, because it is clear that for a period of at least three centuries the chief magisterial officials (*i.e.*, Provosts and Bailiffs) of Shrewsbury, and the corporate body over which they presided, used separate and distinct seals. These chief officials, prior to the election of the first Mayor in 1638 (under Charter of 13 Car. I), were : (1) The single Provost appointed from time to time by the King or Earl (from Norman times to 1199) ; (2) two Provosts elected annually by the Burgesses under Charter of I John (from 1199 to about 1293) ; (3) two Bailiffs, so styled under what appears to have been a mere informal change of name, elected annually by the Burgesses (from about 1294 to 1637). The seal of the two Provosts, recently identified, having been added to those already known, a summary of the extant seals relative to the Borough is given below, with reference to some previous notes and descriptions.

Of the chief officials :—

I. That of the Provosts ; only one specimen is yet recorded (on a deed of 1264 in the possession of the Drapers' Company, as described and illustrated in my article in Vol. LII).

II. That of the Bailiffs ; a specimen on a deed of 1574 held by the Corporation is described by the Rev. R. C. Purton in Vol. XLVII, p. 67, and there is a description at p. 113 and a photograph of a perfect specimen in *Borough Seals of the Gothic Period*, by Gale Pedrick. The earliest specimen held by the Drapers' Company (the total of which can now be stated as 17) is on a deed dated Sun. after the F. of the Annunciation, 2 Richard II (1379), but the somewhat frequent use of the seal which is indicated by these deeds suggests that earlier examples may well be found to exist elsewhere. It doubtless continued in use until the Charter of 1638. It bears a shield charged with three lions passant guardant ; in the small

spaces between the shield and the surrounding legend is some foliage, which Pedrick describes as "three oak-trees" but might more exactly be termed "branches"; legend, SIGILLVM BALLIVORV' SALOPIE.

Of the Community, or corporate body :—

I. That used prior to 1425; only one specimen, in a very imperfect condition, is yet recorded (on a deed of 1337 held by the Corporation, as described and sketched by the Rev. R. C. Purton in his article mentioned, pp. 61, 72); it depicts a gateway by a river.

II. That which is still in use, recording in its own inscription that it was made in 1425. A good illustration of it is given in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, I, 586, and another on the title page of Auden's *Shrewsbury*; there is a full description and a photograph in Gale Pedrick's book. The design is a conventional representation of the town, viewed as a crowded group of buildings with a spired Church (perhaps St. Mary's) in the midst. This is contained within an embattled wall, having four round towers and a central entrance by way of a bridge over the Severn. Above the entrance is the shield of the three lions which was used by the Bailiffs; on one side of this is a shield of the Borough arms of three leopards' faces, and on the other a shield charged with a cross. This is St. George's cross; the bridge which stood in the place of that now termed the Welsh Bridge was anciently St. George's Bridge (Owen and Blakeway, II, 468). A rather puzzling feature is that the field of this shield is ornamented with wavy lines which might seem to represent fronds, or even possibly antlers; but a close inspection shows these lines to be mere diaper, and not heraldic charges. To represent diaper on a shield of such small proportions seems an ambitious and rather unnecessary experiment in the seal-engraver's art. The matrix of the seal is still in perfect condition. The fact that the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses in 1638 saw fit to preserve this seal, rather than change it for a new one on receiving their new Charter, is noteworthy, and one may well be glad of it.

" HENRY TUDOR " HOUSE, No. 72 WYLE COP,
SHREWSBURY

This ancient building recently came into the ownership of Mr. Maurice Davey, a draper, who conducts his business in the adjoining but smaller timber framed building, No. 71 Wyle Cop. Both are mentioned in Forrest's *Old Houses of Shrewsbury*, pp. 78 and 79 ; in each case the timber framework was almost completely covered with plaster externally, on which a " black and white " design was painted, resembling the covered timbers.

The main block, No. 72, had been occupied for many years by a fishmonger and he displayed his wares on two " flap-stalls " which were bracketed out over the footpath. Owen tells us that this method of displaying food was customary in this and many other towns in the eighteenth century. The new owner's business, being that of a draper, required different windows and the late Mr. C. G. Butler, a local architect, made designs for appropriate alterations on the ground floor frontage which have now been completed.

On acquiring the property the owner made " soundings " on the surface of the internal walls in order to locate the timber framing. This being established, he carefully removed the plaster and revealed the timbers throughout the premises and in the process discovered on the second floor another ancient window (without glazing), next No. 73, similar to that on the first floor which is associated with the name of Henry Tudor, and almost vertically over it. In order to obtain more light in this second-floor room an additional window, a replica of the one recently discovered, was inserted and both are now glazed with " diamond " leaded lights.

Having uncovered the internal timbers it was a simple matter to remove the external coat of plaster and practically all the oak frame was quite sound ; the original plaster in the panels was also in good condition and the major part of it remains intact. The panels were coloured deep cream and the timbers treated with a wood preservative ; the exterior of the adjoining building (No. 71) was finished similarly.

Communication has been made between Nos. 71 and 72, and modern fireplaces reconstructed in an appropriate manner ; likewise the internal lighting fittings have given place to " period " designs.



" HENRY TUDOR " HOUSE, WYLE COP, SHREWSBURY

It is gratifying that these historic buildings have passed into the ownership of one who is proud to own them for their own sake and who, given the opportunity of acquiring the remaining half of the main Tudor block (No. 73), would doubtless take off the plaster shroud and repair the building with the same care which has been lavished on Nos. 71 and 72.

A.W.W.

BISHOP'S CASTLE BURGESSES OR FREEMEN

BY F. LAVENDER

The Burgess-ship was a very jealously guarded right and privilege, and the very restricted rules were perhaps the reason why there are so few now entitled to it. How and when the rules started is not known, though in 1655 "foreign Burgesses" were mentioned, and sums imposed upon them for admission and in 1661 eight persons were admitted on payment of sums to the Bailiff. There is no mention of any other qualification, but it was decided beforehand that they were to be persons of good quality and who would give "considerable" sums for their Burgess-ship. Eventually the only method of acquiring it was by birth, *i.e.*, the applicant's father must have been admitted a Burgess before the applicant was born, and, of course, born in wedlock. The facts had to be properly proved, and admission was decided by the Capital Burgesses only (see later).

In 90 per cent of the other English Boroughs, however, there existed a right of admission by gift, purchase, apprenticeship, or from one's grandfather through one's mother.¹

The Borough has a list of the Burgesses in 1598.

Bishop's Castle's rule was apparently very strictly adhered to, though there were occasional exceptions. One exception was to admit the two M.P's of the Borough immediately after their election as "Burgesses of the Borough in Parliament," but it is not clear if their sons would have any right to claim admission in such cases. This kind of admission was made by a meeting of all the inhabiting Burgesses.

In 1610 the Bailiff asked the approval of the Earl of Northampton Lord of the Manor, to the admission of Richard More. This approval was given, but the Earl stated his belief that the Burgesses would be careful not to transgress his orders as to admission of Burgesses. In 1613 an applicant was admitted on the ground that his father was "an ancient Burgess."

In 1713 also, there was some doubt as to the status of two Burgesses (one of them the Town Clerk), and it was formally confirmed on the two Burgesses giving £5 each towards the repair of the Town Hall (? If they were legally entitled, why the penalty).

¹ Clun allowed it by Election by a majority of the Burgesses.

In 1734, Thos. Beale, the High Sheriff of Shropshire, was made a Burgess, but probably not by right of birth.

I have seen only one instance of admission being claimed (and admitted) through a woman.

In 1853 there was a proposal to increase their number by electing new Burgesses to prevent the town going into decay "as in the case of Clun which has become extinct," but when the list was prepared and produced in 1856 with 11 nominees, the proposal was negatived.

In 1881 John Oakeley was refused admission as he was not a "born Burgess."

Under Elizabeth's Charter the Burgesses were free of all tolls and duties and service of process throughout the country (except London). They were exempt from service on petty Juries (and other Juries elsewhere)¹, but sat on Grand Juries in the Borough, and had up to a time a common of pasturage on the Moat Hill or Burgesses Hill. They elected the Capital Burgesses (or Aldermen) who with the Bailiff constituted the Corporation. They seem to have been called Aldermen for the first time about 1720.² In the Charter of James I, 1616, however, the Capital Burgesses were called "Senior Burgesses," and, at other times in the seventeenth century, "Head Burgesses."

The Corporation do not appear to have had much business to transact. In the early eighteenth century they only met once yearly, according to the Minute Books. The corporate officers always had to be admitted Burgesses.

At the present time, although occasional admissions are made strictly according to the rules, and the Roll kept up-to-date, they have no privileges, but only the honour. The latter, with a changing population is not appreciated as it was. In some towns, however, *e.g.*, Montgomery, the Freeman still receive a share of the rents of the Freeman's land. Although there was Common Land on the Moat Hill or Burgesses Hill as above mentioned, the rents always seem to have gone into the Corporate funds (even if the Burgesses

¹ In 1710 a Burgess produced the Charters at Salop Quarter Sessions to prove the Burgesses' exemption from sitting on juries outside the Borough.

² "Such Aldermen as have been Bailiffs since 1708 to produce their Accounts."

did have dinners provided from it); but in 1551 during disputes the Corporation offered the Burgesses the surplus moneys, which they refused, saying they would have the whole hill and nothing else.

The fifteen Capital Burgesses became a very close Corporation, and did all the business, but one accusation against it was that it granted leases of land on the Moat Hill only amongst its members, but one can quite conceive that there may have been legal justification for this. Also in mid-eighteenth century leases, houses and land in the Borough were leased on many occasions to other persons in consideration of a rent and a couple of hens yearly to the Bailiff. These Minutes were never signed!

In 1820 a meeting of the Burgesses was adjourned to the Castle Inn in consequence of the proceedings being interrupted by tumult and threats of persons unlawfully assembled at the Town Hall.

In 1831, at the time of passing of the Reform Bill, threatening the Borough's privileges, 82 Burgesses were present at a meeting to elect the two M.P's. This showed no lack of apathy then, as it was a fairly full complement. Note.—The Borough survived the attacks of the Reform Bill then and actually between 1876 and 1885 it was one of the only 22 Boroughs to retain its Charter out of 110 small Boroughs who had been examined.

One thing which showed the feeling of the town against the Burgesses was the "Rotten Tree Jug" made on the granting of the modern Charter in 1885. The Rotten Tree on the Jug is supported by four persons (one wearing a wig) to represent the Bailiff, Justice, Recorder and Town Clerk, and various inscriptions such as "Rotten Borough."

Many well-known names appeared in the Minutes as Burgesses, such as Blunden, Charlton, Clive, Colbach, More, Oakeley, Owlbury, Plowden, Walcot, etc., and held the office of Bailiff and other offices, as well as M.P's of the Borough.

There were at one time in Bishop's Castle, as in other towns, an inferior kind of Burgess called "Tensers" (or "Censers"). These were of three kinds, viz., those not willing to be Burgesses, waiting to be admitted, or had ceased to be Burgesses for some reason. They paid a Toll or Chief Rent for the right to trade in the Borough. In 1612, there was an Order disabling them from bearing office in the town. They were sometimes summoned to meetings of the Court Leet, and fined for non-attendance.

INTERIM NOTES ON
SUBSIDIARY CASTLE SITES WEST OF SHREWSBURY
WITH SCHEDULE AND MAP

BY LILY F. CHITTY, F.S.A.

Hitherto, on maps issued by the Ordnance Survey, the frequent occurrence of the word "Tumulus" in Old-English characters, applied to mounds in and near valleys and in country naturally wooded, has often puzzled map-users who are accustomed (and rightly) to look for Bronze Age barrows (burial mounds or "tumuli") mainly on high ground or related to movement through country naturally open. On the forthcoming revised O.S. Sheets for Shropshire, the cause of the problem will be eliminated and such mounds as are undoubtedly of Norman or mediaeval origin will be correctly marked as "Castle Mound." Alternative terms are Mote, Motte or Mount, "Motte" being a name generally accepted among archaeologists: in West Shropshire such a site is usually known locally as "The Mount" (e.g., at Yockleton).

Among my many projected publications that have been cancelled by the war and by changed circumstances was a joint paper with Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A. (now Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments), on the Motte-and-Bailey sites of Shropshire and the Marches and their distributional and strategic significance. It therefore seems well to give a brief record of certain conclusions we reached after studying those in my home district of West Shropshire between Shrewsbury and the Long Mountain.

A glance at the 1 in. O.S. Map shows a remarkable distribution of such "Tumulus" sites along the basin of the Rea and westward towards the Camlad Basin and the Montgomery Gap. Examination of these sites shows them to be Castle Mounds, generally with the Bailey (courtyard or ward) traceable below on one side. The majority are recorded in the *Victoria County History*, Shropshire, Volume I (1908), an invaluable corpus hereafter referred to as *V.C.H.*, where they are classified as Mounts (Class D) and Mounts with one or more attached Courts (Class E), although a few, now more closely identifiable, will be found in other categories.

From their strategical siting on key positions overlooking this great natural gap, centring on the big mound set on the low water-

shed beside Marton Pool, it is clear that they form a chain of strong points linking the major castles of Roger de Montgomery at SHREWSBURY and MONTGOMERY (HEN DOMEN); the stronghold of his vassal, Corbet of CAUS, dominates the country between them.

From my distribution map of such castle mounds in Shropshire, it would appear that SHREWSBURY permitted no such erections within a radius of six miles.¹ The nearest of our series is The Mount at YOCKLETON, a high oval mound west of the brook outside the end of the Rectory garden; it stands above the site of the old mill, recorded in Domesday, when Ioclehuile was held by Roger fitz Corbet,² so the Mount was doubtless an outpost of CAUS CASTLE, which is visible from the summit.

Across the fields, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. of Yockleton³ is AMASTON (D. ENBALDESTUNE, 1251 AMBOLDESTON⁴), marked on the O.S. Map as "Heath Farm," in Alberbury Parish. South of the lane approaching the farm from the Shrewsbury-Welshpool road is an unrecorded Ring-Motte, with a well-defined bailey in the field opposite to the North of the lane, which crosses the intervening ditch site.⁵

This is the first of a series of small castle sites commanding the country between the Long Mountain and the Breiddin Hills. Of these the centre of control may have been the stone-built castle of WATTLESBOROUGH (Norman Keep *temp.* Henry II), held by the junior branch of the Corbets of CAUS.

¹ Unless the "Tower" at Meole Brace was of this category: Eyton *Antiquities of Shropshire*, VI (1858), 357. The 6 in. O.S. XXXIV S.W. marks "Castle (Site of)" between the Churchyard and the old ford.

² Eyton, *op. cit.*, VII, 50. It should be noted that from Meole Brace the Roman road west ran direct to Yockleton and Westbury; we do not know how much of its alignment remained in use through the Middle Ages.

³ Just north of the railway opposite Park Farm, Yockleton, in the N.E. angle of a small copse (now felled) adjoining the Westbury-Alberbury parish boundary, is a circular mound which is probably a round barrow of the Bronze Age. Its hollowed summit suggests that the centre has been dug out in search of a burial, but, so far as I am aware, no record of the mound or of its excavation has been published.

⁴ Eyton, *op. cit.*, 173-4.

⁵ The site has been scheduled by the Ministry of Works, Shropshire O.W. 108. I understand that it is not usual for ring mottes to have baileys associated, but some instances are known in Wales, notably at Penlan, West of St. David's Cathedral, Pembs., probably the stronghold of the first Norman Bishop of that See, which reminded me of Amaston when I saw it, although it is on a bigger scale (*Arch. Camb.*, 1852, 25-6, "On a Fort called Penlan, near St. David's"; 1876, 49-53, Plan, "Ancient Fort near St. David's"; 1938, 296).

The Ring Motte, with ditch and bank enclosing a level area, is an early Norman variant from the raised mound that has not as yet received adequate study as a type. It was Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., who first recognised HAWCOCKS MOUNT, opposite Winsley, as of this character; he suggested that it was the site of the first CAUS CASTLE, later removed to a dominating ridge higher up on the flank of the Long Mountain. The analogy may be quoted of Roger de Montgomery's motte-and-bailey castle at Hen Domen, below the great rock on which Henry III subsequently built the stone castle of MONTGOMERY, but the great motte and inner bailey of CAUS are of unquestionably early Norman foundation.

Two other Ring Mottes were identified in our district by Mr. O'Neil, *viz.*, the site marked as "Camp" above and S.W. of WESTBURY Station in the park of Marche Hall, and the low-lying site north of the railway below WOLLASTON, locally called "Caesar's Camp." In the hamlet of WOLLASTON west of the Church is a normal Castle Mound and Bailey, and at BRETCHEL, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to S.E., is a smaller but similar mound, likewise marked on the O.S. Map as a "Beacon."

Reverting to the Rea Valley distribution: the great castle of CAUS, which had ultimately three baileys and a market town connected with it, is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey of Alretone, the Saxon name of the Manor, but it was probably begun soon after 1086 by Roger fitz Corbet, who named the castle after the Corbet homeland in Normandy, the Pays de Caux (Eyton, VII, 6). CAUS CASTLE has a stupendous mound, rising 55 feet above the double rock-cut ditches that flank it on the west and north: it is on the scale of the major Norman castle mounds, *e.g.*, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Wallingford. I suspect that the ditches are actually remnants of an earlier hill-fort adapted in Norman times.

Beyond HAWCOCKS MOUNT no ring mottes are known; the conical flat-topped mound, normally ditched, and with a bailey attached, seems to be the usual form. They are nearly all closely connected with farm houses, which probably illustrate long continuity of occupation of the sites.¹ They are located near the 400 ft.

¹ Mr. J. D. K. Lloyd, F.S.A., of Montgomery, who kindly read this paper in typescript, makes the interesting observation that most of the sites named have the termination "-ton," indicating Saxon occupation of this border territory: he suggests that the fact of the frequent placing of Norman (or later) mottes on Saxon inhabited sites might lead to some modification of the theory of a pre-conceived strategic line of defence. We may note that, in several instances, the existing farms are the last survivals of the early townships, *e.g.*, Amaston.

contour line, the lowest level being at Marton (c. 350') and the highest at Wilmington (c. 465'), and are usually near running water.

The *V.C.H.* records a mount and fosse at BINWESTON that is not marked on the maps ; the site is on the fringe of the Long Mountain, *i.e.*, the northward side of the valley. At MARTON, as has been said, a motte and bailey, "The Mount," stands on the watershed beside Marton Pool. Beyond it the scarp of Marton Shelf rises steeply and the rest of the sites are on the foothills opposite. Facing Marton is WILMINGTON MOUNT ; a mile to the S.W. the mound of WOTHERTON and half-a-mile beyond the small motte and bailey at HOCKLETON.

The nature of the "Castle, Site of" at CHIRBURY is disputed, but there are at least half-a-dozen Castle Mounds in this extensive parish, including the four last-named and two westward and nearer to Montgomery that are omitted by the *V.C.H.*

As long ago as 1876, "C," a correspondent writing to the *Times* from the Athenaeum Club on April 11th, reported that, on visiting the "Tumuli" at DUDSTON and WINSBURY in Chirbury parish, he found them to be moated mounds, each standing on the verge of a farmyard and recently damaged by the tenant farmers ; the letter is reprinted in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1877, 160-1. They are also described, and the history of WINSBURY is given, by G. T. Clark on p. 207 of his paper on "The Moated Mounds of the Upper Severn" in *Arch. Camb.*, 1880, 200-212 (reprinted from *Mont. Coll.*).

Sites in Montgomeryshire are beyond the scope of this note. An important presentation of the evidence for the siting of the early and later castles at MONTGOMERY is given by Mr. O'Neil in the first pages of his Report on the excavations that he carried out in the hill-fort of Ffridd Faldwyn above the town (*Arch. Camb.*, 1942, 1-5, with Map, Fig. 1).

That our chain of Castle Mounds were not the sites of unlicensed castles, but formed part of a recognised system of defence of the Welsh Border surviving into the thirteenth century, is shown by an order given by Henry III for their refortification in 1224, at a time when his own new Castle of MONTGOMERY was in building ; the order is quoted by J. R. Cobb in *Arch. Camb.*, 1888, 218 :—

Close Roll, 9 Henry III.—The King enjoins all who have "Motas in valle de Muntgumery bonis bretaschiis firmari faciant." (May 30).

It is unlikely that any of these lesser castle mounds ever carried a stone building ; their defences would be of timber, the *bretasches*

referred to in the King's order, probably often burnt by Welsh raiders, but not unduly difficult to reconstruct.

The old Montgomery-Worthen road, marked on Robert Morden's Map of Shropshire in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), linked our line of castles; part of it is now a series of lanes and in parts it survives only as footpaths. Most of the sites are intervisible; at least each mound in the chain can be seen from its next neighbours, and from the rock of Montgomery I suppose every site is visible. Where MONTGOMERY loses command, CAUS takes it up, as can be seen by anyone travelling along the present Montgomery-Shrewsbury road. The ancient route, keeping well above the valley, is marked on Mr. O'Neil's Map quoted above.

East of this outer line of defence there may have been another. At PONTESBURY, S.E. of the Church in the bend of the Habberley road there are remains of a large mound,¹ spread and partly built over, that probably had a large bailey extending to the Churchyard and perhaps contiguous to the "great Manor Place" of which Leland saw the ruins c. 1540, and records the name of "the Castelle Paviment."²

The "Tumulus" marked near the LADY HOUSE, near Hope (p. Worthen), is a Castle Mound controlling the old hill road from Minsterley (and Pontesbury) through Hemford (*Yr Hen Ffordd*) to Church Stoke.

On the other side of the range, above a continuation of our Castle road, and beside another old trackway, the *V.C.H.* recognises as a small mount and fosse scarped in the solid rock the "Tumulus" mapped below BROMLOW. A branch of the old road leads S.W. over hill and dingle to RORRINGTON, where "The Mount" probably belongs to the same series of defensive structures, although the *V.C.H.* is inclined to accept it as a "Tumulus," implying a burial mound.

I have no doubt that there are other sites of this character in the district that have not yet been identified: field and place-names and the shape of certain patches on the maps are suggestive and I still hope to follow up such possible clues and publish the results.

¹ E. S. Cobbold, *Shropshire Arch. Trans.*, 3, VII (1907), 173, Plan.

² *Itinerary* of John Leland, *Shrops. Arch. Trans.*, IV (1881), 129-130.

LIST OF THE REA-CAMLAD CASTLE SITES

Number or Letter on Map	6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet	Site and Civil parish	Description	V.C.H. page : x denotes Plan	References
S	XXXIV S.E.	SHREWSBURY CASTLE	... Originally Motte and Bailey ...	398-9 x, 310	Armitage, <i>E. Norman Castles</i> , 207-9 x ; Forrest, <i>Story of S. Castle</i> , 17 pp. (1924) ; J. A. Morris, <i>Shrops. Arch. Trans.</i> XLIX (1937), 97-118 ; Eyton, <i>Antiqs. Shr.</i> , VI, 357, Inquest of 1273.
x	XXXIV S.W. (Site)	Meole Brace...	... "A fortified dwelling, called a tower" ...	—	
I.—SITES RELATED TO LONG MOUNTAIN-BREIDDIN GAP.					
a	XXXIII S.W.	Amaston, p. Alberbury	... Ring Motte and Bailey	—	
R		Rowton Castle	... Original type unknown		
W		WATLESBOROUGH CASTLE...	... Stone Keep, Norman, late XII c, with later additions	402	S. Leighton, <i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1880, 1-9 x.
b	XXXII S.E.	Westbury, above Station	... Ring Motte	382	
c		Bretchel, p. Alberbury	... Mound		
d		Wollaston, near Church	... Motte and Bailey	401-2 x.	
e		Wollaston, "Caesar's Camp"	... Ring Motte	382 x	
Also marked on the Map are :—					
A	XXXIII N.W.	Alberbury Castle	... Stone structure.		
		Little Shrawardine, p. Alberbury, on E. bank of R. Severn	... Motte and Bailey	390 x	

NOTE.—Castle sites beyond the Severn are not here mapped.

Number or Letter on Map	6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet	Site and Civil Parish	Description	V.C.H. page: x denotes Plan	References
		2.—SITES RELATED TO THE REA-MONTGOMERY GAP.			
1	XXXIII S.E., S.W. edge	Yockleton, The Mount, p. Westbury	Oval Mound with Ditch	388, 389	Wright, <i>Unconum</i> , 47 (mention).
2	XL N.W.	Hawcocks Mount, p. West- bury	Ring Motte	388, 389	
C	XXXIX N.E.	CAUS CASTLE p. Westbury...	Originally Motte and Bailey...	x	Eyton, VII, 6-8.
3	XXXIX S.E.	Binweston, p. Worthen	Mound and Ditch	x	
4	XLVII N.W.	Marton, The Mount, p. Chirbury	Motte and Bailey	389 x 391-2 x	cf. <i>Shrops. A.T.</i> , 1927, 125-6, Map.
5		Wilmington Mount	Motte and Bailey	392 x	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1877, 160; 1880, 207
6		Wotherton	Mound and Ditch	384, 385 x	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1877, 160; 1880, 207
7	XLVII S.W.	Hockleton	Motte and Bailey	391	O'Neil, <i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1942, 4 and n.
Y		Chirbury Castle	Uncertain	378-9 x	C. Fox, <i>A.C.</i> , 1929, 43; 1932, 444-6.
8	XLVI S.E.	Winsbury	Moated Mound	—	<i>Roy. Com. Anc. Mon.</i> Mont., No. 803, Plan;
9		Dudston	Moated Mound	—	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1880, 210, Plan (G. T. Clark); 1932, 439- 441; 1940, 217; 1942, 4.
10	LIV N.W.	Gwarthlow, Upper, p. Bromp- ton and Rhiston	Mound scarped from natural hill	383, 385 x	<i>R.C.A.M.</i> , 805; O'Neil, <i>A.C.</i> , 1940, 217; 1942, 4-5, Map, Fig. 1.
11	LIV S.W.	Brompton Mill, on line of Offa's Dyke	Motte and Bailey	391 x	
M.I	XLVI S.E.	MONTGOMERY, HEN DOMEN, original Castle site of Roger de Montgomery	Mound and Bailey	...	
M.II	LIII N.E.	MONTGOMERY CASTLE, built by Henry III, 1223-9	Stone Castle on new site	...	

Two sites in Forden parish, Montgomeryshire, are also mapped, viz., The Gaer, Nant-y-Cribbau, on the Long Mountain, near the east side of Offa's Dyke, and a motte and bailey on Lower Munlyn Farm near an old ford across the Severn (*R.C.A.M.*, 175, 176).

Number or Letter on Map	6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet	Site and Civil Parish	Description	V.C.H. page: x denotes Plan	References
			3.—OTHER LOCAL SITES		
12	XL S.E.	Pontesbury ...	... Mound and site of Bailey ...	387 x	Cobbold, <i>Shrops. Arch. Trans.</i> , 3, VII (1907), 173 x.
13	XLVII N.E.	Lady House, above Minsterley, p. Worthen	Mound and Ditch ...	390 x	
14		Bromlow, above School, p. Worthen	Mound scarped in rock with Ditch	389-390x	
15	XLVII S.E.	Rorington, The Mount, p. Chirbury	Small mound adjoining farm- house	411	"Probably a tumu- lus" (V.C.H.)

THREE UNRECOGNISED CASTLE SITES IN NORTH SHROPSHIRE

While dealing with the subject of minor castle sites, three should be recorded from North Shropshire that have never been adequately published and of which careful surveys are needed. They are alike in being positions that are mainly natural, but which have been adapted for strategic purposes.

I.—ADDERLEY CASTLE HILL

(with Notes on the Medieval Pottery found on the Site).

In May, 1930, the Hon. Mrs. Reginald Corbet, of Adderley, near Market Drayton, kindly invited me to come over and see a collection of broken pottery that she had found on Castle Hill, Adderley.

The site, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N.E. of the station and directly west of the house and buildings called Adderley Pool Farm on the map (6 in. O.S. Shropshire IX N.W.), proved to be an unrecorded castle motte, adapted from a sandy glacial mound, now wooded, which rises steeply from marshy ground on the North, formerly an extension of the Mere, with a good spring at its foot; the top of the mound was flattened and the sides scarped to leave a causeway on the East connecting it with the (probable) bailey, where stables were built in the nineteenth century. Mrs. Corbet told me that the traditional name is "Ethelred's Castle": the Domesday name of Adderley was *ELDREDELEI*; it became the caput of a Manor, subsequently held by the Dunstanvills (Eyton, X, 1-2).

Mrs. Corbet, following up the clue of a piece of incised pottery found in a rabbit hole, found quantities of potsherds and bones, with a few other objects, on the Western slope of the mound, which was probably the kitchen refuse heap of the Castle. A black layer and marks of burnt soil can be clearly seen in the face of the hill, suggesting that the structure on its summit was burnt down.

From her finds Mrs. Corbet allowed me to select type specimens to submit for expert examination when opportunity should arise, and I am grateful to a number of friends who have given their views on the material. This probably represents both the hall and the kitchen ware used on the site; it comprises fragments of large dark grey and reddish cooking pots, unglazed, with outbent rims,

as well as pieces of harder ware, many of them glazed; handled jugs with pinched bases are characteristic. Two portions of glazed tiles and part of the rim of a bronze cauldron were also found. The general conclusions were summed up by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., who assigns the whole group to the thirteenth century and probably not early in that century. Nothing of later date was discovered and it may be inferred that the castle was deserted before 1300.

A type series of the sherds, with the cauldron rim and tile fragments, were afterwards presented to Shrewsbury Museum by Reginald Corbet, Esq., of Adderley.

It should be added that Mrs. Corbet kindly took me also to another "Castlehill" in Adderley parish, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles S.W. of the above site and east of the River Duckow (6 in. O.S. Shropshire IX S.W.); but this proved to be only a huge glacial mound, roughly oval in form with axis N.W.-S.E., showing no sign of artificial construction; sand dug on the West had exposed sections showing pockets of small boulders and clay.

II.—BRYN Y CASTELL, GOBOWEN

Pennant, in his *Tours in Wales*, I (ed. 3), 349, (quoted in Cathrall's *Oswestry* (1855), 12), in describing Wat's Dyke mentions "Gobowen, the site of a small fort called *Bryn-y-Castell*, in the parish of Whittington." The site is indicated by a dot on the old 1 in. O.S. map and the name appears, accurately placed but without any indication of an antiquity, on the present 6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet XII N.W. It is immediately west of the alignment of Wat's Dyke to the north of Gobowen and south of the River Perry, in the meadow west of the Chapel situated at the angle of the Overton and Hengoed roads.

When I visited the place in 1930 I found this "Castle Hill" to be a very large flat-topped mound, broad and low and perhaps mainly natural; it seems to be of Welsh type. There is a small bailey to the west with a narrow ridge beyond it. The ground slopes steeply to the Perry. On the east side of the road opposite is a hollow in the deep glacial drift from which material may have been obtained for the raising of the mound.

It was not observed by Sir Cyril Fox when he surveyed this sector of Wat's Dyke and its probable course in 1932 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1934, 245). The name *Bryn-y-castell* is given to the adjacent

farm. My attention was directed to the site by the late Mr. J. Ellison, F.G.S., who knew it well when he was living at Gobowen. Was it the Gop of Owain that gave its name to the place?

III.—SITE IN CASTLE ROUGH, NEAR LEE BROCKHURST

In the *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions*, XLVI (1931), Misc. VI, brief notes were given of air photographs of part of North Shropshire taken in 1929. Some of these showed indications of a castle mound S.E. of Lee Brockhurst and on the south side of the River Roden in the N.E. angle of Castle Rough, which lies in a detached northern portion of Shawbury parish. (6 in. O.S. XXII N.W., S.W. portion).

The impression was confirmed by an inspection of the site, though this appears to be an instance of adaptation of a naturally strong position, rather than of artificial construction on any considerable scale. A great level-topped natural mound rises very steeply above the bed of the Roden, except on the west, where it is isolated from a grass field of similar height by a broad ditch, which descends to the river in deep hollows at the north and south ends. Across this neck, on the mound side, there appears to be sandstone walling. The site is turf-covered, with outcrops of great sandstone blocks, which have been quarried on the east side. The ditch might conceivably be natural, but the site seems a likely one for an outpost, probably of the Red Castle, Hawkstone.

Mrs. Evans, of Lee Brockhurst Smithy, said there used to be an old castle in Castle Rough, but now there is only a mound.

The site of the Roman road north is probably followed by an old terrace way along the top of Moston Coppice on the opposite side of the gorge.

NOTE.—It should be explained that the first part of this paper, giving the results of many years' observation, was with the Printer before the publication of Mr. Edmund Vale's *Shropshire* (Robert Hale's "County Books," 1949), in which I find he also draws attention to the Rea-Camlad chain of castle mounds (his pp. 42, 146). For the site of the dug-out boat from Marton Pool (not "Mere," his pp. 147, 148), see my paper in *Shropshire Arch. Trans.*, 4, XI (1927), 124-7, Figs. 4-6.

DEEDS RELATING TO OSWESTRY

The following Deeds, now in the Shrewsbury Free Library, are joined together to form one continuous Roll, several yards long, and in consequence the seals are missing. The Deeds are especially interesting because they give the names of Stewards, Bailiffs and Constables which are not mentioned in Stanley Leighton's account of Oswestry in *Transactions*, and may not be otherwise known.

R.C.P.

I

Sciant presentes, etc., Richard, janitor de Albo Monasterio, son of Roger de Troghford gives etc., to Richard Pech 3 acres in the field of Llanvorda, 2 between land of Richard le Salter and of John son of Merkin' extending from land of Richard le Salter to land of Richard Strange (extranci) ; the 3rd between land of Richard le Salter and of Madoc son of John. To have etc. Rent a rose. Witnesses : Richard de Strewerthin Constable of the Monastery, Richard de Camera (Chambre), Roger son of Roger, William English (Anglicus), Richard Strange (extraneus), Madoc Wethr', John Lumbart. No date.

II

Sciant presentes etc. Thomas Clerk (clericus) of Oswestry gives etc. to Sir Richard his son, chaplain, a tenement and all his lands in Oswestry, the tenement being in Middelstrete between the tenements of Madoc and of John Strange, extending from high street to Sputtys-lane. To have etc. Witnesses :—Alexander de Shavynton steward, John de Burgh, constable, Thomas Strange and Roger de Clone, bailiffs, John Loyd, Richard son of Madoc, Richard Strange, John de Aston, Richard le Taylour. At Oswestry, Fri. in F. of S. Augustine, 6 Edw. III.

III

" Sciant presentes etc." William English (Anglicanus) de Albo Monasterio gives etc. to Madoc Strange and Agnes his wife 2 messuages in the same vill in the street called Middelstreete between the messuage of Thomas Clerk (clericus) and that of William le Salter, extending from the Royal way called le Middelstreete

to the way leading from the street of Chirton without the town (villam) towards le Leggestrete. To have etc. Witnesses:—Roger de Chene, steward, William de Bul . . . ton, constable, William English and William le Sale, provosts, Roger son of Roger, Madoc Vachann, Richard Strange, John le Rotor, Philip Strange. At White Minster, Wed. after F. of S. Martin, 9 Edw. [*sic.*]

IV

Sciانت presentes etc. Cad'ap Wyon of Swyney gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of Oswestry half an acre in Swyney called enhireg (?) Eyluant. To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Burghton, steward, Meirik ap Plethynt and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Ken. ap Jor., Cad. ap Meiller, Jevan ap Philip, Cad. ap Madoc. At Oswestry, Wed. after F. of S. Andrews, 10 Edw. III.

V.

Sciانت presentes etc. Jevan ap Madoc Pen of Sweney gives etc. to Gr. ap Eg'n Gethin of Kynlleid a tenement in Sweney with an acre called Crow yr Fonnon and half an acre called enhereg pengane with one particulam of land of Crow yr Fonnon (other acres and pieces of land with Welsh names). To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Pleynt and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Cad. ap Meiller, Ken. ap Jor. ap Gfn, Cad ap Jor., Jevan ap Philip, Jevan ap Ith., Ken. ap Gr. At Oswestry, Sun. after F. of Circumcision, 11 Edw. III.

VI

Sciانت presentes etc. Jeyna' ap Madoc Pen of Sueney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin and Joan his wife an acre "in montana" of Sueney between land of John son of Galfrid and the waste of Sueney. To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Blezyne and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Ken' ap Jor., Cad. ap Meiler, Cad. ap John ap Gr . . . , John son of Galfrid, Mad. ap Meiler. At Oswestry, Sun. after F. of Purification, 12 Edw. III.

VII

Sciانت presentes etc. Cadogan ap Meiler of Sweney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eyn. Gethin and Joan his wife of Oswestry an acre called Drylthee Wylinot in Sweney between land of Jevan Ith'

and the King's highway etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Meiric ap Plethnit and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Ken. ap for., Cad. ap for., Meiler ap David, John son of Galfrid. At Oswestry, the same date.

VIII

Sciانت presents etc. Cadogan ap Meiller of Swyney gives etc. to Griffin ap Eynon Gethin of Kynleyd 2 acres in Swyney, one called Grede yr honnen (described), the other called Dirileth ancreyn (described). To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Blezyne and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Keneweric ap for., John son of Galfrid, Jevan ap Cad. ap Meiler, Jevan ap John, Jor. ap David ap Mad., Jevan ap Ph. At Oswestry, Sun. after F. of S. Agatha, 13 Edw. III.

IX

Sciانت presentes etc. Jevan ap John of Swyney gives etc. to Grufud Eynon Gethin of Kynleyt and Joan his wife 2 acres in the fields of Swyney (described). To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Blezyne and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Cad. ap Meiler, Ken. ap for., Jevan ap Ph., Meiler ap David, John son of Galfrid. At Oswestry, the same date.

X

Sciانت presentes etc. Jor' ap David ap Madoc of Sweney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin and Joan his wife an acre in O'grugu'ryn pand between lands of Grufud, extending from a hill called Grugedryn to berth y Kederost. To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Plezynt and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, the rest are the same as the last with Jevan ap Ith. added. At Oswestry, the same date.

XI

Sciانت presentes etc. Ada Vachan ap jor' ap Howarch of Sweney gives etc. to Gr. ap Eynon Gethin of Kenloid 11 acres in Sweney (these are enumerated with welsh names). To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Meyric ap Blezynt and Jevan ap David, bailiffs, Kenederic ap Jor., Cad. ap Meiler, Meiler ap David, Jevan ap Ith, Jevan ap Cad., Jevan ap Ph. At Oswestry, S. after F. of All SS., 13 Edw. III.

XII

Sciانت presentes etc. Richard son of Richard the clerk of Oswestry gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin of Kynleyd and Joan his wife an acre in the field of Swyney in Mays y Verlam hen etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Borton, steward, Richard son of Madoc Vachul, Jo. de Aston, Rich. de Doddeleye, Thos. Strange, Rich. le Tailour, Jo. Pech. At Oswestry, Thur. after F of SS. Peter and Paul, 14 Edw. III.

XIII

Sciانت presentes etc. Roger de Burghton and Cecilia his wife give etc. to Griffin ap Eynon Gethin of Oswestry and Joan his wife a burgage which Madoc Strange gave them in Oswestry in le Middelstrete, extending from the high street to the . . . way of Chirton towards le Leggestrete. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borton, steward, John de Aston, bailiff of the liberty, Rich. son of Madoc, Jo. loyd, Rich. son of Wm. le Salter, Rich. Meiller, Roger le Rotor. At Oswestry, Wed. before the Chair of S. Peter, 16 Edw. III.

XIV

Noverint universi etc. Madoc Strange of Oswestry quit claims to Griffin ap Eynon Gethin of do. and Joan his wife all his right etc. in a burgage which they purchased of Roger de Burghton and Cecilia his wife in Oswestry in Middel Strete (as above). Witnesses : Sir John lord of Borton, steward, Rich. son of Madoc, Jo. loyd, Jo. de Aston, Rich. le Sawyer. At Oswestry, the same date.

XV

Sciانت presentes etc. Madoc Strange of Oswestry gives etc. to Griffin ap Eynon Gethin of do. and Joan his wife a burgage in Oswestry lying between the burgage of Sir Richard son of Thomas the clerk and that of Griffin held of Roger de Burghton in Middle Street, extending from High Street to the way . . . of Chirton towards Leggestrete. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borton, steward, Rich. son of Madoc, Jo. loyd, Jo. de Aston, Jo. son of Peter, Rich. le Salter, Roger le Rotour. At Oswestry, Fri. in Feast of the Chair of S. Peter, 16 Edw. III.

XVI

Sciant presentes etc. Meiller ap David and Jevan ap Meiler ap David of Sueney give etc. to Grufuth ap Eynon Gethin of Kenlleyd an acre called Gron bertz Fueyn, in its bounds (in bundis) lying in land called teyr moghz etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borton, steward, Meyryc ap Plezynt and Jor. ap Pleyzint loyd, bailiffs, Cadogan ap Meiler, Kenederik ap Jor., Jevan ap Jo. Voyl, Eynon ap Jor. ap Griffide, Madoc ap Meyler. At Oswestry, Sun. after F. of S. Swythyn, 16 Edw. III.

XVII

Sciant presentes etc. Wenliana daughter of Meiller vach and Meiller ap David of Swyney give etc. to Roger le Roter of Oswestry an acre in Swyney called Hencrest. To have etc. Witnesses Master Giffin Trevaure, Steward, Meiric ap Blethint and Jor. ap Plethint loyd, bailiffs, Ken. ap Jor. de Swyney, Cad. ap Meiler, Eynon Gouch, Lln Vaughan. At Oswestry, Sunday in F. of S. Cedde, 17 Edw. III.

XVIII

Sciant presentes etc. Richard de Oswaldestre, Vicar of the Church of Maldon, gives etc. to John his brother all his lands etc. in Oswestry. To have etc. Rent a rose. With proviso and contingent remainders. Witnesses :—Rich. de Haston, Roger de Clone, Roger Morgan, Jo. Thloyt, at Oswestry, Sunday in F. of S. Margaret, 17 Edw. III.

XIX

Sciant presentes etc. Thomas son of William son of Thomas of Oswestry gives etc. to Grufud Eynon and Joan his wife 2 acres in le Crugovryn in the fields of Swyney etc. To have etc. Witnesses : John de Borton, steward, Jevan ap David and David ap Meiric, bailiffs of the patria, Rich. son of Madoc, Jo. loyd, Rich. Mant (?), Jo. de Ast, Hoell ap Thomas, Rich. le Harpe. At Oswestry, Tues. before F. of S. Peter ad vincula, 18 Edw. III.

XX

Sciant presentes etc. Jevan ap David ap Jevan of Swyney gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of Oswestry an acre in Swyney between lands

of Thomas Strange, extending from land formerly of Thomas the clerk to land formerly of John Strange. To have etc. Witnesses :—Griff. de Glyndou'de, steward, Meiric ap Plethynt and Jor. ap Pleth,' bailiffs, Philip Strange, Griffith Gethin, Will. le Rotor, Rich. de Erdesdon, clerk. At Oswestry, Mon. before F. of S. Brigid, 20 Edw. III.

XXI

Sciant presentes etc. Eign' Goz of Randyr gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of Oswestry an acre in Swyney called Crow Pudp'nedek etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—Griffiz de Glyndou' de, steward, Meuric, ap Bleth. and Jor. ap Bleth., bailiffs, Gr. Gethin, Madoc Strange Will le Rotour, Tho. le Harper, Jo. Pech. At Oswestry, Mon. after F. of Nat. B.V.M., 21 Edw. III.

XXII

Sciant presentes etc. Jorvart ap Jevan ap Meiler of Sweney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin of Kenlleid an acre in hyys y golanney. To have etc. Witnesses :—Gr. lord of Glyndou'de, steward, Cad. ap Meiler, Jenna his son, David ap Ken. ap Jor., Meiler ap David, Roger le Rotor. At Oswestry, Mon. after F. of S. Leonard, 21 Edw. III.

XXIII

Sciant presentes etc. Jeyna ap David ap Jeyna of Sweney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin of Kynlloyd 2 acres, one called Crow yr Adon, extending from the Kings highway to verrofe, the other called Gron yr Avalthlan etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—Gruzf lord of Glyndou'de, steward, Meiric ap Blezynt and Jor. ap Plezynt, bailiffs, Cadogan ap Meyler, Jevan his son, Madoc ap Meyler, David ap Ken. ap Jor., Blezynt ap Jor., Cad. ap Jor. At Oswestry, Fri. after F. of S. Leonard, 21 Edw. III.

XXIV

Sciant presentes etc. Jevan ap David ap Jevan of Sueney gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of Oswestry 2 acres in Swyney in le Coidno between land of Eynon ap Ween and the common waste of the vill called le Gronwern. To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Delves,

steward, Meuric ap Pleth and Jor. ap Pleth, bailiffs, Gruffud Eog, David ap Ken. ap Jor., Cad. ap Meiler, Mad. his brother. At Oswestry, Wed. in morrow of S. Jo. before Lat. Gate, 22 Edw. III.

XXV

Sciant presentes etc. Jevan ap David ap Jevan of Swyney gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of Oswestry an acre in Swyney called Gron mab aleyn voel, extending from the high way to Wernekenen. To have etc. Witnesses :—John de Delves, steward, Meuric ap Pleth. and Jor. ap Pleth. loyd, bailiffs, David ap Ken. ap Jor., Jevan ap Cad. ap Meiler, Tud ap Jor. ap Madoc. At Oswestry, Mon. before F. of Annunciation, 22 Edw. III.

XXVI

Sciant presentes etc. Roger son of Richard Strange of Oswestry gives etc. to Roger le Rotor of do. an acre in Sweyney. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borton, steward, the aforesaid Roger and Richard son of Tho. le Salter, bailiffs, Jo. loyd, Philip Strange, Rich. son of Will. Salter, Will. le Rotor. At Oswestry, Sun. before F. of S. Cedde, 22 Edw. III.

XXVII

Sciant presentes etc. Jeyna ap David ap Jeyna of Swyney gives etc. to Grufud ap Eynon Gethin of Kynlloyd an acre called Crow Genford etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borton, steward, Meiryc ap Blezynt and Jor. ap Plezynt, bailiffs, Cad. ap Meiler, Jevan his son, Mad. ap Meiler, Cad ap Jor., David ap Ken., Pla . . . ap Jor. At Oswestry, Wed. after F. of Conception B.V.M., 22 Edw. III.

XXVIII

Sciant presentes etc. Mevethus daughter of Cadogan ap David of Trevelegh gives etc. to Roger le Rotour of Oswestry half an acre in Swyney, extending from Crow foret to Puldprewedet. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir John de Borghton Kt., steward, Jo. Husse, constable, Meuric ap P'lln and Gr. ap P'll'n, bailiffs, Jo. Loyd, Griffin Gethin, Jo. Daston, Roger Morgant, Rich. de Forton. At Oswestry, Sat. after F. of S. Jo Bap., 23 Edw. [*sic*]

XXIX

Sciant presentes etc. Jevan ap Jor. Vaghan of Meresbury gives etc. to Roger le Rotour of Oswestry an acre in Swyney, extending from Crow foret to Puldprewedet. To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Borton Kt., steward, Jo. Husse, constable, Meuric ap Plethnint and Jor. ap Phly'n, bailiffs, Jo. Dastonn, Jo. son of Peter, Griffin Morgant, Will. Rotour, Will. Dastonn, Rich. de Forton. At Oswestry, Mon. in F. of SS. Peter and Paul, 23 Edw. III.

XXX

Sciant presentes etc. Roger son of William de Clonne of Oswestry gives etc. to Roger le Rotour of do. a piece (peciam) of land in Swyney, extending from Kenonwil to Zlon Gron. To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Borthon Kt., steward, Jo. Husse, constable, Jo. loyd, Griffin Gethin, Rich. son of Will. le Salter, Jo. son of Peter, Roger Morgant, Roger de Clonne jun., Roger Strange. At Oswestry, the same date.

XXXI

Sciant presentes etc. William son of Master Thomas of Oswestry, carpenter, gives etc. to William le Rotour of do. an acre in Cottonne etc. [Moor of Cottonne mentioned.] To have etc. Witnesses:—John de Borton, steward, Roger Morgant and Tho. lenglys, bailiffs, Rich. le Salter, Tho. Lestrangle, Will. de Astonn, Tho. son of Symon. At Oswestry, Mon. after F. of S. Matthew, 24 Edw. III.

XXXII

Sciant presentes etc. Alice daughter of Roger de Clone gives etc. to Eynyon son of Griffin ap Egnon Gethin of Oswestry her perparty of one tenement in Chirton which John Voil held in Oswestry. To have etc. Witnesses:—Thomas le Straunge and Thomas le Yonge, bailiffs, Rich. le Salter, Madoc Morgant, Jo. le Straunge, Adam Don, Tho. Symson. At Oswestry, Mon. in vig. of S. Thomas, 30 Edw. III.

XXXIII

Sciant presentes etc. Madoc Pech of Oswestry gives etc. to Roger de Mokelestonn and Christiana his wife 6 acres, of which 3 lie together in the fields of Llanvordaf, the other 3 in a field called

Monkesfeld between land of the Abbot of Shrewsbury and a stream running towards Oswald. Witnesses :—Sir William de Wolverton, steward, Richard le Salter and Thomas English (anglicus), bailiffs, Roger Morgand, Mad. de Astonn, Will. Lengleye, Jo. Strange, Jo. Pistor. At Oswald [*sic.*], Tues. after F. of Ascension, 38 Edw. III.

XXXIV

Sciانت presentes etc. John son of Roger Roter of Oswestry gives . . . son of Griffin Gethin all his lands and messuages in the vill and fields of Swyney . . . [*faded*] Witnesses :—Sir William de Wolverton, steward, David Gethin and Madoc Lloid, bailiffs of 2 parts, Tho. Strange, Jevan son of Rich. de Swyney, Rich. son of Jo. Strange, Madoc ap Eynon ap Grono. At Swyney, Mon. after F. of S. Michael, 38 Edw. III.

XXXV

Sciانت presentes etc. Richard Bonel of Oswestry gives etc. to Roger Mokelestonn of do. an acre in Llanvordaf between land of Tho. son of Peter and of Roger the vicar (vicarius), extending from the royal way of Trevelegh to land of Roger Morgant. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir William de Wolverton, steward, Madoc lloit and Madoc Morgant, bailiffs, Ririt son of Meiric, Hoell ap Gref . . . , Gref. son of Meiric. At Oswestry, Mon. before F. of S. Oswald, 41 Edw. III.

XXXVI

Sciانت presentes etc. Roger son of Griffin Morgant of Oswestry gives etc. to Roger de Mocleston of do. a piece of land on Llanvordaf. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir William de Wolverton, steward, Madoc Lloyd and Madoc Morgan, bailiffs, Ririt ap Meuric, Griffin his son, Madoc ap Eynion Yenel, Hoell ap Griff. ap P'lln. At Llanvorda, Sun. before F. of S. Margaret, 43 Edw. III.

XXXVII

Sciانت presentes etc. John de Suttonn gives etc. to Roger de Moclestonn of Oswestry half an acre in Llanvorda between land formerly of Roger Walhoppe and of Rich. de Twiford, extending from land of Roger to land formerly of Master Rich. Heryng. To

have etc. Witnesses :—Sir William de Wolvertonn, steward, Madoc Morgant and Madoc ap Gr., bailiffs, Ririt ap Meiric, Gruffin his brother, Rich. Salter, Jo. Straunge. At Llanvorda, Sun. after F. of S. Margaret, 43 Edw. III.

XXXVIII

Sciانت presentes etc. Roger de Mocleston of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard son of William le Salter of do. 2 acres, one in Lanworda etc. extending from the royal way leading from Oswestry to Kenlleth as far as a stream flowing from Weirglouth Stokean ; the second lying in Trev'clwy between land of Richard and the royal way leading from Oswestry to Trefonnen,—in exchange for 2 acres in Llanvorda etc. (Roger vicar of Oswestry mentioned). To have etc. Witnesses :—William de Worthyn, steward, Madoc Lloyd ap Griff. and David ap Ll'in Bengam, bailiffs, Jevan ap Ken. ap Jor., Eynion Gethin, Ririt ap Meiric, Gr. his brother, Jo. Lestraunge. At Llanvorda, Tues. after F. of Assumption, 45 Edw. III.

XXXIX

Pateat universis etc. Thomas son of Richard Symons and Agatha daughter of Jevan ap Thomas his wife quit claim to Agnes relict of Richard Barker of Oswestry all their right in one tenement and in one place in the vill of Oswestry in the street of Chirton formerly of Rich. Barker and We vil his wife daughter of Tho. Vach and sister . . . aforesaid Agatha etc. Witnesses :—Thomas Bron, steward, Tho. Salter and Eynon Gethin, bailiffs of the liberty of the town of Oswestry, Rich. son of Tho. Salde, Roger de Moccelston, Jo. . . ., Roger de Irlonde, Tho. son of Rob. de Bolde. At Oswestry Tues. after F. of S. Ger . . . Bp., 3 Richard II.

XL

Sciانت presentes etc. Agnes relict of Richard Barker of Oswestry gives etc. to Jevan Moyn and Wenlleam his wife a burgage in the vill of Oswestry in the street of Chirton between the burgage of Hona Tailleour and Agnes his wife and land of Spitty which Mabil relict of John son of Gille holds, extending from high street Spitty to part of the Spitty. To have etc., paying to the chief lord of Spitty 20d. Witnesses :—same steward and bailiffs, Roger de Moccelston, Jo. Baker, Jo. ap E'ion (?), Rich. Morgan, Hona Taillur. At Oswestry, Mon. after F. of Purification, 3 Rich. II.

XLI

Sciant presentes etc. Agnes relict of Richard Barker of Oswestry gives etc. to Jevan Moyn and Wenllea his wife a tenement in Oswestry in the street of Chirton built between the tenement of Hona Tailleour and Agnes his wife and the land of Spitty etc. Same steward bailiffs and witnesses. Same date.

XLII

Sciant presentes etc. Wenllian relict of Jevan Moyn and Gwillim ap Jevan her son give etc. to Roger Irlond and Cecilie his wife a tenement in Oswestry between the tenement of Hona Tailleour and land of S. John de Spitty; also a place of land there in the street of Chirton between the tenement of Madoc Gouch which he has in the fee of Spitty. To have etc. Witnesses:—Thomas Bron, steward, Thomas Hughys and Eynon Gethin, bailiffs, Jo. Baker, Roger Mockelston, Rich. Morgan, Jo. Lestraunge, Rich. Salter. At Oswestry, Tues. before Nat. of Jo. Bap., 4 Rich. II.

XLIII

Sciant presentes etc. John and Roger sons of John Whieth give etc. to Roger de Moculton of Os [*sic*] a parcel of arable in Sweeney called Bellan Lewelin. To have etc. Witnesses:—Thomas Brown, steward, David ap ll'i Vougen and Jevan ap howel Graghe, bailiffs, Jevan ap Ken. ap Jor., Welyn Lloid, Ririt ap Meuric, Gr. his brother, Roger ap Gr. At Swyney, Fri. before F. of S. Barnabas, 7 Rich. II.

XLIV

Sciant presentes etc. Richard son of William le Rotour burgess of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard Irlond clerk of do. 2 Acres, one in Cotton between land of the Earl of Arundel and of Will. Withiford, extending from land of Jo. Baker to a Moor called Cottonesmore; the other between land of the Earl etc. To have etc. Witnesses:—John Whethales, steward, Eignon ap Richard Straunge and Jo. Wheth, bailiffs, Jo. Gough, Jo. Lloit, Hoell ap Mad. ap Eign. At Cotton, S. after F. of All SS., 19 Rich. II.

XLV

Hec indentura facta etc. Grant by Eignon Gethin to David ap Hoell ap Ririt and Mabel his wife in fee ferm of places and lands which Hoell ap Ririt Gam formerly held of Eignon, together with land called yr Ter y vron, and 3 acres in Swyney (described with Welsh names) between land of David Holbache etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—Sir William Bagot, steward, David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Hoell ap Gr. ap P'llin, bailiff of the two parts of the hundred of Oswestry, Jevan ap Ken. ap Jor., Jankin ap Richard Straunge, Jo Gogh, Jevan ap Ith. At Swyney in F. of Purification, 21 Rich. II.

XLVI

Sciانت presentes etc. Roger son of Roger de Mucleston of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard son of Roger Irlond of do. all those lands etc. which come or ought to come to him by inheritance according to the custom of the patria by the death of Roger de Mucleston his father. To have etc. Witnesses :—David Holbache, steward, Hoell ap Egnon Goz his (*locum tenens*?), Master Rob. de Egley, rector of West Felton, David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Hoell ap Gr. ap P'llin, chief bailiffs of the two parts of the hundred, David ap Jevan Vachan, Jo. ap Thomas, Jo. Lloit. At Oswestry, Sun. after F. of SS. Philip and James, 21 Rich. II.

XLVII

Sciانت presentes etc. Thomas Lestraunge of Chirton burgess of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard Irlond clerk of do. an acre in Swyney between land of John his brother etc. To have etc. Witnesses :—William Bagot, steward, David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Hoell ap Gr., bailiffs, Tho. Salter, Jevan ap Ken. ap Jor., Eignon ap Rich. Straunge, Jo. March, At Swyney, Sat. before F. of All SS., 21 Rich. II.

XLVIII

Sciانت presentes etc. John Lestraunge of Chirton burgess of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard Irlond clerk of do. 2 acres of arable and a croft of enclosed land in Swyney, of which one lies between Church land and land purchased by Irlond from Thomas Lestraunge his brother, extending from acra prebendata to land of Tho. Salter etc. [stream of Morda mentioned.] To have etc. Witnesses :—William Bagot Kt., steward, same bailiffs and witnesses. At Swyney, Sun. before F. of All SS., 21 Rich. II.

XLIX

Pateat universis etc. Quit-claim from Thomas Lestraunge burgess of Oswestry to Richard Irlond of all his right etc. in an acre in Swyney (as above). Same steward and witnesses. At Swyney, Mon. before F. of All SS., 21 Rich. II.

L

Pateat universis etc. Thomas Mucleston of Oswestry quit-claims to Richard Irlond of do. all his right etc. in the lands etc. which Richard lately purchased of Roger de Mucleston his brother in Oswestry. Witnesses :—David Holbache, locum tenens of the justiciar, David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Jevan ap Ll'n ap jor., chief bailiffs, Roger ap Gr., Tho. Salter, Jo. son of Thomas, Jo. Iloit. At Oswestry, Sun. after Christmas, 22 Rich. II.

LI

Noverint universi etc. Roger son of Roger de Mucleston of Oswestry quit-claims to Richard son of Roger Irlond living in Bristol all his right etc. in lands etc. in cruckheyth, Llanvordaf and Swyney. Witnesses :—Tho. Knapp living in Bristol, David Vachan ap David ap Egnon duy, Rich. March, Jo. March, Rich. Brackgssh. At Bristol, 11 Jan., 1 Hen. IV.

LII

When lately Richard son of Roger Yrlond of Oswestry purchased in fee simple of one Roger son of Roger de Mocleston of do. all the lands etc. which were formerly of Roger de Mocleston his father and descended or ought to descend to the said Roger his son and heir after his father's death,—both the lands etc. which were in pledge in the hands of Roger Glover and also all the lands which lately were seized into the hands of the Earl's father by forfeiture by reason of the outlawry lately pronounced on Roger son of Roger by the death of Richard de Mocleston his brother feloniously slain,—license was not obtained. For £20 the Earl releases all actions, demands etc. Mandate to the steward John Whethales to give possession etc. Long deed reciting a deed in Norman French. 21 Sept. 1 Henry. IV.

LIII

Sciant presentes etc. Richard son of William le Rotour burgess of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard Irlond, Cecilia his wife and Richard their son 2 acres and unam landam terrae in Upton within the liberty of the town, one acre and the lands called la longelond etc. [Way leading to Cokshutmore mentioned.] To have etc. Witnesses :—John Whethales, steward, Tho. Salter and Roger Westbury, bailiffs, Richard Salter, Jany n loit, Jo. March, Rich. son of Thomas. At Oswestry, Wed. before F. of S. Katherine, 3 Hen. IV.

LIV

Sciant presentes etc. Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey gives to his beloved squire (armigero) John Wele all the lands which were of Egnon Gethin in his vill and lordship of Oswestry. Witnesses :—Roger Westbury, Will. Caurthin, Roger Thomassone, Rich. Haston, Roger Glover. At Shrewsbury, 8 May, 8 Hen. IV.

LV

Sciant presentes etc. John Wele gives etc. to Richard Irlond of Oswestry all the lands etc. which came to Eynon Gethin and the Earl of Arundel by forfeiture which he purchased of the said Eynon as by charter etc. Witnesses :—Hoell ap Egnon Gouch, locum tenens steward, Roger Westbury and Jany n loit, chief bailiffs of the liberty, Madwen ap David Gethin Deykes ap Jevan Gra . . ., chief bailiffs of the 2 parts of the hundred of Oswestry, Will. Caurthin, Roger son of Thomas, Rich. his brother, Jo. March, Jevan loit ap Jevan ap Ken., Rich. Carrek. At Oswestry, Wed. after F. of Trin., 8 Hen. IV.

LVII

Sciant presentes etc. Thomas Earl of Arundel gives etc. to his beloved servant Richard Irlond the lands etc. which were of Llewellyn ap David ap Egnon duy and of Deykes ap Egnon ap Grono in the lordship of Oswestry. To have etc. Witnesses :—John Wele, steward, Rich. Laken, Rich. son of Tho., Owen ap Hoell, Deio ap Egn' Taillour. At the Castle of Oswestry, Mon. after F. of S. Andrew, 11 Hen. IV.

LVIII

Sciانت presentes etc. Margaret daughter of Hoell Bole of Oswestry gives etc. to Richard Irlond and Tibota his wife all her statum in a burgage in Wiliastrete which she demised to Jevan ap David ap Jevan Gam and Weirvill his wife, extending from high street to the ditch of the lord's pinfold (punfaldi). To have etc. Witnesses: John Wele, steward, Rich. Salter and Roger ap Thomas, bailiffs, Jo. Iloit, Rich. ap Thomas, Roger Glover, Rich. Hastonn. At Oswestry, Mon. after F. of S. Mich., 13 Hen. IV.

LIX

In the sixteenth Court of the two parts held 11 Sep. 3 Hen. V :— To this court came Richard Irlond and gives to the lord xijd. as a fine to have the lord's license to enfeoff Thomas Smyth and William Hampton, chaplains, Janyn Iloit and Richard Thomsone, laics in all the lands etc. both in the burg of Oswestry and in the vills of Dudleston, Bronygarth, Weston, Treffrenell, Llanvorda, Crickheth, Swyney, Cottone and elsewhere in the lordship of the Hundred of Oswestry; To have etc. and to re-enfeoff Irlond and his heirs in the same.

LX

Sciانت presentes etc. Ken ap Jor. ap Eignon Saier of Swyney gives etc. to Richard Irlond of Oswestry a tenement and croft of enclosed land in Swyney formerly of Madoc ap Egnon Sair his uncle etc. (a moor called Wern yr heir deer and another called y gron wern towards Trevelegh mentioned). Witnesses :—Madewin ap David Gethin and Gr. ap Thomas, bailiffs, Roger Glover, Roger son of Edmond, Jevan Iloit ap Jevan ap Ken., Rich. Carret, Jevan Vachann ap Jevan ap Gr. At Swyney, Sun. after F. of SS. Phil. and Jas., 5 Hen. V.

LXI

Sciانت presentes etc. Griffin son of John Baker of Oswestry assigns etc. in fee farm to Richard son of Roger Irlond of do. all his lands in the vill of Cotton, viz: 11 acres minores et maiores, 7 in the lower field of Cotton adjacent to the field of Weston; the 8th in middle field; the 9th in the field above Cotton moor; the 10th and 11th in upper field between the ways which lead to the

lord's mill. To have etc. at a rent of 3s. 4d. Witnesses :—Thomas lestrange, steward, Meredeth lloit and Roger ap Richard, bailiffs, Janyng lloit, Roger Glover, Tho. Westbury, Will. Mucleston. At Cotton, Sat. before F. of S. Valentine, 3 Hen. VI.

Inquisition taken at Knokyn before Richard de la Lee, steward of Roger lestraunge lord of Knokyn, Tuesday before F. of S. Gregory, 1 Rich. II. By the oaths of Roger son of Thomas and others (named), who say that William Wormale of Knokyn and Magdalen his wife, burgesses and English of the vill of Knokyn, had 3 sons and one daughter, Richard, Thomas, John and Alice, and that Richard son of William begat a son called Robert, and Robert begat a son called Roger de Knokyn; and they say that Roger and all his ancestors from time immemorial were English and dwelling in the said vill of Knokyn. In witness whereof etc.

OFFICIALS MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOING DEEDS

Stewards

6 Ed. III	Alexander de Shavynton
9 " "	Roger de Cheyne
10 " "	John de Burghton
11 " "	John de Borton
17 " "	Sir John de Borton
17 " "	Sir John lord of Borton
17 " "	Master Griffin Trevaure
18 " "	John de Borton
20 " "	Griff. de Glyndou'de
21 " "	Griff. lord of Glyndou'de
22 " "	John de Delves
22 " "	Sir John de Borton
38 " "	Sir William de Wolverton
45 " "	William de Worthyn
3 Ric. II	Thomas Bron
7 " "	Thomas Brown
19 " "	John Whethales
21 " "	Sir William Bagot
21 " "	David Holbache

- 3 Hen. IV. John Whethales
 8 " " Hoell ap Eynon Gouch
 9 " " John Wele
 3 Hn. VI. Thomas le Strange

Constables

- 6 Ed. III John de Burch
 9 " " William de Bul . . ton
 13 " " John Husse

Bailiffs

- 6 Ed. III Thomas Strange and Roger de Clone
 9 " " William English and William le Sale
 10 " " Meiric ap Plethynt and Jevan ap David
 16 " " John de Aston (b. of the Liberty)
 16 " " Meiric ap Plezynt and Jor. ap Plezynt loyd
 17 " " Jevan ap David and David ap Meiric (b. of the
 Patria)
 20 " " Meiric ap Pleslynt and Jor. ap Plethynt
 22 " " Roger Strange and Richard s. of Tho. le Slater
 23 " " Meuric ap P'lln and Gr. ap Ph'lyn
 24 " " Roger Morgant and Thomas lenglys
 30 " " Thomas le Strange and Thomas le Yonge
 38 " " Richard le Salter and Thomas English
 38 " " David Gethin and Madoc lloid (b. of 2 parts)
 41 " " Madoc lloit and Madoc Morgant
 43 " " Madoc lloit and Madoc Morgan
 45 " " Madoc Lloyd ap Griff. and David ap Ll'in Bengam
 3 Ric. II Thomas Salter and Eynon Gethin (b. of the
 liberty of the Town of Oswestry)
 4 " " Thomas Hughys and Eynon Gethin.
 7 " " David ap Ll'i Voughen and Jevan ap Howel
 Graghe
 19 " " Eignon ap Richard Straunge and John Wheth
 21 " " David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Hoell ap Gr. ap
 P'llin (b. of 2 parts of the 100 of Oswestry)
 21 " " David ap Jevan ap Ririt and Jevan ap ll'in ap Jor.

- 3 Hn. IV Thomas Salter and Roger Westbury
8 " " Roger Westbury and Janyn loit (chief b. of
Liberty)
8 " " Madwen ap David Gethin and Deykes ap Jevan
(ch. b. of 2 parts of the 100)
9 Hn. IV Richard Salter and John Thomasone
9 " " John Salter and Jevan ap ll'in (of 2 parts)
12 " " Richard Salter and Roger ap Thomas
5 Hn. V Madwen ap David Gethin and Gr. ap Thomas
3 Hn. VI Meredith lloit and Roger ap Richards

JOHN FITZALAN I
LEADER OF THE SHROPSHIRE BARONS OF MAGNA
CARTA

BY THE LATE LAURA LUCIE NORSWORTHY, F.R.Hist.S.

John Fitzalan I, Lord of Clun, Oswestry and Shrawardine, was the Leader of the Shropshire Barons of Magna Carta. In June 1215 he took his place at Runnymede. He had only recently come of age and equally recently succeeded his elder brother, William FitzAlan III, as heir to their father's barony, and he was unmarried. He was in the unpleasant position of being bereft of his patrimony because King John had seized the FitzAlan estates and they were being administered on behalf of the Crown by Thomas de Erdington, one of the King's followers whom he could trust because the entire interests and future of Thomas de Erdington lay in carrying out the King's orders to their mutual advantage. Thomas de Erdington owed his rise from the ranks to the King's patronage, and John FitzAlan had good reason to resent that particular rise. He resented it the more because Thomas de Erdington, besides having charge of the FitzAlan estates, had been made Sheriff of Shropshire, an honour which had been held by John FitzAlan's grandfather, William FitzAlan I, and by his father, William FitzAlan II, until King John had relieved William FitzAlan II of the Shrievalty in 1201.¹ John FitzAlan, therefore, had what he considered legitimate grievances, though King John would have called them precautionary measures to prevent disaffection. They failed in their purpose, however, for they fanned the flames of the hereditary reasons which in themselves were sufficient to bring the FitzAlans into the Opposition. It had not been possible for the family of William FitzAlan II to show their hands earlier, however, because when William FitzAlan II died in 1210², leaving his four motherless children orphaned and in minority, King John had claimed them as Wards of the Crown. The two sons, William III and John I, had been compelled to dance attendance on the King when required; and it is, in fact, in such a capacity that John FitzAlan makes his first

¹ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. VII, p. 242).

² Register, Dunstable Priory, Cotton MS. Tiber. A.x.fol. 9. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. VII, p. 244).

appearance in the records of his time. This is on August 28, 1212, when he figures on the Misae Roll in the act of conveying the sum of 25 merks from the King to William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury.¹

William Longespée was the King's natural brother, and he had become Earl of Salisbury by the simple procedure of marrying him to Ela, Countess of Salisbury in her own right, when he was about twenty-seven and Ela four years of age. This had been accomplished by King Richard I in 1197.²

John FitzAlan was connected with Ela in at least two ways, probably more. (1) His paternal ancestor, Flaald of Dol, and Ela's mother, Alienor de Vitré, were Bretons. Both families were closely connected with the Dukes of Brittany and Earls of Richmond, the de Vitrés by blood,³ the FitzAlans by service. Alienor de Vitré held lands in Cooling, Suffolk, under the House of Brittany, and Hadleigh and Westcote in Surrey under the Earl of Clare and Hertford; but from 1204 until 1216, these lands were in King John's hands because Alienor de Vitré and her fourth husband, Gilbert Malesmains, were in France, shocked by the murder of Arthur,⁴ and the imprisonment of Alienor, Arthur's sister.

(2) John FitzAlan's great-grandmother, Aveline de Hesding, and Ela's great-grandmother, Sybil de Chaworth, were descended from the Domesday Baron, Arnulf de Hesding; and the representatives of Aveline de Hesding and Sybil de Chaworth shared with

¹ Rot. Misae, 14 John, m3.

² Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, vol. II, pp. vi; xliv to xlix, for the marriages of Ela's mother, Alienor de Vitré, and the death of Ela's father, William FitzPatrick, Earl of Salisbury, on April 17th, 1196. He married Ela's mother in or after 1190 in which year her previous husband, Gilbert de Tillières, died at the Third Crusade. Stapleton gives the date of Ela's marriage as 1197 or 1198. There is, however, a Charter, mentioned by Landon in his *Itinerary of King Richard I*, p. 122, witnessed by William Longespée, as Earl of Shrewsbury in September, 1197, showing that he was married to Ela at that date. See also *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. vi, Paynel Fee, pp. 21-22.

³ *Archives Nationales J.* 241, No. 1, quoted by Clay, *E. Y. C.*, vol. IV, Honour of Richmond or Brittany, p. 74. For Flaald of Dol see Round, *Peerage and Family History*, pp. 115-116. Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Preuves, I, Gale, *Honoris de Richmond*. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, Honour of Richmond, pp. ix; 5, 6, 84 to 93. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 28n. For Alienor de Vitré, see Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, Vol. II, pp. xliv-xlix. Also Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, p. 74, Honour of Richmond, and vol. VI, pp. 21-22.

⁴ Stapleton, *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

each other and with a third co-parcener Arnulf de Hesding's barony.¹ At the date of Magna Carta, John FitzAlan was the representative of Aveline de Hesding and Ela was the representative of Sybil de Chaworth, and they each had a right to a third share of the Hesding Barony as co-parceners. As a matter of fact Ela held her share, but John FitzAlan had not received livery of his from the king. A considerable portion of the Hesding Barony was situated in Wiltshire where John FitzAlan and Ela were neighbours.² Ela was two years older than John FitzAlan, and was twenty-three in 1215. It is obvious from the Misae Roll of 1212 that John FitzAlan was in close touch with her husband as he was entrusted with monies due to him. Moreover, during the lifetime of John FitzAlan's father, William Longespée had been appointed Warden of the Welsh Marches and was frequently in Shropshire.³

When John FitzAlan came of age he was no longer a Ward of the Crown, and he joined his elder brother, William FitzAlan III, at their castle of Clun.⁴

William FitzAlan III appears to have been delicate, and he died at Easter, 1215.⁵ Thomas de Erdington had obtained King John's consent to William's marriage with Thomas de Erdington's daughter, Mary, probably against the wishes of William and his entire family because William never had livery of the FitzAlan inheritance, although he had done homage for it. Instead it was handed over to Thomas de Erdington in 1214⁶ in return for the promise of a heavy fine of 5,000 merks to the king to secure the marriage, which fine Erdington raised by levying it on the FitzAlan tenants. Mary Erdington thereupon became the wife of William FitzAlan III; but at his death a few months later she was left a childless widow. King John himself settled what dower was to be

¹ *Liber Niger I*, pp. 108; 170-171. Red Book of the Exchequer under the holdings of William FitzAlan I and of Patrick, Earl of Salisbury in 1166. Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman II*, *Ibid.* Domesday for Wiltshire, holdings of Arnulf de Hesding. Book of Fees, edition 1920.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer. Book of Fees* under Wiltshire. *Liber Niger*. Kivall was the caput of John FitzAlan's Wiltshire holdings.

³ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 68.

⁴ *Vincent's Collections*, vol. III, p. 98. Heralds' College.

⁵ Vincent, *Ibid.*

⁶ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 118B.

paid to her from the FitzAlan estates, and she was to receive it for life; but for a reason not difficult to guess—namely that part of the dower selected was held by the FitzAlans under the Honour of Richmond otherwise Brittany in Norfolk—it was mainly in Norfolk that her dower was placed. King John gave control of the dower to Thomas de Erdington.¹

Even before the death of William FitzAlan III there had been Opposition disturbances in various counties, and King John had written to Thomas de Erdington, Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire, to ask him who, in those counties, were the disturbers. Thomas de Erdington's reply was written after William FitzAlan's death for in it he announced that melancholy fatality and gave a list of the knights who were against the king. In Shropshire they were:—

- (1) John FitzAlan.
- (2) Fulk FitzWarin.
- (3) Bartholomew FitzToret.
- (4) Baldwin de Hodnet.
- (5) Vivian de Roshale.
- (6) Thomas de Constantine.
- (7) Radulph de Sandford,

and all the knights and others of the county had been against the King, except Hugh de Mortimer, Walter de Lacy, Walter de Clifford and John l'Estrange. Some—unnamed—had returned to the King's peace, but not the knights listed with John FitzAlan. Thomas de Erdington further stated that John FitzAlan, immediately after his brother's death, had left Clun for Oswestry Castle, then in the King's hand, and had seized it—it was a FitzAlan Castle—but Thomas de Erdington held on the King's behalf all the lands of William FitzAlan III and the revenues.²

Easter Day, 1215, fell on April 19th, and, by the 27th John FitzAlan had joined the Opposition Barons at Brackley in Northamptonshire, where they were assembling to prepare the way for Magna Carta in June.³ Brackley was parcel of the earldom of Leicester,

¹ *Rot. Litt.* Claus. I. *Rot. Litt.* Pat. I. See also Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. VII, pp. 249-250.

² *Vincent's Collections*, vol. III, p. 98. Heralds' College. Letter of Thomas de Erdington quoted *in extenso* by Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. X, pp. 326-327.

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, edition Luard, vol. II, anno 1215, pp. 582 to 606. Roger of Wendover, edition Hewlett, vol. II, pp. 111 to 132. Both chroniclers mention John FitzAlan.

and belonged to the moiety of that earldom held by Saher de Quenci, Earl of Winchester in England and Lord of Leuchars in Scotland, who held the moiety in right of his wife Margaret de Beaumont, younger sister of the late Earl of Leicester, Robert de Beaumont, who had died childless in 1204.¹

There is no evidence that John FitzAlan ever swore allegiance to King John, and he remained in the Opposition throughout the rest of the reign.

To understand the reasons that inspired John FitzAlan so ardently to resist King John it is necessary to give a short account of the FitzAlan antecedents, and to carry the History of Shropshire back to the War of Succession between the Empress Matilda and Stephen of Blois, for the two were intermingled and had a direct bearing on John FitzAlan's upbringing and outlook.

The fact that the FitzAlans were of Breton descent was a major reason for John FitzAlan's objections to King John. Another was his relationship to Richard, Earl of Clare and Hertford, a principal Baron in the Opposition, who became Leader of the 25 Executors of Magna Carta. Yet another reason was John FitzAlan's relationship to Walter FitzAlan II, Steward of Alexander II, King of the Scots, both of whom were in the Opposition in 1215.²

Flaald of Dol, great-great-grandfather of John FitzAlan, was the brother of Alan the Steward of Dol³ who was Steward to Geoffrey Boterel I, eldest son of Eudo, younger son of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, by Hawise, daughter of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.⁴ Eudo had held Dol, St. Malo, St. Brieux, Penthievre and Tréguier as part of his inheritance from his father; and his elder brother, Alan, held the rest of Brittany as Duke.⁵ After the assassination

¹ *Dugdale Baronage*, vol. I under Leicester, *Complete Peerage*, new edition vol VII, under Leicester. *Victoria County History of Northamptonshire*, under Brackley. *Red Book of the Exchequer. Book of Fees*, edition 1920. *Pipe Rolls*, 1204 et seq.

² *Chronicle of Melrose. Chronicle of Lanercost.*

³ Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 115 et seq. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 28n. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, Honour of Richmond, pp. ix; 5.

⁴ For genealogy of the Dukes and Counts of Brittany see Gale, *Honoris de Richmond*. Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Preuves, I. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, Honour of Richmond, pp. 84 et seq. See also *Complete Peerage*, new edition, vol. X, under Earls of Richmond.

⁵ *Ibid.*

of Geoffrey Boterel I, at Dol, in 1093, his son Conan and Alan the Steward of Dol went to the First Crusade. Conan was killed at Antioch in 1098, but the exact date of the death of the Steward is not known. Flaald of Dol, his brother, was the father of Alan FitzFlaald, John FitzAlan's great-grandfather, who attached himself to King Henry I, youngest son of the Conqueror, and received from him various manors in Norfolk, including Milcham, Great and Little Palgrave, Plumsted, Kempston and Sporle.¹ Alan FitzFlaald held also in Greenhoe under Count Stephen, youngest son of Count Eudo of Brittany, who became Lord of Richmond and held the Honoyr of Richmond, called also the Honour of Brittany in England.² Under the same Count Stephen, Alan FitzFlaald held an interest in Isleham, Cambridgeshire. So, later, did Philip de Burgh, whose wife was Ismania, daughter of Roald I, Constable of Richmond Castle, and whose son, Thomas de Burgh I, was Steward of Richmond to Constance, Duchess of Brittany and Countess of Richmond.³ King Henry I granted to Alan FitzFlaald the fief of the Sheriff of Shropshire.⁴ Eyton, the great Shropshire antiquary, assigned to Alan FitzFlaald a Scots origin. He believed him to have been the grandson of Banquo, Thane of Lochabar;⁵ but since Eyton's time fresh evidence has come to light, and there seems to be no doubt whatever that Alan FitzFlaald was a Breton of Dol.⁶ He married Aveline de Hesding, and received with her a third of the barony of Arnulf de Hesding.⁷ They had several children of whom two only need be mentioned here. They were William FitzAlan I and Walter FitzAlan I, the grandfather and grand-uncle of John FitzAlan.

These two brothers bring us to the War of Succession between the Empress Matilda and Stephen of Blois. As staunch supporters

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. IV, 17, No. VI. *Book of Fees* under Norfolk. Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 218.

² Gale, *Honoris de Richmond, Genealogy*. *Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, pp. 356-382. *Book of Fees*.

³ Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol V, Honour of Richmond, pp. 164-165. For the FitzAlan interest in Isleham see Eyton, *Ibid*, p. 237n.

⁴ Eyton, *Ibid*, vol. VII, pp. 220 et seq.

⁵ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. VII, pp. 212 et seq. *Genealogy*, pp. 228-229.

⁶ Round, *ibid*. Stenton, *ibid*. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, *ibid*. Morice *Histoire de Bretagne, preuves*, I.

⁷ Eyton, *ibid*, pp. 222-223.

of King Henry I they were staunch partisans of his daughter, the Empress. Shropshire became in fact one of the chief counties of England in Matilda's interest.

William FitzAlan I, after fighting Stephen of Blois unsuccessfully, retired from Shropshire while Stephen reigned. Whether he concealed himself, as Eyton supposed, at the court of the Earl of Chester¹ or whether he joined his brother, Walter FitzAlan I, in Scotland has never been fully established.

Walter FitzAlan I joined the standard of David, King of the Scots, uncle of the Empress, who had rallied to her cause. When King David returned to Scotland, Walter FitzAlan I went with him, and, true to the traditions of his family as Stewards of Dol, became Steward of Scotland.² Walter FitzAlan married Eschina, daughter of Thomas de Londoniis, Hostiarius to the King of the Scots, and Lady of Molla and Huntlaw in Roxburghshire. If, therefore, any FitzAlans were really descended from Banquo, Thane of Lochabar, they may well have been the posterity of Walter FitzAlan I and this lady.³ Walter FitzAlan I was the ancestor of our present King George VI of Great Britain. This royal descent is so well known that it need not be repeated here.

Walter FitzAlan's son, Alan, married twice, his second wife being Alesta, daughter of Morgund, Earl of Mar. Alan died in 1204. His son, Walter FitzAlan II, was Steward of Scotland in 1215.⁴ Walter FitzAlan II was married to Beatrice, daughter of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus,⁵ and, in view of his relationship to John FitzAlan I and his position in the Opposition to King John, it may be of interest to name here his children. They were :—

(1) *Alexander*, who succeeded Walter FitzAlan II as Steward of Scotland in 1246. In 1215 he was in the retinue of Alexander II, King of the Scots, and in the Opposition to King John.

¹ Eyton, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 235.

² Eyton, *ibid*, vol. VII, pp. 223 et seq. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, edition 1813, vol. I, pp. 42 et seq, *Liber Sanctae Mariae de Melrose. Register of Paisley. Monasticon Anglicanum*, vols. IV and V. Eyton cites other authorities.

³ For Eschina see Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, edition 1813, vol. I, pp. 42 et seq Eyton, *ibid*, vol. VII Genealogy, pp. 228-229.

⁴ Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, *ibid*.

⁵ Douglas, *ibid*.

(2) *John*, killed at Damietta in 1249.

(3) *Walter*, in the retinue of Alexander II, King of the Scots, in 1215 and in the Opposition to King John. He married Mary, Countess of Menteith, and became in right of his wife Earl of Menteith. He was unmarried at the date of Magna Carta.¹

(4) *William*, about whom little is known.

(5) *Beatrice*, wife of Maldwyn, Earl of Lennox.²

(6) *Christine*, wife first of William de Brus of Annandale, who died before December 4th, 1214. By him she was the mother of Robert de Brus, the Charter Baron, and of a daughter. Christine FitzAlan married secondly Patrick, Earl of Dunbar. She was Patrick's wife at the date of Magna Carta. He had been married before to Ada, a natural daughter of William I, King of the Scots. Ada died in 1200. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was a strong supporter of the Opposition to King John. He was Justiciar of Lothian and Constable of Berwick. He held lands under King John in England and *inter alia* Beneleghe by the service of being "inborewe and utborewe" between England and Scotland. Through his first wife he was connected with Alexander II, King of the Scots, whose brother-in-law he was, and also with the Earl of Clare and Hertford, and with Arthur, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, and with Arthur's sister Alienor.³ At the date of Magna Carta, Earl Patrick's second son, William, was a hostage in King John's hand.⁴ William's wife was Christine Corbet, descended from Walter Corbet of Shropshire, who joined Walter FitzAlan I in the train of David I, King of the Scots, and became Lord of Makerstown in Scotland.⁵ The Walter Corbet who lived in 1215 was in the Opposition to King

¹ Douglas, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 44. *Complete Peerage*, new edition, vol. VIII, p. 660.

² *Complete Peerage ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 590.

³ For Patrick Earl of Dunbar see *Chronicle of Melrose*, pp. 139; 177. *Complete Peerage*, new edition, vol. IV, pp. 505-506 for both his marriages. The *Complete Peerage* does not give Christine's parentage, but Douglas does, vol. I, p. 44. Douglas calls Patrick Earl of March, but the Earls of Dunbar did not become Earls of March until after Patrick's death. See for his lands in England *Red Book of the Exchequer* under Northumberland, vol. II, p. 562, where he is described as "inborewe and Utborewe." Also Bain, *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. I, pp. 52; 53; 54; 55; 62; 87; 96.

⁴ Bain, *ibid.*, p. 101. Also *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, anno 1213.

⁵ *Chronicle of Melrose* for Christine. Douglas *Peerage of Scotland*, edition 1813, for Corbet of Makerstown.

John. His daughter, Alicia Corbet, was the wife of Duncan, brother of Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and their son, another Malcolm, married a daughter of Llywelyn-ap-Iowerth, sister of the wife of William de Lacy, uncle of John FitzAlan.¹

The daughter of Earl Patrick by his first wife, also named Ada, was the wife of William de Courtney, Lord of Montgomery.² William de Courtney was in the Opposition, but died before January 18th, 1215.

It may be of considerable significance that his wife, so closely connected with John FitzAlan's Scots relatives—for she was step-daughter of Christine FitzAlan and sister-in-law of Euphemia—should have been living near to John FitzAlan in Shropshire. It supplies a definite link between them. There were other links, both among John FitzAlan's tenants and his neighbours. For instance—Constantine, Corbet, Mauduit, Montgomery, Sandford and Say, to name only a few in the Opposition with relatives in Scotland

(7) *Margaret FitzAlan* was the wife of Niel, son of Duncan, Earl of Carrick. The Earl of Carrick was a partisan of King John. The political sympathies of Niel and Margaret are not known.³

(8) *Euphemia FitzAlan* was the wife of Patrick II, eldest son of Patrick Earl of Dunbar by his first wife, Ada, half-sister of Alexander II, King of the Scots.⁴ Patrick II was in the retinue of his uncle, and probably accompanied him on his march through England to meet Louis the Dauphin of France after King John had repudiated Magna Carta. Patrick II was in the Opposition to King John.

It will be seen how closely these Scots cousins of John FitzAlan were connected with his own political sympathies. They had held an interest in England under John FitzAlan's grandfather and father. William FitzAlan I had enfeoffed his brother, Walter FitzAlan I, in land in Shropshire and in Sussex. Eyton believed the

¹ *Ibid.*

² Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, vol. II, pp. 168 et seq. *Caledonia*, II, p. 240. See also *Complete Peerage*, new edition, under Engaine, vol. V, pedigree between pp. 72 and 73.

³ For Margaret FitzAlan's marriage see Douglas, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 44. *Complete Peerage*, *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 55-56.

⁴ Douglas, *ibid.* *Complete Peerage*, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 506.

Shropshire land might have been Cound.¹ The Sussex land was the manor of Stoke which William FitzAlan I held under William d'Aubigné, Earl of Arundel.² These holdings appear to have been lost by Walter FitzAlan II when King John seized the fief of the FitzAlans into his own hand after the death of William FitzAlan II. There is no indication that Walter FitzAlan II or his descendants ever recovered them.

William FitzAlan I was the founder of Haughmond Abbey. The Empress Matilda made a grant to this foundation in 1141, of land in Walcot with the men and all things belonging thereto, the witnesses to her Charter including among others David, King of the Scots, her uncle ; William FitzAlan and Walter his brother.³ William FitzAlan I made many grants to his own foundation. It represented in his mind not only a religious but a political creed. What this was has been ably defined by Eyton. After describing the part played by William FitzAlan I in the War of Succession and naming the early benefactors to the Abbey, Eyton goes on to say : "The foundation of Haughmond was therefore associated with a distinct political creed ; for those whom I have named were, for the most part, either the representatives or champions of that cause of legitimacy which was at issue during the twenty years that followed the death of Henry I. All, or nearly all, were sufferers, either from the eminence of their position, or the greater loftiness of their principles. Thus out of calamities such as Shropshire has never again experienced, were elicited at least two beneficial results—the increase of its religious establishments, and the triumph of those hereditary rights which it has ever since venerated as divine."⁴

The benefactors to Haughmond, named by Eyton as sharing this creed were the Empress Matilda, King Henry II, her son, William and Walter FitzAlan, Walcheline Maminot, William Peverel of Dover and Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester.⁵

Eyton further adds : "Not a single Patent, Privilege, or favour can I find vouchsafed by King John to this House."⁶

¹ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VI, p. 70, vol. VII, p. 224.

² Farrer, *H.K.F. Harleian MS.*, 2188, fol. 123.

³ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 287.

⁴ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.

⁶ Eyton, *ibid*, p. 294.

It is clear then that Shropshire as a county and Haughmond as a religious foundation stood for succession to the throne by hereditary primogeniture, and acknowledged the right of a woman to reign.

It was for this reason that King John vouchsafed no royal grant to Haughmond for he had murdered or caused to be murdered his nephew Arthur, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, heir by primogeniture to the English throne ; and he was holding in close captivity his niece, Arthur's sister and heir, Alienor of Brittany, to whom he would not grant permission to return to Brittany, though she was hereditary heiress to the duchy. Nor would he acknowledge her as Countess of Richmond, though this, too, was her birthright. He was afraid to destroy her as he had destroyed Arthur because that murder had lost him Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and Maine, and hers would have lost him England.¹

William FitzAlan I, who had been driven from Shropshire during the reign of Stephen, returned as soon as Stephen died and Henry II, son of the Empress Matilda, ascended the throne. The Sheriff's fief was triumphantly restored to him, and a grant of the shrievalty with it. William FitzAlan I enjoyed these privileges until his death in 1160.² He married twice. His first wife was Christiana, said by Ordericus Vitalis to have been a niece of Robert Earl of Gloucester, who was a natural son of King Henry I. Ordericus Vitalis does not give her name but Charters to Haughmond Abbey do.³ The Legend of Fulk FitzWarin calls her Eleyne and says she was a niece of William Peverel, who gave her the land of Morlas as far as the Keyroc when she married Fitz-Aleyn.⁴ The Legend of Fulk FitzWarin is notoriously full of fairy tales, but occasionally it strikes a fact. It may well be that Christiana was both a niece of Robert Earl of Gloucester and of William Peverel, for the parentage of the mother of Robert Earl of Gloucester is not known, and nor is the parentage of William Peverel. What seems to lend colour to the possibility is the fact that the first witness to a grant

¹ Walter of Coventry, vol. II, p. 208, note. Gale MS. in margin. Guillaume le Breton, *Philippide. Gesta Philippi Augusti*, vol. I, pp. 155, 293. *Chronicle of Lanercost*, pp. 1 ; 11-12. See Roger of Wendover for Arthur, edition Hewlett, vol. I, p. 316.

² Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, pp. 236-237.

³ *Haughmond Chartulary*.

⁴ Rolls Series. Ralph of Coggeshall, which volume contains the Legend of Fulk FitzWarin, pp. 288-289.

of Hamo, brother of William Peverel, made after 1135, was William FitzAlan.¹ It was about 1135 that William married Christiana. Both Hamo and William Peverel died childless, and their nephew William Peverel II inherited their estates. William Peverel II and his cousin Walcheline Maminot made grants to Haughmond Abbey.² In 1215 Walcheline Maminot's representative was his daughter's son, Geoffrey de Say II, an Executor Baron of Magna Carta, and a relative of John FitzAlan as will be shown presently.

Christiana died in 1153. She had had a son, Alan, buried at Haughmond Abbey,¹ and she was presumably the mother of a daughter, Christiana, who married Hugh, son and heir of Ivo Pantulf of Wem.⁴

The second wife of William FitzAlan I was Isabel de Say, Lady of Clun, said to have been the richest heiress in Shropshire. She was related to Geoffrey de Say the Executor Baron, whose grandfather, William de Say, had been head of the family. She was very young, but her first son by William FitzAlan was born in 1154, showing that her marriage must have taken place immediately after the death of Christiana. The son was William FitzAlan II, John FitzAlan's father. The date of his birth shows the reason why John FitzAlan's cousin, Walter FitzAlan II, Steward of Scotland, was able to be a grandfather in 1215, though he belonged to the same generation in line as John FitzAlan who was only just of age, because William FitzAlan II was not born until William FitzAlan I was about 50 years of age, and John FitzAlan was not born until William FitzAlan II was 40. The Scots cousins on the other hand had their children early.

There is evidence that William FitzAlan I may have had another son, Osbert FitzAlan, who became a monk at Haughmond Abbey. In 1215-1216 he occurs among the Charter Barons, and was excommunicated by name by the Pope's Commissioners in England.⁵ Between 1217 and 1222 and between 1220 and 1226 an Osbert

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. III, p. 519.

² *Haughmond Chartulary*. Eyton, *ibid*, VII, pp. 287-288; 290.

³ *Haughmond Chartulary*.

⁴ Eyton, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 239.

⁵ *Haughmond Chartulary*. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, anno 1215-1216. Roger of Wendover, vol. II, ditto.

occurs as Abbot of Haughmond who was probably Osbert FitzAlan.¹ If I am right in supposing that Osbert FitzAlan was a younger son of William FitzAlan I and Isabel de Say he was John FitzAlan's uncle. He was a rabid opponent of King John, and it is more than probable that he helped to form his nephew's policy.

After the death of William FitzAlan I in 1160, Isabel de Say married again. Her second husband was Geoffrey de Vere, a younger son of Alberic de Vere, Great Chamberlain of England, whose eldest son, Alberic II was created Earl of Oxford by the Empress Matilda.² The mother of Geoffrey de Vere was Adeliza de Clare, a daughter of Gilbert de Clare and Tonbridge, ancestor of Richard Earl of Clare and Hertford, and Leader of the Executor Barons in 1215-1216. Geoffrey de Vere became Sheriff of Shropshire during the coverture of his marriage with Isabel de Say, and he had a son by her, Geoffrey de Vere II. Geoffrey de Vere I died in 1170, and Isabel de Say about 1171 married William de Boterel.

The first Pipe Roll of King John shows an assessment against William de Boterel for "18 merks for scutage of the Honour of Geoffrey de Vere; 100 shillings for scutage of the Honour of Eudo Dapifer; and 10 merks for scutage of the Fee of Clun."³ Eyton calls this a manifest redundancy—but is it? The first item is for scutage of the Honour of Geoffrey de Vere I which William de Boterel as step-father of Geoffrey de Vere II was holding. The Honour of Eudo Dapifer had been broken up at the death of Eudo, who was childless, but his wife Rohaise de Clare I was the aunt of Geoffrey de Vere's mother, and possibly the assessment on the Honour of Eudo Dapifer referred to part of her *maritagium* held under the de Clares, which had been of the dower of Geoffrey de Vere's first wife, by whom he had no surviving children, but whose dower being a de Clare *maritagium* he was allowed to keep. Possibly it was allotted to him by King Henry II in fulfilment of a grant by the Empress, who, when she created Alberic de Vere II Earl of

¹ Eyton mentions Osbert among the Abbots of Haughmond, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. V, p. 185, and vol. VII, p. 300, but makes no reference to his parentage and to his position in the Opposition.

² Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 180 et seq. Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 160-161. Also vol. XI, pp. 228-229 for Geoffrey de Vere as second husband of Isabel de Say.

³ *Pipe Roll, I John*, 1199.

Oxford promised to provide for his brothers.¹ The Fees of Geoffrey de Vere will be found in the Red Book of the Exchequer, but they need not be detailed here. His son, Geoffrey de Vere II, however, being the uncle of John FitzAlan I, requires mention. He occurs both in Shropshire and in Normandy. He witnessed a Charter of his elder brother, William FitzAlan II, about the year 1190.² He was a Knight of King Richard I, and occurs as a witness to two of the king's Charters issued at Lyons-la-Fôret in 1198.³ When Richard died in 1199 Geoffrey de Vere II appears to have been against the election of John and in favour of the heir by primogeniture, Arthur, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, hence no doubt the assessment to his stepfather of his scutages. Both Isabel de Say and her husband died about 1199-1200,⁴ but the assessments were levied on their son, William de Boterel III, until 1202, after which date they ceased because King John had seized Geoffrey de Vere's fees into his own hand and they were never restored to him. It was in 1202 that King John captured Arthur and put him in prison, which doubtless accounts for Geoffrey de Vere's attitude towards King John. In 1203 a wardship Geoffrey de Vere was holding was transferred to an adherent of King John;⁵ and thereafter only one transaction of Geoffrey de Vere's has been found in England, and this did not require his presence to execute. It was a transfer of land which required his consent, and Eyton places the date of it between 1205 and 1209.⁶ Geoffrey de Vere II appears to have remained in Normandy under Phillip II of France.⁷

William de Boterel III, youngest uncle of John FitzAlan, inherited the Boterel barony. He is mentioned in a Charter to Wenlock Priory executed by his father.⁸ He was a Breton by

¹ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandville*, p. 182. See also Round in D.N.B. under Clare.

² Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, p. 276. See also vol. IX, p. 115.

³ Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I*, pp. 133 and 136.

⁴ *Pipe Rolls*, 1199-1200.

⁵ *Rot. de Liberate*, 1203, p. 62.

⁶ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. X, p. 250.

⁷ For Geoffrey de Vere II see *Pipe Rolls* from 1193 (p. 110), 1198 (p. 109) to 1199, pp. 74-75; 78.

⁸ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII, pp. 162-163.

descent. Geoffrey Boterel II, eldest son of Count Stephen, youngest son of Eudo, younger son of Geoffrey Duke of Brittany by Hawise daughter of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, was probably the progenitor of these Boterels. Geoffrey Boterel II was a faithful partisan of the Empress Matilda, and came to England to fight for her. He was in England in 1141.¹ He may well have been the father of William de Boterel I, father of William de Boterel II, husband of Isabel de Say. There is a possible indication that the mother of William de Boterel I may have been a Belmeis, because he inherited the Belmeis manor of Moulant in Devonshire, and handed it down to his posterity.² William de Boterel I married Alice Corbet daughter of Robert Corbet of Longden in Shropshire, and sister of the Sibyl or Lucia Corbet who was the mother of Reginald Earl of Cornwall by King Henry I.³ Reginald Earl of Cornwall was a partisan of his half-sister the Empress Matilda. He enfeoffed his aunt Alice Corbet and her husband, William de Boterel I, in a fief in Cornwall, and the de Boterels ultimately succeeded to Longden, Aston Boterel and Woolstaston in Shropshire. The fief in Cornwall, Moulant in Devonshire, and the Shropshire estates were all held by William de Boterel II, husband of Isabel de Say. In 1199 or 1200 this inheritance descended to their son, William de Boterel III, who was probably born about 1172 or 1173. He married in 1204, Albreda Waleran.⁴

Eyton takes a different view of this marriage, and assigns Albreda Waleran as a second wife to William Boterel II,⁵ but in so doing he ignores the son of William de Boterel II, and admits in a footnote to p. 166 that it is a mystery to him who was the mother of William Boterel III. She was, I believe, Isabel de Say; and Albreda Waleran was the mother of William de Boterel IV, who received livery of the inheritance in 1220, though he was not then of age, for he cannot have been born before 1205.

Albreda Waleran was a lady about whom much could be said, but space forbids more than a summary here. She was the daughter and

¹ John of Hexham in Simeon of Durham, Rolls Series, vol. II, p. 310. *Chronicle of Melrose*, sub anno 1141-2.

² *Book of Fees*, p. 97, Devon, anno 1212. *Pipe Rolls*.

³ Eyton, *Antiquities*, *ibid*, vol. VII pp. 156 et seq. where proofs are cited.

⁴ *Pipe Roll*, 1204.

⁵ Eyton, *Antiquities* *ibid*, vol. VII, Genealogy on p. 159.

co-heir of Walter Waleran, descended from the Venator of William the Conqueror who held a Domesday fief in various counties. Walter Waleran is alleged to have married Isabel, a daughter of William Earl of Salisbury. She cannot have been a legitimate daughter or she would have inherited his earldom, for she was married and a mother when he died, and his legitimate daughter, Ela, inherited.¹ Walter Waleran left no sons at his death, and his heirs were his three daughters, Albreda, Cecily and Isabel, who shared his barony as co-parceners.² Their heritage in Wiltshire consisted of 12 Knights' fees which included an obligation to supply 5 Knights for guard at Sarum Castle,³ where Alienor of Brittany was imprisoned in 1204 and 1208.⁴ Two of these fees for supplying guard at Sarum Castle were held under Ela Countess of Salisbury, and by her under the Bishop of Salisbury.⁵ In 1208 the Bishop of Salisbury fled to Scotland after the failure of the attempt to liberate Alienor.⁶

Albreda Waleran had been twice a widow when she married William de Boterel III. Her first husband was Robert de la Pole,⁷ by whom she had no children, being a child herself at the time. Robert de la Pole's heir was his brother, Robert FitzPayne, an ardent Opposition Baron with the caput of his barony in Somerset.⁸ After Robert de la Pole's death in 1199, Albreda married a Breton, John de Ingham, with estates in Norfolk held under another Breton, Robert de Tateshall, and he of the Honour of Richmond otherwise Brittany.⁹ By John de Ingham, Albreda had a son, Walter de Ingham, whose wardship was granted to Robert de Tateshall when

¹ For Isabel, wife of Walter Waleran see Dugdale, who affiliates her to William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, her sister's husband, which is manifestly absurd. Dugdale must be confusing William Longespée with William FitzPatrick. *Baronage*, vol. I, under Waleran.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer* under Wiltshire, pp. 153; 241-242. *Pipe Rolls. Book of Fees*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Rob. de Liberate*, pp. 99-100. *Pipe Roll* 1204. *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 91B.

⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 236; 242.

⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, vol. II, p. 100. Roger of Wendover, vol. III, p. 226. The Chroniclers do not mention Alienor. See *Annals of Dunstable* for the year 1208.

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 1199, pp. 290-291. *Pipe Roll* 1202, pp. 77; 110; 126. *Pipe Roll* 1203, p. 17.

⁸ *Pipe Rolls. Rot. Litt. Claus. I. Rot. Litt. Pat. I Book of Fees. Red Book of the Exchequer*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

John de Ingham died.¹ There were several suitors for her hand but she offered King John a fine of 300 merks that she might choose her own husband provided he met with the King's approval, and in 1204 she married William de Boterel III.² He offered the King two chargers and a goshawk for this marriage, but he never paid them.³ He died in 1211 leaving two sons, William de Boterel IV and Reginald, and a daughter, Albreda, by Albreda Waleran. They were all in minority, and their custody was immediately claimed by the King as wards of the Crown.⁴ Their inheritance was administered by partisans of King John. Albreda Waleran held, however, her third share of her father's barony and dower from her three husbands. This dower so far as William de Boterel was concerned lay in Longden and Woolstaston, Shropshire.⁵ In 1215-1216 Albreda Waleran was with the Charter Barons, and so was her tenant at Woolstaston, Amilia Anglicus, also a widow, and their estates had been seized and were in King John's custody.⁶

Albreda Waleran, in 1215-1216, was John FitzAlan's nearest woman relative in Shropshire excepting his sister, Petronilla, wife of Walter de Dunstville II of Shiffnal. It should be noted that Albreda's interest in the Opposition to King John was obviously of her own volition for she had neither father, uncles, husband nor brother to influence her at that date, and her sons were infants.

William FitzAlan II, father of John FitzAlan, came of age in 1175. He was of a peaceful disposition, and took little interest in politics. In 1190 King Richard I acknowledged him as Sheriff of Shropshire, for which acknowledgement William paid 60 merks, and he remained Sheriff until King John deprived him of the honour early in 1201. At the same time he was deprived of his Oxfordshire manor of Norton, a Hesding holding,⁷ which was presented by

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pipe Rolls, ibid.*

⁴ *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 55, 194. *Book of Fees*, 1920, p. 97, sub anno 1212. *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, p. 183.

⁵ *Book of Fees. Pipe Rolls I. Rot. Litt. Claus. I.* Eyton, *Antiquities, ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 168.

⁶ *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, pp. 280 and 373. For Amilia see also *Curia Regis Rolls and Haughmond Chartulary*. Eyton, *Antiquities, ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 152-153, and vol. VII, p. 167.

⁷ Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. VII, p. 245, note. *Rot. Litt. Claus. I.*

King John to Reginald Earl of Boulogne, a descendant of Stephen of Blois, rival of the Empress Matilda. William FitzAlan II had been restive at the election of King John, for his family tradition was in favour of succession to the throne by primogeniture, and possibly the conduct of the king towards his nephew Arthur rankled in William's mind; but he was no warrior, and he took no active steps that have come to light. Nevertheless this may account for his loss of the Sheivalty and of Norton. He recovered Norton when the Earl of Boulogne went over to Philip II of France in 1202, but William had to pay a fine for the recovery. He succeeded in keeping his estates until his death, but he was never re-instated in the shrievalty. He married an infant daughter of Hugh de Lacy II, Lord of Ludlow, Ewyas and other estates in Shropshire. She was the daughter of Hugh de Lacy II by Rohaise de Monmouth, daughter of Baderon de Monmouth by Rohaise de Clare II.¹ Her grandmother Rohaise de Clare II was the daughter of Gilbert de Clare and Tonbridge, and the sister of Adeliza de Clare, wife of Alberic de Vere I, Great Chamberlain. Rohaise de Clare II was, therefore, the aunt of Alberic de Vere II, created Earl of Oxford by the Empress Matilda in 1142.² Rohaise de Monmouth had a brother Gilbert who was the father of Walter de Monmouth, husband of Cecily Waleran, sister of Albreda.³ The *maritagium* assigned by Hugh de Lacy II to his daughter who married William FitzAlan II consisted mainly of land in Shropshire. It included Higford, Middleton Higford and Upper Ledwich.⁴ All this remained to the FitzAlans under de Lacy, and should have been held by John FitzAlan. Hugh de Lacy II was also Lord of Meath in Ireland. In 1181, after the death of his first wife, Rohaise de Monmouth, he married a daughter of the King of Connaught.

John FitzAlan had one maternal aunt. She was Eleyne and she married Richard de Belfou.⁵ Richard held land under his brother Henry in Waterperry, Oxfordshire; but as both brothers withdrew

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. IV, p. 377. Vol. XI, pp. 376-377. Vol. XIII, p. 624. Also *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. IV, p. 597. Cf. Reg. Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, *passim*.

² Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 180 et seq.

³ *Pipe Rolls. Red Book of the Exchequer. Book of Fees.*

⁴ Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. VII, pp. 241-242. See also vol. V, p. 255.

⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer.* Farrer, *H.K.F.*, vol. III, pp. 113-114. Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. VII, Genealogy, p. 228.

from allegiance to King John after the death of Arthur and the imprisonment of Arthur's sister, Alienor, their land was seized for the Crown and they retired to Normandy, where the family had estates.¹

John FitzAlan's maternal uncles were Walter de Lacy, Hugh de Lacy III, William and Gilbert de Lacy. Of Gilbert there is nothing to relate at the date of Magna Carta. There is no record of him in England and he was probably either in Ireland or Normandy. The Gilbert de Lacy mentioned as a hostage of King John in 1215 was the only son and heir of Walter de Lacy.²

William de Lacy was in the Opposition, and had been captured by King John at the siege of Carrickfergus in 1210. He appears to have been released before March 16th, 1215.³ He married a daughter of Llywelyn-Ap-Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales.⁴ He was probably in Ireland in June, 1215. He is not mentioned at Brackley or Runnymede.

Walter de Lacy was the head of the family. There is evidence that he did not welcome the election of John to the throne, but he appears in the King's Court in 1199-1200, doubtless because he was ordered so to do. He married Margaret, a daughter of William de Braose II and "on the day of the marriage pledged himself to the said William by oath, that from that day forward, during the whole term of his life, he would hold in his own hands all his land in England and Normandy, so as not to have it in his power to give, sell, or mortgage any part of his land to anyone, whereby the heirs of his wife, daughter of the said William, might suffer decrease of their inheritance, unless it should be done by consent and wish of the aforesaid William (de Braose)."⁵

King John ratified this arrangement on November 19th, 1200. It is to some extent a revelation of Walter de Lacy's character. He was unreliable, and trusted neither by the King nor by William de Braose. This was probably due to his belief that Arthur ought to have been King; for after the murder of Arthur in 1203, William

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 630.

² *Rot. Litt. Pat.* I, p. 149.

³ *Annals de Dunstable*, anno 1210. Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 288. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* I, p. 131.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, 1909, vol. XI, p. 377.

⁵ Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, *ibid*, p. LXXI. Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. V, pp. 258-259.

de Braose was held responsible for all Walter de Lacy's lands, and King John held Ludlow Castle. In 1204, before the imprisonment of Arthur's sister and heir, Alienor of Brittany and England, at Sarum Castle, Walter de Lacy was sent to Ireland to be out of the way; and King John obtained from him six hostages while he was there.¹ Both Patent and Close Rolls show John's distrust of Walter de Lacy. By 1207 Walter was in open rebellion, joined by his brother Hugh III.² By 1208, Walter de Lacy was again in the King's confidence, but a Hugh de Lacy was in the King's hand as one of Walter's hostages, and was in irons. As a special concession the King ultimately granted that Hugh was to be freed from irons but must be safely guarded.³ The King was evidently trying to bribe Walter, for on April 24th, 1208 he granted him a Charter securing to him and his heirs all his lands in Meath to hold by 50 knights' fees, and his fief of Finegal in Dublin to hold by 7 knights' fees, of the King and his heirs for ever.⁴ He then got Walter out of the way again by sending him to Ireland, ostensibly in the King's service.⁵ Hugh remained in custody.

In May, 1208, there was an open attempt to liberate Alienor of Brittany.⁶ It was made by the Bishops of Nantes, Vannes and Cornouaille and many of the nobles of the duchy who wished her to take her rightful place as hereditary Duchess of Brittany.⁷ There were in Scotland and England many nobles, headed by her great-uncles William I King of the Scots, and David, Earl of Huntingdon, his brother, and by her kinsman, Richard Earl of Clare and Hertford, who wished to see her liberated and acknowledged Countess of Richmond, holder of the Honour of Brittany in England. Her partisans included most of the tenants of the Honour of Brittany in England besides Bretons in other counties, chiefly in Leicestershire and Shropshire. King John frustrated all efforts to liberate her, and punished severely most of her adherents. Others he bribed when he could. He completely and ruthlessly

¹ *Rot. de Liberate*, pp. 99-100; 106. *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 39, March 14th, 1204.

² *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, pp. 70; 72. *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, p. 81.

³ *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, p. 110.

⁴ *Charter Rolls*, p. 178.

⁵ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 84.

⁶ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, vol. I, p. 91B.

⁷ *Ibid.*

destroyed the attempt to liberate her in 1208, but the details are too long to relate here. William de Braose may have been implicated. He had a tender heart for the young and oppressed, and his wife had accused the King of murdering Arthur.¹ Moreover William held $4\frac{1}{2}$ knights' fees in Wiltshire of the fief of Adam de Port,² which may or may not have included rendering guard at Sarum Castle, where Alienor was imprisoned. King John, however, in a memorial he caused to be drawn up to justify himself and which was witnessed by a number of Barons,³ probably under threats, accused William of owing him money and said nothing about Alienor; for his object was to conceal all attempts on the part of those in England to liberate his niece, and he believed that a conspiracy of silence would deceive his continental neighbours and the Pope. This accounts for raking up the debts of William de Braose; but many other barons owed debts to the King, which they never paid, and were not pursued with the implacable vengeance he bestowed on William and William's entire family. Besides, he called him "traitor," which is hardly a correct term for "debtor." The de Braose family fled for protection to Walter de Lacy in Ireland. In 1210 King John invaded Ireland, and the de Braose family escaped, some to Scotland, some to France. The de Lacys went with them. Matilda de St. Valery, Lady of Hay, wife of William de Braose II, her eldest son, William de Braose III, and his wife Matilda de Clare, eldest daughter of the Earl of Clare and Hertford, and their four sons, fled to Scotland; but before they could reach the court of the King of the Scots they were seized in Galloway by Duncan, Earl of Carrick, who kept them until he had informed King John, who sent an armed escort to bring them back. It is a long story but the upshot of it was that King John starved Matilda de St. Valery Lady of Hay, and her son, William III, to death in a dungeon, some say at Corfe, others at Windsor. Most of the contemporary Chroniclers give the grim details. Matilda de Clare was imprisoned at Corfe, and there remained until after King John had resigned his kingdom to Pope Innocent III in 1213, when she was released and returned to her father.⁴ Her four sons remained

¹ Roger of Wendover, vol. III, p. 225, sub anno 1208.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, vol. I, p. 152.

³ *Foedera*, vol. I, Part I, pp. 107-108.

⁴ *Rot. Litt. Pat.* I, p. 101B and 143 B. For her sons see *Rot. Litt. Pat.* Henry III, vol. I, pp. 85 and 134, anno 1218.

in the King's custody to the end of the reign and after. At the date of Magna Carta they were the only grandsons of the Earl of Clare and Hertford. Matilda de Clare's husband, thus starved to death, was the brother-in-law of Walter de Lacy.

William de Braose II and Walter and Hugh de Lacy escaped to France. King John declared them outlaws and confiscated their entire estates. William de Braose II died in exile, and was buried by Stephen de Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, himself in exile. Walter and Hugh de Lacy hid themselves in the monastery of St. Taurin at Evreux, performing menial services until their identity was discovered by the Abbot. They were then treated with due respect until King John handed over his kingdom to Pope Innocent III and received it back in vassalage as a fief of the Holy See. Thereupon Walter de Lacy obtained permission to return to England.¹ In 1214 he proffered an enormous fine to the King for re-seisin of his property, but until he could pay the fine or provide sureties for its payment, he was compelled to give up every Deed and Charter he possessed concerning his English and Irish lands.² In 1215 the King was trying to keep him from joining the Charter Barons, and on April 12th restored to him his Castle of Ludlow.³ No doubt these facts prevented Walter de Lacy from joining his nephew, John FitzAlan, in those disturbances John and others were perpetrating. In July, 1215, the King demanded hostages from Walter de Lacy, to include his only son and heir, Gilbert de Lacy, who, when he reached the King was held in the castle of Devizes,⁴ until he was removed in custody to the Marches of Wales. Walter de Lacy is nowhere mentioned among the Barons at Runnymede either with the King or otherwise.

Hugh de Lacy III never returned to England during the remainder of the reign of King John. In 1205 he had been created Earl of Ulster,⁵ perhaps as a bribe to wean him from the Breton interest, but in 1207 and 1208 Hugh III was in open rebellion. If he was the Hugh de Lacy who, in 1208, was a hostage in King John's hand, he must have escaped or been released after the attempt to liberate Alienor of Brittany had failed, for he was in

¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 99. *Rot. Litt. Claus I*, p. 134.

² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 131. Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. V, pp. 264-265.

³ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 132.

⁴ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 149 and p. 191.

⁵ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 54. *Charter Roll*, p. 151.

Ireland again before 1210 and once more in rebellion. When he and Walter escaped to France and concealed themselves at the monastery of St. Taurin, Hugh decided not to return to the allegiance of King John. Instead he swore fealty to Philip II of France and received the lordships of Castlenaudry and Laurac from him.¹ He was not, therefore, present at Runnymede, and his lands in England and Ireland were forfeit. His wife was Emmeline, daughter of Walter de Redelsford, Lord of Bray. One of his daughters, Rohaise de Lacy, ultimately became the third wife of Alan of Galloway, Constable of Scotland.²

It will be seen from the foregoing that John FitzAlan, at the date of Magna Carta, had two uncles in England—Osbert FitzAlan, if Osbert was an uncle, and Walter de Lacy—and two in France—Geoffrey de Vere II and Hugh de Lacy III—and two whose whereabouts are uncertain—William and Gilbert de Lacy. He had, if she was still living, an aunt in Normandy, Elayne, wife of Richard de Belfou, and two aunts by marriage in England, Margaret de Braose and Albreda Waleran.

It seems relevant to add that Sybil de Belfou, related to Henry and Richard, was the wife of Roald II, Constable of Richmond Castle, a principal tenant both of the Honour of Brittany in England and of the Earl of Clare and Hertford.³ Roald was a kinsman of Arthur and Alienor of Brittany.⁴ Throughout John's reign he was in constant trouble, losing his office of Constable and failing to get it back again. In 1215 he was with the Charter Barons. His son, Alan FitzRoald was a hostage in the King's hand; and Roald's knights and men were prisoners in Richmond Castle.⁵ In 1216 King John issued orders that if Richmond Castle could not be held against his enemies, it was to be razed to the ground.⁶

¹ *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, Tome XIX, p. 181.

² *D.N.B.* 1909, vol. XI, p. 379. *Chronicle of Melrose*.

³ For Sybil de Belfou see Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Honour of Richmond, vol. V, p. 93. *MS. Dodsworth VII*, fol. 8D. For Roald's connection with the Earl of Clare and Hertford see *Victoria County History of Northamptonshire*, vol. I, pp. 362 and 387. *Victoria County History of Yorkshire North Riding*, vol. I, p. 233 and notes. *Westminster Abbey Muniments*, No. 1414.

⁴ *Chartulary of Easby Abbey*. See also *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, vol. I, p. 233-234. *Egerton MS. 2827*, fol. 2. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. V, p. 93.

⁵ *Rot. Litt. Pat.* I, pp. 143B; 148B; 163B. *Rot. de Oblatis et Finibus*, pp. 569 and 603. *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, *ibid.* p. 234.

⁶ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, vol. I, p. 186B.

John FitzAlan's sisters were Agnes and Petronilla.

Agnes FitzAlan had been married before the death of her father to Philip de Kyme, eldest son of Simon de Kyme, a Lincolnshire baron, with interests in Yorkshire and in the Honour of Brittany. He was also a tenant of the Earl of Clare and Hertford. Simon de Kyme held a fief of about 30 knights' fees.¹ He was Hereditary Seneschal of Gilbert de Gant, principal tenant of the Honour of Brittany in England and a descendant of Count Stephen of Brittany and Richmond. Gilbert de Gant was an ardent Opposition Baron. He was related to Alienor of Brittany through his grandmother Maud, a daughter of Count Stephen.² Simon de Kyme was married to Rohaise FitzRobert FitzFulk, sewer of William de Percy.³ This lady's brother was the second husband of Rohaise de Clare III, whose first husband had been Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, uncle of the Charter Baron.⁴ Rohaise de Clare III was known as "the Countess." She was the aunt of the Earl of Clare and Hertford, the Executor Baron, and the niece of her namesake, Rohaise de Clare II, wife of Baderon de Monmouth and great-grandmother of John FitzAlan.

At the date of Magna Carta Agnes FitzAlan was not in Shropshire. Simon and Philip de Kyme were both in the Opposition. Philip de Kyme was captured and imprisoned by King John during the Barons' War of 1215-1216.

Petronilla FitzAlan married in 1213, Walter de Dunstanville II, Lord of Shiffnal in Shropshire. He was descended from Alan de Dunstanville, a staunch supporter of the Empress Matilda.⁵ Alan de Dunstanville attested a Charter granted by the Empress to Haughmond Abbey in 1141.⁶ Walter de Dunstanville II was about two years older than John FitzAlan. He was a tenant of the Earl of Clare and Hertford at Aldford and Shalford, Surrey,⁷ and he

¹ Farrer, *H.K.F.*, vol. II, pp. 118, 121.

² Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, Honour of Richmond, p. 89; and Charters in vol. V. *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, vol. I, under Swaledale.

³ Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. I, p. 420.

⁴ Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, *ibid.* *Complete Pserage*, new edition, vol. VII, under Earls of Lincoln.

⁵ Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. II, pp. 272 et seq.

⁶ Eyton, *ibid.*, p. 273.

⁷ *Liber Niger*, vol. I, p. 294.

held lands under other lords in other counties. He had a fief in Wiltshire, where John FitzAlan's principal Hesding manors also lay, and where, too, Albreda Waleran's third share of her father's barony was chiefly situated. Walter de Dunstanville II held his wife's *maritagium* under the FitzAlans, and this included land in Shropshire and their interest in Isleham, Cambridgeshire.¹ He had spent the first part of his minority in the wardship of his uncle, Gilbert Basset, and the later part in that of another uncle, Thomas Basset.² These uncles were partisans of King John, and it was no doubt for that reason Walter was allowed to marry Petronilla FitzAlan in the hope that he would draw his brothers-in-law away from their Opposition interests; but if so, this failed. Moreover, Walter's aunt, Isabel Basset, had married Albert de Greslay as her first husband, and Wido de Creoun as her second husband. Her children, Robert de Gresley, Lord of Manchester, and Petronilla de Creoun, wife successively of William de Longchamps, Henry de Mara and Oliver des Vaux, were in the Opposition. At the date of Magna Carta, Petronilla de Creoun was the wife of Oliver des Vaux, Lord of Clacton in Norfolk, related to the Scots and North Country des Vaux, who were all in the Opposition, and he was himself a tenant of the Honour of Brittany in England. Walter de Dunstanville's own political policy was inclined to be timid, though the Rolls show that his sympathies lay with the Opposition, but he wanted to keep his estates. When the Barons' War broke out he joined the Barons, and his lands were seized into King John's hand.³

When John FitzAlan became one of the Promoters of Magna Carta it was to uphold the rights and liberties of men and women, and the principle of hereditary succession by primogeniture, for which he and his county stood. There were Clauses in Magna Carta which would have freed Alienor of Brittany and England from captivity had King John kept his oath concerning them. There were Clauses also covering the rights of Alexander, King of the Scots, and of Llywelyn-ap-Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales. Alienor was Alexander's cousin. His father, William I, King of the Scots, had been the brother of her grandmother, Margaret of Scotland, wife of Conan Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond,

¹ Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 289, note, and vol. VII, p. 247.

² Eyton, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 286.

³ *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, p. 278.

whose daughter, Constance, in her own right Duchess of Brittany and Countess of Richmond, had been Alienor's mother.¹ Further, Alienor had lived in England and Normandy from the time she was four years old.² She had been brought up by her uncle, King Richard I, and by her paternal grandmother, Queen Alienor of Aquitaine and Poitou.³ She was therefore as well known to the Barons of England as any royal lady could be, for during King Richard's reign she had been treated with the dignity due to her rank, and in 1198, when she was 13, had been granted her own household in the castle of Arques, where she lived with her ladies, and where Geoffrey de Say, father of the Executor Baron of Magna Carta, and kinsman of John FitzAlan, had charge of her custody.⁴ At one time she had been almost betrothed to Louis the Dauphin, son and heir of Philip II of France, but this had fallen through to the intense chagrin of Philip II.⁵ She had the same vivid personality as her royal grandmother who had practically ruled England during the frequent absences of King Richard I, and to whom the Barons had readily submitted. Alienor of Brittany, in 1215,⁶ was thirty years old, and she had been King John's captive in close custody since the death of her grandmother in April, 1204.⁷ According to the *Chronicle of Lanercost* she was a most beautiful and courageous woman.⁸ She was certainly a determined and tactful one.⁹ She called herself Duchess of Brittany and Countess of Richmond,¹⁰ and

¹ Gale, *Honoris de Richmond*, Genealogy. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV, pp. 92-93. *Complete Peerage*, new edition, vol. X, under Earls of Richmond.

² *Pipe Roll*, 1189, p. 197. *Pipe Roll*, 1190, pp. 2; 131; 137. *Pipe Roll*, 1200, p. 190. *Pipe Roll*, 1204, pp. 213; 219; 92. *Rot. de Liberte*, pp. 99-100. *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, vol. I, p. 91B; 41; 67-68; 84; 113; 121; 124B; 128, 137B; 163B; 192B. Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, vol. I, p. 164. Vol. II, p. 420. *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, p. 168B.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norman*, vol. II, p. 420.

⁵ *Walter of Coventry*, vol. II. Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I*, pp. 103-104.

⁶ Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, pp. 257 and 270.

⁷ *Rot. de Liberte*, *ibid.*, pp. 99-100. *Pipe Rolls*, *ibid.* Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 155; 293. *Chronicle of Meaux*, vol. I. *Walter of Coventry*, vol. II, p. 208 note. *Chronicle of Lanercost*, pp. 1; 11-12.

⁸ *Chronicle of Lanercost*, pp. 1; 11-12.

⁹ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 91B.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

only relinquished her rights on her deathbed.¹ Small wonder if she inspired the Opposition Barons to try to secure her liberation. Unfortunately for her, however, at the period when she lived, the law of primogeniture was not, as it is now, the rule in England as regards the Crown, and there were many people outside the Opposition who preferred a king by election to a queen by primogeniture. At the date of Magna Carta Alienor was imprisoned at Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, then considered impregnable, and she was in the care of some of King John's most unscrupulous mercenaries. She was guarded by Peter de Maulay, said to have been her uncle's accomplice in the murder of Arthur.² It was impossible to release her except by the King's compliance with Magna Carta. Before Runnymede a deputation of Barons had been to Corfe Castle to see her, but there are no means of knowing whether they were allowed to see her alone.³ After Runnymede, however, King John appealed to his overlord, Pope Innocent III, representing that the Charter had been wrung from him by force, and asking to be absolved from his oath. The Pope complied. He denounced the Barons, annulled the Charter, excommunicated the Leaders of the Opposition and left Alienor in prison.

The Barons' War followed. John FitzAlan had already returned to Shropshire where he led his people into action, ably supported by Fulk FitzWarin, whose mother, Hawise de Dinan, was a cousin both of Alienor of Brittany and of Ela, Countess of Salisbury.⁴ The kingdom was in chaos, and it is doubtful whether King John's orders were then being always obeyed; so, though John FitzAlan was not officially in charge of his fief, presumably his tenants rallied round him for most of them were in the Opposition.

On October 19th, 1216, King John died, leaving his eldest legitimate son Henry, aged nine years, to the care of Pope Innocent III. The child was crowned at Gloucester in the presence of the Cardinal Gualo, Papal Legate, Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, Peter

¹ *Chronicle of Lannercost, ibid.*

² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, vol. I, pp. 128; 137; 189 for Peter de Maulay and Corfe Castle. *Hemingburgh*, vol. I, p. 232, for the murder of Arthur.

³ *Rot. Litt. Pat. I*, p. 137.

⁴ *Rot. de Liberte*, p. 74. *Pipe Rolls. Rot. Litt. Pat. I. Rot. Litt. Claus I. Curia Regis Rolls.* Eyton, *Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 4 note; vol. VII, pp. 67 et seq. under Alberbury. Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc, Norman*, vol. II. *Book of Fees. Red Book of the Exchequer.* Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. IV and vol. V. See also Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves.*

de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, one of John's courtier bishops, and William Marshal, one of the men instrumental in electing John to the throne after the death of King Richard I, and the most loyal of all his subjects. The Pope ratified the election of John's son; re-affirmed that the kingdom of England was a fief of the Holy See, and assumed the guardianship of the young sovereign as a papal ward. A regency was formed with Gualo and William Marshal at its head. As King Henry III was supported by the wealth and power of the Pope his position was assured.

John FitzAlan did not at once swear fealty to Henry III, but the Pope was too powerful to be resisted. In order, therefore, to obtain legal possession of his lands John FitzAlan came reluctantly into the King's allegiance, and his lands were granted to him in October, 1217.¹

Space forbids the narration of the rest of John FitzAlan's career, but it may be said there are indications that he remained loyal to Alienor and when opportunity occurred joined those who tried to secure her liberation. He married Isabel, sister of Hugh, last Earl of Arundel of the d'Aubigné line, and his descendants eventually became the FitzAlan Earls of Arundel.

¹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. I*, pp. 307; 372; 343.

A SIXTEENTH CENTURY POISONING CASE

Attention may be drawn to an article in the TRANSACTIONS of 1948, of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club (pages 17-20), entitled "History of the Bulkeley Family." In about the year 1674 William Williams, a schoolmaster, as well as the incumbent of several livings in the Bulkeley patronage, wrote a History of the Bulkeley Family. This "History," of which the MS. is in the National Library of Wales (N.L.W.MS. 9080 E.), has been printed for the first time in the above mentioned TRANSACTIONS. See also the Introduction to these TRANSACTIONS.

The article contains an interesting—one might say entertaining—account of the alleged poisoning of the second Sir Richard Bulkeley, by his second wife, Agnes Needham, daughter of Sir Thomas Needham, of Shropshire. For her pedigree, see *Shropshire Visitations, Needham of Shavington*, pp. 371-2. She is said to have been maid-of-honour to the Queen, Mary Tudor, before her marriage with Sir Richard Bulkeley; by whom she had four sons and three daughters. Besides being accused of attempting to murder her husband, she was accused of committing adultery with three persons. She was charged by Richard Bulkeley, eldest son of Sir Richard by his first marriage. She was sent back to her father's home in Shropshire, and the case was brought in the Borough and Assize Courts at Beaumaris, in the Arches, and before the Council of the Marches at Ludlow. She was acquitted, partly because her husband lived another six months after the alleged poisoning. Our own Judge William Leighton, of Plaish Hall, near Cardington, Chief Justice of North Wales, wrote a letter in her favour to the Council of the Marches, which must have helped her considerably. As the writer, Mr. Williams, puts it, "After great wates, animosities & expenses in Law the business came at last to a Reference & Agreement between the sayd Sir Richard" (*i.e.*, son of the gentleman who was thought to be poisoned) "and the Lady Agnes, his mother-in-law" (*i.e.*, stepmother) "wch Agreement beares date Julij 7^o A^o: Elizabethae 17^o."

This lady must not be confused with Anne, d. of Sir Thomas Wileford, Kt of the County of Kent, and wife of a later Sir Richard Bulkeley, whom she was suspected of poisoning, having for accomplice, one Thomas Cheadle, whom she married shortly after her

husband's death. It was not until nine or ten years after Sir Richard's death that his widow and Thomas Cheadle were tried for poisoning him. In this case also an acquittal was obtained, much to the surprise of the Judge, and a doubt still hangs over the means by which the verdict was secured.

L. H. HAYWARD.

OBITUARY

MRS. LAURA LUCIE NORSWORTHY

By the death of Mrs. Norsworthy, at Shiplake, Oxfordshire, on June 14th, 1949, historical research has suffered a great loss. Mrs. Norsworthy was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a member of the Pipe Roll Society, the Historical Association, the British Archaeological Association, the Oxfordshire Archaeological and Historical Society, the Berkshire Archaeological Society and the Shropshire Archaeological Society (to whose TRANSACTIONS she has contributed). She was a writer of distinction, her chief work being *The Lady of Bleeding Heart Yard*, a study of the life of Lady Hatton, whose romance was connected with the Clun district. She contributed historical studies to periodicals, such as the *Cornhill*, *Chambers* and *Notes and Queries*. In her writing she combined charm of style with correctness of fact. She had devoted many years to the analysis of the barons of the reign of King John, and had made a series of elaborate charts, showing their pedigrees and connections; the manors which they held, and their politics—whether they supported the King, or were in favour of the Great Charter. Delving deep into the history of that reign, she discovered special reasons—in many cases not known hitherto—why certain of the barons chose to join one party rather than the other. She had the gift of understanding the human interests and the motives which influenced the people whose lives she studied. An article upon one of the chief Shropshire barons, written shortly before her death, appears in the present TRANSACTIONS.

Failing health prevented her from making use of her material for the work that she had planned. Latterly she had begun to write a biography of Queen Eleanor, Consort of King Henry II, and mother of King Richard I, and of King John, but had completed only about a third of the book. In spite of ill-health she was continuing her research work with her usual painstaking care, verifying every detail. Her knowledge of the pedigrees and manorial holdings of mediaeval families were probably unequalled, and her accuracy was unsurpassed.

L.H.H.

THE RIGHT REV. AMBROSE MORIARTY

It is with deep regret that the death is recorded of the Right Rev. Ambrose James Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Shrewsbury, on June 3rd, 1949, at the age of 79. Ordained a priest in 1894, he came to Shrewsbury in the same year, and at the apex of his ecclesiastical preferment was enthroned at the Catholic Cathedral in 1935, and thus his entire clerical life had been spent in the service of the same Cathedral. To a delightful personality, Bishop Moriarty added many accomplishments. He was especially interested in education, and for many years he was Vice-Chairman of Shrewsbury Education Committee and a member of the Free Library and Museums' Committee. He was a member of the Council of the Shropshire Archaeological Society from 1907 to 1934. In antiquarian studies his abiding interest lay naturally in ecclesiastical matters, and his most important contributions to the publications of this Society were on the subject of the glass in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury (TRANSACTIONS, 1913 and 1920). His keen discernment and accuracy were well shown in this work. Two short papers by him appear in the present TRANSACTIONS.

M.P.

NOTICE

The remaining copies of Dr. Cranage's Work *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, are now stored at the Shrewsbury Free Library. They can be purchased, the whole or in parts, at half-price, on application to the Assistant Secretary of the Society, Mr. J. A. C. Evason, at 7 The Square, Shrewsbury. These prices are as follows : the complete work, £2 12s. 6d. ; Parts 2 to 9, 5s. 3d. each ; Part 10, 10s. 6d. Part 1 cannot be sold separately, as so few copies are left. In addition to these, the Shrewsbury Churches (as a portion of Part 10) will be sold at 5s. 3d., the Appendix at 1s. 3d., and the General Survey at 2s. 6d.

Spare copies of *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll for 1672*, with Introduction by W. Watkins-Pitchford, M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.S., may be obtained at £1 15s. each, post-free.

THE MUSEUM

IS LOCATED IN THE
FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SHREWSBURY
AND IS AT ALL TIMES FREE

Honorary Curators of the Museum :

CONCHOLOGY :	}	J. T. WATTISON, Esq., F.G.S., F.E.S.
GEOLOGY		
ENTOMOLOGY :		W. J. VON M. PENDLEBURY, Esq., M.A., F.E.S.
NUMISMATICS, ETC.	}	R. H. URWICK, Esq., M.D.
FINE ARTS, ETC.		
ZOOLOGY :		L. C. LLOYD, Esq., F.L.S.
ARCHÆOLOGY :		REV. J. E. G. CARTLIDGE, F.R.Hist.S.
PALÆOGRAPHIST :		REV. R. C. PURTON, M.A.

VIROCONIUM COLLECTION

(Rowley's House)

DONALD. ATKINSON, Esq., B.A., Hon. Curator.

PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES

MISS L. F. CHITTY, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.

SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1949

President :

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HARLECH, P.C., G.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents :

The Right Hon. VISCOUNT DE
VESCİ.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP
OF LICHFIELD.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP
OF HEREFORD.

The Right Hon. LORD BARNARD,
C.M.G., M.C.

The Very Rev. D. H. S. CRANAGE,
F.S.A.

Captain Sir OFFLEY WAKEMAN,
Bart.

F. W. PEMBER, Esq., D.C.L.

Council :

Miss H. M. AUDEN, F.R.Hist.S.,
Church Stretton.

Rev. J. E. G. CARTLIDGE,
F.R.Hist.S., Ford.

Miss L. F. CHITTY, F.S.A.,
Pontesbury.

D. S. COLMAN, Esq., M.A.,
Shrewsbury.

A. E. COOPER, Esq., A.S.S.A.,
Shrewsbury.

Mrs. HAYWARD, Ticklerton.

Miss M. C. HILL, M.A., Shrewsbury.

J. L. HOBBS, Esq., Shrewsbury
Free Library (*ex officio*).

R. JEBB, Esq., Ellesmere.

F. LAVENDER, Esq., Bishop's
Castle.

Rev. A. C. LAWSON, D.D., Shrews-
bury.

Miss RACHEL LEIGHTON, 28 Burton
Court, S.W.3.

L. C. LLOYD, Esq., F.L.S.
Shrewsbury.

Very Rev. D. H. S. CRANAGE,
F.S.A., Winkfield.

J. B. OLDHAM, Esq., M.A., Shrews-
bury.

M. DE C. PEELE, Esq., Shrewsbury.
Rev. R. C. PURTON, M.A., Church
Stretton.

J. SALMON, Esq., F.S.A., Well-
ington.

W. J. SLACK, Esq., Shrewsbury.

R. H. URWICK, Esq., M.D., Shrews-
bury.

A. W. WARD, Esq., Shrewsbury.

W. WATKINS-PITCHFORD, Esq.,
M.D., LL.D., Bridgnorth.

J. T. WATTISON, Esq., F.G.S.,
F.E.S., Shrewsbury.

J. R. W. WHITFIELD, Esq., LL.B.,
Oswestry.

C. S. WOOLLAM, Esq., J.P.,
Shrewsbury (*Chairman*).

Editorial Committee :

Editor : M. DE C. PEELE, Esq.

Advisory Committee : Miss H. M. AUDEN, J. B. OLDHAM, Esq., L. C. LLOYD, Esq.

Hon. Secretary :

Miss H. M. AUDEN, F.R.Hist.S., Alderdene, Church Stretton.

Assistant Secretary :

J. A. C. EVASON, A.C.A., 7 The Square, Shrewsbury.

Hon. Auditor :

A. T. MARSTON, Esq.

Treasurers :

LLOYDS BANK LTD., Shrewsbury.

