Transactions

OF THE

Shropshire Archaeological Society

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED 1877

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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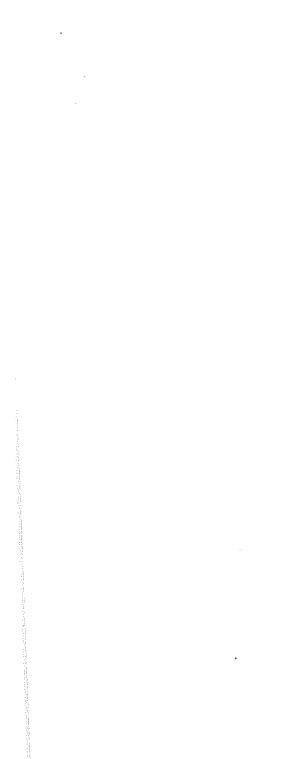
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SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

(WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY)

ANNUAL MEETING, 1951

This was held at Shrewsbury Castle on April 20th, 1951, under the chairmanship of Sir Offley Wakeman, President, supported by

Mr. C. S. Woollam, Chairman of the Council.

The forthcoming publication of Mr. W. J. Slack's work on the Lordship of Oswestry was announced, in the course of the annual report presented by Miss H. M. Auden, Hon. Secretary. Towards the heavy cost of printing the transcription of this work, the Council acknowledged the generous support received from the Salop County Council and the Oswestry Town Council, as well as through individual subscribers.

Dealing with the year's work, Miss Auden said that the Society looked forward to the stimulating work fostered by the newly formed Shropshire Local History Council. The future of the beautiful and interesting Madeley Court had been referred to the Ministry of Works, with the suggestion that it might be restored and turned into an industrial museum for Shropshire. The Ministry of Works had replied that whilst they were in complete agreement with this suggestion, lack of funds at the present juncture prevented them taking any steps. The care of the interesting fragment of Old St. Chad's had been the concern of the Society for some time, and in the circumstances today, it was not easy to see what should be done to preserve this fine old Collegiate church. The Vicar, the Rev. F. T. Horan, and his parochial council were giving some attention to the problem, and the Society hoped something might be done whereby this church might be better cared for. The Roman remains at Cruckton had been carefully explored, when weather allowed, under the supervision of Miss Sladdin, who reported on the discovery of walls, part of a concrete floor and a hypocaust. At the request of the Atcham Rural District Council, the site of the excavations had now been filled in, but it was hoped that further excavations would be possible during the coming year. Traces of the Roman road at Meole Brace were seen, and more evidence of that near Preston Brockhurst was brought to light.

The Society's Accounts were presented by Mr. J. A. C. Evason. An address on "Prehistoric trade in stone implements in the West Midlands" was given by Miss L. F. Chitty, whose special study of the problems of the river and other trade-routes crossing this western region enabled her to impart to her hearers much of her own ardent interest in these matters. In passing, Miss Chitty remarked that the Museum at Rowley's House, Shrewsbury, had the best collection of prehistoric objects to be seen anywhere in the West Midlands.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1952

The Meeting took place at the Art Gallery, Shrewsbury Public Library Buildings, on May 23rd, 1952.

. Among letters from those who were unable to attend, one from the Rev. R. C. Purton was read, in which he mentioned the fact that he had now been a member of the Society for 60 years. On the proposition of Mr. H. Beaumont, Secretary, it was unanimously resolved that he be elected an Hon. Member.

The report was presented by Mr. Beaumont, who dealt with the year's work. This included excavation, under the direction of Miss Sladdin, of Roman stonework in the immediate vicinity of the site of a bridge at Acton Burnell. There had been most interesting results, which it had not yet been possible to investigate or pronounce on fully.

He mentioned that the membership of the Society totalled 163, 41 being of libraries and other societies, and 122 being individuals. The need for more membership was greatly stressed. A discussion as to the financial position of the Society followed, showing that great difficulties had to be faced as regards the cost of printing. It had been decided to utilise such funds as were available in respect of Parish Registers by the preparation of Part I of the Wellington Register, but that would have to be the last issue of a Register for the time being.

The Accounts were presented by the Secretary, and Mr. D. O. Dyke was elected Hon. Auditor.

A vote of thanks to the President was moved by the Chairman of the Council, seconded by Mr. Ward, and carried with acclamation.

ANNUAL EXCURSION, 1951

For the second year in succession the annual whole day excursion was held outside the confines of the county. This is no reflection on the antiquities of Shropshire, but gives members the opportunity of visiting less well known places of interest just outside Shropshire. Nearly thirty members attended the excursion which was under the leadership of Mr. John Salmon, B.A., F.S.A.

After an hour's rapid drive through Whitchurch, the county boundary was crossed into Cheshire, and the first port of call, Malpas Church, was reached. Here the Rector gave a most interesting and lucid account of this very fine structure whose core is four-teenth century, though very much enlarged in the fifteenth, and with a vestry added in the eighteenth century. Vanbrugh was responsible for the gate-posts, and the wrought-iron gates are very fine. The thirteenth century chest, the Brereton and Cholmondeley tombs

and much else interested the visitors for nearly an hour. (For further details, vide, "An Architectural History of the Church of Malpas," by F. H. Crossley and J. C. W. Dod in the Chester Archaeological Society's Journal, vol. XXXVII, New Series (1949).)

Soon after noon the party reached Cholmondeley Castle, where they received a most cordial welcome from the Earl of Rocksavage and his wife. The views across the park and meres were first admired and then members were shown the more important rooms. The castle was rebuilt on this virgin site early in the nineteenth century in pseudo-Gothic style. There are interesting portraits (including three of Walpole with whom the family were connected by marriage) and a very fine set of seventeenth century Teniers tapestries, showing the usual wealth of rustic detail typical of this designer. (For further details vide two articles by the Earl of Rocksavage in Cheshire Life for July and August, 1951.)

The private chapel, close to the site of the old mansion, was next visited under the guidance of the Rev. D. Tuder Jones. Apart from a medieval roof, very fine seventeenth century woodwork and later transepts, the building dates from a rebuilding by Vanbrugh about 1716 and is a very unusual survival of those days.

After a picnic lunch and a brief halt to inspect the exteriors of Acton Church and Dorfold Hall, Nantwich Church was next visited, where Mr. Salmon pointed out the salient features of this fine cruciform fourteenth century structure. Of particular interest were the beautiful contemporary stallwork with misericordes in the chancel.

Skirting Crewe, the party halted at Sandbach to inspect the two standing crosses in the market place. Mr. Salmon largely based his remarks on a paper by Mr. A. C. F. Tait in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Cheshire and Lancashire*, vol. 98 (1948). Mr. Salmon stated that the general census of expert opinion dates these crosses to about 850, but by whom or why they were erected could not be determined with any certainty.

The party had an excellent tea at The Bleeding Wolf Inn, Scholar Green, where the chairman, Mr. Woollam, warmly thanked Mr. Salmon for conducting the day's excursion.

The final port of call was Little Moreton Hall, popularly known as Moreton Old Hall, a magnificent timber-framed structure now in the careful guardianship of the National Trust. The main structure dates from the mid-fifteenth century, but the long gallery on the second floor with its interesting plaster work at either end was added some fifty years later.

The party arrived back in Shrewsbury at 7.39, one minute early.

VISIT TO SHREWSBURY SCHOOL, 1952

The suggestion of a half-day's visit to the Schools, this July, arose appropriately on the Fourth Centenary celebrations taking place that year. It was held under the guidance of Mr. J. B. Oldham, M.A., who first gave to the party an introductory talk on the history of the School and its Library, and on some of the more special contents of the latter. One of the houses (Ridgemount) was then visited, followed by the Chapel, where features of outstanding interest include the screens and pulpit brought from the Old Schools, and a Florentine tondo by Benedetto da Maiano, the presence of which in this building is probably very little known beyond those to whom Shrewsbury School is or has been their own place of work. In the School Buildings the interest of the party was particularly aroused by elaborate and illuminating statistical charts, "Some Salopian Facts and Figures," containing all kinds of information relating to the School, which have been compiled by one of the Masters, Mr. M. L. Charlesworth.

After several other places in the School area had been seen, including a form-room containing a collection of portraits, water-colours and prints of Salopian interest, the final visit was to the Library and Picture Gallery. In the Library were exhibited some of the most important of the MSS., printed books and bindings (three recently returned from an exhibition in the Bibliothèque Nationale), and a special exhibition illustrating the history of, and life in, the School from 1552 to 1952. The Picture Gallery has a numerous array of English nineteenth century water-colours.

VISIT TO PITCHFORD, 1952

In August, by kind permission of Lady Sybil Grant, members were invited to visit Pitchford Hall, and had the opportunity to view that delightful house. It was intended that a series of short talks, to be given in the course of the visit, should be comprehensive as regards the history and topography of Pitchford. Ultimately these had to be reduced in number, but members had the pleasure of hearing Mr. W. J. Slack on the subject of parish and manor, and Mr. H. Beaumont on that of Sir Francis Ottley, the Royalist governor of Shrewsbury in the Civil War, of whom and whose family there is a painting in the house.

Mr. Slack said that Pitchford differed only in size (a difference usual in Shropshire and the west) from the typical village associated with the Anglo-Saxon settlement. It was a manor and parish of only one vill, instead of the several which were usual. The boundaries of the manor, and the civil and ecclesiastical parishes, were identical. This was a coincidence, but due to historical causes. The civil parish was the result of the Poor Law of 1597, which made it the unit of

administration for the relief of the poor and the levying of a rate, and so it became the basis for other rating purposes. Separation of the civil and ecclesiastical functions of the parish were brought about by Local Government Acts of the last century.

The unity of parish and manor was the result of the lord of the manor building a church, and obtaining licence from the Bishop to appoint a priest and to pay the tithes of the manor to the new church instead of to the "mother" church of the district, in this case

probably Cound.

Mr. Slack then described the lay out of the manor as it was in medieval times. He said that the village had probably been moved to its present site, away from the church and hall, when the latter was built in the sixteenth century. The arable open fields, three in number, occupied the eastern part of the parish. Their situation and approximate extent could be traced today. On the west lay the demesne, the deer park, and the common pasture. The park was an enclosure out of the great wood of Burywood, which at one time had extended into four parishes.

Enclosure at Pitchford appeared to have been of that gradual and piecemeal nature characteristic of early enclosure in Shropshire. The demesne land and the pastures had probably been enclosed before 1600, and less than 150 acres of the open fields remained in 1633, when the occupiers and owners made an agreement to exchange and enclose. At the end of the seventeenth century all the parish except about 25 acres of common pasture was enclosed; though the park, now part of Pitchford Park Farm, was then undivided.

The Roman site in the course of being excavated at Acton Burnell was also visited, and a description of it given by Miss E. Sladdin.

ANNUAL EXCURSION, 1952

The two shorter meetings were followed by a whole day's excursion into the very lovely countryside of south-west Herefordshire, which took place on September 15th. It was most ably and hospitably conducted by Mr. F. C. Morgan, F.S.A., Librarian of Hereford Cathedral.

The places of outstanding interest visited began with Madley, a fine church in which the special features pointed out were some Norman work and good thirteenth century tower, glass in the decorated chancel, and an impressive font. Kilpeck is too famous to call for any summarised note; suffice it to say that members were glad indeed to have this opportunity, on an auspiciously fine day, of seeing its architecture, and the remarkable and intricate sculpture adorning the south door. The famous ruined abbey at Llanthony was then visited, followed by Abbey Dore, the ruins at which include only moderate remains, but exhibit some fine mouldings which date

from the thirteenth century. By evening the party had returned to Hereford, where tea was taken at a place of appropriate interest, the Booth Hall Hotel, among the features worthy of remark being the timber work of the roof. Having taken leave of our courteous and enlivening guide, the return journey was made to Shrewsbury with the feeling that the day had been one of a thoroughly satisfying impressiveness.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETINGS

10th January, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

A report by Miss Sladdin on Roman remains at Cruckton was read. Aftention was called to the fact that the Guide to Shropshire claiming to be issued with the approval of the County Council contained a number of inaccuracies. It was agreed that the matter should be brought to the notice of the County Council.

Miss Chitty drew attention to the proposal of the Forestry Commission to plant trees on Caer Caradoc, Stretton, and pointed out that the summit of this hill was crowned by one of the finest hill-top forts in Shropshire. It was agreed to make representation

to the authorities.

Messrs. Wilding & Son Ltd. were elected a new Member.

14th February, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

On the proposition of Mrs. Hayward it was agreed that the Secretary should write to the County Planning Officer to ask that members of the Society and others interested be given the opportunity of seeing the draft lists of buildings being scheduled under Section 30 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1947.

It was reported that damage had been done to the fourteenth century refectory pulpit near the Abbey Church. A carved stone panel bearing figures of Saints Peter and Paul had been destroyed. The attention of the authorities had already been drawn to this by

a member.

Mr. Wattison mentioned evidence of wood-boring beetles in the timbers of Rowley's House. It was agreed that the attention of the authorities be drawn to this.

The Secretary reported receipt of a letter from the Forestry Commission stating that everything would be done with a view to preserving the earthworks on Caer Caradoc.

14th March, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Secretary reported that the Borough Surveyor was aware of damage being done at Rowley's House by beetles. Precautionary measures had already been taken, and experts had been invited from London to deal with the matter.

Mr. Lloyd reported that during diggings for a gas main, workmen had found moulded stones which perhaps were door jambs of St. Austin's Friary.

Mr. Hobbs reported that some 349 coins in an earthen vase had been found at Hordley, near Ellesmere. They were Romano-British,

mainly of the third century.

Mr. E. M. Rutter was elected a new Member.

19th April, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

It was agreed that it was desirable that the mural painting in the house of Mr. C. Edwards at Eaton-under-Heywood be photographed and published.

Miss M. H. Hope was elected a new Member.

9th May, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Secretary read a letter from the County Planning Officer stating that the Ministry had now agreed to permit Local Authorities to discuss provisional lists of places of special interest. It was agreed that arrangements be made for members to visit the Planning Officer to see the lists.

13th June, 1950. Dr. Watkins-Pitchford in the Chair.

A detailed report was made by Miss Sladdin on the excavations to date at Cruckton. Walls, part of a concrete floor, and a hypocaust had been uncovered. The Excavation Committee was authorised to spend a further ± 10 .

Discovery of a portion of a Roman road at Meole Brace and

Preston Brockhurst was reported.

The Secretary reported receipt of a letter from the "Rights of Way Committee" as to a forthcoming Meeting. Mr. Peele was asked to act as representative, and Mrs. Hayward said that she hoped also to attend.

Miss M. E. Rose was elected a new Member.

11th July, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

At the suggestion of Mr. Ward, it was agreed that he should get in touch with Messrs. Morris & Co. Ltd., and invite them to put up a plaque on the interesting building, now their bakery, containing a short history of it.

19th September, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Miss Sladdin was thanked for the able way in which work had

been carried out at Cruckton.

Mr. Peele reported the first Meeting of the County Footpath Survey Committee, and that steps were being taken to assist Parishes wherever possible. It was agreed that the Society contribute a guinea towards the expenses.

Mr. Bird reported on a Meeting of the Council for British

Archaeology which he had attended.

Mr. Lavender reported that the Ancient Monuments Board had decided to allow demolition of the Old Market Hall, Bishop's Castle. Mr. W. T. Rogers was elected a new Member.

10th October, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Attention was called to the deplorable condition into which Madeley Court was rapidly falling. It was resolved that the very kind offer of Mr. A. A. Davis to make enquiries be accepted.

Mr. A. A. Davis, Mr. G. Lissant Cox and Mrs. Lissant Cox were

elected new Members.

Mr. Whitfield raised the question of an attempt to increase membership of the Society for the sake of its financial position. A sub-committee was appointed to consider ways of improving the position.

Miss Chitty reported that a son of the Rev. Preb. A. C. Lawson had discovered a hitherto unrecorded earthwork at Haughton.

14th November, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Correspondence was read with regard to Madeley Court. It was agreed that the Secretary should write to the Ministry of Works to ascertain whether any official scheme for its preservation was being considered.

.The report of the Membership Sub-Committee was read, and it was agreed that steps it deemed desirable should be taken.

It was agreed that an Archaeological Research Committee be formed on a permanent basis, and members of it were appointed.

Miss Chitty exhibited a small stone axe, with flints and spindlewhorl, found at Bucknell by M. Gray, which had been presented to Shrewsbury Museum.

12th December, 1950. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Further steps suggested by the Membership Sub-Committee were approved.

Mr. Wattison reported that a considerable amount of seventeenth century slip-ware had been brought to light at Sibdon Castle. He was invited to prepare a report on this pottery.

It was reported that the Norman font outside Old St. Chad's was suffering from exposure, and the Secretary was instructed to make

enquiries.

9th January, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

A letter from Inspector Cole of Ludlow was reported, asking for advice as to disposal of some fragments of carved stones he had found in his garden. It was suggested that these be offered to the Ludlow Museum.

Mr. Peele reported the proposed scheme of the Council of British Archaeology for notification of Reprints of articles being printed. It was agreed that the Society co-operate in this.

13th February, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Mr. Oldham reported on a Meeting of the Council for British Archaeology. Arising thereon, some discussion took place as to the possibility of setting up a training centre. Miss Sladdin said that the Western Region had this matter in hand, and she would give further information as it became available.

13th March, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Arrangements for a proposed meeting to view Old St. Chad's were discussed.

Mr. B. C. Clarke was elected a new Member.

The Secretary reported the position with regard to the Uriconium Excavation Fund, showing a present balance of £72 12s. 7d. Steps with a view to the Council keeping itself well informed of developments at the site were discussed.

20th April, 1951. Sir Offley Wakeman in the Chair.

The Secretary reported that he had received a letter from the Ministry of Works, stating that although suggestions as to preservation and use of Madeley Court would be welcome, it was regretted that the cost at present appeared to be prohibitive.

Miss V. Lloyd was elected a new Member.

Mr. Slack referred to the interesting old house at Great Lyth, and Mr. Ward agreed to make some enquiries with regard to it.

8th May, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

A report was made as regards the house at Great Lyth, which had been built in 1686, and it appeared that the original lay-out of the building had not been altered. It was agreed that details of it be retained for record.

The following new Members were elected: Major W. Gwynne Gittens, Mrs. Jasper More, Miss E. Bullock and Mr. M. Rix.

12th June, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Dr. Watkins-Pitchford reported that the Georgian Church at Jackfield, built in 1759, was to be pulled down. It was agreed that the Shropshire Photographic Society be requested to make a photographic record, and other Societies be advised of the position.

Miss Sladdin reported investigations at an old bridge near Acton Burnell, where excavations were disclosing some very complicated

details.

10th July, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Council expressed thanks to Mr. Ross for finishing the transcription of Volume II of the Wellington Parish Register, and to Rev. R. C. Purton for finishing Volume I.

Correspondence with regard to Madeley Court was read, and it was decided that a letter be written to the M.P. for the constituency, as to efforts being suggested for its preservation as an industrial museum.

It was agreed that the Society should exchange Transactions with the Middlesex Archaeological Society.

Mr. M. W. Renshaw was elected a new Member.

Miss Chitty reported several interesting discoveries: a collection of flints from the Clun district by Mrs. de Courcy Parry, which were to be handed to the Shrewsbury Museum, after they had been properly recorded; flint arrowheads from the regions of Farlow, Cleobury Mortimer and Prescott; a perforated stone implement (place of discovery not yet ascertained); and an excellent flint arrowhead from Madeley.

11th September, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Mr. D. Moore exhibited photographs and coloured slides taken at Jackfield Church. Mention was made that the architect of the Church was probably Thomas Farnols Pritchard who built Ironbridge Church and St. Julian's Church, Shrewsbury. Dr. Watkins-Pitchford suggested that photographs be taken to record the unique system of chain-linking by means of which the Church was held together. Mr. D. Moore was given a vote of thanks for the trouble he had taken.

A forthcoming visit by Dr. Margaret E. Wood, a leading authority on medieval houses, was reported, and the Council approved Mr. Lloyd's suggestion that this might be a good opportunity to arrange a meeting in Shrewsbury.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Evason had intimated his desire to be relieved of his appointment as Secretary. This resignation was accepted with regret, and a committee appointed to consider a successor.

Mr. Ward reported that Major Sowerby had uncovered some interesting panelling in elm at Windsor Place, probably of the Queen Anne period.

9th October, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Mr. Woollam reported that the sub-committee recommended that Mr. Beaumont be appointed as Secretary to succeed Mr. Evason on his resignation. This was adopted, and Mr. Beaumont elected accordingly. The Council recorded its appreciation of Mr. Evason's efficient performance of his duties since his appointment in February, 1948.

Mr. A. T. Davies was elected a new Member.

Dr. Watkins-Pitchford exhibited two stones which he stated might have been used as mealing stones before the introduction of the rotary quern about 100 B.C.; Professor Shotton of Birmingham University stated that they are natural pebbles from the Bunter Beds. Mr. Hobbs exhibited a Crucifixion Ring, presented to the Museum by Miss D. Hardwick, Warwickshire, who believed it had originally belonged to the Abbots of Shrewsbury.

13th November, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Council received with great regret the resignation, because of his inability to attend Meetings, of Mr. R. Jebb.

The Secretary reported the position with regard to the accounts for the year 1950. After discussion, it was resolved that a subcommittee be appointed to consider the financial position of the Society, and report with suggestions.

Mr. Lloyd gave notice of arrangements for a lecture to be given by Dr. Margaret Wood on "The English House in the Thirteenth Century." It was agreed that expenses of this be shared with the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club, and M1. Salmon be invited to take the Chair at the lecture.

It was resolved that new Members joining after September in any year be entitled to membership rights to December of the following year on payment of one year's subscription only.

Mrs. Hayward was appointed joint Hon. Sec. of the Parish Register Society.

Mr. J. C. Barrow was elected a new Member.

11th December, 1951. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Council asked that a message of sympathy be sent to Mr. A. E. Cooper in his illness.

Miss Chitty and Mr. Slack reported that they had inspected the site of the Acton Burnell excavations, and a recommendation that the site be scheduled for preservation had been sent to the Ministry of Works.

The report of the financial sub-committee was presented. Two of the resolutions adopted as a result were that the Parish Register Account be merged in the General Fund, with £227 ear-marked for the printing of the Wellington Register, and that the sub-committee be established as a permanent Finance and General Purposes Committee.

The offer of M_1 . J. P. Dodd to type and index the Alveley Parish Register was accepted.

The Rev. L. Perfect was elected a new Member.

8th January, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Dr. Watkins-Pitchford reported that about 50 deeds in possession of the Bridgnorth Corporation, nearly all of the fourteenth century relating to William de Ryton of Shifnal, had been entrusted to him to transcribe.

Mrs. M. W. Langdon was elected a new Member.

It was agreed that Mr. Wattison, Mr. Slack and Mr. Moore should examine the site of the old potteries near Broseley with a view to excavation.

12th February, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman referred to the loss which the Society had sustained by the death of Dr. Lawson. The Members of the Council stood as a mark of respect for Dr. Lawson.

Arrangements for a visit to Pitchford were discussed.

It was agreed that the Society exchange publications with the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.

It was agreed to accept with thanks an offer of Mrs. D. Mander of several volumes of TRANSACTIONS, and to ask whether she knew of the present whereabouts of the original Wombridge Cartulary.

Capt. E. Minton Beddoes and Mr. W. N. Swadling were elected new Members.

11th March, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman congratulated Mr. Slack on the publication of *The Lordship of Oswestry*, 1393–1607, and Mrs. Hayward upon her election as President of the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club.

The following new Members were elected: Mr. W. Blanch, Miss E. M. Wood, Miss M. Blundell, Mr. Day, Mrs. Ray and Michael and Jonathan Ray (Junior Members).

Miss Chitty outlined some recent developments in the study of the Bronze Age.

8th April, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Secretary reported that the Trustees of the Walker Trust had agreed to make a grant of £50 towards the cost of publishing The Lordship of Oswestry.

Offers of assistance from Mrs. Gray (as to excavations) and Mr. Roper (register transcribing) were referred to Miss Sladdin and Mr. Purton respectively.

13th May, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Secretary read a letter from the Pilgrim Trust which stated that the Trustees considered *The Lordship of Oswestry* to be "of that high standard which makes it eligible for consideration by the Pilgrim Trustees for grant aid." The letter contained an enquiry as to the cost.

University College, Leicester, was elected a new Member.

Mr. Slack was authorised to lend aerial photographs (taken for the Roman Roads Committee) to Dr. Chambers of Nottingham.

17th June, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

Arrangements for deposit on loan of certain MS. copies of registers, for the use of Dr. Shrewsbury of Birmingham, were agreed.

Mrs. Hayward exhibited interesting objects found at Fitz

Rectory in November last.

It was resolved that a greetings telegram be sent to Miss Auden on 20th June conveying the warmest congratulations of the Chairman and Council on her attaining her 90th birthday.

8th July, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman thanked Mr. Oldham for the most interesting and enjoyable visit of members to the Schools, and for his guidance on that occasion.

Mr. J. B. Lee was elected a new Member.

9th September, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman spoke of the achievement of Miss Chitty in completing the index to the first five series of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*; and it was resolved that the Council's sense of pleasure and pride in her distinguished work be recorded in the Minutes.

The Secretary reported the receipt of £115 from the Pilgrim Trust as a grant towards the cost of *The Lordship of Oswestry*.

A vote of thanks to Miss Sladdin, Mr. Slack and Mr. Beaumont

was passed for their talks given on the visit to Pitchford.

The following were elected new Members: Mr. W. E. Badger,

Mr. C. H. Beeby, Mr. V. T. Smith and Mr. A. Bate.

14th October, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman spoke of the great loss which the Society had sustained in the death of Dr. W. Watkins-Pitchford, and paid tribute to his distinguished work and outstanding personality. The Members then stood in silence.

Mrs. Paget was cordially thanked for her assistance on the day of the Annual Excursion.

Miss Sladdin gave an account of the Summer Excavations Course carried out at Uriconium under the direction of Dr. Kathleen Kenyon. It was resolved that Dr. Kenyon be invited to become a Vice-President. Arrangements were made for a report on the excavations to be prepared for the Transactions, and it was resolved that the Society support the University of Birmingham's suggestion for a course of lectures on Archaeology in Britain to be arranged for this winter.

The question of fencing the Cressage Oak was discussed.

11th November, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman referred to the death of Mr. A. E. Cooper, for more than forty years Secretary of this Society. He expressed sympathy with Mr. Beaumont, the present Secretary, and Mrs. Beaumont, Mr. Cooper's daughter. He said that members would wish to place on record the Council's generous tribute to Mr. Cooper's long and faithful service. It was not only that their old friend ably discharged the routine duties of his office, but he had stood for much more to the Society than that; he had a real interest in its purpose, and an intimate knowledge of members of the Council and contributors to our Transactions, so that in his best years he figured in the Society as something of its "Guide, Philosopher and Friend." Miss Auden added her tribute, and recalled how Mr. Cooper followed Mr. Goyne as Secretary at the time when her father, the Rev. Preb. Thomas Auden, was Chairman. The Rev. R. C. Purton recalled Mr. Cooper's unfailing patience with the demands of editors. The members of the Council stood in silent tribute.

It was agreed that new Members of the Society should have a free issue of the last Transactions published prior to date of joining. Lady Dyer and Miss K. Armstrong were elected new Members.

9th December, 1952. Mr. Woollam in the Chair.

The Chairman on behalf of the Council congratulated Mr. Oldham on the publication of his recent *History of Shrewsbury School*.

On the invitation of St. Chad's Parochial Church Council to meet representatives of the Society for discussing the future of Old St. Chad's Church, Mr. Oldham and Mr. Ward were asked to act as representatives.

Mr. Oldham drew the attention of members to the importance of the investigation now being made by Miss Sladdin into the history and structure of Riggs Hall. Miss Sladdin briefly summarised the present results.

Regulations were agreed as to the sale of old numbers of Transactions.

Lt.-Col. H. Payne and Miss B. Price were elected new Members.

RULES

- 1. The Society shall be called the "Shropshire Archaeological Society (with which is incorporated the Shropshire Parish Register Society)."
- 2. The Council shall consist of the following persons in whom the management of the Society shall be vested, that is to say:— The President, Vice-Presidents, the Editorial Committee, Hon. Treasurer, Secretary, and other officers, and not less than twelve other members. Any vacancy which may occur in the Council, or in the office of Secretary or Treasurer, shall be provisionally filled by the Council.
- 3. A General Meeting of the Members shall be held annually at such place as the Council shall appoint. The President, or in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall have power to call an extraordinary General Meeting on giving through the Secretary a fortnight's notice to the Members.
- 4. The Subscription of each Member shall be paid in advance to the Secretary or Treasurer, and shall be the annual sum of One Guinea. If any Member's subscription shall be in arrears for two years, and he shall neglect to pay his subscription after being reminded by the Secretary, he shall be regarded as having ceased to be a Member of the Society.
- 5. The objects of the Society shall be carried out with the honorary assistance of the Members, and the funds of the Society shall be disbursed in printing and illustrating such information as shall be contributed by the Members searching for and transcribing public records, and other objects approved of by the Council, and for the necessary expenses of the Society, including the care of the excavations at Uriconium.
- 6. Contributors of papers shall be entitled to twelve copies of such articles as they may contribute.
- 7. Every Member not in arrear of his annual subscription will be entitled to one copy of every publication of the Society.
- 8. The Council shall determine what number of each publication shall be printed.
- 9. No alteration shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at the Annual Meeting, or a General Meeting called for the purpose.

SHROPSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1953

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THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE MORE PROMINENT SHREWSBURY DRAPERS 1560-1660

The rise of the Shrewsbury Drapers to commercial success on the Border in the sixteenth century is inseparable from the history of the Welsh cloth trade. Weaving and the cloth trade had existed in Wales as a domestic industry since the early Middle Ages. By the end of the fifteenth century Welsh cottons, friezes and plains (to name the most prominent varieties) had become common, if not especially valuable, articles of export, largely down the Severn or by coaster to Bristol, whence they were shipped to Spain, Portugal and Brittany. In the next century the industry gradually shifted its place of manufacture from South Wales to the counties of the centre and north, Cardigan, Montgomery, Merioneth and Denbigh. The Breton and Spaniard were finding Welsh coal a more useful article of exchange, and a new avenue of export for Welsh cloth was needed. The harbours of North Wales apparently lacked shipping and facilities, but another way out was at hand, through Oswestry and the Border to London and the markets abroad.

This development which took place in the middle years of the sixteenth century explains the growing importance of Oswestry as a staple for the trade, the emergence of the Shrewsbury Drapers as middlemen between the Welsh manufacturers and the London traders at Blackwell Hall, and the heroic struggles of the Drapers to control the Oswestry market against all comers. The Fraternity of the Blessed Trinity, as the Drapers were labelled in their first charter of 1462, were one of the separate craft-gilds which grew up in fifteenth century Shrewsbury to replace the more all-inclusive earlier gild merchant, the result of division of labour in the town's expanding trade. Two other crafts became actively concerned with the cloth industry: the Mercers in their more all-inclusive rôle of general traders and the Shearmen, who were responsible for finishing the cloth. Although they both challenged the Drapers' dominance at repeated intervals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, neither was able to function adequately as that vital link in the Welsh cloth trade between the Welsh manufacturer to whose trading world Oswestry was the ultimate horizon and the London export merchants. The Mercers were too committed to retail trade in Shrewsbury, and the Shearmen through their humble origins and their primitive if essential rôle in the manufacturing process lacked the leaderships and resources to rival the Drapers. So for almost a century the Shrewsbury Drapers exercised a precarious and unique monopoly over the marketing end of the Welsh cloth trade; precarious because of the constant threats from all sides, including Wales, Oswestry, Shrewsbury, and London, where various interests thought they could dispense with the Drapers' meddling; and it is unique in that the history of industrial organisation rarely finds a provincial trading company maintaining itself as middlemen against the encroachments of country clothiers and London merchants on either side.1

In the course of a study just completed on the Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh cloth trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I became increasingly interested in the Drapers as social types. Where did they come from? What happened to their families? Is there such a thing as a typical Draper during the period under review? Such questions, by their very nature, raise serious problems for the social historian. To answer them for one individual is always a time-consuming and often an impossible task, particularly in the case of simple mercantile folk whose lives lay in quiet ways, outside the main stream of history. Yet to answer such questions with any degree of authority, not one individual but a considerable and preferably a homogeneous group must be sampled. One such was fortunately at hand.

The list of Shrewsbury Bailiffs (or Mayors) who were Drapers, and Drapers who were Masters or Wardens of the Company, during this period totals 62. Their local prominence both lends this group a certain uniformity for study which a more random selection of Drapers would lack and has assured the survival of considerably more evidence about them than would be the case with any other selection. The details have been garnered from five different sources: the records of the Drapers' Company, especially the Minute Books and Apprentice Book; the lists and biographies of

IX. 197-213.

¹Earlier works on the Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh cloth trade include :-

E.—
E. A. Lewis, "A Contribution to the Commercial History of Medieval Wales (1301-1547); in Y Cymmrodor, XXIV;
C. A. G. Skeel, "The Welsh Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Arch. Camb. (7th ser.), II, 222-58;
A. H. Dodd, "The Story of an Elizabethan Monopoly," Economica,

the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewsbury assembled by J. Morris²; J. B. Blakeway, *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, and the genealogical papers in the Blakeway Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford³; the *Shropshire Visitation of* 1623⁴; and the 29 wills from this group which have survived at Somerset House, London.⁵

Rather than give the details of each biography it seemed more profitable to attempt some generalisations from them.

Origins-Geographical: Out of 54 Drapers on whom there is information, 39% came from Shrewsbury, 33% from outside Shrewsbury, 11% from Staffordshire, and 7% from Wales. The comparable figures for the whole Company were 33%, 37%, 9% and 8.9%.

Origins-Social: Out of 41 Drapers on whom there is information, about 22% were sons of Drapers; 24%, sons of yeomen; 14%, sons of gentlemen; and 39%, sons of craftsmen or merchants (four Mercers, three Merchants, two Shearmen, two Ironmongers). The comparable figures for the whole Company were 20.9%, 15%, 38% and 17%.

Marriages and Dynasties: Of the group, 25 founded Drapers' dynasties; 18 included father and son; five were three generations long; and two families, Baynes and Gardiner, had four Drapers in direct line of descent. If nephews were included, these figures would be appreciably larger. The wives of 24 of the group can be identified; eleven came from Drapers' families, and thirteen were members of prominent Shrewsbury families, often gentry. Although twelve of the group figured at some time in the London end of the trade, only one found himself a London wife: John Nichols married Anne Heylyn, whose family, however, originally came from Shropshire. Two of the greatest of the Shrewsbury clans, the Irelands and the Owens, first became connected with the Drapers in the famous 1572

²J. Morris, "Lists of Provosts and Bailiffs of Shrewsbury," in *Shropshire Archaeol. Soc. Trans.* (3rd ser.), I, III, IV, V, VI, X (passim.).

³J. B. Blakeway, *Sheriffs of Shropshire* (Shrews; 1831). The genealogical papers in the collection are in two volumes, arranged alphabetically, and very sketchy. They were probably used by Morris.

⁴G. Grazebrook and J. P. Rylands, *The Visitation of Shropshire Taken in the Year 1623* (Harl. Soc. Publ. XXVIII) (1889). In general the genealogical detail here seems less trustworthy than either Morris or Blakeway.

⁵Of the twenty-nine wills found, all but two give considerable details of bequests, personal property, lands, and houses.

"deal" with the Mercers (when the more aggressive Mercers were bought off by membership in the Drapers). Both families had too many other irons in the fire to remain content with draping, but their connections with its members, if not their activity in the Company, remained constant. Only one of the list ever became High Sheriff of the county (although many were related to the gentry who usually monopolised this job) or indeed attained any post of distinction outside the town. Again one retains the impression that the Drapers concentrated on the local, Shrewsbury scene, rather than on the larger world of the Border or London; and even in Shrewsbury they were apparently more interested in material prosperity than in the pageantry of office.

Trading Activities: Over half of the group under survey had four or more apprentices during their active life in the Company. Twelve Drapers had five apprentices, the largest single category. Twenty were active as Drapers for something under forty years, most of them for about thirty years. Twenty-two were Drapers for over forty years, nine of these for a half century or more.

Prosperity: Land and Money: Here the most important source is the 29 wills which are in Somerset House. Occasionally the Drapers' records give some indication of relative prosperity; nine out of the eleven who loaned the Company money in 1614, when its extraordinary expenses defending its quasi-monopoly before the Privy Council were incurred, are found in this group, as well as all the large partnerships mentioned in the assessment lists of that year. Out of the 29 wills the Drapers' fortunes can be arranged as follows: three mentioned almost entirely lands and houses in their wills; four left bequests totalling between £100 and £250, in addition to their properties; nine left between £250 and £500; five between £500 and £1,000; and seven left over £1,000 as well as their properties.

In origin at least three of the fortunes can be traced to church lands which came into the family after the Reformation. Some six of the Drapers clearly acquired a sizeable part of their fortunes through marriage, either with landed heiresses or with daughters of the trading aristocracy. But the estates of at least fourteen of this group can be assigned primarily to their own efforts in the Welsh cloth trade. Included here are at least four of the large fortunes over £1,000. One of the wealthiest Drapers known, Richard Wynne,

was the son of a Montgomeryshire yeoman who became a Draper in 1595. He had the luck or good sense to marry William Spurstow's sister, but this can hardly account for the fortune of £4,200 which he left at his death.⁶

A better example of the variety included in a Draper's fortune is the will of Thomas Jones, often referred to as "the rich Jones," who died in 1642. His father had come to Shrewsbury in the midfifteenth century from a nearby village, became a Draper in 1563, married one of the Owens, and rose to great estate in the town, serving four times as Bailiff. Thomas, a second son, had an even more distinguished career in the Company (four times Master), in the town (five times Bailiff and its first Mayor), and in the county where he was High Sheriff in 1625. Besides bequests totalling over £1,000, Thomas Jones left four houses in Shrewsbury, Shropshire and Denbigh; properties in Montgomeryshire, part of his wife's dowry; eight mortgages on various properties in and near Shrewsbury; and two licences for the selling of wine. On several occasions official sources referred to him as a man worth between £30,000 and £40,000.7

This note has concentrated on the social origins, status, and prosperity of the more prominent Shrewsbury Drapers during what was probably the most active period in the Company's trading history. One is left with the impression of a merchant group, rooted rather broadly in the various social classes of the Border, tending to establish its own mercantile aristocracy, and preoccupied in the main with the traditional task of any rising social group—to render permanent its own prosperity.

T. C. MENDENHALL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

⁶Somerset House Wills, 14 Dale. It is difficult to define wealthy, either in an absolute or a relative sense, as of the early seventeenth century. The most acute contemporary analysis of the problem is T. Wilson, *State of England 1600* (Cam. Soc., LII) (1936), pp. 18-24; see also M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman* (New Haven: 1942), pp. 216-20.

⁷Somerset Wills, 22 Crane. In 1623, the Attorney General, in accusing Jones and some of his Draper friends of engrossing grain, listed the former's fortune at £30,000 (Excheq. Cases, 21 Jas. I, Bundle 33/20). In 1638 Jones offered to contribute to Laud's cherished plans for St. Paul's and to encourage his friends to do likewise, all in return for being chosen the first Mayor. Again he is assigned a fortune of £30,000 to £40,000.

Cal. S. P. Domestic, 1637-8, p. 306.

SHREWSBURY DRAPERS WHO WERE MASTERS OR WARDENS OF THE COMPANY AND/OR BAILIFFS OR MAYORS OF THE TOWN, 1560-1660

Note.—In the following list of Drapers on whom the above article has been based only a small portion of the information available could be reprinted. In the first column is given the name as it seems usually to have been spelt. The second gives the date (if it is known) when the man became a freeman of the Company; the seven-year apprenticeship seems to have been fairly well observed, and after 1613 at least the freeman had to be 24 or over. In the third column are listed the years in which he was either Master or one of the two Wardens, elected annually by the Company at the feast on the Thursday of Easter Week. The next column lists the Draper served as one of the two Bailiffs for the town or, after 1638 and the new charter, as Mayor. The links between Company office and town government were very close, for in the Drapers' charter it was laid down that the Master had to hold (or have held) the office of Bailiff in the town of Shrewsbury or Warden of the Drapers'; the Wardens were expected to be (or to have been) Bailiffs of the town or Stewards of the Company. The last column gives the reference to the Draper's will at Somerset House, if one has survived. The Drapers' records for the years before 1608 are sometimes sketchy, which helps to explain some of the gaps in the following list.

Allen, Robt. Baker, Abr. Baynes, Hugh Baynes, Joseph Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John Gardiner, John	153 158 154 162 1 1570 1560 1583 1605 1594	8 W: 1617 4 W: 1640, 57, 53 6 M: 1593-16 8 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	1559,1 157 47, 1571, 1583, 1577, 6 1597, 1 1652	91 82 604	Will 5 Lyon 47 Brudenall 20 Capell
Baker, Abr. Baynes, Hugh Baynes, Joseph Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	153 158 154 162 162 1 1570 1583 1633 1605	8 W: 1617 4 W: 1640, 57, 53 6 M: 1593-16 8 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	1559,1 157 47, 1571, 1583, 1577, 6 1597, 1 1652	91 82 05 604	5 Lyon 47 Brudenall
Baker, Abr. Baynes, Hugh Baynes, Joseph Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	158 154 162 157 156 1583 1633 1605	W: 1617 W: 1640, 57, 53 M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	47, 157 1571, 1583, 1577, 8 1597, 1 1652	0 91 82 5 604	47 Brudenall
Baker, Abr. Baynes, Hugh Baynes, Joseph Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	158 154 162 157 156 1583 1633 1605	W: 1617 W: 1640, 57, 53 M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	47, 157 1571, 1583, 1577, 8 1597, 1 1652	0 91 82 5 604	47 Brudenall
Baynes, Hugh Baynes, Joseph Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	154 162 1 1570 1560 1583 1605 1594	W: 1640, 57, 53 M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	47, 1571, 1583, 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	91 82 5 604	47 Brudenall
Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1624 1570 1560 1583 1605 1594	W: 1640, 57, 53 M: 1593-16 W: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	47, 1571, 1583, 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	91 82 5 604	47 Brudenall 20 Capell
Burnell, Th. Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1570 1580 1583 1693 1694	57, 53 M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	1571, 1583, 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	82 604	47 Brudenall 20 Capell
Chambers, Michae Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1566 1583 1633 1605	M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	09 1583, 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	82 604	47 Brudenall 20 Capell
Charlton, Th. Cherwell, Rich. Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1566 1583 1633 1605	M: 1593-16 M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	09 1583, 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	82 604	47 Brudenall 20 Capell
Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1583 1633 1605 1594	M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	09 1577, 9 1597, 1 1652	604	20 Capell
Cheshire, Rich. Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1633 1605 1594	M: 1653 W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	1652	604	
Clarke, Nich. Garbett, John	1605 1594	W: 1622 M: 1644, 51	1652		
Garbett, John	1594	M: 1644, 51		3 1	694 Wootton
•		W: 1644, 51	. 1		ODT WOOTION
•				- }	
Gardiner, John	1607	M: 1618, 22,	7 1609,	18	
Caudi		-1. 1010, 22,		- 1	
Gardiner, Th.	ŀ		1614 1613		
Harris, Hugh	1591	W : 1613	1610		1 Barrington
Harris, Roger	l	M: 1619, 23	1010,	40	
Hayes, Th.	7070	J	1578	- 1.	73-4 Lewyn
Heringe, Will	1616	M: 1642, 49	1634, 4	9 9	6, 101 Laud.
Hinchs, Leon.	1572 1603	TIV. Jane	1580	-	o, aut Lauu.
	1003	W: 1618	1623	[]	l44 Laud.
Hunt, Geo.	1615	M: 1631 M: 1635, 41		- 1	
Hunt, John	1578	W: 1610	1000	- 1	
		M: 1613	1603	8	31 St. John
Hunt Die	ľ			1	
Hunt, Rich.	1591	W: 1611	1613, 22,	21 1	F0.C.
Ireland, Edw.	1550/2	M: 1627, 36	-010, 22,	01 116	58 Coventry
Ireland, Robt.	1572(?)	1	1591	1	
Jenks, Rowl.	1572 1589	TV 1000	1592	1	
Jones, Th.	1592	W: 1620	1612	ļ	
	1002	M: 1612, 16,	, , , , ,	21, 2	2 Grave
Jones, Will.	1563	W: 1609	27, 35, 33	8	-
Winner.		M: 1610	1580, 87, 9	5,	
Kinaston, Arth.	1593	W: 1612	1600	1	
Knight, Tho.	1.000	M: 1615	1606, 18	- 1	
	1600	W: 1616	1625, 31, 4	6 80	Essex
Langley, Rowl.	1587	M: 1633	, , , ,	" "	- SSCX
	100/	W: 1612	1605, 12	36	Rudd
ewis, Andr.	1573	M: 1614			
Lewis, Dan.	1609	W: 1621	1607	1	
ewis, Th.	1573	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1501 00 -	.	
lovd Des			1681, 89, 94	ŧ, 30	Hayes
loyd, Dav.	1556		1600, 04 1575, 86, 9	d	
owe, Will. owe, John	707.0	_	1572		D.41
archell, Roy	1616	M: 1656	-0,2	20	Rutland
icolls, John	1579	W: 1609, 12	1602	82	Fenner
, loui	1588	W:1614	1608, 16	76	renner Saville
wen, Edw.	1572	M: 1617		1	~~ v 111G
	1012		1582, 93, 99 1603	2 L	awe -

Name	Free of the Drapers	Master or Warden	Bailiff or Mayor	Will
Owen, Rich. Pearchouse, Rich. Perche, John Percivall, Rich. Powell, Rich. Prowde, John Prowde, Rich. Purcell, Rich. Rowley, Will. Rowley, Jon. Russell, Geo. Stephens, Robt. Stevens, Will. Studley, John Studley, John Studley, Ric. Tench, Will. Vaughan, Howell Webb, Adam Weston, Sim. Wighturcke, Jo. Wingfield, Tho. Woldridge, Jas. Wright, Geo.	1572 1618 1572 1608 1624 1547 1632 1609 1581 1608 1593 1612 1613 1608 1611 1600 1596	W: 1619 M: 1611 W: 1624 W: 1624 M: 1645, 50, 52 W: 1614 M: 1583-7 M: 1634, 40 M: 1664 W: 1621 M: 1620, 24 W: 1613 M: 1632, 38, 43 W: 1622 W: 1620 M: 1630 M: 1646, 55 M: 1643 W: 1623 W: 1616 W: 1623 M: 1623 M: 1629	1564, 68, 73 1626 1588, 98,1602 1573, 91 1635, 50 1565 1628 1605, 22, 27 1642 1660, 82 1620 1630, 36 1637 1619, 32 1616	48 Scott 62 Sadler 33 Kidd 258 Aylett 81 Audley 126 Twisse 69 Kidd 73 Harvey 8 Crane 114 Pile 14 Dale
Wynne, Rich.	1000		1	

THE RECORDERS OF BRIDGNORTH1

By J. F. A. Mason, M.A., D.Phil.

The year 1835 is a landmark in the history of the Municipal Corporations of England: before that date their constitutions varied from town to town in every particular in accordance with a multitude of charters granted to individual boroughs and with the codes of bye-laws evolved down the centuries in every town; after that date the constitutions of all boroughs were reformed in accordance with the provisions of the first of a series of general Acts of Parliament which dealt with the government of boroughs. On the eve of their reform English municipal corporations were held up for the inspection of posterity in the Reports of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations of 1835; in these Reports there is, amongst many other things, much information concerning the office of Recorder. According to the well-known analysis of the 1835 Reports by Joseph Fletcher, published in volume v (1842) of the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 244 of the unreformed boroughs of England possessed a Recorder; in 61 of these 244 boroughs the office of Deputy Recorder was also to be found. The object of this article (the by-product of investigations into the electoral history of the town) is to give an outline of the history of the office of Recorder in the Shropshire town of Bridgnorth and to provide a list, based on a search of the relevant original sources, of those men who held the position of Recorder of Bridgnorth before the reform of 1835.

A list of the Recorders of Bridgnorth, incomplete and in some respects inaccurate, exists among the MSS. of the Shropshire antiquary J. B. Blakeway, now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford2; for this Blakeway appears to have utilised certain

several points.

¹For permission to consult the various records cited in the course of this For permission to consult the various records cited in the course of this article the writer is indebted to the kindness of Lady Rayleigh, of Aldenham, of Major A. W. Foster of Apley Park, of Capt. G. C. Wolryche-Whitmore of Dudmaston, and of Mr. W. McIntyre and Mr. S. F. Jago, successive Town Clerks of Bridgnorth; without the co-operation of the two last-named the present and many other subjects of enquiry could not have been pursued. Without committing him in any way to the views or statements here given, I should like to thank Professor T. F. T. Plucknett for valuable comments on

²MS. Blakeway 18, f. 40. The Recorders of Ludlow were the subject of an article by H. T. Weyman, in *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.* (henceforth cited as *Transactions*), xxii (1899) 301-30; there is a list of the Recorders of Shrewsbury in H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury* (London, 1825), i. 538-9.

records of the town, but not all those essential for the compilation of a complete list. On the basis, no doubt, of this list, Blakeway in his Sheriffs of Shropshire (Shrewsbury, 1831), noted the tenure by certain sheriffs of the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth; H. T. Weyman, in his article in volume xxxviii (1915) of these Transactions, also gives this information (presumably derived from Blakeway) in respect of some among the holders of the office who were also Members of Parliament for Bridgnorth. No complete list of the Recorders of Bridgnorth, however, at present exists in print or manuscript; this deficiency these notes seek to remedy, though it must be admitted that the office may well have existed at Bridgnorth for some decades before the date when it is first mentioned in the records of the Corporation.

A general history of the office of Recorder has yet to be written. It is mentioned briefly by the Webbs in chapter VI of their work on English Local Government: The Manor and the Borough (London, 1908). This study, however, is mainly concerned with municipal institutions during the period from 1689 to 1835, and the origins of the office of Recorder lie much further back in time, though it is not till the early seventeenth century that the word "Recorder" figures in the Law Dictionaries. The sixteenth century (and indeed the later) editions of the earliest of these (J. Rastell's Exposition of certaine difficult and obscure words, and Termes of the Lawes of this Realme) do not discuss the term; in J. Cowell's Interpreter (Cambridge, 1607), however, the following definition is given: "here in England a Recorder is he, whome the Major or other Magistrate of any citie, or town corporate, having Jurisdiction, or a Court of record within their precincts by the King's graunt, doth associate unto him for his better direction in maters of Justice and proceedings, accordinge unto lawe. And he is for the most part a man well seene in the common lawe." An almost identical definition appears in the later editions of this work, and again in the New Law-Dictionary of the eighteenth century first compiled by Giles Jacob.

In one Corporation above all others the office existed at a very early date: in 1304 Alderman John de Wangrave took the oath of office as Recorder of London.³ Elsewhere, however, the office is

⁸Ed. R. Sharpe, Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, iii (London, 1901), 132-3. (This occurrence is of earlier date than the oldest English example cited in the New English Dictionary).

seldom found, by that name, before the middle of the fifteenth century. Among places where it occurs at an earlier date are Exeter (1354)4, Nottingham (1399), York (1428)5 and Liverpool (1438)6. At this point the collection of British Borough Charters, 1307-1660, edited by M. Weinbaum (Cambridge, 1943), becomes of much assistance in tracing the extension of the office: unfortunately a sample check shows that Weinbaum's summaries of charters do not note every single reference to a Recorder in the charters abstracted, . . but an outline general picture of the growth of the office may be drawn from this collection. The earliest charter to mention the office is one of 1319 for London; elsewhere among the earliest charters to mention a Recorder are those for Nottingham in 1399 and for Plymouth in 1440, followed by Derby and Shrewsbury7 charters of 1446 and by a Norwich charter of 1452. (That the office was already not uncommon by the middle of the fifteenth century is perhaps implied by a provision in the Derby charter of 1446 that the Recorder of that borough should have power and authority to do everything that belonged to the office of Recorder8). Charters of incorporation which at an early date contain a provision for the institution of the office of Recorder include those granted to Ludlow in 1461 and to Wenlock in 1468. Under the first two Stuarts an increased proportion of such charters of incorporation mention the office, as do a number of charters of reincorporation of the same period issued to boroughs whose earlier charters of incorporation had made no express provision for a Recordership.

The Webbs discuss in the same section of their work (pp. 321-3) the offices both of Recorder and of Steward; in the last days of the unreformed municipal system many boroughs possessed both offices, but in the fifteenth century it was not unknown for charters to refer to the titles of Recorder and Steward as alternative descriptions of the holders of one and the same office: the Shrewsbury charter of 1446 allows the Bailiffs to be associated with "quodam

⁴G. Oliver, History of the City of Exeter (Exeter, 1861), p. 235.

⁵Surtees Soc., lxxxv (1888), 8.

⁶Ramsay Muir, *History of Municipal Government in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1906), p. 93, where the evolution of the office at Liverpool is traced.

⁷The references (omitted by Weinbaum) to the Recorder in the Nottingham and Shrewsbury charters are given in W. H. Stevenson's edition of Nottingham Borough Records iii (London, 1888) 8, and in Calendar of Patent Rolls 1441-6, p. 411 (cp. Owen and Blokeway, op cit., i. 537) respectively.

⁸Calendar of Charter Rolls, vi. 77.

sufficiente legis perito recordatore vel seneschallo"; the Ludlow charter of 1461 and a Bridgwater charter of 1468 similarly provide for a Recorder or Steward. No doubt the absence of one or other of these two offices, or the survival of both, was due to different reasons in different places; at Bridgnorth, however, the Recordership and Stewardship were always, except just possibly in the latter part of the fifteenth century, two separate and distinct offices. From the date of the first mention of the office of Recorder onwards the title of Steward was applied at Bridgnorth only to the Town Clerk in his capacity as steward of the Court Leet. It may be, however, that the Steward who is mentioned in 1490 corresponded to the later Recorder—a possibility which will be discussed later in this article.

The Recorder of Bridgnorth is first mentioned in the records of the Corporation in the year 1528. Just over three hundred years later the Commissioners of 1835 thus described the offices of Recorder and Deputy Recorder of the town: "The Recorder is appointed by the bailiffs and burgesses. The office is merely nominal, the duties being performed by the deputy recorder. The office is held by Mr. Whitmore, a gentleman who resides in the neighbourhood. No salary or emoluments are attached to it.

"The Deputy Recorder is appointed by the Recorder. It is required by a bye-law that he should be a barrister. This officer is the legal adviser of the Corporation; he attends at the sessions, and acts as assessor to the bailiffs. He has no fixed salary, but is paid for attendance or advice by fees, such as would be paid to any other barrister."

For the moment two points in this summary may be noted. A salary of four marks (£2 13s. 4d.) had in fact long been paid annually to the Recorder. Its payment is recorded among the yearly liabilities of the two Chamberlains (the predecessors of the modern Borough Treasurer) of Bridgnorth from 1583 until the middle of the eighteenth century. The Chamberlains' incomings and outgoings were recorded on rolls, the earliest of which is for the year 1550; this, however, contains no reference to the Recorder's fee. The next Chamberlains' Roll which has survived is that for 1583, and in this a payment of four marks to the Recorder is noted. It will be seen later that from 1589 to 1610 the fee of four marks was for special reasons reduced to one mark (13s. 4d.) during the Recordership of Thomas Horde;

Parliamentary Papers (1835), xxv. 1780.

and Sir Edward Bromley, Horde's successor, does not seem to have received a fixed salary in cash at all. After Bromley's death, however, the salary of four marks was paid every year (except in a very few years when a gift in kind was made) up to and including the year 1750; the Chamberlains' Rolls show that the salary was not paid for 1751 at all, and that the payment for 1752 was not made by the Chamberlain concerned until June, 1753; the same Chamberlain (William Haslewood) made the payment due for 1753 promptly in January, 1754, but with his retirement from office in the same month the payment of the Recorder's fee lapsed completely. Accordingly, the stipulation for its payment, which was inserted as usual in the enrolment of the Town's patent appointing Thomas Whitmore in 1735, was omitted altogether when the latter's successor as Recorder was appointed in 1773, and on all three such subsequent occasions.

The Commissioners' statement in 1835 that "The Recorder is appointed by the bailiffs and burgesses" is also somewhat misleading. In 1550 and 1561 (the first occasions from which any record of the appointment of a Recorder survives) and again in 1676 the exact role of the burgesses at large in the election of a Recorder is not defined; but in 1589 and from 1686 onwards the appointment is expressly stated to have been made by the Bailiffs and the twenty-four Aldermen; in 1626 it is stated to have been made by the Bailiffs and the Twenty-Four with the consent of the Burgesses. The election therefore came in fact to be made by the small governing body of the Corporation and not by the burgesses at large.

The following was the oath taken by the newly elected Recorder in either 1676 or 1686:—

"You shall swear that you well and faithfully shall serve our sovereign Lord the King and the Bailiffs Aldermen and Burgesses of this Town and Liberties of Bridgnorth in the office of Recorder of this Town and Corporation of Bridgnorth during the time of your natural life or so long time as you shall continue in the said employment or office according to your best skill and knowledge. You shall not do anything to the hurt or damage of this Town or Corporation or the Liberties of the same at any time, but at all times shall be faithful and just and give good advice and counsel unto the Bailiffs Aldermen and Burgesses of this Town whensoever they shall require or desire you so to do.

And further you shall act in your said office or employment in all and every thing that shall appertain thereunto for the most benefit and credit of this Town and Corporation."¹⁰

No record of any contest for the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth has survived. The appointment was made for life, though in five cases the office was vacated not by death but by resignation.

It will perhaps be of some interest to compare the characteristics of the office of Recorder in the various boroughs of Shropshire; those boroughs, as described in 1835,11 amply illustrate the manner in which the character of this office differed from town to town. The Municipal Commissioners of 1835 reported on nine Shropshire boroughs; of these Newport and Ruyton did not possess a Recorder. At Clun the Recordership partook of the character of the office of a manorial steward, and was filled by the nomination of the lord of the manor, the then Earl of Powis, whose nominee had usually been the deputy steward of the manor of Clun. This borough will be excluded from the scope of the following comparisons. In the remaining six boroughs (Bridgnorth, Shrewsbury, Wenlock, Bishop's Castle, Ludlow, and Oswestry) the Recorder was in normal practice everywhere elected for life, except at Bishop's Castle; here the office was usually held for one year only by the person who had been Justice in the previous year and Bailiff in the year before that. By 1835 no salary was paid at Ludlow and at Oswestry as at Bridgnorth; in respect of Ludlow the Commissioners remarked that "if the neglect of duty be complete, the want of encouragement is not less so." At Shrewsbury there was in 1835 a salary of £20, but the then Recorder did not take it; at Wenlock and Bishop's Castle there were a gratuity of £2 per session and a salary of £2 per annum respectively.

Only at Wenlock was the Recorder of a Shropshire borough elected by the burgesses at large. At Shrewsbury he was chosen by the common council of 73, at Ludlow by the 37 capital burgesses,

¹⁰Third Bridgnorth Leet Book, p. 615. (On the Borough records see below). The text of the oath is prefaced to that of some bye-laws of the year 1639; but as the oath is written in the hand of Thomas Hincks, Town Clerk for nearly twenty years from 1673, it would appear to be that sworn in either 1676 or 1686; the taking of the Recorder's oath by John Wolryche on 8th March 1676 is noted on p. 890 of the same Leet Book.

¹¹See Parliamentary Papers (1835), xxv (for Bridgnorth, Newport, Shrewsbury and Wenlock) and xxvi (for Bishop's Castle, Clun, Ludlow, Oswestry and Ruyton). On the map in vol. xxv Ruyton is wrongly identified with Ryton near Shifnal.

at Oswestry by the Mayor and the Twenty-seven, and at Bridgnorth, as has been seen, the choice was made by the Bailiffs and the Twenty-four. At Bishop's Castle the Bailiff who in due course became Recorder was in practice elected to the prior office by the fifteen capital burgesses.

By 1835 the office of Recorder at both Ludlow and Shrewsbury, as at Bridgnorth, was held by a local magnate: at both boroughs this was the Earl of Powis, who occasionally attended Borough Quarter Sessions at Shrewsbury and, also occasionally, meetings of the Corporation at Ludlow. At Oswestry and Wenlock the Recorder was in 1835 a barrister, though at Oswestry he was a member of a neighbouring landed family who attended Borough General Sessions irregularly; the Recorder's attendance at Wenlock Sessions was, however, regular. These divergences had arisen despite the fact that initially at Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Oswestry and Wenlock the Recorder had by charter been required to possess legal qualifications. As for the Recorder of Bishop's Castle, he will doubtless have possessed such legal knowledge as his experience in the government of the borough gave him.¹²

It remains to notice one final difference of some importance between the Recorderships of these various Shropshire boroughs: at Ludlow by virtue of Charles II's confirmation charter of 1665, at Oswestry by virtue of the governing charter granted by Charles II in 1674, and at Shrewsbury apparently by virtue of the governing charter issued by Charles I in 1638, the choice of the electors was subject to confirmation by the Crown. At Bishop's Castle no such confirmation appears to have been necessary, but as the office there was held under the system already described it was never held over a long consecutive period by any one person; an abortive charter issued by James II in 1688 nevertheless subjected the appointment to royal confirmation, but was naturally not complied with. At Bridgnorth and Wenlock the electors' choice for the office of Recorder was not subject to royal confirmation, though a provision requiring royal confirmation would doubtless, in accordance with the normal practice of the last two Stuart kings, have figured in any charters imposed on those boroughs by James II: his action in the case of Bishop's Castle has already been noted, and his new

¹²The position of Recorders not learned in the law was discussed in S. Kyd, Treatise on the Law of Corporations, ii (London, 1794), 82-3.

charters to Shrewsbury in 1685 and to Ludlow in 1685 gave the king authority to remove, amongst other officers, the Recorders of both boroughs. As it was, however, Bridgnorth and Wenlock resisted James' demand for the surrender of their charters, and no new charter was issued to them in this reign. The independence of Bridgnorth in this matter of the choice of the Recorder of the borough is accounted for by the fact that the office of Recorder there, and indeed (as the Corporation correctly reported in 1835) the whole system of the number and appointment of all the town officers, were regulated not by royal charter but by local usage and by-laws; at Wenlock the relevant charters of 1468 and 1631 made no reference to royal confirmation of the burgesses' choice for the office of Recorder.¹³

Attention will now be directed to the individual Recorders of Bridgnorth. A list of these officials can be compiled from various records of that borough. First in order of time of those records relevant for the present purpose are the three Leet Books, extracts from which are given in the Report on the MSS. of the Corporation by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte printed in the Tenth Report, Appendix, Part IV, issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1885. The title "Leet Book" is not an entirely satisfactory description of the volumes concerned, but it has been given currency by its use in Maxwell-Lyte's Report, and will be used throughout this article. The first of the Common Hall Order Books, containing minutes of the Orders issued at meetings of Common Hall, attended by the Bailiffs, Aldermen and Burgesses, contains a few references to the Recorder. The Chamberlains' Rolls, already briefly referred to, give the annual payments made to the Recorders of the Borough by the Borough Chamberlains for the years for which the Rolls themselves survive.14 Maxwell-Lyte's Report also refers to "a volume

¹⁵On the later Stuarts' attack on Corporations, cp. J. H. Sacret, "The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations," in English Historical Review xlv (1930), and R. H. George, "The Charters granted to English Parliamentary Corporations in 1688," in ibid., lv (1940). Among studies of the attack in particular places are H. T. Dutton, "The Stuart Kings and Chester Corporation," in Journal Chester and N. Wales Archit. Arch. and Historic Soc., n.s. xxviii pt. 2 (1929), and W. S. Weels, "The Surrender of the Charters of the Borough of Clitheroe in 1684," in Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiquarian Soc. xlvi (1929). The Recorder looms large in all these accounts.

¹⁴The late Dr. W. Watkins-Pitchford was kind enough to provide references to the Recorder from certain Chamberlains' Rolls then in his custody, and to make several helpful suggestions on the subject-matter of this article.

containing records of the appointment of officers and the admission of burgesses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries"; this contains enrolments or copies of the town's patents issued to each newly-appointed Recorder from 1686 until the appointment was taken over by the Crown in 1835. The original patents issued in 1676 and 1686 survive at Aldenham Park, near Bridgnorth, in the possession of Lady Rayleigh.

In the brief biographical sketches of the Recorders of Bridgnorth which follow, an attempt has been made to show briefly the connections and influence of each Recorder, whether by way of ties of kinship or possession of land, in the Bridgnorth area. These seem the most important points to stress in the compilation of a list of persons such as that which follows; the lives of most of the Recorders of Bridgnorth have already been described in print in various places, and the only link which invariably connects any one Recorder with every other Recorder of Bridgmorth is the tenure of his peculiar office. Details are also given of the representation of Bridgnorth in Parliament by its Recorders; in these cases references have been given to H. T. Weyman's article (already mentioned) on the Bridgmorth Members, the number given in the appropriate footnote being that prefixed by Weyman to the relevant biographical summary. References have also been added to the representation by a Recorder of other Shropshire constituencies. The date of admission to the burgess-ship of Bridgnorth, where discovered, has also been given. Use has been made of the usual works of reference to members of the Universities and Inns of Court.15

The first reference in the surviving records of the Borough to the Recorder of Bridgnorth by that name occurs on p. 175 of the first Leet Book in an order by the Recorder, Bailiffs and Burgesses dated 21st September, 1528. A somewhat later hand has added the comment: "the first mencion that I fynde of any Recorder"; that this is the first reference to the Recorder by that name was also

¹⁵Only Nos. 1, 16 and 18 in the list which follows appear to lack more than the most cursory mention in print. I must not be regarded as necessarily subscribing to the accuracy of every statement concerning the Recorders of Bridgnorth made by the secondary authorities quoted; but so far as possible I have sought to satisfy myself of the accuracy of the particular facts cited here, and have made some additions from MS sources. References to the Bridgnorth records are usually placed in the text, references to other MS sources in footnotes.

held to be the case by J. J. Smith, Town Clerk of Bridgnorth for 51 years in the nineteenth century and a zealous student of the records in his charge, who recorded his opinion on an insertion in this same Leet Book. The Recorder in 1528 is not named; doubtless, however, it was RICHARD HORDE (No. 1), who is the earliest Recorder named in the records of Bridgnorth: an entry at p. 245 of the first Leet Book shows that he was Recorder on 15th December, 1531. Horde had already performed duties which might possibly entitle him to the description of Recorder. Blakeway, indeed, begins his list with this Richard Horde, and gives the date of his Recordership as 3 Henry VIII; this date is probably based on the fact that at a Borough Session of the Peace in 1511 Richard Horde, described as one of the king's justices of the peace for the county of Salop, sat with the Bailiffs (one of whom was his own elder brother Thomas) to hear a case of riot (first Leet Book, p. 247). Again, in 1514, a Bridgnorth man was committed to the town gaol "per Ricardum Horde armigerum unum justiciarium domini regis comitatus Salopiae " (ibid., p. 294).

The existing literature on the family of Horde, so important in the fifteenth and sixteenth century history of Bridgnorth, is (so far as the branch seated near that town is concerned) distinctly unsatisfactory, though the materials exist whereby this deficiency might be remedied. If Richard Horde the Recorder was great-great-grandson of that Thomas Horde who by his marriage with the heiress Alice Palmer transmitted to his descendants the extensive property in Bridgnorth and Astley Abbotts built up in earlier periods by the important Bridgnorth family of Palmer. When sold by the present Recorder's grandson the Horde estates consisted of nearly thirty messuages and other property within the Borough of Bridgnorth, together with about 1500 acres in the vicinity of the town, chiefly in the parish of Astley Abbotts, Is in which lay the family mansion of Hordes Park, now occupied as a farmhouse. The original Thomas Horde, his son Richard, and the latter's son

¹⁶There are useful pedigrees of the Horde family by Blakeway and the Bridgnorth antiquary William Hardwicke in MS Blakeway 5 (Bodleian Library); some use of these is made in this article.

¹⁷See R. W. Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, i (London, 1854), 364-74 for the Palmers.

¹⁸Survey of 1777 and abstracts of deeds of sale of 1614-24 at Apley Estate Office; cp. inquisitions of 1498 (see next note) and 1581 (P.R.O. C.142/197/58).

Thomas (grandfather of the Recorder), had all represented Bridgnorth in the Commons, though neither the Recorder himself nor his father John is known to have done so. The Recorder was a younger son of John Horde and was born of the latter's second marriage; his eldest brother was born in 1475-6, and died in 1522.¹⁹

At this point it will be convenient to revert for a moment to the Recorder's grandfather Thomas Horde. On p. 3 of the first Bridgnorth Leet Book he is described as "senescallus" of the town in 1490, eight years before his death; he occurs at the head of those by the consent of whom a certain ordinance was issued, followed by his son and by the Bailiffs; on the next page, however, is an ordinance concerning the bailiffs, steward ("senescallus"), and serjeants of Bridgnorth, and on this occasion the steward appears to be of less consequence than on the former one. In a MS, pedigree Blakeway's contemporary, the Bridgnorth solicitor and antiquary William Hardwicke, took this to mean that Thomas Horde was Town Clerk of Bridgnorth²⁰; it is possible, however, that he was rather Steward of the Borough in the widest sense of that term. though it may be that the point can only, if at all, be decided after an investigation of the history of the office of Town Clerk of Bridgnorth. Distinctions between the offices of Recorder, Steward, and Town Clerk were as yet often blurred: at Shrewsbury and Liverpool, for instance, there was a period in the fifteenth century when the offices of Town (or Common) Clerk and Recorder were combined in one person; attention has already been drawn to the equivalence of the terms Recorder and Steward in some borough charters of the time. The fifteenth century was the period of the adoption of the practice whereby Justices of the Peace were constituted in boroughs: Henry VI's charter to Bridgnorth in 1446 had named the town Bailiffs as keepers and justices of the peace therein, and it would be in accordance with the story revealed elsewhere by charters if in course of time at Bridgnorth it was felt that the Bailiffs should be reinforced by the most important country gentleman of the vicinity.

¹⁰For the early Hordes, cp. Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1381, 1457, and 1488, and Weyman nos. 67, 78, 89 and 96; but on the identity of the John Horde elected to Parliament from Bridgnorth under Edward IV, see History of Parliament 1439-1509, i (London, 1936), 468. The career of the Recorder's grandfather is described in *ibid*. 469; his inquisition post mortem is now printed in Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem, Henry VII, iii (sheets available at P.R.O.), No. 1067 (of 1498).

²⁰MS Blakeway 5, f. 362b.

a man moreover who happened to be of considerable experience in administration, who corresponded, it may be, rather to the later Recorder than to the later Town Clerk.²¹

To return to Richard Horde the Recorder: an entry on p. 14 of the second Leet Book of the Borough shows that he was still Recorder in November, 1543. Blakeway in his MS, list assumed that Horde retained his office until his death, of the date of which he was not aware. Richard Horde was certainly deceased by March, 1554, in which month Francis Horde, son of Richard Horde, deceased, was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth according to an entry at p. 416 of the second Leet Book; on 14th May, 1550, however, Richard Horde was still alive, for on p. 562 of the second Leet Book he occurs—though he is not described as Recorder—at the head of the aldermen who on that day elected a new Bailiff to replace a Bailiff who had died in office. Possibly, however, Horde died immediately afterwards, 22 for on the very next page is a memorandum recording the election of another Recorder by the Bailiffs and Burgesses on 10th June, 1550. Unfortunately this memorandum does not give the name of the previous holder of the office or state the reason for the vacancy.

The Recorder elected in 1550, probably as the successor of Richard Horde, was SIR ADAM MYTTON (No. 2). Mytton occurs at p. 738 of the second Leet Book as presiding at a Borough Session of the peace held some time during the Bailiffs' year beginning in September, 1553. Several short accounts of this bearer of a famous Shropshire name are available: he was a lawyer, M.P. for Shrewsbury, and a member of the Council of the Marches. 23 He retained the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth until his death in 1561. Apart from this official position Mytton does not seem to have been closely connected with the Borough of Bridgnorth.

Mytton was succeeded by Thomas Fermor (No. 3). His election is recorded on p. 713 of the second Bridgnorth Leet Book and took

²¹Owen and Blakeway, op. cit., i. 538, 543; Muir, loc. cit.; C. A. Beard, The Office of J.P. in England (New York, 1904), pp. 138-40. Colchester may be cited as an example (commented on by J. H. Round in The Antiquary, xii (1885) 243) of a borough in which a lawyer was within a few years deputed by charter to assist the bailiffs in those functions as keepers of the peace which had been assigned by a slightly previous charter.

²²There is no Inquisition post mortem in respect of Richard Horde, though there is of his widow Elizabeth, who died in 1555 (P.R.O. C.142/106/77).

²³Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1554; C. H. Drinkwater in Transactions viii (1885), 199-200; Weyman in ibid, xlv. (1929-30), 180-1.

place on 22nd August, 1561: "ad hanc diem Thomas Fermor armiger elegitur Recordator eiusdem villae post mortem Adam Mytton militis per ballivos et burgenses apud Gildhall in plena curia." On the same day the new Recorder was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth. Fermor came of a well-known family seated at Easton Neston (Northants) and Somerton (Oxon); his connection with Shropshire—where he was not only Recorder of Bridgnorth but also knight of the shire and sheriff—was due to his first marriage: his wife Frances was the daughter and heiress of Thomas Horde, eldest surviving brother of the Richard Horde who was the first known Recorder of Bridgnorth. Thomas Fermor's wife was thus the niece of Richard Horde; her father had died in 1522 when she was six years old. The marriage between Frances Horde and Thomas Fermor was, however, childless, and the estates to which Frances was heiress are therefore later found in the hands of the son and grandson of Richard Horde the Recorder. Fermor himself is held to have been of the Roman Catholic faith.24 In the earlier part of his tenure of the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth he occurs with some frequency in the second Bridgnorth Leet Book as acting in that capacity.²⁵ In all probability he retained office until his death on 8th August, 1580; his wife, Frances, had died in 1570.

Fermor's successor as Recorder appears to have been Sir George Bromley (No. 4). No record of Bromley's election is as yet known to have survived, but he was certainly Recorder in 1583, at the end of which year he was paid the four marks' fee which then occurs in the second oldest surviving Bridgnorth Chamberlains' Roll.

Sir George—he was knighted in 1580—was a member of a most distinguished Tudor legal family. His younger brother, Sir Thomas Bromley, became Lord Chancellor of England in 1579, and 22 years earlier had himself represented Bridgnorth in Parliament. George

²⁴J. Bridges, Northamptonshire (Oxford, 1791) i. 290; Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1559; E. P. Shirley, Extracts from the Fernor Accounts A.D. 1580, in Arch. Inst. vol. for 1850; J. J. Howard and H. F. Burke, Roman Catholic Families of England (n. pl., 1887) pp. 6, 16, 26; J. C. Blomfield, Deanery of Bicester, pt. 4 (Bristol, 1888), pp. 106-12, 122; Weyman in Transactions xliv (1927-8) 45-6. Fermor is not included as a Catholic in the Diocesan Returns of 1577 (Catholic Record Soc., Miscellanea, xii (1921), but according to its editor (P. Ryan) this return is said to be far from complete. The inquisitions on Frances' father are P.R.O. C.142/38/18 and C.142/38/32; that on Frances herself is C.142/193/85.

²⁵The pages (arranged in order of date) are: 711, 713, 740, 576, 578, 438, 625, 26, 27, 440, 206, 710, 27 b, 28, 29, 375 and 770.

Bromley became a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 20th April, 1574 (second Leet Book, p. 481a); by the same year he was a member of the Council of the Marches. He sat for Wenlock in the Commons in 1558 and 1559 and for Shropshire in 1572; he was first Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster and Justice of the Anglesey Circuit, and then (from 1580) Chief Justice of Chester.²⁶ An unidentified M.P. who kept a diary in the Parliament of 1581 describes George Bromley as the more suitable of two candidates for the Speakership, commenting that "his deliverance in speech shall be found very good." Bromley was not elected to, or could not be persuaded to accept, the Speakership; 27 the Bromley family and the town of Bridgnorth were each thereby deprived of an unusual distinction—the family of the distinction which would have accrued from the production of two brothers who presided respectively over the Lords and over the Commons, and the town of the distiction which would have accrued from its election of the one as Member of Parliament, and of the other as Recorder. Sir George is the first Recorder of Bridgnorth whose Inn of Court (if any) is known: he held high office in the Inner Temple. Sir George's son Edward later himself became Recorder of Bridgnorth.

Sir George Bromley's Recordership is notable in that the office of Deputy Recorder then occurs by that name for the first time. A note at p. 2 of the third Bridgnorth Leet Book states that on 24th October, 1586, the appointment of Mr. Henry Townshend (of Cound) as deputy to Sir George Bromley, with the duty of giving "councell and advise" to the town when required, was "ordered by the assent of the bailiffs and burgesses"—a formula which may suggest that already the Deputy Recorder was nominated by the Recorder himself. Townshend too came of a distinguished legal family; he was long a member of the Council of the Marches and from 1578 as Puisne Judge of Chester Bromley's colleague in a much more important sphere of justice than that in which the two men were now associated at Bridgnorth. Townshend had already sat for Bridgnorth in the Commons, in 1571 and 1572; he was later to

²⁶Chancellor Bromley appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and his father in Blakeway's *Sheriffs*, s.a. 1522. On the Recorder there are notices by W. R. Williams, *The Welsh Judges* (Brecknock, 1899), pp. 32-3 and by Weyman in *Transactions*, xxv (1902), 314-5 and xliv (1927-8) 46-7. G. T. O. Bridgeman discussed "The Family of Bromley," in *ibid*. xii (1889).

²⁷J. E. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949), p. 358.

sit for Ludlow.²⁸ A point of great interest, however, is that the father of the new Deputy Recorder had perhaps himself once held some position in Bridgnorth: on 13th September, 1555, an order for the prompt settlement of accounts due to the town was made in the presence of the bailiffs, the 24 aldermen, the burgesses and Sir Robert Townshend (second Leet Book, p. 770). Sir Robert, who held high office in Lincoln's Inn (as did his son Henry), was Justice of Chester, and Steward of Ludlow, died in 1557.²⁹

The Bromley family was already seated in Shropshire; Sir George Bromley it was, however, who brought one branch of it to the vicinity of Bridgnorth. He obtained by marriage an estate at Hallon in the parish of Worfield, which later passed to his Davenport descendants. Sir George held the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth until his death on 2nd March, 1589, at the age (according to his monument) of 63.

Bromley's successor was Thomas Horde (No. 5). The third Bridgnorth Leet Book (p. 15) shows that he was elected Recorder at the "Counsell howse" on 26th May, 1589, by the Bailiffs and the 24. Horde's salary was to be the yearly fee of one mark; an entry on the following page explains this reduction from the usual fee of four marks by its reference to the election (by the same electors) on 9th June, 1589, of Henry Townshend "to be of Counsell with the Bailiffs of the towne and liberties for the tyme beinge and to have the yearlie fee of forty shillings" (i.e., three marks). Presumably this innovation (which did not outlast Thomas Horde's tenure of office) was due to the fact that Horde's legal qualifications were, to say the least, on a lower level than those of his predecessor, Sir George Bromley; he had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn (from Furnival's Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery) in 1581, but at this time a period of study, or at least of residence, at one of the Inns of Court was becoming a usual part of a gentleman's education.30

²⁸Notices of Henry Townshend include: The Welsh Judges, pp. 56-7 and Weyman No. 117; cp. Weyman in Transactions xviii (1895) 19, xxi (1898) 331-7 ("Letters of Sir Henry Townshend, Knight, Steward of Shrewsbury") and xxii (1899) 318.

²⁰Cp. The Welsh Judges, p. 30; Weyman in Transactions xxii (1899), 312-3.
³⁰Neale, op. cit., pp. 302-8; A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (London 1950), p. 522. Information here and later on legal education has been drawn from R. J. Fletcher's Introductions to Pension Books of Gray's Inn (London, 1901, 1910) and A. R. Ingpen's to Middle Temple Bench Book (London, 1912), from J. B. Williamson, History of the Middle Temple (London, 1924), and W. S. Holdsworth, History of English Law, ii (4th ed., London, 1936) 493 ff, and "The Disappearance of the Educational System of the Inns of Court" in Pennsylvania Law Review, 1xix (1920-1).

Richard Horde, the first known Recorder of Bridgnorth, left three sons; the third, Francis, was Town Clerk of Bridgnorth; the two eldest, John and Jerome, were members for the Borough in the 1550's. Thomas Horde, the Recorder, the eldest son of John Horde, was born in 1559, and succeeded to the family estates on his father's death in 1581; he was admitted a Burgess of the Borough on 4th May, 1585 (second Leet Book, p. 644). Thomas Horde was three times Bailiff of Bridgnorth, an office held by only one other Recorder of the Borough (his grandfather Richard), and represented the town in the Commons in 1601.31

Blakeway appears to have thought that this Recorder resigned his office in 1610; and though there seems to be no record of this step, the date may well be the correct one. Except in 1603, the payments to Horde and Townshend-the latter was knighted in 1604—of one mark and three marks respectively were made yearly down to and for the year 1610 itself; no such entries appear in the Chamberlains' Rolls for 1611 and the succeeding years, in certain of which (as will shortly be described) payments in kind were made to his successor. Horde was certainly still Recorder at some period during his second term of office as Bailiff, which began in September, 1610 (third Leet Book, p. 65); he signed three Corporation orders issued in 1617-8, 1623, and 1625 in the position of greatest possible prominence, immediately after the Bailiffs (ibid., pp. 105, 385, 409); in these cases, however, he is not described as Recorder. This of itself is not conclusive, 32 but taken together with the evidence of the Chamberlains Accounts suggests that Blakeway's date of 1610 for the conclusion of Horde's Recordership is the correct one.

According to Weyman, Thomas Horde sold his estates in Bridgnorth and district to William Whitmore of Apley in 1619; the abstracts of title preserved at the Apley Estate Office in Bridgnorth show, however, that his sales to Whitmore were spread over the period 1614-24 and that the sale of Hoards Park itself took place on 2nd April, 1620. Horde's signature of Corporation orders in 1623 and 1625 and the admission of his only son John as Burgess in 1623 (third Leet Book, p. 380) suggest that the family still maintained its connection with the town; but the end was near at hand. In

³¹Weyman, Nos. 109, 111, 124.

³²Particularly as in October, 1593, Horde had signed another Corporation order immediately after the bailiffs without being described as Recorder, an office which he certainly then held.

1626 this son John, died, and in 1628 the latter's infant son, another Thomas; the date of burial of the Recorder himself, unknown to Weyman, was verified by Blakeway from the registers of St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, as being 25th May, 1628.³³

Horde certainly resigned the office of Recorder some years before his death, for SIR EDWARD BROMLEY (No. 6), of the Inner Temple, was equally certainly Recorder at the time of his own death, which took place two years before that of his predecessor. Bromley does not appear to have been paid the normal salary of the office—hence the difficulty in determining the date of his appointment, which has already been mentioned. The Chamberlains' Rolls show that in 1614 he was presented with two sugar loaves costing 27/-, in 1617 with a silver bowl costing £4, and in the next year with a similar gift costing £3 14s. 0d.; it may be suggested that douceurs such as these were in place of his Recorder's fee.

Bromley had already been Deputy Recorder of Bridgnorth: he received one mark as such at Christmas, 1603, doubtless because Horde had become Bailiff of the town in September of that year; this arrangement was a temporary one and was not repeated, even at the end of 1610, when Horde was again Bailiff: he and Townshend were paid their fees for that year as in every year since 1589 except 1603, when Townshend alone was paid.

Sir Edward Bromley was the second son of Sir George Bromley, the fourth Recorder of Bridgnorth listed in these notes, and was born in 1563. An entry at p. 685 of the second Leet Book shows that he was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 14th October, 1588—a curiously late date, for he had already sat in Parliament for the town in 1586, and was to sit continuously until his appointment—the culmination of a successful legal career—as a Baron of the Exchequer in 1610. Bromley died on 2nd June, 1626.³⁴

Bromley's successor, probably the most distinguished of the Recorders of Bridgnorth, was EDWARD LYTTELTON (No. 7), of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Inner Temple, who was knighted in 1635, and as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was finally, in 1641, created Baron Lyttelton of Mounslow. A memorandum at p. 416 of the third Bridgnorth Leet Book records that on 14th August, 1626, "Edward

³³Dr. T. C. Barker has kindly verified for me that this date was also unknown to the late W. D. Pink, whose MS biographical dictionary of Tudor and Stuart M.P's is preserved in the John Rylands Library.

³⁴W. G. D. Fletcher in Transactions, xvi (1893) 225-8; Weyman, No. 122.

Lyttleton of the Inner Temple London Esq. was at a Comon hall houlden elected by the Bailifes xxiiij Aldermen with the Consent of the Burgesses to be Recorder of this Town." A similar note at the foot of the following page adds: "he shall have the usuall fee being 4 markes, And accordingly his Pattent to be drawen. Which Patent was sealed the xxvth of Sept followinge. He succeeded Sir Edw. Bromley Kt Baron Scaccarij etc." He resigned late in 1640.

The descent from the Judge who was the author of the famous Treatise on Tenures of the various families bearing the name of Lyttelton or Littleton has often been set forth; a good statement of this descent and a detailed account, with full references, of the present Recorder and of his successful career appear in the articles on Lyttelton of Frankley and Lyttelton of Mounslow respectively in the new edition of the Complete Peerage. The Recorder, who was born in 1589, was descended from the third son of the famous Justice, and was the great-great-grandson of that worthy. The family had various connexions with South Shropshire, though not, apparently, with Bridgnorth itself. The Recorder's first wife (d. 1624), had been a kinswoman of his predecessor Bromley: her mother was the daughter of Elizabeth's Chancellor. Lyttelton sat in Parliament for Bishop's Castle in 1614 and later for other constituencies; in 1623 he became a member of the Council of the Marches and for the next nine years Puisne Judge of North Wales. While Recorder of Bridgnorth he was also for a time (1631-4) Recorder of London, and then (1634-40) Solicitor-General. For twelve months he was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, until, in January, 1641, he became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 35. The ex-Recorder was a loyal supporter of Charles I, though at one period his conduct made his loyalty unjustifiably suspect. Clarendon gives a long account of the manner in which in May, 1642, Lyttelton thwarted the hopes reposed in him by the Parliamentarians by surrendering the Great Seal to the king's emissary and himself joining the king and his Seal at York. It was in connexion with this incident that

³⁶This Recorder and his immediate predecessor are the only Recorders of Bridgnorth to figure in Foss's Judges (London, 1870). There is a lengthy notice of Lyttelton in the D.N.B., and a short one in The Welsh Judges, pp. 94-5. On the family cp. E. H. Martin in Transactions xxxvi (1913), 302-32. There is a notice by Weyman of the Recorder as member for Bishop's Castle in Transactions xxi (1898), 42-3.

Clarendon wrote the following appreciation of Lyttelton, which is probably the most detailed character-study extant of any Bridgnorth Recorder:—

" He was a man of great reputation in the profession of the law, for learning, and all other advantages which attend the most eminent men; he was of very good extraction in Shropshire, and inherited a fair fortune and inheritance from his father; he was a handsome and a proper man, of a very graceful presence, and notorious for courage, which in his youth he had manifested with the sword; he had taken great pains in the hardest and most knotty part of the law, as well as that which was more customary; and was not only very ready and expert in the books, but excellently versed in records, in studying and examining whereof he had kept Mr. Selden company, with whom he had great friendship and who had much assisted him; so that he was looked on as the best antiquary of the profession who gave himself up to practice; and, upon the mere strength of his own abilities, he had raised himself into the first rank of the practisers in the common law courts, and was chosen Recorder of London before he was called to the Bench, and grew presently into the highest practice in all the other courts as well as those of the law . . .

The Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas was indeed the sphere in which he moved most gracefully and with most advantage, being a master of all that learning and knowledge which that place required, and an excellent judge of great gravity, and above all suspicion of corruption."³⁶

The Lord Keeper died in 1645. He had recommended as his successor at Bridgnorth to a Common Hall held on 1st November, 1640, his own first cousin—slightly older than himself—ADAM LITTLETON, of Stoke St. Milborough (No. 8), whose "election" in these circumstances by the Bailiffs and Burgesses in Common Hall is recorded on f. 26 b of the first of the surviving Common Hall Order Books of the Corporation of Bridgnorth. The new Recorder was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 3rd March, 1641, when the fine normally payable by a newly admitted Burgess who was not a

³⁶History of the Rebellion, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), ii. 109-110; for the whole episode see *ibid.*, ii, 106-19, and for Lyttelton's later unimportance *ibid.*, ii, 527.

Burgess by birth was remitted "in respectu officij sui Recordatoris" (third Leet Book, p. 635). This Recorder was in 1642 created a Baronet and a notice of him therefore appears in the Complete Baronetage. Though not of the same distinction as his cousin and predecessor, this Recorder also was a practising lawyer: a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, he was Chief Justice of the Anglesey Circuit from 1637 until 1647; and in 1635 he had become a member of the Council of the Marches. In 1643 he inherited property through his wife at N. Ockendon in Essex, where he was buried on 6th September 1647.37 Littleton was paid as Recorder up to and for the year 1646; no Sessions were held in Bridgnorth in that year or in 1645 (third Leet Book, pp. 656, 659).

During the Recordership of Edward Lyttelton, one Richard Thornes had in March, 1634, been appointed to give "Counsell and advise" to the town (third Leet Book, p. 571); in this capacity Thornes was paid £5 in 1638 and 1639, and again, during Adam Littleton's Recordership, in 1641. Though the connexion of the Thornes family with Bridgnorth awaits detailed investigation, Richard Thornes may confidently be identified as a kinsman of the two Littletons, whose grandmother was Alice Thornes of Shelvock.³⁸

The next Recorder was Colonel Humphrey Mackworth (No. 9), who was paid as Recorder for the year 1647, in the course of which his predecessor had died; he was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 21st September, 1648 (third Leet Book, p. 672). Some particulars of this Recorder, who was born in 1603, were given by Blakeway in his Sheriffs in the notice (s.a. 1669) of the Recorder's son Thomas; the Recorder's grandson, another Humphrey, is the subject of a notice in the Dictionary of National Biography. The references to the Recorder in the State Papers (Domestic) were put together in an article by Miss Hilda Johnstone on "Two Governors of Shrewsbury during the Great Civil War and the Interregnum" published in

³⁷There is a brief notice of Littleton in *The Welsh Judges*, p. 96; for the Poyntz connexion, cp. J. Maclean, *The Family of Poyntz* (Exeter, n.d.), pp. 40, 43, 45, 49. Adam Littleton was in 1641 ordered by the Common Hall of Bridgnorth to be presented with a piece of plate worth about £4, in lieu of the fee for 1640 which Edward Lyttelton to whom it was due would not accept; presumably this was the silver bowl costing £3 ls. 0d. given to Littleton which is mentioned in the 1641 Chamberlains' Roll.

³⁸The Thornes connexion with Bridgnorth certainly existed before and after the time of Richard Thornes; Roger Thornes was admitted a Burgess in 1577, and Robert in 1662 (second Leet Book, p. 500; third Leet Book, p. 795). Richard's exact duties will be discussed later.

volume xxvi (1911) of the English Historical Review; this deals with the Recorder and his son, also named Humphrey. Miss Johnstone found "no other proof" (p. 272) than an entry in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1653-4 (p. 281) for the tenure by Mackworth of the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth; that Mackworth held this office had, however, been plainly stated by Blakeway in his notice on Thomas Mackworth, and the fact is indisputable.

Mackworth was an important figure in the troubled Shropshire of the Interregnum; for a full picture of his activities reference must be made to the valuable article by J. E. Auden in volume xxxiii (1910) of these Transactions on "Shropshire and the Royalist Conspiracies between the End of the First Civil War and the Restoration, 1648-1660." From 1646 Mackworth was Governor of Shrewsbury, and as such curtly rebuffed Charles II's demand for the town's surrender in 1651; in 1654 he was member for the county, and the member for Bridgnorth in the same Parliament, William Crowne, was apparently Mackworth's brother-in-law. In the same year Mackworth was for ten months prior to his death a member of Cromwell's Council. No doubt his appointment as Recorder of Bridgnorth should be regarded as one of the measures necessary to control that important and lately malignant town: in view of the distressed circumstances of Bridgnorth at the time-in 1646 the town suffered severely from fire when besieged by the Parliamentarians—the electors can scarcely be regarded as free agents in making this choice. 39 Mackworth was, however, a lawyer of some distinction, though as his Shropshire estates lay near Shrewsbury it seems clear that but for the Civil War he would never have become Recorder of Bridgnorth. From Queens' College, Cambridge, he had proceeded to Grays Inn, of which he became a Bencher in 1650, by which year he had become deputy Chief Justice of Chester and Vice-Chamberlain of Chester. A draft by Stephen Totty, Town Clerk of Bridgnorth, of a letter to Mackworth on a complicated legal case survives among the archives of the Corporation of Bridgnorth; and it is of some interest to find that the Republican Edmund Ludlow refers to Mackworth as "a lawyer about Shrewsbury" in his Memoirs; the description is intended to be a slighting

³⁰Cp. the admission as Burgesses on 8th June, 1646, six weeks after the surrender of Bridgnorth, of the new Governor and Lieut.-Governor of Bridgnorth and of two members of the Salop Parliamentary Committee (first Common Hall Order Book, f. 38 a)?

one, and this doubtless makes it all the more valuable in the present context. Mackworth remained Recorder of Bridgnorth until his death; he was buried in Westminster Abbey on 26th December, 1654. At the Restoration his body was naturally disinterred.⁴⁰

Mackworth's successor was Thomas Whitmore of Ludstone (No. 10), the first bearer of a name notable in the annals of Bridgnorth to appear in our list. The Whitmores of Ludstone, in the parish of Claverley, were a branch of the family of Whitmore of Apley, of which more will be said later in these notes. As Recorder Whitmore was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 8th January, 1655 (third Leet Book, p. 719), which was possibly the date of his election.41 Born in 1599, he had proceeded from Wadham College, Oxford, to the Middle Temple of which he became a Bencher in 1648; owing to the disorganisation of legal education caused by the Civil War, however, he was never required to perform the Reading which alone in normal times would have entitled him to be called to the Bench. Whitmore probably owed his election as Recorder rather to a modicum of legal experience and ability than to his kinship with the Whitmores of Apley, who at this time were in eclipse as a result of their loyalty to the Crown in the Civil War.

Weyman in his article on Bridgnorth M.P's, gives a notice of this Recorder, for he believed that it was this Thomas Whitmore who sat for Bridgnorth in the Long Parliament. This view is almost certainly incorrect: the fact that the Recorder was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth only when he became Recorder is a strong argument against the view that he was member fourteen years earlier; for in the latter case he would probably at once have been admitted a burgess of the borough in accordance with the practice usual on the election to Parliament of one who was not already a burgess. It was, it would seem, Thomas Whitmore of Apley who was member for Bridgnorth in both Parliaments summoned in

⁴⁰Brief notices on Mackworth include *The Welsh Judges*, pp. 37-8, and Weyman in *Transactions*, xliv (1927-8) 178-9. Ludlow's comment is in his *Memoirs*, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894), i. lxxi (errata, ref. not indexed); and cp. W. D. Christie, *Shaftesbury* (London, 1871) i, Appendix, p. lviii. On the administrative importance of a Recorder under the Commonwealth cp Thurloe's *State Papers* (London, 1742) iv. 211 (Nottingham, Derby).

⁴¹Blakeway's MS gives the date as 13th November, 1654; but Mackworth was then still alive. Like Adam Littleton and Mackworth Whitmore was admitted gratis by virtue of his office.

the year 1640.⁴² Thomas Whitmore of Ludstone was certainly member for Wenlock (of which Borough he was then Recorder) in 1658-60,⁴³ but it is extremely doubtful whether he was ever member for Bridgnorth.

Many members of the Ludstone branch of the Whitmore family occur in the registers of Claverley parish. The present Recorder was buried at Claverley in 1677. He had already resigned the Recordership of Bridgnorth: he received his fee for the year 1675, but his successor was elected early in 1676.

Whitmore's successor was John Wolryche, of Dudmaston (No. 11), who was elected on 8th March, 1676, and sworn in eighteen days later (third Leet Book, p. 890); he had been admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 22nd October, 1669 (*ibid*, p. 858). In February, 1679, he unsuccessfully contested the first election of that year at Bridgnorth against the brothers Sir William and Sir Thomas Whitmore; he was, however, twice subsequently elected for Wenlock, in the neighbourhood of which his family possessed considerable property.

John Wolryche was a younger son of Sir Thomas Wolryche of Dudmaston, who, as Royalist Governor of Bridgnorth Castle in the early part of the Civil War, had once been intimately linked with the fortunes of the town. Sir Thomas's mother was Margaret Bromley, daughter of Sir George and sister of Sir Edward Bromley, themselves Recorders of Bridgnorth; when in 1615 the young Thomas Wolryche was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, it was as sister's son to Baron Bromley (i.e., Sir Edward). There is evidence that Thomas's mother was herself of a distinctly combative nature in matters of law, and Thomas himself was also of a litigious bent. John Wolryche was of Christ's College, Cambridge; he was aged sixteen when he proceeded to Christ's in 1653, and was therefore born about 1637;

⁴²The case of Edward Bromley, noted earlier, is an exception to the practice referred to. Later, however, it was possible for a member to sit for the borough without being a Burgess thereof in the non-Parliamentary sense: Grey James Grove was elected to the Commons in 1734, but did not take the Burgesses' oath until April, 1741, presumably because he wished to exercise his own vote at the election held the next month (Corporation volume of appointments and admissions, for which see below). In 1640 itself Thomas Whitmore of Apley was admitted a Burgess in January, and his colleague Edward Acton the next month (third Leet Book, p. 625). Neither W. D. Pink, in his MSS already referred to, nor Sir Lewis Namier, in his Structure of Politics (London, 1929), ii. 303 consider that Thomas Whitmore of Ludstone was ever member for Bridgnorth.

⁴⁹Weyman in Transactions, xxv (1902), 331-2,

he was called to the bar at Gray's Inn in 1661, and became an Ancient thereof in 1680. In 1670 he received the Oxford degree of D.C.L. John Wolryche became the effective head of the Wolryche family in 1668 on his father's death, and according to the Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672 he was then the occupier of Dudmaston Hall (the building prior to the present structure), four miles from Bridgnorth and one of the largest residences in Shropshire. In 1662 John Wolryche had been made executor of his father's will, and in 1668 trustee under the last of several settlements executed by Sir Thomas; for John Wolryche's unfortunate eldest brother, Francis, who succeeded as second Baronet, had become of unsound mind; possibly in 1672 Francis was living in the Wolryche house at Wroxeter in the charge of his wife (who may be "The Lady W . . . yth " (? recte W . . . ych) of the Roll), though he was certainly buried at Quatt in 1689. The area of the Wolryches' Dudmaston estate at this time may be estimated at some 2,000 acres; John Wolryche himself may well have been a man of considerable ability.44

In the first year of his Recordership John Wolryche presented to the Borough of Bridgnorth a mace, the then Town Clerk (Thomas Hincks) giving £10 towards another mace at the same time. These two maces were exchanged for those now in the possession of the Corporation in 1754; both the present maces bear inscriptions which detail the original gift and later exchange. It seems possible that other Recorders may similarly have made a gift to the town when first elected.

Blakeway's MS list of Recorders gives as Recorder "before 1682" Francis Berkley Esq. of Worfield afterwards of Dudmaston Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury"; this statement is repeated in the *History of Shrewsbury*, where Berkley is stated to be the original of Justice Ballance in Farquhar's play *The Recruiting Officer*. There seems little doubt, however, that, though an important personage at Bridgnorth, Berkley was never Recorder of the town, and that

⁴⁴On the Wolryches cp. Blakeway's *Sheriffs*, s.a. 1716; Weyman in *Transactions* xxv (1902), 323-5, 334-5; W. G. D. Fletcher, "The Sequestration Papers of Sir Thomas Wolryche," in *Transactions* xxxvii (1914); MSS at Dudmaston. Blakeway's MS list of Recorders wrongly describes John Wolryche as a Baronet.

⁴⁶For a description see L. Jewitt and W. H. St. J. Hope, The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Corporate Towns of England and Wales (London, 1895), ii. 274; for the exchange cp. third Common Hall Order Book for 29th September, 1754.

Wolryche retained the office until his death. Berkley, who was born in 1645, survived the appointment of Wolryche's successor, himself dving in 171046; and on 27th October, 1684, when Wolryche was still alive, it was agreed that Berkley should have a salary of £4 "to be of Common Counsell for the Towne in businesse belonging to the Towne, so long as he continued resident therein" (first Common Hall Order Book, f. 50). Wolryche was paid as Recorder-the Chamberlains' Roll describes him as "Captaine Wolryche"-for 1682; the Chamberlains' Rolls for the next three years have unfortunately not yet been traced, but the admission as a Burgess on the very day of the decision concerning Berkley's salary of "Johannes Tyther servus Johannis Wolrych . . . Recordatoris ville de Bridgnorth," coupled with the date of election of the next Recorder, strongly suggests that Wolryche remained Recorder until his death: he was buried at Quatt on 7th June, 1685. His grand-daughter Mary Wolryche (died 1771) left the Dudmaston estates, comprising most of the parish of Quatt, with lands in adjoining parishes, to the Whitmore connexions of her mother, who was born Elizabeth Weld of Willey; they thus came to be held in turn by George Whitmore and William Whitmore, themselves Recorders of Bridgmorth. 47

The next Recorder was SIR EDWARD ACTON of Aldenham, the third Baronet (No. 12). (The election of this and of all later Recorders before 1835—and also the admission of John Tyther just referred to—are all recorded in the volume containing memoranda of appointments and admissions which was mentioned in the brief survey of relevant Bridgnorth records made earlier in these pages. This volume was unknown to Blakeway, whose MS list consequently omits all mention of two of the eighteenth-century Recorders of Bridgnorth—William Whitmore of Apley, and also his son George Whitmore—and gives dates for the other Recorders of that period which are sometimes incorrect). There is naturally a notice of Acton in the Complete Baronetage. He was born in 1650 and was elected Recorder on 5th January, 1686. If John Wolryche were

⁴⁸Owen and Blakeway, op. cit., i. 500-1, 539; there is a pedigree in MS Blakeway 5. Francis Berkley played a part of some importance in proceedings connected with an alleged riot at Dudmaston in 1687 in which various members of the Corporation were involved.

 $^{^{47}}$ A statement of part of the complicated series of events concealed by this brief statement is given in the article on Woolrych of Croxley in the 1937 edition of Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

indeed, as suggested, Acton's immediate predecessor, Acton himself was thus elected after a seven months delay. Possibly the reason was a desire to make a choice which, at that time, might be acceptable to James II, for Acton, like his son after him, was certainly a Tory. Acton had proceeded to Queen's College, Oxford, and was a member of the Inner Temple; but by the later seventeenth century the legal education obtainable at the Inns of Court had sunk far below its earlier level, and they were much less resorted to by the sons of gentry. Edward Acton was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 23rd October, 1673⁴⁸; he represented the town in Parliament from 1689 to 1705; his son, Whitmore Acton, attempted, successfully in 1710 but unsuccessfully in 1705, to replace Sir Edward in the representation of the Borough.⁴⁹

Acton is the sole representative among the Bridgnorth Recorders of the more important of the two lesser territorial "interests" held by country gentlemen within the Borough of Bridgnorth: the estates held throughout several centuries, until finally broken up only within recent years, by the family of Acton of Aldenham included, besides 6,000 acres in the parish of Morville and elsewhere in the district, some property in the town of Bridgnorth. This town property, according to a map of the town in 1835, lay chiefly in Whitburn Street and Church Street.

Acton died on 28th September, 1716. His successor, elected on the following 12th October, was William Whitmore, of Lower Slaughter and Apley (No. 13). The Sir William Whitmore who had purchased the patrimony of Thomas Horde between 1614 and 1624 had been succeeded in his wide estates in the Bridgnorth district by his son Sir Thomas; the latter in his turn had been succeeded by his own son Sir William, the second baronet. The latter died in 1699 and by his will left his estates to the present Recorder, who was the elder son of the testator's first cousin Richard Whitmore of Lower Slaughter in Gloucestershire. His birth is generally dated to about 1682. Like many of his descendants he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford; he was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 9th April, 1705, and represented the Borough in Parliament from 1705

⁴⁸This and all later admissions of burgesses are taken from the Burgess Books of the Corporation; these have been kept from 1713 onwards and include all burgesses alive at the time of first compilation.

 $^{^{49}{\}rm On}$ the family cp. Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1383, 1630, 1728; Weyman Nos. 110, 136, 142, 146, 151, 174; and deeds and maps at Aldenham.

to 1710 and again from 1713 till his death. ⁵⁰ This Recorder may claim a certain distinction in that he was not only the first member of his branch of the Whitmore family to become Recorder of Bridgnorth, but was also the only member of his family who ever lost a Parliamentary election at Bridgnorth: in 1710 he and a fellow-Whig were defeated by Whitmore Acton and another Tory in the general Tory reaction of that year. In one important matter his influence at Bridgnorth long survived him: the town was already supplied with spring water conducted thither by the help of the Recorder's great-grandfather, Sir William; the latter's descendant now erected at his own cost a water-engine by means of which water was pumped up to a reservoir in the Castle area for over a century. ⁵¹

William Whitmore married in 1707 Elizabeth Pope of Wolstaston the daughter of his first cousin Roger Pope the younger. An account of the family to which this lady belonged has been given by the Rev. R. C. Purton, in the fiftieth volume of these *Transactions*. William Whitmore himself remained Recorder of Bridgnorth until his death on 24th May, 1725.

The next Recorder was John Weaver, of Morville (No. 14), who was elected five days after his predecessor's death; he had been admitted a Burgess on 16th June, 1710. This Recorder resigned his office on 21st August, 1735. He is the sole representative among the Recorders of Bridgnorth of the four families which in turn disposed of the less important of the two lesser landed interests in the

⁵⁰Cp. Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1620, W. G. D. Fletcher, "The Sequestration Papers of Sir Thomas Whitmore," in Transactions, xxxvii (1914), and Weyman, Nos. 130, 135, 143a, 144, 149; there is a notice of the first Sir William's brother Sir George in the D.N.B. The arms of Whitmore are discussed by F. C. Beazley in Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Historic Soc., lxxv (1923), 34, 81-95, and J. G. Cavenagh-Mainwaring in Staffs. Rec. Soc. for 1933, pt. 2, pp. 29-30. On the origins of the family, Notes on the Family of Whitmore (extracts from the Claverley Court Rolls transcribed by W. H. L. Shadwell, translated by Miss Marjorie Russell, and privately printed by Sir F. H. D. C. Whitmore, 1938), contains valuable evidence.

⁵¹Second Common Hall Order Book for 2nd August and 4th December, 1717; MS Blakeway 18, f. 66. The waterworks accounts survive in full; the first shows that work on the scheme began in 1715. On the Bridgnorth water-system in its last days of decay G. Giles' Report on the Sanitary State of Bridgnorth (Bridgnorth, 1850), is painfully vivid; the reservoir is referred to by W. Watkins-Pitchford in Transactions, lii (1947-8), 162-3. William Whitmore's water-wheel later proved more attractive to the artist than to the businessman; when in 1853 the Town Council sought to lease it, only one tender was received, and that too unremunerative to be considered. (The Bridgnorth Beacon, 1st May, 1853).

Borough. His father Arthur (d. 1710) was the son of another Arthur Weaver, a lawyer of Bettws, Montgomeryshire, who died in 1688, by the latter's marriage to a great Bridgnorth heiress; this was Jane Smythe, daughter of George Smythe, of Morville, who was M.P. for Bridgnorth in 1624. The importance of the family in Bridgnorth had been founded, at the expense of local religious establishments dissolved by Henry VIII and apparently also at that of the Corporation itself, by Roger Smythe of Morville, M.P., for the Borough in 1547 and 1553.

John Weaver himself sat in Parliament for Bridgnorth with William Whitmore from 1713 to 1725—their respective great-grand-fathers had sat together in 1624, and their sons were to do so from 1747 to 1754—and with St. John Charlton from 1725 to 1734. Weaver's resignation of the Recordership in 1735, his immediate replacement by Thomas Whitmore, and Thomas Whitmore's succession to Weaver in the Parliamentary representation of the Borough at the General Election of the preceding year, suggest that as both Recorder and member Weaver is to be regarded as a temporary incumbent in the Whitmore interest until the young sons of the late Recorder William Whitmore came of age; and that this was so is made quite certain by a study of the Bridgnorth election of 1727. Weaver was, however, also connected with the Actons of Aldenham, who at this time were politically in opposition to the Whitmores.

John Weaver was a barrister-at-law (of the Inner Temple); he died in 1747. By the will of his childless son Arthur the family's Bridgnorth properties came to the latter's unmarried cousin Arthur Blayney, only surviving son of the Recorder's sister Anne by her marriage to John Blayney of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire. By Arthur Blayney's will the estates were inherited on his death in 1795 by the eighth Viscount Tracy, who had married Susannah Weaver, only surviving child of the Recorder's youngest brother Anthony. Tracy's son-in-law, grandson and eldest great-grandson, the first three Barons Sudeley, held the estates in turn until their sale in 1865, after three centuries of possession by the descendants of Roger Smythe. The sale catalogue of 1865 locates much of the property in East Castle Street, Bridgnorth, though there is reason

to believe that some of the Bridgnorth properties were acquired long after the Recorder John Weaver's day. When sold the Tracy estates also included a few hundred acres outside the town.⁵²

The remaining five Recorders of Bridgnorth before 1835 were all members of the Whitmore family. Weaver's successor, elected on the day on which Weaver himself resigned, was Thomas Whitmore, of Apley, the eldest surviving son (born in 1711) of the William Whitmore who has already been noticed in this article. He was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 2nd January, 1733, and represented Bridgmorth in Parliament from 1734 to 1754; from 1741 to 1747 his colleague was his brother William, who later sat from 1754 until his own death in 1771. Thomas had succeeded his father in possession of Apley and William in that of Slaughter. Thomas was knighted in 1744; in the following year he was a loyalist volunteer against the Young Pretender. 53 Sir Thomas's long tenure of the Apley estates saw considerable increases in the influence of his family in South Shropshire, though the full effect of one of these was delayed until after his death. In 1754 Catherine Pope, of Wolstaston, whose father and predecessor in the enjoyment of that estate had been the brother of Sir Thomas's mother, died unmarried; her nearest heir was her cousin of Apley, who thereupon succeeded to the extensive lands of the Popes in the Church Stretton district. (The lady's will in Sir Thomas's favour was invalid and in the event he succeeded her as heir-at-law). 54 Seventeen years later Sir Thomas was able to announce to a correspondent a prospective accession of land in the immediate vicinity of Bridgnorth: "a relation who died this Summer has left an Estate adjoyning to mine of One Thousand pounds per annum to my Family after the Death of her Uncle who is above ninety-six years old, and who does me the Honor to communicate and intrust all his affairs of Consequence to me, and I have next to a moral Certainty of enjoying at his Death an Estate equall to what I have mentioned above."55 The dead relation was Mary

⁶²On the genealogy cp. E. Rowley-Morris in *Montgomeryshire Collections* xxii (1888), 76-92; Weyman Nos. 105, 131, 152, 157. On E. Castle St. cp. Watkins-Pitchford, *loc. cit.*, p. 163; and on the sale *The Bridgnorth Journal* for 11th and 18th March, 1865.

⁵⁸Weyman, Nos. 154, 156; ed. W. Phillips in Transactions, xxxvii (1914), 67.

⁵⁴Cp. R. C. Purton's article already noticed; abstract of Whitmore title to Wolstaston estate (at Dudmaston).

⁵⁵British Museum, Add. MS 38,469, f. 284 (Sir Thomas Whitmore to Charles Jenkinson, 13th October, 1771).

Wolryche of Dudmaston, who has already been mentioned in these pages, and the estate was the Dudmaston estate. Sir Thomas was not, however, personally to enjoy this addition to his family's wealth: Mary Wolryche's uncle, Thomas Weld, outlived him and did not die until the year 1774, being then 97 years of age.

Sir Thomas retained the Recordership of Bridgnorth until his death, which took place at Bath on 15th April, 1773; by his marriage he left three daughters. He was succeeded as Recorder by his brother George Whitmore, of Apley (No. 15), sometime of Wadham College, Oxford, who was elected on 26th May, 1773. This person is a comparatively obscure member of the Whitmore family; he was born in 1717 and was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 21st September, 1739, but never sat for the town in Parliament. In 1774 this Recorder inherited, in accordance with the remainders specified in the will of Mary Wolryche, the Dudmaston estates; but he did not long enjoy either Dudmaston or Apley, for he died early in 1775. ⁵⁶

George Whitmore was never married and was succeeded by MAJOR THOMAS WHITMORE (No. 17), of Apley and Wolstaston, the eldest son of Charles Whitmore, a deceased younger brother of the two previous Recorders; the Major was elected Recorder on 25th May, 1775. An officer in the 9th of Foot, he had already been admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 19th December, 1771, shortly after his election as member for Bridgnorth in succession to his late uncle William Whitmore. Major Whitmore was not bequeathed any interest in the Dudmaston estate, but he had been put in possession of the Wolstaston estate in 1771 after his marriage to his cousin, the daughter of his uncle Thomas Whitmore. A survey of the Whitmore estates made in 1777, preserved in the Apley Estate Office, gives the area of Major Whitmore's estates in that year as 11,711 acres, or 8,623 acres (all save 35 in the vicinity of Bridgnorth), without the Wolstaston estates; four years before the rental of the estates had amounted to some £4,500, of which rather less than half was accounted for by rents due in respect of properties in Bridgnorth. Major Whitmore continued to hold the office of Recorder and to

⁵⁶He was, unexpectedly, not buried at Stockton (ex. inf. Rev. T. C. Coupe) and the exact date of his death has not yet been discovered. Namier, op. cit., ii 308-13 gives an account of an instructive episode of 1754-5 in which George Whitmore was concerned.

represent Bridgnorth in the Commons, until his sudden death (he was drowned in a well at Apley, aged 52), on 17th April, 1795.⁵⁷

The next Recorder was WILLIAM WHITMORE, of Dudmaston and Wolstaston (No. 18), the elder of the two younger brothers of Major Whitmore. He was born in 1748, served for a time in the Navy, and was admitted a Burgess of Bridgnorth on 10th October, 1774. In the following year, under the terms of the will of Mary Wolryche, he succeeded his uncle George Whitmore in the possession of the Dudmaston estate. The death of William's brother left the head of the family a minor, for the Major's heir Thomas, the issue of his second marriage, was born only in 1782. As member for Bridgnorth the Major was succeeded by his cousin John Whitmore, son of a younger brother of the Major's father Charles; as Recorder, however, the Major was succeeded (on 11th May, 1795), by his own brother William. Since the Major's first marriage to his cousin, the heiress of Wolstaston, had produced only daughters, his brother William also succeeded him as owner of the Wolstaston estate. William Whitmore was one of the chief landowners concerned in the enclosure of Morfe Forest on the outskirts of Bridgnorth. Like his cousin John, he did not long retain his position in Bridgnorth once his nephew, the young owner of Apley, was of age: he resigned the Recordership in the latter's favour on 20th September, 1805. This Recorder, the father of William Wolryche Whitmore, later an active member for the Borough, died in 1816,58 His inheritance of the Wolstaston estates brought the area of the estates of the Apley branch of the Whitmore family down to between 8,000 and 9,000 acres.

The new Recorder was Thomas Whitmore, of Apley (No. 19), with whom the list of Recorders of Bridgnorth in the days before Municipal Reform comes to an end thoroughly in keeping with the character which the office of Recorder at Bridgnorth had now assumed. Elected Recorder of Bridgnorth on the day of his uncle's resignation, and admitted a Burgess the next day, this product of Dean Jackson's Christ Church and staunch Eldonian Tory began in the following year that long representation of his family Borough in Parliament which was to endure for a quarter of a century; only one other member of his family sat for the town without interruption

⁵⁷Weyman, No. 160; MSS at Apley Estate Office and Dudmaston.

⁵⁸Weyman, Nos. 164, 167; Morfe Enclosure Act (1806) and Award (1812); MSS at Dudmaston.

for a longer period. In 1811 Thomas Whitmore—he had married an heiress, and twenty-two years later his rent-roll was £17,000—began to rebuild the family seat at Apley; happy in the moment of his death, he lived to rejoice in the victory of the twelve Conservative "Apostles" at the Election of 1841, but not to lament the Corn Law repeal of mid-1846; he died in February of that year.⁵⁹

Thomas Whitmore had already ceased to be Recorder of Bridg-By an important section of the well-known Municipal Corporations Act (5 and 6 William IV, c. 76, s. 103), the method of appointment of Recorders of Boroughs was standardised throughout the country: each individual Borough was to make an application to the Crown, stating the salary which it was willing to pay to its Recorder, for the grant of a Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace; the Crown was then to make the desired grant; the Court was to be presided over by a Recorder as sole judge; this Recorder was to be appointed by the Crown from among barristers of five years standing. Existing Deputy Recorders, if qualified, were to be appointed to Recorderships in their Boroughs. The Recorder was not to be member of Parliament for the Borough of which he was Recorder; he might (with the consent of the Council concerned) appoint a Deputy Recorder, in case of his own sickness or unavoidable absence, for one session only.60 Under these provisions Thomas Whitmore ceased to be Recorder of Bridgmorth.

An attempt will now be made to consider the general characteristics of the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth and to summarise the general development of that office. It will already be apparent that few of the Recorders of Bridgnorth were men who would be likely to be found engaged on legal business for the town in London or elsewhere, though such business was sometimes among the concerns of Recorders of other towns. ⁶¹ For business of this kind the town of

⁶⁰Weyman, No. 163A; obituaries in Wolverhampton and Shrewsbury Press ⁶⁰The Act and the events which led to it were discussed by the Webbs in Chapter XI of their work; the provisions mentioned above are summarised by Holdsworth, op. cit., i (4th ed., London, 1927), 145.

⁴For some fifteenth century examples, cp. Alice S. Green, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1894), i. 345 (Exeter), ii. 302 (Southampton), and 347-8 (Nottingham). In the sixteenth century Rowse, op. cit., p. 183, regards the Recorder as a "legal official" in the "big towns." The Webbs (op. cit., p. 682) have noted the importance as a legal adviser of the Recorder of London. There are examples of the functioning of the Nottingham Recorder as a legal adviser in the early seventeenth century in Nottingham Borough Records, iv (1889).

Bridgnorth seems to have relied on specially retained lawyers: for instance, a note on p. 732 of the town's second Leet Book has it that "the name of the name (sic) of the Attorney for the towne and liberties of Bridgnorth in the towne (sic) [? recte towne's suite] in the execheker is William Butler "-a statement which, though undated, perhaps refers to the year 1593. In 1621 it was agreed that Mr. Francis Wild "shalbe admitted Burgess and to pay 5 markes and to have the money given him back for consideration he shalbe a Councell with the towne in all theire busnies gratis" (third Leet The positions of Henry Townshend some years Book, p. 365). earlier and of Richard Thornes some years later have already been referred to; under Charles II a valuable piece of plate (costing £13 6s. 8d.) was ordered to be presented to Thomas Lee of the Inner Temple "as a gratuity from the said Towne for his care upon the Towne's concernes" (first Common Hall Order Book, f. 42v). The similar status of Francis Berkley a few years later has been noted earlier in these pages. In later times it was the Deputy Recorder who gave advice to the town on legal matters: thus, according to the Commissioners' Report in 1835, one of the most important acts of the last Deputy Recorder of Bridgmorth to hold office before 1835 was to advise (in 1833) in a dispute concerning the method of election of the town's Bailiffs; and the fact that he did so may be traced back to a town bye-law of 1617 which laid down that all disputes concerning the interpretation of the code of bye-laws then issued should in the first instance be brought before a body consisting of the Bailiffs, the Recorder and four of the twenty-four Aldermen (third Leet Book, p. 105). It would seem that Recorders like the last Thomas Whitmore of Apley, and his predecessors of the Whitmore family from lack of training on the one hand, Recorders like George Bromley and Edward Lyttleton from the importance of their official position on the other, were unable to be themselves concerned overmuch with the day-to-day legal affairs of the Corporation of which they were Recorders: counsel and advice were tendered by the Counsel for the Town in earlier, and by the Deputy Recorder in later, times. The Recorder most likely to have been able to concern himself frequently with the town's legal affairs is perhaps Thomas Whitmore of Ludstone; not only was he a barrister, but he also resided locally, and his landed estate was furthermore a small one: in 1777 (by which time it had come into the hands of the Apley Whitmores) its acreage was only 123. The survival of Stephen

Totty's letter to Humphrey Mackworth suggests, however, that on occasions, at least, the town did consult its Recorder on its legal affairs, and, after all, in the very earliest surviving Chamberlains' Rolls of the Corporation it was for the counsel which he had tendered ("consilio impenso") that the Recorder's fee was recorded as paid to Sir George Bromley; a century or so later the Recorder promised, as the oath quoted earlier shows, to give "good advice and counsel" to the Corporation. It seems unlikely, however, that even when the Recorder was a lawyer he was consulted frequently on the town's legal affairs: the importance of some Recorders in national or provincial affairs outside the town and the institution of the office held by Henry Townshend, Thornes, and Berkley amongst others, may suggest this; but Thomas Whitmore is a likely exception.

In England at large the presence of the Recorder or his deputy at Quarter Sessions or their equivalent was by 1835 the most normal characteristic of the office of Recorder. Some of the earlier Recorders of Bridgnorth did certainly at times, at least, attend the Borough Sessions: possibly the most active of all the town's Recorders was Thomas Fermor, who on occasion attended even at Courts Leet (second Leet Book, pp. 438, 440) as well as at Sessions (e.g., ibid, pp. 26, 27, 27b). Adam Littleton attended Sessions in March, 1641 (third Leet Book, p. 635); nevertheless, in the time of Edward Lyttelton the following most instructive arrangement had already (2nd January, 1638) been made:—

"By the Bayliffs and Burgesses aforesaid then assembled in the Colledge it was thought convenient, That Mr. Richard Thornes of Counsell for this Town shold be allowed from henceforth $[v^{ll}]$ per annum to be an assistant to the Bayliffs at the Corts of the said Town and otherwise as occasion shall require; and referred for the further confirmation thereof to a Comon Hall of this Town" (first Common Hall Order Book, t. 17v).

This arrangement seems to foresadow a merging of the duties of the office of the Counsel of the Town with those of the Deputy Recorder which was, so far as can be seen, completed by the early eighteenth century: the Recorder, Edward Acton, had a deputy in the person of one Robert Clowes at the same time as Francis Berkley was still Counsel of the Town; but within a few years the latter office ceases to be heard of. The patent of appointment of John Wolryche in 1676, like that of Edward Acton in 1686 and of each

and every subsequent Recorder, made provision for the existence of a professional deputy; the surviving Bridgnorth General Sessions Records—the earliest so far traced—from the time of Wolryche's Recordership show that the latter did not attend Sessions. In 1835, and for many years before that date, it was the professional Deputy Recorder who performed this function; by 1835 the General Sessions were held once yearly only. No doubt it is possible that the inability of General Sessions at Bridgnorth (like those of a few other boroughs) to try felonies affected adversely the attendance of the Recorder, even when qualified, and the frequency of the Sessions themselves.

It would therefore seem necessary to consider the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth from a wider point of view than that of the Recorder's importance in the year to year government of the town, and to estimate amongst other matters, the political rather than the legal importance of the office at Bridgnorth; to this end the families which supplied the various Recorders will first briefly be considered.

The nineteen Recorders of Bridgnorth before 1836 belonged to nine different families: seven were members of the family of Whitmore, of whom one was a Whitmore of Ludstone; two were members of and a third was closely connected by marriage with the family of Horde: the families of Bromley and Lyttelton or Littleton each supplied two Recorders; one Recorder was drawn from each of the five families of Mytton, Mackworth, Wolryche, Acton and Weaver. All the Recorders had some connexion with Shropshire, and fifteen of them-all, that is, except Mytton, the two Littletons, and Mackworth, who all held office before 1654-were possessed of landed interest of some kind in Bridgmorth or in its immediate vicinity. Of these fifteen, eleven-excluding, that is, the Whitmore of Ludstone —represented the three chief landed interests within the Borough itself, and it is a fair reflexion of the relative importance of each of these three interests that much the most important of them, that held successively by the families of Horde and Whitmore, provided nine of these eleven Recorders, who between them held the office for well over one hundred and fifty of the three hundred years for which the existence of the office can be proved. The other two. and less important, interests, which were held respectively by the Acton family and by the Smythes and their Weaver and other descendants, each provided only one Recorder; and in the case of John Weaver it has already been shown that he was in fact a

temporary incumbent in the Whitmore interest. Three other families with rural estates in the immediate vicinity of Bridgnorth but without a territorial interest in the Borough itself (Bromley of Hallon, Whitmore of Ludstone, and Wolryche of Dudmaston) between them supplied the remaining four of those fifteen Recorders whose links with Bridgnorth were closest.

Between 1650 and 1750 the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth underwent a striking change. This may be illustrated in three particular ways. For instance, prior to the tenure of Humphrey Mackworth the Recordership of Bridgnorth was often a symbol of the link which at that time existed between the town and the Council of the Marches. Mytton, the elder Bromley, Edward Lyttelton and his cousin, were all members or officials—sometimes important officials-of that body, which was already well-established by the time of Mytton's Recordership, and which sometimes met at Bridgnorth. 62 The tie between Bridgnorth and the Council of the Marches—which is also exemplified by the two Townshends—seems to have been especially strong during the reign of Elizabeth, when at least one and sometimes both of the members for Bridgnorth was either in some way connected with the Council or can be regarded as owing his seat to the Council's influence: thus in the last five Parliaments of Elizabeth's reign Edward Bromley sat on the first four occasions with a local country gentleman, John Lutwyche, brother of the second husband of the mother of Thomas Horde, and in 1601 with Thomas Horde himself; and Edward Bromley himself was first elected to Parliament for the town when his own father, Sir George Bromley, was both Recorder of Bridgnorth and, as Chief Justice of Chester, a member of the Council of the Marches. 63 In 1641 the Council of the Marches was abolished, so that Mackworth, though he was typical of some of those who had formerly provided the Council's membership, was not himself a member. The Council was revived in 1660, but the former con-

⁶²On the Council's early history, cp. Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches* (London, 1904), chaps. 1-3; and on its meeting at Bridgnorth, *ibid.*, p. 180, and R. Flenley, *Register of the Council in the Marches*, 1569-91 (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 8, 1916), p. 21. (Henry Townshend and George Bromley occur frequently in the latter volume). Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, i, 22-8 discusses the Council's history.

⁶³On Bromley's Parliamentary connexions, cp. Neale, op. cit., p. 315.

nexion between its membership and the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth does not reappear in the brief period between its revival and its final abolition in 1689.

A second feature of the Recordership of Bridgnorth, and one which endured somewhat longer than its connexion with the Council of the Marches, was its integration with the Recordership of other Shropshire boroughs, and in particular with the office of Recorder of Wenlock. The last example of this characteristic was John Weaver, who was Recorder of Wenlock; and earlier we note that Thomas Whitmore was Recorder of Wenlock, that his predecessor Mackworth was Recorder of both Shrewsbury and Wenlock as well as of Bridgnorth, that Mackworth's precedessor Littleton was Recorder of both Wenlock and Bridgnorth, that Edward Bromley held the three Recorderships which Mackworth later held, and that Sir George Bromley was Recorder of Shrewsbury, while the Bridgnorth Deputy Recorder, Henry Townshend, was Steward of Shrewsbury and Recorder of Ludlow (as also of Leominster in Herefordshire) in the period during which he was by one title or another assisting the Recorder of Bridgnorth. To go back further still, in 1541 Richard Horde was "Justice of Quorum and Recorder of the Franchise" at Wenlock. Something of this connexion between Wenlock and Bridgnorth continued in the eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century: Francis Berkley had been Recorder of Wenlock and Counsel of the Town of Bridgnorth, and also Recorder of Shrewsbury; in the mid-eighteenth century Robert Aglionby Slaney was Deputy Recorder of Bridgnorth and Recorder of Wenlock⁶⁴; and in the period after 1835 Uvedale Corbett was Recorder of both boroughs.

The most obvious feature in the history of the office of Recorder of Bridnorth, however, is surely its ultimate and final capture by the Whitmore family. In the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries the office was indeed sometimes held by professional lawyers, but already from the first a local gentry family provided the town with some of its Recorders; for the first century of its proved existence the office was held alternately by a member of the

⁶⁴For lists of the Recorders of Ludlow and Shrewsbury see note 2. There are references to certain Recorders of Wenlock in H. F. J. Vaughan's article on "Wenlock Corporation Records" in *Transactions*, xvii (1894); other references have been provided by the kindness of Mr. A. G. Matthews, Town Clerk of Wenlock.

local country gentry family of Horde and by professional lawyers who were also gentry in the vicinity of Bridgnorth or elsewhere in Shropshire. Richard Horde was succeeded by Mytton, and the latter by the Hordes' kinsman Fermor; Fermor was succeeded by the elder Bromley, and the latter in turn by another Horde, whose successor was another Bromley. The latter's three immediate successors were all professional lawyers, though the appointment of Mackworth, the third among them, has every appearance of being a political measure. Mackworth's successor, Thomas Whitmore of Ludstone, it is worth reminding ourselves, was also Recorder of Wenlock, where the duties of the Recorder were seldom, and certainly not yet, nominal; he was both barrister and local country gentleman. So too was his successor John Wolryche, though his estate was many times larger than Thomas Whitmore's; Wolryche shared with Lord Keeper Lyttelton the distinction of having obtained the Oxford degree of D.C.L., but whereas the Lord Keeper had obtained that degree in 1643 as one of a number of royalists whom the University of Oxford wished to honour, John Wolryche obtained it (in 1670) presumably by reason of the performance of the necessary exercises, however formal. Nevertheless the Recorder's patent of John Wolryche, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn and Doctor of Civil Law though he was, allowed him to have a professional deputy, and though it is of course possible that a similar provision may have figured in previous patents, the tenure of the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth by John Wolryche does up to a point mark the transition from the early to the later phase of the history of the office which he held. Of the next two Recorders, the first, Edward Acton, had attended an Inn of Court, but this means little more than that his family adhered longer than most to what was now a decaying educational custom; while the second. William Whitmore, had not done even that. The latter's successor. John Weaver, was the last barrister-at-law to be Recorder of Bridgnorth before 1835, and after him the transition recently referred to is complete. As held by the Whitmores of Apley in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth had consistently that character which intermittently it had from the first possessed: it was then what in the hands of the Hordes and Fermor it had at times already been, the perguisite of the leading family of local country gentry whose legal experience

was that laid down for them by their station, and whose education, if it sometimes possessed a legal tinge, did so mainly in response to the fashion of the time.

It was not usually the case, then, that the Recordership of Bridgnorth conferred influence, but rather that the tenure of the Recordership was a further symbol of influence already enjoyed. It is not, for instance, in the tenure of the Recordership of the town that the explanation for the success of candidates at Parliamentary elections is usually to be found: the Hordes and their kinsmen had sat for Bridgnorth before the office of Recorder of the borough is known to have existed at all, and later the Whitmores of Apley sat for the town long before they engrossed its Recordership. The defeat of Whitmore Acton in the election of 1705 and his success in that of 1710 were both independent of his father's contemporary tenure of the office of Recorder; earlier still, John Wolryche's tenure of the same office did not avail him in 1679, and, if his election petition spoke truth, it did not prevent the Bailiffs, his potential colleagues on the Sessions Bench, from "undue practices" against him. But the Bridgnorth election of March, 1640, perhaps best shows the electoral unimportance of the Bridgnorth Recorder. A document recently found in the Borough Archives shows that at this election, formerly supposed to have been uncontested, there were three candidates; and it would seem that the most likely reason for the candidature of Thomas Littleton of Stoke St. Milborough was that he was the son-in-law of Edward Lyttelton, then Recorder of Bridgnorth, and son of Adam Littleton, who a few months later was to be recommended by Edward Lyttelton as his own successor in the office of Recorder; Edward and Adam were first cousins, Thomas and his wife second cousins. Despite these connexions, however, Thomas Littleton was easily defeated by Thomas Whitmore of Apley and Edward Acton of Aldenham, whose fathers both possessed electoral assets in Bridgmorth of another and more potent kind. 65 It would, however, be proper again to note that in 1586 Edward Bromley first became member for Bridgnorth when his father was the town's Recorder.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, the Recordership of Bridgnorth, though in one respect a symbol of the

⁶⁶Thomas Littleton was, however, returned at this election for Wenlock, of which town not his father-in-law, but his father, was then Recorder (Weyman in Transactions, xxv (1902), 327-8.

Whitmores' position in the town, did come to enhance their influence in the Borough. The Deputy Recorder, it was reported in 1835, was the legal adviser of the Corporation: we have already seen that this duty seems to have been taken over from the official of earlier times known as the Counsel of the Town; the earliest surviving order as to the form of oath taken by this latter official, recorded on p. 577 of the second Leet Book, concerns the oath taken in 1634 by Richard Thornes, who was required to assent to the following:—

"You shall sweare that you shall give your best Counsell and advise for the good of the Town when your Counsell and advise concerninge this Town shalbe desired and you shall keepe secret the matters concerninge the state of this Town other then such as shall and must necessariely be revealed, and not willingly doe anythinge to the hurte or damage of the Town at anytime. So help you God."

But in 1835, and for over a century before 1835, the Deputy Recorder had been not only the legal adviser of the Corporation; he had also been the nominee of the Recorder. The resultant opportunities for the exercise of the Recorder's influence in the affairs of the Corporation seem clear, and the importance of this power of nomination was doubtless realised. Every patent of appointment save one from 1716 inclusive onwards—that is, the patents issued to the last six Whitmore Recorders though not that issued to their representative Weaver-allow the Recorder to name his deputy: that issued to Acton in 1686, however, expressly nominates Acton's deputy, and lays down that he is to be replaced by the Corporation. (Unfortunately the patent issued to John Wolryche in 1676 is mutilated in just that portion where the method of appointment of Wolryche's deputy may be specified). It is not, perhaps, inapposite to note that Robert Clowes (died 1705) the Deputy Recorder nominated in the patent of 1686, was a near neighbour of Sir William Whitmore of Apley, and that James Grove (died 1734), who some years later also deputised for Acton, was father of Grey James Grove, who in 1734 was a Parliamentary candidate at Bridgnorth in the Whitmore interest. 60 Among later

⁶⁶Richard, father of this Robert Clowes, had bought an estate in Ryton in 1633; his son bought other land there from the Slaneys in 1691 (Bridgnorth Corporation MSS, Ryton deeds (calendared by W. Watkins-Pitchford), nos. 42, 44, 48, 51, 52). On the Grove family, cp. Blakeway's Sheriffs, s.a. 1731. Weaver's patent gives no method of nomination of a deputy.

Deputy Recorders attention may be drawn to Robert Aglionby Slaney (1693-1757), who, like Clowes, was a territorial neighbour of the Apley Whitmores, and to Edward Ryan, Deputy Recorder in 1825-7, who was the husband of the then Recorder's cousin, a daughter of the Recorder's late uncle, William Whitmore of Dudmaston, himself once Recorder of Bridgnorth.

It is possible that a borough dominated by one particular landed interest is not of a type in which the office of Recorder can be studied to best advantage; but we seem able to conclude—and the pattern revealed is doubtless neither unfamiliar nor unexpected—that at Bridgnorth from the very first the office of Recorder was sometimes held by that country gentleman of the district who disposed of most influence in the town; that from time to time prominent, even eminent, professional lawyers possessed always of landed interest in Shropshire, sometimes of landed interest in the Bridgnorth area, and usually connected with the Council of the Marches, also held the office; that the professional lawyer finally disappeared, and that for a century before the municipal reform of 1835 the office of Recorder of Bridgnorth became one more symbol of and (inasmuch as the Recorder nominated the Deputy Recorder) one more additional element in the Whitmores' control of Bridgnorth: during this latter period in the history of the office the Whitmores of Apley were as inevitably Recorders of Bridgnorth as they were, without interruption, members of Parliament for the Borough or, intermittently, Stewards of Bridgnorth Races.

Appendix A

A list of the Recorders before 1836

			From	То	Cause of Vacation of Office
		1	1531	1543	,
1.	Richard Horde		or	or	
		1	or before	after	?Death
			(?1511)	(?1550)	
2.	Adam Mytton		1550	1561	Death
	Thomas Fermor		1561	?1580	?Death
4.	George Bromley		?1580	1589	Death
	Thomas Horde		- 400	?1610	Resignation
	Edward Bromley		?1610	1626	Death
	Edward Lyttelton		1626	1640	Resignation
	Adam Littleton		1640	1647	Death
9.	Humphrey Mackwo	orth	1647	1654	Death
	Thomas Whitmore				
	Ludstone)		1655	1675	Resignation
	•			or	
				1676	
11.	John Wolryche		1676	?1685	?Death
12.	Edward Acton		1686	1716	Death
13.	William Whitmore		1716	1725	Death
14.	John Weaver		1725	1735	Resignation
15.	Thomas Whitmore		1735	1773	Death
16.	George Whitmore		1773	1775	Death
	Thomas Whitmore		1775	1795	Death
18.	William Whitmore		1795	1805	Resignation
19.	Thomas Whitmore		1805	1836	Act of Parliament

APPENDIX B

The Recorders since 1836

The Office of Recorder was held from 1836 until the abolition of the office in 1951 by the following:—

	<u>.</u>	From	То
1.	Uvedale Corbett (1792-1871)	1836	1871
	William Cope (1813-85)	1871	1885
3.	Rudolph Herries Spearman (1845-1900)	1885	1900
4.	Philip Howard Smith (1845-1919)	1900	1905
	Alexander Graham (1861-1941)	1905	1941
	William Field Hunt (b. 1900)	1941	1945
	George Gillespie Baker (b. 1910) ¹	1946	1951

Uvedale Corbett-who took the additional name of Winder in 1869—was appointed Deputy Recorder of Bridgnorth by Thomas Whitmore in 1827. He was appointed Recorder by the Crown, in accordance with the requirements of the Act of 1835, on 1st Nov., 1836; his salary was £40 per annum (Return of Recorders . . . in Parliamentary Papers (1840), xli). For nearly fifty years Corbett was doubtless a well-known figure in the affairs of Bridgnorth. death led to an attempt by the then Town Council of Bridgnorth to exercise a voice in the appointment of Corbett's successor; the Council minutes show that at a special meeting on 23rd February, 1871, the Mayor reported that he had sounded the late Recorder's son, Uvedale, asking whether if the Council recommended him as his father's successor he would be willing and able to serve; the answer being in the affirmative it was agreed strongly to recommend his nomination to the Secretary of State, and to enlist the support of the member for the Borough. This move was, however, fruitless, and two weeks later William Cope was appointed.

By section 10 (1) of the Justices of the Peace Act (12, 13 and 14 George VI, c. 101) Bridgnorth was among a number of small boroughs whose separate Commissions of the Peace and Courts of Quarter

¹Notices of Corbett, Cope and Spearman appear in *Modern English Biography*, ed. F. Boase, and of Smith and Graham in the relevant editions of Who Was Who.

Sessions were abolished. The Borough Council took advantage of section 10(5) of the Act to petition on historical grounds for exemption from the operation of this provision of the Act, but on 16th October, 1950, the Lord Chancellor notified his inability to grant such an exemption, which was in fact obtained by only seven out of over thirty Boroughs affected. Bridgnorth joined in a further attempt by the small Boroughs concerned to obtain exemption from the relevant provisions of the Act; a deputation (of which the then Town Clerk of Bridgnorth was himself a member) was received by the Lord Chancellor on 27th February, 1951, but on 30th May, 1951, the latter a second time wrote to announce his inability to grant any such exemption in respect of the Borough. meeting of Bridgnorth Quarter Sessions was summoned for 7th July, 1951; with effect from 1st October, 1951, the separate Commission of the Peace and Quarter Sessions for the Borough of Bridgnorth, and with it the long and distinguished line of Recorders of the Borough, came to an end.2

²This paragraph is based on information supplied by the Town Clerk of Bridgnorth. The relevant provision of the Act of 1949 was the result of recommendations by the Departmental Committee on Justices' Clerks contained in Cmd. 6507 of 1944 (the "Roche Report") and by the Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace in Cmd. 7463 of 1948. For the amendment to the Act which allowed the threatened Boroughs to appeal see *Hansard* for 13th December, 1949 (coll. 2561-73), and for a hostile opinion on the resultant effort by small Boroughs to retain their traditional (and chartered) privileges, *The Times* leader of 19th April, 1950.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS IN ATCHAM CHURCH

By LILIAN H. HAYWARD

There are a considerable number of armorial bearings in Atcham Church. They may be divided into three groups—those in the windows; on the memorial tablets; on the hatchments.

THE WINDOWS

Two windows commemorate the Parry family. In the year 1811 Mrs. Henry Burton, wife of the Rector of Atcham. visited Bacton, Herefordshire. Her interest there lay in the memorials to her ancestors, the Parrys of Newcourt in that parish. She found glass commemorating the family, but much broken and neglected. Without much difficulty she persuaded the authorities to allowher to take it away to Atcham, where she had it placed in two of the windows, after a good deal of restoration, and with some new additions. Mr. G. McNeil Rushforth wrote an article about this glass in the Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (1935). but he seems to have been more interested in the representations of the figures in the windows than in the armorial bearings, some of which he has not attempted to describe. He suggests that the work of restoration and the new work in the two windows was carried out by William Raphael Eginton (1778-1834) of Birmingham, as it resembles his work elsewhere. "The Shrewsbury family of Betton and Evans was hardly in the field by 1811. Evans' windows in Shrewsbury churches belong to the thirties." Although much restored there is still a good deal of the old glass remaining.

From the heraldic point of view the most interesting glass is that in the westernmost window in the north wall. This glass was at first placed in a window on the south wall, but after some damage by winds, it was removed to its present position. It now commemorates Blanche Parry, chief gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth I, whom she served faithfully from the Queen's birth until her own death in 1589, aged 82.

In the upper part of the window there is a representation of Blanche kneeling, and offering to the Queen what seems to be a small book. This carries out the same idea as the monument to Blanche in Bacton Church. She was the daughter of Miles Parry of Newcourt and his wife Alys, one of the 13 daughters (co-heiresses) of Simon

Milborne.¹ This picture, the three shields lower down and the inscription at the foot of the window are Mrs. Burton's additions. Between the picture and the three shields is an old Latin inscription, mutilated, apparently referring to one Julius Rosse, who caused the window (in its original form at Bacton) to be made.

The coats-of-arms in the Parry windows do not show the proper colours. They are white or grey, except that a little brown or yellow is introduced. For the sake of interest, however, I give the correct colours in brackets. Of the three shields below the old inscription, the centre is the lozenge of Blanche Parry² (1) (arg.), a fess between three lozenges (az. within a bordure of the last. The bordure is omitted in these windows). The left hand shield shows Parry impaling Milborne (2) (arg.), a cross moline (gu.). There is a mistake here. Apparently the heraldic painter who was working for Mrs Burton used the arms of another family of the same name. The arms of Milborne of Herefordshire should be (gu.) a chevron (erm.) between three escallops (arg.) and this is correctly depicted in the old glass at the top of the window. The shield on the right is Parry impaling Scudamore (3) (gu.) three stirrups, leathered and buckled (or). Miles Parry (4), brother to Blanche, married Eleanor, daughter to Tames Scudamore of Kentchurch (5).

Above the picture of Queen Elizabeth and Blanche there is an interesting set of armorial bearings on old glass, below a golden sun. A good pair of field glasses is necessary to decipher these. Taking them from left to right the upper row seem to be: 1, Parry, as above; 2, Milborne (as above); 3, Eynford (6) (gu.) fretty (erm), Elizabeth, d. and h. of John Eynford, married Piers Milborne (7), gt. gt. grandfather of Blanche Parry. In the lower row are: 4, probably Devereux (8), of which family the arms are (arg.) a fess (gu.), in chief three roundels (torteaux). The fess in the window bears what seems to be a leopard's face, but this might be for difference. Elizabeth (9), d. and h. of Walter Devereux, married John Milborne, greatgrandfather of Blanche; 5, Blackett (az.) a bend cottised, between three crosses crosslet fitchy (or.). Blanche's grandfather, Simon Milborne (11) married Jane (14), d. and h. of James Baskerville of

¹Some of the names are spelt in different ways, and especially that of Milborne, for which I have adopted Mr. Rushforth's spelling.

²The figures in brackets correspond with the figures in pedigree No. 1.

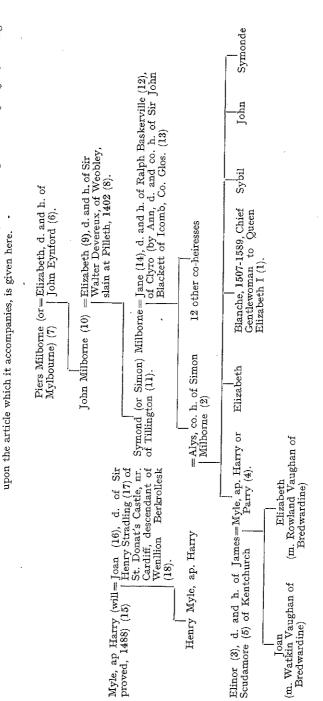
Clyro (12) by Ann, d. and co. h. of Sir John Blackett (13) of Icombe, Gloucestershire; 6, Baskerville (arg.) a chevron (gu.) between three roundels (hurts). See (12) above.

As these bearings are only tricked, and the colours not shown, in some cases they cannot be identified with absolute certainty. But, with the possible exception of Devereux, considering the positions of the various families in the pedigree, it is reasonable to ascribe these six heraldic bearings as I have done in this paper.

The East Window.—The glass in the east window is apparently that which was in the east window of Bacton Church. At the top of the centre light are two angels, each holding a shield, again in grey, white and gold, and not in the heraldic colours. The shield on the left depicts the Parry arms, that on the right is Stradling, quartering Berkrolles. Stradling, paly of six (arg. and az.) on a bend (gu.) three cinquefoils pierced (or). Berkrolles (az.) a chevron between three crescents (or). Miles Parry (15) married Joan (16), d. of Sir Henry Stradling (17) of St. Donat's Castle, near Cardiff. She was great-great grand-daughter of Sir Edward Stradling of St. Donat's, who m. Wenllian (18), d. of Sir Roger Berkrolles, eventual heiress of the Berkrolles estates.

These arms seem to identify the kneeling figures at the bottom of the window as Miles Parry and his wife Joan, and their large family of sons and daughters. (Mr. Rushworth suggests that some may be grandchildren). Miles Parry's will was proved 21 Nov., 1488, which gives the approximate date of the old glass in the window. Just above the central kneeling figures the Parry arms are repeated. This was apparently inserted by Mrs. Burton, and there has been a good deal of restoration throughout the window. At the foot is an inscription recording the removal of the glass from Bacton to Atcham by Mrs. Henry Burton.

Only the latter part of the pedigree, bearing Pedigree of PARRY (Ap Harry). Compiled from the Visitations of Herefordshire, 1569.



It is stated that a younger branch carried on the family name of Parry, and that a descendant married Mary Leighton, of Shrewsbury.

THE MEMORIAL TABLETS

No. 1

On the west wall, south of the west door, is a mural tablet to Samuel Fowler, M.A., "Minister" of Atcham for 46 years. He died 1772, aged 71. Also to his relict, Ann, who died 1788, aged 78. Samuel was the son of William Fowler of Wolverhampton. It is thought that he was of the family of Pendeford, near Wolverhampton. His wife's surname is not known, but it may have been Mander.

Arms: Fowler impaling Mandere. Fowler. Az., on a chevron arg. between three lions passant gardant, one and two or, as many crosses patee gu. Mandere. Erm. three annulets interlaced gu.

No. 2

On the floor of the Chancel is a slab to Thomas Calcott of Berwick, Gent., born 1662, died 1708. Also to Dorothy, his wife, died 1777, aged 73. The Calcott family occupied the house at Berwick Maviston, later the Home Farm to Attingham. The Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, writing in 1916, in the Introduction to the published register of Atcham, states that the house has "the name of Calcott cut with a diamond on a pane of glass." He also writes of traces of the moat remaining. The wife's surname is not known, but it may have been Moreton. The arms are not coloured, but they, as well as the inscription, are deeply carved.

Arms: Calcott impaling (?) Moreton (of Haughton, and also of Shifnal), Calcott. Per pale (arg. and gu.), on a chief (az.) three swans (arg.). Moreton. (arg.), a chevron (gu.), between three square buckles (sa.).

No. 3

On the south wall of the Chancel is a brass tablet to the Rev. Robert Lingen-Burton, M.A., died 1887, aged 85. He was Vicar of Ford, Holy Cross and St. Giles (Shrewsbury) successively for 60 years. I may here explain why so many of this family have for nearly 200 years added the name of Lingen to their Burton name. Thomas Burton of Longner died unm. in 1730, when his estates devolved upon his nephew Robert Lingen (son of Thomas Burton's sister, Ann, who had married Thomas Lingen, of Sutton Court, Co. Hereford), who assumed the name of Burton. He was grand father to the subject of this tablet. The arms on this tablet (which are to be

seen elsewhere in the church) are Burton quartering Lingen, 1 and 4 Burton. Per pale az. and purpure, a cross engrailed or, between four roses arg. Lingen. Barry of six or and az., on a bend gu. three roses arg. Crests. For Burton, a dexter gauntlet couped at the wrist. ppr. For Lingen, out of a ducal coronet a bundle of leeks ppr. (Sometimes described as a garb vert). The Burton motto is *Dominus providebit*.

The Burton arms were granted to Sir Robert Burton of Longner, in 1478, in which year he was also knighted by King Edwzrd IV. He was father of Edward Burton, No. 5. As this Robert Burton was an adherent of Ed. IV perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest that the four white roses in his coat-of-arms were associated with the white rose of York.

No. 4

On the east wall of the Sanctuary, left of the Altar, is a mural tablet to the Rev. Henry Lingen Burton, M.A., second son of Robert Burton, of Longner. (He was uncle to the Rev. Robert Lingen-Burton No. 3). He was born 1755, died 1831, aged 75. He was resident "minister" of Atcham for upwards of fifty years. The tablet also commemorates his wife, Mary, daughter of William Gittins, of Chilton (in Atcham parish), who died 1846, aged 74. She was the lady who brought the old glass from Bacton to Atcham. There are two very small carved armorial bearings on this tablet, Burton quartering Lingen (see No. 3), and impaling Gittins. Gu. on a fess between three goats' heads erased arg. as many pellets.

No. 5

The most interesting of the memorials showing armorial bearings is the old one, an alabaster slab, set up on the wall near the pulpit. This, as a later inscription states, was "removed from a freehold pew belonging to the Estate of Longner in the Parish Church of St. Chad, Shrewsbury, on the fall of that Church, July 9th, 1788." The slab is to Edward Burton, of Longner, who died in 1524, to his wife, Jocasta, and to their seven daughters. Their figures are incised on the slab. Although the figures only of daughters appear on the slab, he left two sons also. He was Groom of the Stool (also, according to Burke, Master of the Robes). Burke (Landed Gentry), and other authorities, state that Jocasta was daughter to Thomas Cresset

of Upton Cresset, but Blakeway (Sheriffs, page 165) brings evidence that her name was Coyney. The arms above her figure are certainly Coyney, impaling Stepelton.

Over the figure of Edward Burton are the Burton arms (see No. 3), but not quartering or impaling any other bearing.

Coyney, or, on a bend sa. three trefoils slipped arg. Stepelton. Arg., a lion rampant sa.

No. 6

On the north wall of the Chancel a mural tablet to Thomas Henry, 8th Lord Berwick of Attingham, born 1877, died 1947. Also to the Hon. Mary Selina Noel-Hill, born 1875, died 1950. They were the children of the Rev. the Hon. Thomas Noel Noel-Hill, Rector of Berrington and of Frederica Sara Morrice, his wife.

The tablet was given by Teresa, Lady Berwick.

Arms: Quarterly, 1 and 4, Hill; 2, Noel; 3, Harwood. (For details see Hatchment No. 1).

THE HATCHMENTS

Those upon the north wall commemorate members of the Hill-Berwick family; those on the south wall and one in the vestry, the Burton family. These numbers may be helpful to those who may wish to identify the hatchments.

Those on the north wall:—

West 1 2 3 4 East

Those on the south wall:—

West 9 8 7 6 5 East

It is unfortunate that when hatchments were set up the names of the persons commemorated were seldom placed on the hatchments. Only two out of the eleven in the church have the names painted upon them. There have been nine Lords Berwick, though we may perhaps ignore the last three or four barons in this connection, as the custom of setting up hatchments upon the house of the deceased (afterwards generally removed to the parish church) went out of fashion some time ago, although the practice is still very occasionally carried out. Some of those in this church can be identified by the

arms of the wives, which are sometimes impaled with those of their husbands, but in other cases it is impossible to be certain to whom several of the hatchments refer.

Beginning with the north wall, the westernmost hatchment: 1, Quarterly; 1st and 4th, Hill. Erm on a fess sa. a castle³ with two towers arg. On a canton gu. a martlet or. 2nd and 3rd Harwood. Arg. a chevron between three stags' heads cabossed gu. 2, Noel. Or, fretty gu, a canton erm. 3, Lovelace. Gu. on a chief indented three martlets or. 4, Wentworth. Sa. a chevron between three leopards' faces or. Crest, a demi tower arg. a fawn on the battlements ppr., collared and chained or. Coronet. Supporters. Dexter, a pegasus, arg. gorged with a plain collar, sa., thereon three martlets or. Sinister. A stag ppr. gorged with a plain collar sa. thereon three leopards' faces or, a chain reflexed over the back or. Motto: Qui uti scit ei bona (riches to him who can use them).

Thomas Harwood of Tern Hall (later rebuilt as Attingham) assumed the name of Hill in right of his mother, Margaret Hill, sister to Sir Richard Hill, statesman during the reigns of William, Anne and George I, and paymaster to the army. He married (I) Anne, d. of Richard Powys of Berwick. (This lady's name is omitted from later editions of Burke, but it appears in an early edition). (2) Susanna Maria, d. and co. h. of William Noel, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Their son, Noel, was created first Lord Berwick of Attingham in 1784. As there is a coronet above the arms this hatchment must commemorate a Lord Berwick, and it seems likely that it is that of the first baron. For Lovelace, Wentworth and Noel connections, see pedigree No. 2. For Berwick pedigree see Burke's Peerage.

No. 2

Hill, as No. 1, quartering Harwood, Noel, Lovelace and Wentworth, and impaling Owen. Arg. a lion rampant sa. a canton sa. Richard Noel-Hill, died 1848, 4th Baron Berwick, married Frances, d. of William Mostyn-Owen, M.P. for Montgomeryshire, so we may assume that this is his hatchment. He assumed the surname of Noel before his patronymic Hill by sign-manual in 1824.

³The castle in the Hill-Berwick arms bears sometimes one tower, sometimes two, or three.

No. 3

This must be the hatchment of Thomas Harwood, who assumed the name of Hill (see No. 1), and is the earliest of the Hill-Berwick hatchments. It bears the arms of Hill, impaling those of his two wives. Dexter, Powys. Or, a lion's gamb erased in bend, between three crosses croslet fitchy gu. Sinister, Noel. (For arms, see No. 1). Thomas Harwood's first wife, as already stated, was Anne, d. of Richard Powys of Berwick. By her he had two daughters, Anne, who m. Robert Burton of Longner, and Margaret, who m. Bennet Sherard, Earl of Harborough. Richard Powys had succeeded to his cousin, Thomas Powys (High Sheriff, 1762), descended from the Powys family of Shrewsbury, Clun and Ludlow. The second wife, Susanna Maria Noel, was mother of the first Lord Berwick. There are no supporters or coronet on this hatchment, and the crest is a tower, arg., without the fawn which we find in the crest of the Lords Berwick. The family motto does not appear, only the device, Memento Mori.

No. 4

Hill, quartered as No. 1 with coronet, supporters crest and family motto. There is no clue by which to identify this hatchment. It may be that of the second or third baron, or even of one later than the fourth.

No. 5

We now turn to the south wall, beginning at the easternmost hatchment. This bears the arms of Burton of Longner, an achievement of many quarterings, with an escutcheon of pretence.

1, 1st and 4th Burton; 2nd and 3rd Lingen. (See memorial tablets, No. 3). 2, Burgh. Az. a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis erm. 3, Mouddy. Or, a lion rampant gu. within a bordure engrailed sa. 4, Quarterly. 1st and 4th, Peabody arg. two bars gu. fretty or. 2nd and 3rd Clopton. gu. a fess between six pears or. 5, Corbet (of Moreton). Or, a raven ppr. (or sa.). 6, Thoret. Or, an escarbuncle of eight points sa. 7, Milewater. Sa. an eagle displayed with two heads within a bordure engrailed arg. 8, Burton. 9, Maddocks (of Wem and Coton) gu. on a bend arg, a lion passant, sa. 10, Beist. Gu. three bundles of arrows 2 and 1, feathered and headed arg., banded or. 11, Ballard. Per pale gu. and sa., a lion rampant arg. armed and langued az. 12, Matthews. Sa. a lion rampant arg. armed and

langued gu. On an escutcheon of pretence, Smitheman. Quarterly. 1st, Smitheman. Vert⁴ three eagles, wings endorsed 2 and 1 arg, collared or. 2nd Brook. Checky arg. and sa. 3rd. Gu. a talbot statant holding in his mouth (?). 4th, Gu. a lion rampant between six fleurs-de-lis or. Crests. Burton and Lingen, as in Memorial Tablets, No. 3. Motto: Dominus providebit.

It would make this paper far too long if I were to work out all the connections between the Lingen-Burtons and the families whose arms are quartered on this hatchment. They mainly refer to marriages with heiresses. The connections between Burton and Beist, Ballard, Corbet and Maddocks, and those between Lingen and Burgh, Clopton, Milewater, etc., may be found in the more recent editions of Burke's Landed Gentry; and other interesting information in the introduction to the published register of Atcham.

Robert Burton of Longner, High Sheriff, 1804, died 1841, m. Rose, d. and co.h. of John Smitheman of Little Wenlock. It is curious that there are three hatchments in the church, with exactly the same achievement, all bearing the Smitheman escutcheon of pretence. It is difficult to account for this. The others are No. 6, and the one in the vestry, No. 11.

No. 6

This is exactly the same as No. 5.

No. 7

Burton quartering Lingen, and impaling Hill. There is no doubt as to whom this hatchment refers, for there is an inscription round the frame, "Robert Burton of Longner, Died June 21, 1803. Aged 78." He was the son of that Robert Lingen, who assumed the name of Burton on succeeding to the Burton estates. He married Anne, d. of Thomas (Harewood) Hill. Her hatchment is No. 10.

No. 8

This also can be identified, although the marshalling is done in a very unusual way. It is to another Robert Burton of Longner (b. 1796, and nephew to the subject of No. 5), as well as to his two

⁴On some of the hatchments colours such as vert and azure may have faded into a dull blackish grey, giving the incorrect impression that they are sable.

wives. His own Burton arms shows the same achievement as Nos. 5 and 6, impaling the arms of his wives on either side of his achievement. On the dexter side piece is Burton impaling Walcot. Arg. a chevron between three chess-rooks erms. This Robert Burton m. as his first wife, Catherine, second d. of William Walcot of Moor Hall, Ludlow. On the sinister side-piece we have Burton impaling Oakeley. Arg. on a fess gu. three fleurs-de-lis or, between three crescents of the second. He married, as his second wife, Catherine, eldest d. of the Rev. Herbert Oakeley of Oakeley, Co. Salop. Crests, Burton and Lingen, and motto.

No. 9

Above the old incised slab, the hatchment shows Burton quartering Lingen, and impaling Gittins. This would be the hatchment for the Rev. Henry Lingen-Burton (b. 1755, d. 1831), who m. Mary Gittins. (See Memorial Tablets, No. 4).

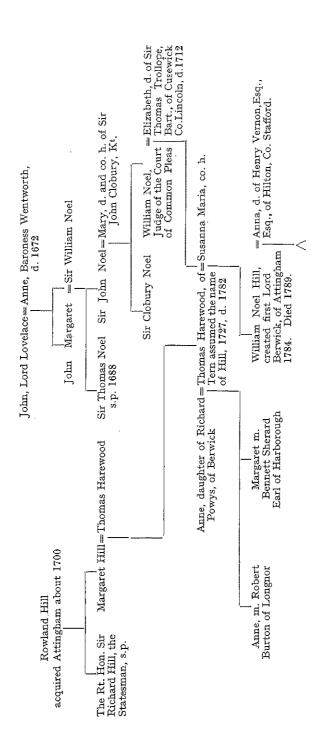
No. 10

Below and between 8 and 9 the hatchment shows Lingen impaling Hill. This also we can identify, for there is an inscription, which reads "Ann, wife of Robert Burton of Longner, Esquire, eldest daughter of Thomas Hill of Tern, Esquire. Died April 30, 1771, aged 46." Her husband was Robert Lingen, who assumed the name of Burton (see No. 7) and who has here used the Lingen arms rather than those of Burton. Crest, Lingen.

No. 11

This hatchment hangs in the vestry. It bears the same elaborate achievement as Nos. 5 and 6, with the Smitheman escutcheon of pretence. But in this case the escutcheon bears the Smitheman arms only, and not the three other quarterings which appear in Nos. 5 and 6. At the bottom of the hatchment is a convenient key to some of the quarterings on the achievement. There are also two small shields for Burton and Lingen.

I conclude by expressing my thanks to the Rev. R. C. Purton for his help with the second pedigree, and to Miss N. Mackenzie for other assistance.



NOTES ON SOME STONE TOOLS AND MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM SKYBORRY, NEAR KNIGHTON

By W. A. Cummins

Skyborry (Map Ref. 268744) is on the north side of the Teme valley about a mile and a half north west of Knighton. Behind it the hills rise steeply to a thousand feet, above which the slopes are gentle. Much of this upper ground has been ploughed in recent years. Finds were made at site A when this was ploughed for the first time in 1949. Then a search in the other ploughed fields on the hill yielded further finds. Sites A and B have been reseeded and are now pasture. No traces of buildings were seen at either site. The specimens are in the collection of the writer at Skyborry.

The stone tools include eleven flints and one grit pounder. The flints, except for one, are grey to black and show no brown patination. Some specimens show the white crust characteristic of the surface of flints taken from the chalk. The flint was probably imported from the chalk country and not obtained from a flint bearing gravel.

Of the eleven flints, six are worked, one is a core, and four are unworked flakes or fragments. It seems, then, that a small community living on the hill obtained its flint in nodule form from a trader, and worked its own tools. Such home-made tools might have been supplemented by tools from a flint working centre such as that on Clun Hill.¹

- No. I. Pointed tool of grey translucent flint. The upper side shows three surfaces with concentric ripples. On each of these the ripples are centred about the same end of the flint. These surfaces are the marks left by flakes which were struck off while the flint in question was still attached to the core. Secondary flaking round the edges up to the point is restricted to the upper side. The lower side is a smooth unflaked surface.
- No. 2. Pointed tool of grey flint. The secondary flaking is simple and restricted to the left-hand side leading up to the point. The lower side is a single smooth surface.

- No. 3. Compound hollow scraper of almost white flint. There are at least four hollow scrapers of different sizes around the edge of the tool. The flaking is confined to the upper side.
- No. 4. Blade-like tool of translucent grey flint. The upper side consists of three long primary flakes, with much secondary flaking on the two lateral ones. The edges are very much damaged.
- No. 5. Large scraper (not figured) of grey and black flint $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. There is secondary flaking at one end and all along one side. The flaking is confined to the upper surface.
- No. 6. Small flat scraper (not figured) of translucent grey flint, with flaking on both surfaces.

The grit pounder is an unworked water worn pebble, 4 inches long and 2 inches across. It is of a hard grit and is very battered at one end. The pebble must have been brought from a distance as there are no gravel deposits on the hills around and the gravels of the river Teme are of local origin. The local stone, Upper Silurian shale, splits far too readily to make good pounders. Similar pounders were described from the earthwork of Castell Odo, Caernaryonshire.²

The medieval pottery is of 12th, 13th and 14th century date. Pottery of similar forms has been described from Lydney Castle,³ Grosmont Castle,⁴ Ogmore Castle,⁴ and Kidwelly Castle.⁵

From site A no glazed or decorated pottery has been found. Altogether nearly two hundred sherds have been collected. The commonest rim types are numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, and forms intermediate between these. Numbers 5 and 6 are represented by only one sherd each. It is probable that site A was occupied during the latter half of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth century.

No. 1. Coarse gritty white ware with light buff coloured surface. The surface is rough and the rim distorted in places. Probably twelfth century; c.f. Lydney Castle, No. 17.

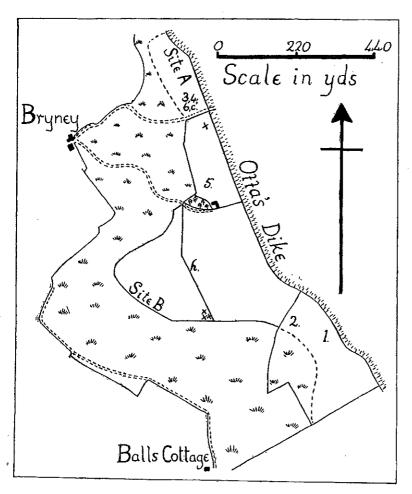


FIGURE 1

Map showing the position of the Medieval pottery sites, the find spots of the worked flints (numbers), of the flint core (c), of the unworked flints (crosses), and of the pounder (h).

Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inch sheets: Shropshire LXXVI (S.W. and N.W.), with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

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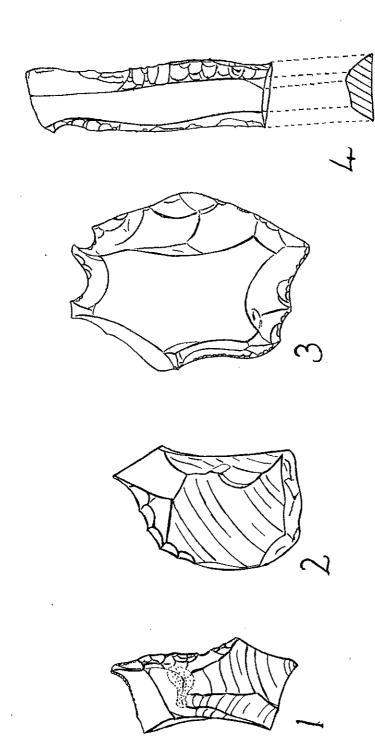
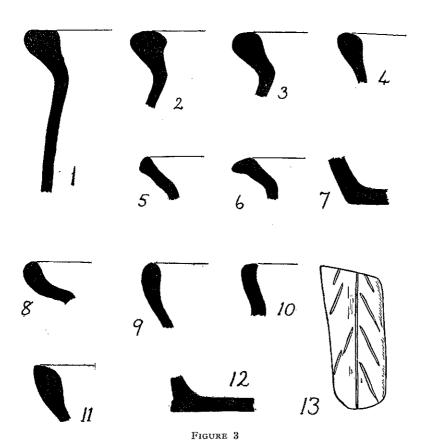


Figure 2

Worked flints from Skyborry × 5/3



Medieval pottery from Skyborry; numbers 1 to 7 from site A, and numbers 8 to 13 from site B $\,\times\,$ 3/5 approx.

- No. 2. Fine grey gritty ware. The texture is uniform and the surface even. Probably twelfth century; there is some resemblance to the Lydney Castle rims formed by folding the edge over inwards.
- No. 3. Coarse gritty white ware coated with fine buff coloured paste about I mm. thick. The coating is very cracked and has worn off in places.
 - No. 4. Grev gritty ware.
- No. 5. White gritty ware with smooth black surface now mostly worn off. Probably twelfth to thirteenth century; c.f. Grosmont Castle, No. 24; and Kidwelly Castle, Nos. 1 to 9.
- No. 6. White gritty ware. Probably twelfth to thirteenth century; c.f. Ogmore Castle, No. 35; and Kidwelly Castle, Nos. 1 to 9.
 - No. 7. White gritty ware with buff coloured outer surface.

From site B over a hundred sherds have been collected. These include one handle with incised ornament and several other sherds with a mottled green and yellow glaze. The commonest rim types are numbers 9 and 11. Number 10 is represented by one sherd only. The handle is probably fourteenth century; but, apart from this, the dating evidence is most unsatisfactory.

- No. 8. Coarse grey gritty ware with very rough reddish surface.
- No. 9. Grey gritty ware with black surface.
- No. 10. White gritty ware with buff coloured surface. Probably twelfth to thirteenth century; c.f. Kidwelly Castle, Nos. I to 9.
 - No. 11. Grey gritty ware with red surface on the inside.
- No. 12. Slightly gritty grey ware with red surface on outside and traces of green and brownish-yellow mottled glaze.
- No. 13. Part of a pitcher handle of smooth red ware. It is ornamented with a central slash and lateral stabs, and bears traces of a mottled green and yellow glaze. Probably fourteenth century; it is of the same general type as some of the handles from Grosmont Castle.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer is indebted to Mr. S. S. Frere, F.S.A., who examined the pottery and directed his attention to the appropriate literature.

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- 2. W. F. Grimes, 1932. "Report on the material from the excavation of the earthwork of Castell Odo, Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire." Archeologia Cambrensis, LXXXVII, p. 385.
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DEEDS RELATING TO LARDEN

Taken from a Volume of Deeds formerly in the collection of Sir Thos. Phillipps and purchased at Sotheby's for the Shrewsbury Free Library.

Ι

Sciant presentes, etc. John Smyth of Netherlarden gives, etc., to Sir Thomas parson of Esthope his lands at Nethlarden and at Brocton. To have, etc. Witnesses: Thos. de Henkeley, Jo. de Esthope, Wm. de la More, Adam de Corne, Ric. Crompe of Patiton. At Netherlarden, Sun. before F. of S. Martin, 2 Hen. IV. [1400].

TT

Sciant presentes, etc. Isabel daughter of Roger de la More gives, etc., to John Smyth of Netherlarden all the lands in Netherlarden and Brocton which she had of the gift of John. To have etc. Witnesses: Thos. de Henkeley, John de Esthope, Wm. de la More, Jo. de Staunton, Jo. Bradeston. At Netherlarden, Sun. before F. of All SS. 2 Hen. IV. [1401].

III

Sciant presentes, etc. William de la More in Corvedale sen. gives etc. to Roger Vicar of Long Stanton, Sir Reginald de Lye chaplain all the lands etc. in Lardeyn upper & lower and in Brocton, Shipton, Mittelton near Dodyton and in Kingeseye, with a parcel in the demesne of Oxenbold bought of John Sykes. To have etc. Witnesses: Peter Bastard of Wenloc, Thos. de Sorne, Ric. Byncheweye of Wyldertop, Jo. Bradeston of Lardeyn, Ric. Hopton of Shipton, Wm. Pouke of Shipton, Symon Lardeyn of Lotewyche. At Lardeyn, Monday after F. of Trin., 10 Hen. IV. [1409].

IV

Sciant presentes etc. Roger Vicar of Long Stanton, Sir Reginald de Lye Chaplain give etc. to William de More lands etc. lying between the high way extending from Shipton to a green way whereon lies a certain Cross called Kings Cross extending to Upper Lardene as they are enclosed between the aforesaid two ways, which More had of Richard son of William Smalman of Lardene; and sixteen acres

lying separately between the said Kings Way to Shipton and the aforesaid green way to Upper Lardene, which More had of Roger Coly of Patton; Also twelve acres in Upper and Lower Lardene seven in Kingeseye of which three lie between land of the Prior of Wenlock and a headland called Cosines Hadeland of Lardene and land of John Bradeston and of William Assefeld, four acres through one stadium of the Prior of Wenlock and land of John Bradeston formerly of Richard Cosine; two acres of land and two of meadow in L . . elmores Meddow etc. (a ditch called Wodedyche in le hale of Over Larden, Brokefurlong of Lower Larden, a lane called Hopeslone). To have etc. to William de More for life, remainder to his son William, remainder to Richard another son, remainder to Alice his daughter, remainder to Roger son of Roger de More. Witnesses: Peter Bastard, . . . Corne, John Bradestan, Richard Hopton, William Poule. At Larden, Sun. before F. of SS. Simon & Jude, 11 Hen. IV. [1409].

V

Sciant presentes etc. Johanna Cosyn daughter of Richard Cosyn of Larden in pura virginitate gives to Master William Corve Rector of Stretton in le Dale, Hugh Holgot and Richard Corve her lands in Upper and Lower Larden, Brokton and Shipton, inherited after the death of William Cosyn her brother. To have etc. Witnesses: John Buterley, John Page, William de la More jun., Richard Longe, Richard Girrons. At Larden, Mon. in the F. of S. James, 13 Hen. IV. [1412].

VI

Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc. Roger Vicar of Long Stanton releases to William de la More all his right etc. in lands in Upper and Lower Larden, Brokton, Shypton, Kingseye and Morehouse with a parcel called Bentley in Oxenbolde which he had of William de la More. Witnesses: Thomas de Corve, Richard Crompe of Patiton, John de Bradestan. At Larden, Mon. after the F. of S. Barnabas, 1 Hen. V. [1413].

VII

Sciant presentes etc. John Rector of Thongland and Roger perpetual Vicar of Stanton Long give to William de la More sen. in Corvedale all their lands etc. in Upper and Lower Lardeyn, Brocton, Shipton, Mittelton by Dodyton, Kingesey, and a parcel called Bentley in the lordship of Oxenbold, which they had of the gift of More. Witnesses: William de Lotewych, Thomas de Corve, Richard Benethewey of Wilderhope, Thomas Pamor of Stanway, Richard de Hopton. At Upper Lardeyn, Wed. before the F. of S. Dunstan, 8 Hen. V. [1420].

VIII

Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc. Isabel de la Halle of Larden releases to Richard de la More and William Fypman Rector of Esthop all her right etc. in the lordship (dominium) of Larden, Witnesses: William de la More, William de Lotewyche, Thomas de Corve, William Weole of the Cote, Richard le p'ton of Shipton. At Larden, Wed. after the F. of S. Valentine, 1 Hen. VI. [1423].

IX

Hec Indentura etc. Isabella de la Halle of Larden grants to William de Brocton all her lands etc. in Larden for her life, except the rents of free tenants. Witnesses: William de la More, William Weole de la Cote, Thomas de Corve. At Larden, Mon. after F. of S. Matthew, I Hen. VI. [1422].

\mathbf{X}

Noverint universi etc. William de Brokton of Larden and Isabella de la Halle of Larden release to Henry le Meyr and Sibell his wife all their right in a place of land between their orchard and a tenement of Henry and Sibell, extending from their new weir to le Crabbetre and from le Crabbetre to the weir of Henry and Sibell. Witnesses: Roger de la Mor, Richard his son, Walter le Bailley. At Larden, Sat. in the F. of S. . . . enor, Mart., 2 Hen. VI.

XI

Sciant presentes etc. Henry le Meir gives to Richard de la More and Agnes his wife ten acres in Larden (in le Hale, Hopeslone, Wyldebyesfeld, le Hadacr, Herstawnesburne). At Larden, Fri. after F. of S. Barnabas, 5 Hen. VI. [1427].

XII

Sciant presentes etc. George Hakeston gives to Richard de la More and Agnes his wife all the lands etc. in Lardeyn which he had of Peter de la Home. Witnesses: Richard Laken Kt., Lord of Willyley, John Esthop, lord of Esthop, Richard his brother, William de Brokton, Thomas Lawley. At Lardeyn, Thur. after the F. of the Invention of the Cross, 11 Hen. VI. [1433].

XIII

Sciant presentes etc. William de Brokton lord of Larden gives to Richard de la More and Agnes his wife the lordship (dominium) of Larden with rents, reversions and services. Witnesses: John de Esthope, William Weole, Thomas Pamour. At Larden, Mon. before the F. of Purification, 12 Hen. VI. [1434].

XIV

Sciant presentes etc. Hugh Holgot, with consent of Walter le Bailly of Larden and Joan his wife, grant to Richard de la More a curtilage in Larden in a field called Wodefeld. Witnesses: William de Brokton, Roger de la More, William Weole. At Larden, Mon. in the F. of S. Thomas, 12 Hen. VI. [1433].

XV

Sciant presentes etc. Roger de la More gives to Richard de la More his brother land in Nether Larden. Mon. after the F. of SS. Peter & Paul, 22 Hen. VI. [1444].

XVI

Sciant presentes etc. Joan Croxford daughter and heir of Hugh Holgate gives to John More of Larden and Joyce his wife her lands etc. in Larden, Brocton and Shipton, which her father had with Master William and Richard Corve of the gift of Joan Cosyn daughter of Richard Cosyn of Larden. Witnesses: William Boerley, John Asshfeld Esq., Fulc Sprenghose, Robert Cresset, Thomas Gryme. At Larden, in the F. of S. Katharine, 30 Hen. VI. [1451].

XVII

Pateat universis etc. Joan Croxford constitutes Walter Barly of Larden and Thomas Gryme her attorneys to give seisin of the above lands to John More of Larden and Joyce his wife. Witnesses: John Asshefeld Esq., Edward Esthope, Thomas Seynt John. The F. of S. Andrew, 30 Hen. VI. [1451].

XVIII

Sciant presentes etc. Thomas Hope of Walle under Eywode gives to William More son of John More of Larden a toft and nine acres adjoining in Nadder Larden which descended to him after the death of Isabel Hope his mother and which were late of William Waryng. Witnesses: Richard More, Hugh Swyney, Richard Paramore of Shipton, Richard Barbour of Brokton, Richard Coure of the same. At Nether Larden, Sun. after Nativity of Jo. Bap., 19 Ed. IV. [1479].

XIX

Sciant presentes etc. William Smyth of Larden gives to William More son of John More of Larden a messuage and eighteen acres in Larden and Brokton. To have etc. for 108 years. Witnesses: Richard More, Hugh Swyneth, William Legge of Wenlok, Richard Corbett, William Heyward. 26 Mar., 20 Ed. IV. [1480].

XX

Sciant presentes etc. William Mor gives to Edmund Berkeley gent. and Robert Hill of Shypton husbandman all his lands etc. in Upper & Nether Larden, Brocton and Shipton. At Larden, 14 Jan., 4 Hen. VII. [1489].

On the same date Berkeley and Hill re-convey these lands to William More and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of John Berkeley.

XXI

Hec indentura etc. 12 July 23 Hen. VII Between William More of Ludlow and Thomas Scarbrake of le Morehous & John Spragge of Brocton. Lease of a tenement in Over Laverden (Larden) for 40 years. Witnesses: Richard Legge, John Mynsterley, William Venymere. [1508].

XXII

Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc. Thomas Malle of Dodyton and Alice his wife daughter and coheir of Edward Gosnell of Acton Burnell and William Malle his son and heir grant to Edward More of Larden lands in Morehouse, Wall-under-Heywood and . . . veton. 1 Mar., 33 Hen. VIII. [1542].

XXIII

Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc. Edward More of Larden with reference to an Indenture between himself and Richard Cressett of Upton & Joan his wife, on the marriage of his son and heir Thomas More with Margaret Cressett daughter of Richard and Joan to be had,—grants to Robert Cressett Esq., Thomas Cressett Esq., and Henry Cressett gent. his lands etc. in Presthope, Preen, Shipton and Over Larden. 20 July, 35 Hen. VIII. [1543].

R.C.P.

BRONZE AXE HOARD FROM PRESTON-ON-THE-WEALD MOORS, SHROPSHIRE

By LILY F. CHITTY, F.S.A.

- i. Introductory Note.
- ii. The Record.
- iii. Bronze Palstave at Eyton Hall, Eyton W.M.
- iv. Related Palstaves found in Shropshire.
- v. Other Finds recorded from the Weald Moors.

(i) Introductory Note.

The Weald Moors (Wild Moors or "woody moors")¹ is the name applied to an extensive area of low-lying marshy ground (down to 170 ft. O.D.) on the East side of Shropshire, spreading North of the Wellington district and W.S.W. of Newport towards the River Tern: the River Strine drains its northern margin.

At a late stage in the Ice Age, when the Irish Sea glacier was in retreat, this area formed part of Glacial Lake Newport² and then of the larger Lake Lapworth. Subsequently, much of the basin filled with peat, leaving islands of higher ground (above 200 ft. contour) to which Saxon settlers ultimately gave names. On the southern fringe, beyond the peat moor, Preston-on-the-Weald Moors covers open ground above the surrounding lowland.

The Weald Moors fill adjacent angles on four of the I-inch Drift Maps published by the Geological Survey and are described in their accompanying Memoirs, viz. No. 138, The Geology of the Country around Wem (1925), pp. 2, 80-1, 82-4; No. 139, Stafford (1927), pp. 4, 5, 8, 99; No. 152, Shrewsbury (1938), pp. 215-6; No. 153, Wolverhampton and Oakengates (1928), pp. 2, 8, 176, 200.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Rev. George Plaxton, Rector of Kinnersley-on-the-Weald Moors from 1673 till

^{&#}x27;In Shropshire, the term "Moors" is usually applied to "Morisch and Mossy Ground," such as Leland observed, about 1540, "a vii Miles from Shrobbesbyri," when he follows with an interesting account of a peat moor: Reprint of his *Itinerary* in *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions*, IV (1881), 152-3.

²L. J. Wills, *The Palaeogeography of the Midlands* (ed. 2, 1950), 134-5, Map Fig. 36. Professor F. W. Shotton (Department of Geology, University of Birmingham) has kindly checked my description.

after 1703, published valuable descriptions of the Weald or Wild Moor in a paper on "Some natural observations in the parishes of Kinardsey and Donington" in *Philosophical Transactions*, XXV (1706-7), No. 310, Article 6: quotations from it are given by Edward Jones in his "Historical Records of Newport, Co. Salop," in *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions*, VII (1884), 351-2.

Other references to relevant publications will be given in the text of the present paper.

By the late sixteenth century, some attempt at drainage had been made: one of the maps in the Duke of Sutherland's collection (referred to below) mentions a new cut made by Mr. Eaton (i.e., Eyton), to drain one side of the Moor. But there was so little natural fall for the water that no systematic drainage scheme was attempted until the Wealdmoor Inclosure and Drainage Act early in the nineteenth century, when the whole area was drained and reclaimed for pasture and cultivation, though patches of the natural rough woodland can still be found.

Attention should here be drawn to a most interesting series of early maps of the Weald Moors, now preserved among the records of the Duke of Sutherland's Lilleshall Estates in the Shirehall, Shrewsbury: see A Guide to the Shropshire Records (1952), p. 102 and Plates XXV and XXVI. It is hoped to publish an account of these by our County Archivist, Miss Mary C. Hill, M.A., to whom I am much indebted for allowing me to study them and for helpful comments embodied in this paper. (See below, pp. 255, 326).

(ii) The Record

Just S. of the crossing of the Crow Brook and immediately E. of the road from Preston upon the Weald Moors which runs S.W. by Kinley Farm and Wappenshall to Wellington (Salop), the 6-inch O.S. Shropshire Sheet XXXVI N.W. (N.E. sector) marks "Celts found," with the cross symbol for Antiquities (1-inch O.S. 1946 Popular Sheet 119/675149).

³ James Loch, Accounts of Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford (1820), pp. 219-227, with four maps showing parts of the Weald Moors before and after reclamation, Plates 8-11, and Appendix No. IX, pp. 87-100. A copy of this work is included in the Shropshire County Records at the Shirehall; it was presented by Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Ward, of Sidney House, near Wellington, Salop.

In reply to my enquiry, in 1925, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., then Archaeology Officer to the Ordnance Survey, kindly sent a copy of the entry in the *Original O.N.B.* XXXV. 2, together with a tracing of a drawing from *O.N.B.* (*Origl.*) 36. Plan E. Salop, which is here reproduced by kind permission of the Office (Fig. 1, p. 246):—

"Celts found. Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., Rector of Preston-on-the-Weald Moors.

Mr. Hooper, Farmer, Kinnersley.

J. Anslow, Esq., Vineyard Road, Wellington.

"These ancient implements were found in a field by a man named William Pickering, a farm labourer, when digging there about 48 years ago. The exact spot where they were dug up is about 20 yards south-east of the culvert where the Crow Brook crosses the main road from Kinley Wick to Preston. One of these celts was shown to me by Mr. Hooper of Kinnersley." (An extract from Rev. W. Houghton's paper is then quoted: see below).

"The rough sketch (full size) given below represents one of the sides of the Celt which Mr. Hooper showed me."

The date of the Survey was 1880. It is greatly to be regretted that this and other O.S. Name Books perished in the blitz of 1940.

The drawing obviously represented a bronze axe, just under 7 in. long, with widely expanded edge 3.2 in. across: the face was shown as tapering from a sharply-marked rise above the centre giving an elongated lozenge profile in perspective: below the (apparently) incipient ridge, shading indicated a U-shaped shield that seemed to be level with the surface: a marked secondary edge 1 in. in from the blade suggested much regrinding. The form in outline and the large size looked like a palstave of the Middle Bronze Age, but the drawing showed no trace of definite flanges or of a raised stop-ridge and shield ornament: it seemed, indeed, closely similar to the illustration of the large "flat" axe of Wessex type found in the Normanton Bush Barrow 158 on Salisbury Plain, Wilts., as reproduced in the Catalogue of the Stourhead Collection, Devizes Museum, No. 148, which indicates a lozenge profile, tapering faces and secondary edge. Actually, that slender axe (length 6^3_8 in., blade 2_8^5 in.) has only a slight rise to the centre and the sides are lightly hammered up to form very low flanges. It was found with an extended skeleton and an important grave-group of objects of the Wessex culture, ⁴ assignable to the Inhumation Phase of the developed Early Bronze Age (at present dated about 1500 B.C.). On such an analogy it seemed probable that the "Celts found" near Preston W.M. were bronze axes of the same period, although the "shield" marked on the face would be anomalous on a "flat" axe but typical of a palstave.

A few published records establish that the "celts" were definitely of metal and not of stone. In her *Geology of North Shropshire* (1869), Miss Charlotte Eyton, in referring to the Weald Moors, says (p. 80): "Some bronze celts of artistic workmanship were found in draining near Preston. They are now in the possession of Mr. Cooper of that place"; the name is clearly a misprint for "Hooper."

On 23rd May, 1871, the Rev. W. Houghton read a paper on "The Wealdmoors" at the Preston Meeting of the Severn Valley Naturalists Field Club, which was published in their Transactions, 1865-73, pp. 103-112:—

"II.—On the Prehistorical question, this celt which I hold in my hands, and which Mr. Hooper, of Hadley Park, has kindly allowed me to show you, enables me to throw some little light. This interesting relic of a remote age was, with 4 others, found about 38 years ago by a man when digging a drain in a field near Preston; it was about 4 or 5 feet from the surface, not on the moors, but on the confines. The implement is of bronze, and must have belonged to some very ancient inhabitants of this country . . ." (pp. 106—7).

These two records are the basis for references to the find in Edward Jones's "Historical Records of Newport, Co. Salop," Shrops. Arch. Trans., VII (1884), 349; in "Bye-gones," 23rd March, 1910, and in Kelly's Shropshire Directory, which states (under Geology, 1913 and 1926, p. 18), "A bronze celt or axe-head of fine workmanship has been found in the peat beds of Wealdmoors." The relationship of this to other local discoveries was mentioned in my paper on the Willow Moor (Wrekin) bronze hoard, Antiquaries Journal, VIII (1928), 46-7.

It is now clear that, about 1832-3, a hoard of five bronze axes was unearthed on the spot described in the O.S. Name Book. Here the Crow Brook runs through Boulder Clay between two more

⁴S. Piggott, Proc. Prehistoric Soc., 1938, 62-3, No. 53, Fig. 3.

elevated patches of Glacial Sand: the site, now bridged, is below the 200 ft. contour at a point where the higher ground on each bank dips to a short gap: it would thus be a natural crossing-place to and from the outcrop of the Keele Beds on which Preston stands. 5

At least one of the axes was in the possession of Mr. Hooper, of Kinnersley and of Hadley Park⁶: numerous enquiries failed to trace this or any of the others. I always wondered whether Miss Eyton ever obtained a specimen from the hoard, but in 1924-5 nothing could be ascertained. Now, however, it appears probable that she did acquire one.

(iii) Bronze Palstave at Eyton Hall, Eyton-on-the-Weald Moors.

On 13th June, 1952, the Caradoc & Severn Valley Field Club visited Eyton Hall by the kind invitation of Capt. A. C. Eyton. The house is full of treasures of many kinds, and a large balconied room, built as a Museum by the well-known naturalist, Thomas Campbell Eyton, F.Z.S. (1809-1880), now contains miscellaneous objects collected by him and by other members of the family. After his death, his valuable collection of shells, fossils, etc., was given to Shrewsbury Museum by Thomas Slaney Eyton, Esq., and the Misses Eyton. 7

In one of the cases we located a handsome bronze palstave: no label was attached or associated and there was nothing to suggest its source or history, but I had brought with me a tracing of the O.S. drawing of the Preston axe, and on this it fitted almost exactly, though differing in minor details.

⁵T. C. Cantrill; in *Geology of Wolverhampton* (1928), 12-15, 110, 164; Geological Survey 1-inch Drift Sheet 153.

⁶Hadley Park is a mile South of their site of discovery. It should here be mentioned that, on April 12th, 1837, J. Bucknall, Esq., Rhagatt, presented to the old Shrewsbury Museum one "Bronze Celt found 4 feet deep in the ground at Hadley." No further details are available, nor was any bronze implement so labelled when I began to study the collection intensively in 1923. The specimen is probably a large socketed bronze axe, plain, with a deep collar, No. 36, without locality in the 1882 Catalogue (Shrops. A. T., V, 394). The place referred to is presumably Hadley, near Wellington, Shropshire, which is a couple of miles South of the spot where the Preston axe-hoard came to light. If Mr. Bucknall's "celt" was the Late Bronze Age axe, it is not at all likely to be connected with the Preston find, although it helps to define the traffic route that extended towards the Severn. But see Postscript, p. 254.

⁷Shrops. Arch. Trans., IV (1881), vi; V (1882), v.

The Eyton palstave (Fig. 2) is a fine unlooped specimen, heavy (weight 1 lb. 5 oz.) and well preserved, except for damage to the butt, the edge, one face of the blade and the rim of one flange: appears to be due to rough usage in modern times; the cutting edge is now irregularly and sharply serrated. The length of the implement is just under 7 inches (175 mm.), agreeing with Mr. Hooper's specimen from Preston, but the breadth of the edge is 76 mm., i.e., 4 mm. less than his and lacking the secondary edge of the O.S. drawing: the butt, squared off at the end, is 24 mm. in diameter, i.e., 1 mm. wider than the other; a jagged fracture has removed most of its termination. On the sides are transverse stops below the level of the stop-ridge; here the diameter is 28 mm. and 26 mm. across the ridge: the casting-ridges on the sides have been smoothed down and form a cruciform pattern with the stops. The stopridge is straightish and well-developed, forming a roll-moulding slightly lower than the flanges, which expand above it to a maximum thickness of 39 mm.; below it their line is continued inward on the faces in ϑ long U-shaped " shield " with raised edges (length 39 mm.); this resembles the shorter curved markings on the Preston axe and suggests that they likewise were intended to define a similar shield, also that the medial bar indicated was really a raised stop-ridge, of which the difficult perspective view, combining the expansion of the flanges, proved beyond the capacity of the draughtsman of the O.S. sketch. If the face of the Eyton axe were portrayed in outline perspective, the general effect of the side-view would be almost identical with the Preston drawing, and I now feel convinced that this was intended to show a palstave and not a Wessex-type flat axe, and that the Crow Brook hoard must have comprised five palstaves of the Middle Bronze Age, of which the one now preserved at Eyton Hall is an example hitherto unrecognised, closely similar to Mr. Hooper's specimen but not to be identified with it.

But why did Miss C. Eyton specify that they were "bronze celts of artistic workmanship"? This sounds like Irish axes with fine decoration, rather than the plain English type of palstave. The lines and proportions of the Eyton axe are indeed good and practical, but at first sight the term "artistic" seems curious. Careful examination, however, shows fine retouching to which the term might be applicable. Most of the surface of this palstave is smooth and lustrous, grey-brown where it has not been cleaned down to the bare metal, but showing vestiges of darker patination, brown to

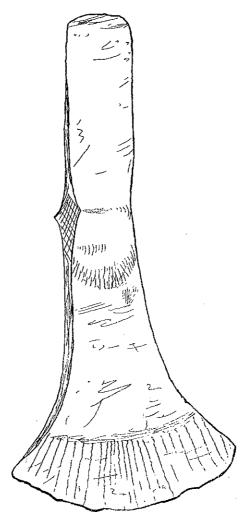


Fig. 1.

BRONZE AXE from a hoard of five found near PRESTON-ON-THE-WEALD MOORS, SHROPSHIRE. Drawing traced from Ordnance Survey Name Reproduced by permission Book 36, Plan 2, Salop. (\frac{3}{4} size).

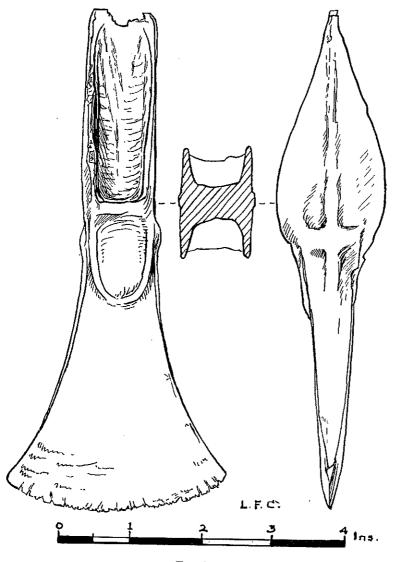


Fig. 2.

Bronze Palstave preserved at Eyton Hall, Eyton-on-the-Weald Moors, Shropshire. ($\frac{3}{4}$ size).

By hind permission of Capt. A. C. Eyton,

black, which remains in the septum: here the surface is covered with fine small punch-markings recalling the "rain-pattern" of the early Irish axes: such treatment is wholly exceptional on any form of developed palstave9 and suggests that a craftsman was working in the older Irish tradition. (This form of palstave is not common in Ireland). The work is finer in the septum of the more damaged axe-face, on the blade of which there are also more pronounced transverse hammer-markings parallel with the cutting edge, recalling the secondary edge of the Hooper specimen.

I am most grateful to Captain A. C. Eyton for his kindness in allowing me to borrow this interesting palstave in order to study it in detail and make full-size drawings, also for permission to publish it with an illustration. One can only regret that an element of uncertainty as to its history must remain until some label, drawing or description can be found to prove its identity beyond question. If it is not to be accepted as one of the axes from the Preston W.M. hoard, the natural surmise is that it was found somewhere locally on the Eyton estate.

(iv) Related Palstaves found in Shropshire.

My maps illustrating the distribution of various types of bronze palstaves in Britain (unpublished) show that those with "shields" on the faces are widely diffused in Southern and Central England and in Wales; in the North they are uncommon and Ireland has its own distinctive forms. In Shropshire they are well represented: examples that are probably early come from Asterton Prolley Moor, 10 in Myndtown parish; Knockin 11; and Wilcot Moors, 12 in the parish of Great Ness. A "shield" outlined by dots occurs on each face of a shouldered palstave found on Preeswood Farm. Prees. 13

⁸Megaw & Hardy, Proc. Prehistoric Soc., 1938, 277.

⁹A "shield" palstave with a lozenge pattern incised on one face of the septum was found, about the middle of last century, in a turbary on the farm of Mynachty Gwyn, parish of Clynnog, Caernarvonshire (Arch. Camb., 1866, 541, 544; 1871, 20-23, Fig.; Proc. Soc. Antiq., XXX (1918), 178-9, amending Evans, Anc. Br. Imps., 77).

 $^{^{10}\}mbox{Shrewsbury Museum}$: probably found with a flat axe similarly patinated: Shrops. N. & Q., Feb. 17th, 1893; Antiq. Jn., V (1925), 413, with analyses.

¹¹Shrops. Arch. Trans., 4, XII (1929), Misc. IV.

¹² Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 3; Archaeologia, XXVI (1834), 465.

¹³British Museum: Antiq. In., IX (1929), 254-5, Photo.

Developed specimens, akin to that now at Eyton Hall, have been discovered in the Battlefield hoard of bronze implements¹⁴; in the grounds of Carreg Lwyd, Oswestry¹⁵; and in the ruins of the Red Castle, Hawkstone, where one probably formed part of a hoard of the late Bronze Age, comprising 2 looped palstaves, 4 socketed axes, and a tongue-shaped object that may be an ingot of metal.¹⁶ A similar axe in Shrewsbury School Museum is labelled: "Bronze Axe-head, Roman from Uriconium. Acquired from the (Old) School Library": its further history is unknown.¹⁷

It should be noted that none of our shield palstaves have loops.

Evidence for the approximate period of these palstaves comes from Wales. A plain axe of the same "shield" type was found long ago lying on clay below the peat of a bog near Clochfaen, Llangurig, Montgomeryshire 18; as was another from Weirglodd Fawr peat bog on Pant yr Einiog Farm, Clynnog, Caernarvonshire. 19 This should indicate an initial date for our type in the dry Middle Bronze Age (about 1350-1000 B.C.), preceding the regrowth of peat during the wet phase that followed: cf. the looped palstave (with midrib) from Whixall Moss, N. Shropshire, found "on top of the roots of the old pine," i.e., the dry level between the upper and lower peat. 20

Such stratification may well accord with that of the bronze axe hoard from Preston-on-the-Weald Moors, which was found 4-5 ft. from the surface, ²¹ *i.e.*, at a greater depth than that of the Weald Moors peat, of which Plaxton observed that "this sediment is full 3 or 4 feet thick."²²

¹⁴Shrewsbury Museum: Shrops. A. T., LI (1943), 150-1, with refs.

 $^{^{16}\}mathrm{National}$ Museum of Wales, Cardiff, No. 33.467 ; Shrops. A. T., L (1940), 149-151, Photo.

 $^{^{10}\}mbox{In}$ possession of Sir Alexander Stanier, Bart., The Citadel, Weston-under-Red Castle.

¹⁷It was noted by Rev. H. M. Scarth as from Uriconium, J. Brit. Arch. Assoc., XVI (1859), 68.

¹⁸N.M.W., Cardiff, No. 25.59 E.1; Grimes, Prehistory of Wales (1951), 175, No. 421, Fig. 59, 4; provenance identified, Arch. Camb., 1949, 275-7, Photo., with refs.

¹⁹Arch. Camb., 1910, 334-6, Photo. B; 1935, 309, Fig.

²⁰Shrops, A. T., XLVII (1933), 73-5, Fig.; E. M. Hardy, "The Shropshire and Flint Maelor Mosses," in *The New Phytologist*, XXXVIII (1939), espec. pp. 373-8, Figs.

²¹See above, p. 243.

²²Quoted by E. Jones, Shrops. A. T., VIII, 352.

It is most probable that, during the dry Sub-Boreal phase, the Weald Moors of N.E. Shropshire were more easily crossed than at any other time before their draining in the nineteenth century.

(v) Other Finds recorded from the Weald Moors.

The bronze palstave above described is the only prehistoric object known to exist among the collections at Eyton Hall. But that the interests of Eyton the Naturalist extended to such things is shown by entries in "A List of Drawings and Engravings relating to Shropshire, in his possession; By T. C. Eyton Esq.," an octavo pamphlet printed for him by R. Hobson, Market Square, Wellington, Salop, 1871, for private circulation only. This relates chiefly to architectural antiquities and views, but towards the end, and preceding a List of Portraits, the following drawings are mentioned, all by T. C. Eyton himself: no illustrations were published.

p. 33, bottom Spear Heads, found at the Wrekin.

Ditto ditto
p. 34, top Spear Head and Hook, found in the Wild

Spear Heads, found under the Wrekin.

p. 34, 3rd entry Celt, found near the Wrekin. from end

Moors.

This seems to be the sole record of the *Spear Head and Hook* found in the Wild Moors, and nothing further has been ascertainable as to their type, material, period, source or ownership. That they were of bronze is implied by the context, which almost certainly

²³Attention was directed to this record by a letter in "Bye-Gones," July 14, 1909, signed LAWLEY. A copy of the List has been acquired recently for Shrewsbury Reference Library. The cover bears the name of J. H. Smith and, at the top of p. 4, the note: "The Drawings by 'Smith' in this Catalogue were done by my Father, *Homer Smith*. J.H.S."

⁽J.H.S. was probably John Halphead Smith, of Wellington, artist, mentioned in Shropshire Records, p. 121).

Inside the cover is pasted a newspaper cutting of June 6th, 1881, recording that the Library of Mr. T. C. Eyton, of Eyton, was sold by auction at Sotheby's on May 20th, and produced £1,793 10s.

Opposite, a postcard is pasted in, dated 27. June, 1889, and addressed to J. T. Hope, Esqre., 27 Crown St., Reading: on it Mr. Hugh Hobson, of Hobson and Co., Wellington, explains that the firm has no copies of Mr. Eyton's List, which was printed for private use only.

relates to bronze objects from the Willow Moor (Wrekin) hoard(s) 24 ; though whether to specimens now in Shrewsbury Museum or to others now lost can only be decided if the original drawings come to light.

Only one other bronze implement is now known from the region of the Weald Moors and that is the blade of a small spearhead from the northern fringe above the Dayhouse Moor, in Cherrington parish: it was found about 1910 and was published in our *Transactions* for 1925, Misc. V, its subsequent presentation to Shrewsbury Museum being recorded, with a photograph, in 1929, p. 67. The socket is missing, but there can be little doubt that it bore lateral loops (Class IV) and that this bronze spearhead would be roughly contemporary with the Preston hoard of palstaves.

The Day House land adjoins the Rodway Farm, which preserves the name of the best natural track across the Weald Moors from Preston over the former island of Kinnersley, aiming for Shray Hill (a prominent sandstone knoll close to the Day House), which would stand up like a beacon to a traveller from the Wellington side who had to cross the wide morass northward. Like so many ancient trackways, the Rodway had a bad reputation: the Rev. Philip E. Kynaston, who was Rector of Kinnersley (alias Kynnersley) 1904-8, told me (in 1926), that it was always the resort of footpads and lesser breeds of highwaymen who, when pursued by the King's men, escaped by ways unknown to them across the Weald Moors to the island of Kynnersley, while the soldiers were left struggling in the bog: the Rodway (roadway) was one of the tracks. Evidence

²⁴Antiquaries Journal, VIII (1928), 30-47, with all known references and records of prehistoric finds near the Wrekin; the great Willow Moor hoard is there shown to have been found in the spring of 1834, not 1835, as stated by Hartshorne, Salopia Antiqua (1841), 89-98; he mentions also (p. 95) a similar discovery made at the same place "more than half-a-century ago," i.e., before 1790, of which nothing further is known.

²⁵This impression is confirmed during a railway journey through the Wellington district: Shray Hill stands up abruptly on the far side of the basin of the Weald Moors. But I have failed to find evidence for early occupation of its sandstone ridge.

²⁶On one of the Duke of Sutherland's seventeenth century maps, "The Crosse" is indicated by a well-defined cross with expanding arms and elongated foot immediately N. of "The Strinde" and W. of "Rodwey alias Henney Greene": Miss M. C. Hill makes the interesting suggestion that this cross (otherwise unrecorded) may well have given its name to the track, The Rood Way. A cross symbol is also marked in the same position on another of the maps, suggesting that a wayside cross formerly stood on the site.

for such a crossing on the prehistoric route between the Severn at Buildwas and the heathlands leading towards Market Drayton was given in my Willow Moor paper above quoted, pp. 46-7.

It would be of great interest to know what (if any) traces of early man were found when the drainage of the Weald Moors was reconstructed by the Marquis of Stafford about 1820,27 as well as during subsequent draining, and particularly their relation to the peat of this district. The Rev. W. Houghton, in another part of his paper (p. 108) quoted above, remarked that "Stags' horns, . . . spear and arrow-heads and coins have been occasionally found in the peat" of the Wealdmoors. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in his Salopia Antiqua (1841), p. xvi, mentions Roman coins of the reign of Constantine that had been found "on the Wild Moors near Kynnersley," on the estate of the Duke of Sutherland, about 1840. The great ramparted enclosure of Wall, N.E. of Kinnersley, which he describes (pp. 163-171), would now be dated on analogy to the Early Iron Age, but it may yet prove that Hartshorne was right in assigning it to the Sub-Roman period.

"An ancient flint knife, found in the peat at the Wildmores, in Salop," was exhibited by Mrs. Ormsby Gore in the temporary Museum arranged for the Dolgelley Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in August, 1850²⁸; nothing further is known about it; it is not among the Brogyntyn Collection now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, which was exhibited at the same time.

In the course of his work on the Geological Survey of this area, the late T. C. Cantrill, B.Sc., found a few small flint flakes and humanly-struck fragments, ²⁹ including a core(?) from a Glacial gravel pebble (No. 1288) 420 yards N.E. of Preston W.M. Church; a spall of black unpatinated flint (No. 1286) from Buttery Farm, in Edgmond parish; and a flake of dark greenish-brown flint (No. 1287) near the edge of Tibberton Moor.

²⁷Geology of Wem (1925), 84; Geology of Wolverhampton (1928), 200.

²⁸Aych. Camb., 1850, 331.

^{28"} Flint Flakes from the Shrewsbury & Wellington District," Shrops. A. T., XLVI (1931), 19-30: Shrewsbury Museum, T. C. Cantrill Collection.

He also located a number of ancient cooking-places, ³⁰ defined by mounds of burnt and broken pebbles, which he marked as "Hearths" on the 6-inch O.S. Sheets: the following is a brief list of those in the Weald Moors district.

Parish Ercall Magna		Locality	6 in. O.S. Shropshire Sheet
Dream magna		5 sites W. of Shirlowe 1 S. of Moortown ³⁰	XXIX S.E.
Eyton-on-the-We Moors	eald	I W. of Eyton Farm	XXXVI N.W.
Hadley	•••	(?) I S. of Hadley Park	XXXVI N.W.
Kinnersley	•••	3 sites on Rodway Moor, 2 to W. and 1 to E. of the Rodway	
		1 E. of Kinnersley	
		1 E. of Wall	
Preston - on - t Weald Moors	he	1 on Preston Moor	XXXVI N.W.
Tibberton		2 S. of Conquermoor Heath I S.W. of Tibberton Grange	

Unfortunately, there is no indication as to the age of these stone-boiling sites: it is highly desirable that one at least should be scientifically excavated and recorded, with plan and sections showing its precise relationship to the local peat.

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that prehistoric evidence from the Weald Moors is thin and, if it is viewed in isolation, the absence of adequate records of types, sites and stratification might suggest that our survey is of little scientific value. Of the relatively few finds known, only the little bronze spear-blade from Dayhouse

So" Prehistoric Cooking-Places in Britain," Trans. Caradoc & S.V.F. Club, VI (1915-16), 142-5, where one S. of High Ercall outside Rough Marl Wood and the site S. of Moortown are described (pp. 143-4); see also Shrops. N. & Q., Jan. 9, 1920, enquiry from T. C. Cantrill as to "Mounds of Burnt Stones," noting that they are usually situated along the margins of the peat moors; Geology of Wein (1925), 81, 99; Club visit, 24th September, 1925, Caradoc Trans., VII, 174-5.

Moor and a few flints from the margins of the region survive: the Preston W.M. hoard of bronze axes affords a fixed point on the southern fringe, but the single illustration of it is inadequate and the Eyton palstave cannot be positively associated with the discovery.

Yet when the evidence is viewed in relation to the general distribution of prehistoric objects and sites in the West Midlands and beyond, its significance becomes clear. The Weald Moors, which must always have presented a region of difficulty lying athwart well-defined traffic routes, were obviously crossed during the Bronze Age by folk journeying from the Mersey Basin, the Western Pennines and the Peak District towards the Severn highway, as well as from the Severn Valley northward.

It is hoped to follow up the present paper by an account of perforated stone axe-hammers and other finds in the Newport district of Shropshire and Staffordshire, when the general distribution pattern will be further discussed.

Postscript to page 244, note 6.

The brief entry in the original Donations Book of Shrewsbury Museum implies that Mr. J. Bucknall was of Rhagatt, i.e presumably the estate near Corwen, Merionethshire. It may therefore be well to mention that, in Whitchurch Museum, Shropshire, there are four bronze axes—a flat celt and three palstaves—all without history, which were presented by the late Major P. T. Godsal, of Iscoyd, Flint Maelor, in 1905, from the collection of his father's sister, Mrs. Lloyd of Rhagatt, and believed to derive from her extensive property. One among them is probably the bronze axe found in making the terrace at Iscoyd Park in 1855. From the patination of the palstaves (of which one is looped and of late character) they could have been associated in a hoard. The widely splayed cutting edge on one of the unlooped specimens, with secondary arc due to grinding, is practically identical with the drawing of the Preston W.M. axe, although the Rhagatt palstave is shorter and has a hollow under the stop-ridge without a definite "shield." My records of this collection were quoted by Canon Ellis Davies in his Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Flintshire (1949), pp. 209-210, under Iscoed.

THE WEALDMOORS, 1560-1660 By Mary C. Hill, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

The fourteen maps of the Wealdmoors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described in this paper form part of a collection from Trentham deposited in the Salop Record Office on behalf of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland. I am very grateful for permission to reproduce and discuss them here, both as a remarkable set of early estate maps, and as providing topographical information almost unique in its detail about a part of the County which has always been different and separated from the rest of Shropshire.¹

The Sutherland collection consists of early estate maps, numbered S.R.O. 38/1–14; a map of Lilleshall in 1804 38/15; books of reference for several nineteenth century surveys 38/16–20; and leases, with a few subsidiary documents, for several portions of the estates, 1471–1759, 38/21–349. Two fragments of maps were added to the deposit later and are numbered 72/1–2. One of these is part of 38/6, and the other is connected with 38/10, though not actually a part of it.

In this paper, I shall first describe each map, giving the evidence for the date assigned to them. I shall then discuss the information which they have to offer on the technique of map-making, the purpose for which these particular maps were drawn, and the topography and population of the Wealdmoors from 1560–1660.

I.—Description of the Maps

38/1 Endorsed "Wildmore" and "The plot of Wylde Moore."

Materials.—Paper and brown ink.

Size.—W-E 2 ft. 9 in. ×N-S 1 ft. 4 in.

Area covered.—W-E from Longdon, Allscott, and Wrockwardine to Edgmond, Newport, Chersall and Lilleshall.
 N-S from Waters Upton, Bolas, Cherrington and Tibberton to Wrockwardine, Wapenshall, Horton, Muxton, Donnington and Lilleshall.

Symbols used,—

Townships indicated by identical single-storey houses without chimneys and with tiled or shingled roofs, the buildings drawn in elevation.

¹I shall refer throughout to the maps by number. The following are illustrated in whole—S.R.O. 38/1, 2, 3, 5, 7, in part—S.R.O. 38/6, 9

Church—spire added.

Mill-mill wheel.

Bridge—two planks across stream.

River—several wavy lines.

Road—double line.

Park—palings drawn with attempt at perspective.

Ford—four parallel lines over stream.

Hill—hump drawn.

Trees—shown conventionally by three strokes.

Gate—drawn at Sleapford

Cross—added by another hand just south of the Upper Strine.

Scale.—None marked. Approximately 4 in. to 1' mile. Proportional distances have been fairly well kept, except on the north edge of the map, where Bolas and Meeson have been squeezed on. Some mistakes in position in the eastern moors have had to be corrected.

Compass indications.—" North" and "Sowth" written twice at the top and bottom centre edges of the map, where two sheets of paper have been joined. The surveyor wrote "Sowt" in place of north and then crossed it out. "West" and "Easte" have been added in a different hand on the other edges, and here too a mistake has had to be corrected.

Handwriting.—A small formal italic is the principal hand, but there are comments in several other styles, a rough free hand, an untidy legal hand, and Secretary.

Date.—This map cannot have been made before 1543 or after 1583. It describes Wrockwardine demesnes as "my lordys auncyant closys," showing the map to have been made for the lord of the manor of Wrockwardine, George 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (1528–1590), whose interests extended over the whole Wealdmoors. His rivalry with other landowners ended in 1583, when Walter Leveson (for a rent charge of £40 a year on his manor of Lilleshall) purchased the Earl's "moor, common, or waste ground called the Wildmoors between Sleford near the town of Sleape and the town of Newport." On the other hand, as the map also mentions a "Mr. Luson," it cannot be placed before 1543, when James Leveson first obtained abbey lands from the crown.²

Two years later, October 1545, Sir Rowland Hill obtained a regrant of the manors of Sleap, Kinnersley, and Crudgington, with remainder to James

Leveson and Mary his wife (ibid. XX pt 2 no 707(52).)

¹Information kindly given by Miss J. Leveson-Gower from family papers.

²By patent of 14 July 1543, James Leveson was granted "the common or moor called Wyldmore in Lylleshull parish and all other lands in Lylleshull and Longden parishes which belonged to Lylleshull monastery" (Cal. State Papers Henry VIII, XVIII pt 1 no 981(53).)

The use of the prefix "Mr." for Leveson further limits the map's date to 1543-1553 or 1561-1583. James died in July 1553 and in October of the same year his son Richard was knighted. Richard died in 1561 and was succeeded by Walter, who was not knighted till 1587, after his agreement over the moors. The reference to "Mr. Luson's newe mylne" at Crudgington rules out the years c.~1565-1579, when Crudgington and Sleap formed part of the dowry of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Leveson, who married William Sheldon (second son of William Sheldon of Beoley co Worcs).2 Àn agreement of 1570 mentions $\pounds 40$ paid by William Sheldon the father for a recovery of lands in Shropshire held by William Sheldon the younger in right of Elizabeth his wife (38/72); and a lease to trustees in 1579 reserves the right of re-entry to William Sheldon, Elizabeth his wife or her heirs (38/74). Thus on Sheldon's death without issue by her, the property would revert to her brother, though it appears that he had already obtained the whole or part of it in Sheldon's lifetime. An endorsement on an earlier licence to alienate tells us "the Licence from Mr. Sheldon to Lynghe Harnige and others for Sir Walter Leveson his use beareth date primo September 21 Elizabeth." Leveson certainly held the townships by 1585 (38/75-6), and as this map proves, before 1583. The "Mr. Luson" of the map must therefore be either James or Walter, and the latter seems the more probable. His sister Elizabeth married William Sheldon, and his

Shaw's History and Antiquities of Staffordshire (1801) II, 169; Shaw, W. A. Knights of England (1906), pp. 67, 85.

The Leveson pedigree needs some elucidation, as Shaw's version is incomplete.

James Leveson's first wife is given by Shaw as ". . . Wrottesley," but from the 1545 grant she seems more likely to have been Mary Gratewood, niece of Sir Rowland Hill. The Visitation of Shropshire 1623 (Harleian Soc (1889) XXVIII 245) shows Mary Gratewood as marrying a Leveson, but is a generation out in making her the wife of Richard son of James, who according to Shaw actually married Mary daughter of Edward Freton of Gosworth.

Shaw does not show either Anne, daughter of James Leveson, or Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Leveson.

Anne is given in the Visitation of Shropshire (p. 182) as daughter of either Richard (Harl. MS 1396) or James (Shrewsbury MS), but George Morris', 'Shropshire Genealogies' Vol I supports James and cites a marriage settlement of 29 September 1546 under which Anne received as her portion £20 and 20

Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Leveson, is shown as wife to William Sheldon the younger in the Visitation of Worcestershire (Harleian Soc. (1888)

²Sheldon and his wife made a number of leases of the property during this period (S.R.O. 38/47, 49, 63-71, 77-78, 306-311).

S.R.O. 1/70 (Phillipps collection).

aunt Anne married Robert Eyton of Eyton. The Sheldons are known to have had plans for draining the Sleap moors (38/72), and "Mr. Eaton" to have made Black Dyke "to drene hys grounde." If Walter be the "Mr. Luson" with hammers at Lubstree Park, who has "inclosed nere all" in the Rough moor, it suggests a common interest and concerted attempt at estate improvement by the three relatives.

This dates the map between 1579 and 1583.

One remarkable feature of a map of this date is that all houses on it are drawn without chimneys, in a manner reminiscent of "Gough's" map of c.~1340. Chimneys became common in towns in the fifteenth century, but the fashion took a long time to penetrate into the country, and William Harrison in 1577 could still remark on the increased use of chimneys during his lifetime.² The Wealdmoors were probably rather backward in building, and Shropshire generally adopted fashions 50 years after the rest of England, so that it is not impossible that chimneys were still a new idea in farmhouses and cottages in 1580. Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan found evidence to prove that chimneys were gradually introduced into medieval timbered houses in Monmouthshire during the sixteenth century.3 But other maps in this collection, 38/9 and 38/14, show that manor houses already had their chimney stacks, and by the end of the century, only a very few hovels were without them (38/6 and 7).

Endorsed—" a mappe of diverse lands in Cherington." 38/2Materials.—Paper and brown ink.

Size.-W-E 1 ft. 4 in. × N-S 12 in.

Area covered .- W-E from the boundary between Waters Upton and Meeson to the boundary between Cherrington and Tibberton.

N-S from Bolas, the River Meese, and Sheep bridge, to the Upper Strine.

Symbols.—

Townships—a hatched oval for each house. No attempt to show churches.

Mill—none shown.

Bridge—a grid across the stream.

River—a heavy line.

Road—double line where hedged, series of heavy dots where unfenced.

¹Part of Gough's map is reproduced by Lynam The Mapmaker's Art (1953), p. 4.

²Salzman Building in England Down to 1540 (1952), pp. 97-8.

³Monmouthshire Houses, Medieval (1951), pp. 45-6.

Ford—none shown

Hill-none shown.

Trees—oak drawn as trunk with three branches and an oak leaf on each; hawthorn as stump with spines.

Gates-drawn.

Pond—surrounded by light dashes.

Spring—small circle with rays.

Scale.—None marked. Approximately 8 in. to the mile in the centre of the map, and 4 in. to the mile at the NW, and SW corners.

Compass indications.—West, north, east and south written on the edges of the map.

These directions are not reliable, because the whole SW. corner of the map is out of proportion and out of alignment with the N. and E. sections. In his anxiety to show lands as far S. as the margin of the Strine by Rodway bridge, as far W. as the Waters Upton and Meeson boundary, and as far N. as Bolas, and yet to represent on a large scale one of the Cherrington fields and some disputed moors near it, the map-maker has resorted to the child's device of representing adjoining objects in a continuous straight line, when in fact they should lie at right angles; and to continue a line which ought to be straight round a corner of the paper if necessary. Thus Marsh Lane, which should dip S., is a straight line on which lie consecutively the Marshes, the Gavellmoors, Heney green, the Strine, and Rodway bridge. By this time, the "straight road" has really turned through an angle of 45°. Directly above Heney Green, the map-maker correctly shows a balk marked as land lake, and open common (marked by a later hand with several lines dividing it into closes), with the Gavellmoors on the right, apparently due E., actually due N. The outline of the Gavell moors is accurately reproduced. Directly above the inclosed moors is shown Crudgington gorse and the well, which are in fact at right angles to them; and by making this second "error," the map-maker has cancelled out the first, and can show Meeson fields in their proper place to the N. of the gorse and W. of Meeson heath. Bolas has been squeezed on to the NW. corner of the map, bringing it too near to Meeson and too far S.

Handwriting.—Formal italic for place names, with comments in Secretary.

Date.—No date is given and no parties to the dispute over the heath are named.

Except for the two pieces "at varience," and "Cherington's improvement," this map does not indicate much inclosure out of the waste, and no squatter's settlements are shown. Nor does it indicate inclosure out of Shrawe field, either S. of the cottage at the corner (the Cherrington cott of 38/7) or E. of the Marshes. In combination, these facts suggest a date a little earlier than that of map 38/7 and definitely earlier than 38/3 which indicates considerable inclosure out of the field along this stretch. If accurate in its omissions, it may be very little later than 38/1, c. 1580–1585. The division of Cherrington Moors and the Gavell moors has been added in a different and probably later hand.

38/3 Endorsed "A Mapp of A parte of the Wyld mores."

Materials.—Paper, ink, and thin water-colour.

Size.—W.-E. 2 ft. × N.-S. 2 ft. 10 in.

Area covered.—W.-E. Crudgington Gorse to Cherrington lane, N.-S. Meeson to the Strine.

Symbols:—

Townships shown by groups of houses of one or two storeys, with red chimneys, brown roofs and light walls, all drawn in elevation.

No church shown.

No mill shown.

Bridges drawn as planks nailed across main beams (Rodway bridge) or lengthwise (bridge below Henney field).

River—several wavy lines.

Weir—a single beam across the stream, with three cross

Road—the highway coloured orange between double lines, unfenced road dotted, lanes and cattle drives to the river coloured green between double lines.

Ford—none shown.

Hill drawn as series of humps hatched and coloured red in part (perhaps to represent red sandstone but probably mere convention¹).

Trees drawn conventionally, except for one tree at the head of Shrawe field shown as a stump.

Gates drawn.

Cross—on the N. bank of the Upper Strine, at the boundary between Meeson and Cherrington moors, a cross is drawn and described as "the crosse."

¹Lynam, op. cit., p. 38.

Peat moss is coloured dull mauve and described as "the mosse."

Other colours are used to indicate tenancies.

Two measuring points shown by circles on Shay Hill.

Scale.—A scale of 2-inches divided into 16ths is drawn but no key supplied. Approximate scale 15-inch to 1 mile.

Compass directions given by star, with W., S. and E. marked. Handwriting.—Italic for place names, with the key to the map in Secretary.

Date.—The reference in the key to Sir John Leveson, Mr. Cardyff and Mr. Woodcock, provides the date c. 1608 for this map. It cannot in any case be earlier than 1605, when Sir John Leveson of Halling, Kent, inherited the estates, or later than 1613, when he died.

On 1 August 1608 (38/317) Sir John Leveson of Haling leased to William Bowles of Drayton-in-Hales a parcel of ground in Cherrington called the Lowde Moore, lying between land of Sir John Leveson and land of Roger Cardiff in breadth, and between the More stream and pasture of Thomas Woodcock in length. This is the inclosure marked E., allotted by the map to Sir John Leveson's tenant. The lease to Bowles was for 5 years only, a much shorter period than usual.

The Gavell or Gawmoors were in the parish of Edgmond, as this map notes, because Cherrington was then a member of that parish. The peat moss at the west end of these moors is said by 38/3 to be in the parish of Bolas, and this explains Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Cardiff's shares in the adjoining Meeson moor. Thurston Woodcocke of Newport and Thomas Kerdiffe or Cardiff together bought the manor of Great Bolas from the Talbots in 1565. Thomas (son of Thurston Woodcock) died seized of his moiety in 1616 and was succeeded by another Thomas, who with his wife, son, and daughter-in-law sold it to Creswell Tayleur in 1632. Roger Cardiff (son of Thomas) succeeded to the other moiety and sold it to John Tayleur, father of Creswell, in 1620.1

38/4 Endorsed "A Survey of Eyton Horton Bratton and Malinsly with plotes of Hortons Wood the Harteley & Rocheyel with the copy & holinlessowe."

Materials.—Paper, black ink, red lead and pencil. The pencil and lead marks seem to be contemporaneous with the ink lines and to show the points from which measurements were made.

Size.—SW.-NE. 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. ×NW.-SE. 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

¹Introduction *Great Bolas Registers* (Shropshire Parish Register Society, Lichfield, XIV, pt. 2, vii).

Symbols.—None. The map consists of an ink outline inclosing an irregular area, for which measurement figures are given but no explanation of their use.

Area covered.—The map is based on "Trenchewaye," which is shown from "Trench Gate" to "Cole pitt yate." Near the latter a "greate oak" is marked, and below the road "Rockadine Woode" is written. Round the inclosure, other gates are marked as Hacklesyate, Ickes yate, Church by yate, and Woodgate, probably the Donnington Wood Yatt of a 1592 lease (38/134).

Eleven leases of 1592 deal with newly inclosed parcels in Donnington Wood, and it seems likely that the survey which produced this map was the result of such a large scale inclosure, which had made detailed maps of the wood necessary for the first time to define tenants'

holdings.

Scale.—None given.

Compass directions.—None given.

Handwriting.—Small Secretary, with some additions in a less careful hand.

Date.—None given. The map appears to be a surveyor's preliminary sketch, and from the endorsement to be one of several related papers. It certainly belongs with 38/11, and must therefore have been made 1625-1636 (See 38/11).

Endorsements.—None. 38/5

Materials.—Paper, dark brown ink, thin wash.

Size.—W.-E. 2 ft. 6 in. × N.-S. 2 ft. 2 in. The map is made up of 5 sections, irregular in shape, fitting one into the other like a jigsaw. The edges overlap, the continuation of the lines being indicated by pinpricks. As we have it, the centre of the map and the NE. and S. edges are missing.

Area covered.—W.-E. from the River Tern between Waters Upton and Sleap farm to Shray Hill and Kinnersley.

N.-S. from Waters Upton and Meeson grounds to Sleap, Ryton and Kinnersley.

Symbols.-

Townships indicated by houses, some oblong and some L.shaped, drawn in elevation. In Waters Upton, the houses have red roofs; others are brown except for 2 buildings by Crudgington bridge.

Church—steeple drawn.

Mill—none.

Bridge—drawn.

River—double line filled in with dashes.

Road—double line where fenced, double broken line where unfenced.

Hill—shaded hump.

Trees—none shown.

Banks—hatched.

Peat moss—squares of hatching, suggesting stacks.

Inclosures—dotted.

Gates-drawn.

33 small circles round dots indicate measuring points.

Cross—drawn (as in 38/3).

Township boundaries indicated by thin lines of water-colour:—

Crudgington, peacock blue.

Waters Upton, dull yellow.

Meeson, pink.

Kinnersley, dull green.

Between Kinnersley and Crudgington there is a gap in the coloured line from Stocking Corner to the Strine. 38/8 appears to show this boundary rather to the west of the modern line, and it is possible that some dispute was in progress here. Otherwise, boundary lines are the same now.

Scale.—Not given, approximately 12-inch to the mile. In the bottom left-hand corner is a note "1 myle 317 yardes" without anything to show what this measurement refers to.

Compass indications lost, except on the W., where the word "West" is written beyond the Tern.

Handwriting.—A very small neat Secretary.

Date.—None given. This is a measured survey, and considerable pains seem to have been taken to obtain a correct map, especially on the Waters Upton and Crudgington boundary, and in the area of the Kinnersley inclosures, where measuring points are closely spaced. If the use of such circles on maps was in fact a novelty in 1596, then 38/5 should probably be dated somewhere between 1596 and 1613.

The degree of inclosure shown suggests the earlier date. Neither the Gawemoors nor the Cherrington moor pieces are shown as divided and very little inclosure seems to have taken place at Crudgington. One Waters Upton field is divided into 4 unequal portions, perhaps the result of the movement towards inclosure evidenced by leases about 1569. Crudgington Gorse is still called "the Abbottes Gorse," a reminder that Sleap, Crudging-

¹Lynam, op. cit., p. 9.

ton, Kinnersley and Buttery had all belonged to Shrewsbury Abbey. Between Kinnersley field and the Lawnd Strind are a number of inclosures, also indicated on 38/6 and referred to by the phrases, "the severall of Kynnersley wythin Wyldmore" and "severall pastures to Kynersey" in 38/1 and 38/9. The peat stacks, with which 38/5 calls attention to "Kinarsley Peate Pittes" just north of these inclosures, represent the common turbaries from which peats for fuel might be cut by tenants in the lordship of Sleap, to which Kinnersley belonged. ²

38/6 and 72/2

Endorsed "Wyldmore" and "Wyldmore Mappe."

Materials.—Parchment, a dark ink and colour (viridian, red, mauve, raw sienna, yellow).

Size.—W.-E. 3 ft. 9 in. × N.-S. 2 ft. 3 in.

On the SW. edge an extra piece 1 ft. 4 in W.-E. × 1 ft. 6 in. N.-S. has been added to allow Wrockwardine to be shown without distorting the map or including the Wellington and Wrockwardine Wood area. I do not think that the map is defective: a small corner has been torn off the SE. edge but nothing important seems to have been lost.

Area covered.—W.—E. Waters Upton, Crudgington, Sleap, Longdon and Allscott to Edgmond and Newport.

N.-S. Waters Upton, Meeson, Cherrington, Tibberton, Adeney and Edgmond to Allscott and Wrockwardine (on extra square), Wappenshall, Preston and Lilleshall.

Symbols.—

Townships indicated by conventional groups of houses drawn in elevation. Although the number of houses bears no resemblance to the size of the township, there does seem to be some attempt to express symbolically the character of the buildings. The majority are represented as half-timbered and thatched, but some are shown with red (tiled or shingled) roofs and most have chimneys. In Newport a pair of typical Elizabethan stone houses are shown, with two storeys and dormer attic windows. Some houses are painted red, green, mauve or brown, but the colours seem to be purely decorative.

Churches indicated by turrets with exaggerated leaded roofs, appearing almost like small domes.

¹Eyton, Antiquities, IX, 102-3. ²The right to collect peats for fuel is mentioned in a lease of 1569, S.R.O. 38/67.

Crosses on buildings have no religious significance.

Mills shown by mill-house and wheel, with large troughs.

From the arrangement, all the mills must have been undershot as indeed one would expect.¹

Bridges—planks apparently fastened across beams over

the stream.

Rivers and dykes-mauve.

Roads—yellow between double lines.

Ford—a ford may be indicated by 3 parallel red lines near Crudgington.

Hill—a green hump.

Trees—drawn conventionally, except that in the Roughmore 4 are coloured brown instead of green. These stand 2 on either side a ditch, and may be boundary marks, represented now by stones (see 6-in. O.S.).

Gates drawn.

Cross drawn in the centre of the Roughmore S. of Kynnersley and N. of the strine now represented by the canal.

Small brown circles are probably measuring points, as in 38/4.

Moors green, all land not common uncoloured.

Scale.—None given.

Compass directions.—North, South, East (indistinct) and West written on the edges of the map. "South" appears at the angle where the additional Wrockwardine square joins the main map.

Handwriting.—Names of places written in a large Text hand; other comments added in a rough free hand, which is often illegible, as the ink of these additions has worn badly.

Date.—The general appearance of the map is early, but it cannot be earlier than 38/1, for it shows Crudgington mill and the inclosures in the moors S. of Kinnersley which 38/1 attributed to Mr. Leveson. 38/6 also shows vague inclosures all along the southern edge of the moors from Sleapford to Eyton and from Lilleshall to Newport, which are alluded to by 38/1.

All the more substantial houses are shown with chimneys. Two houses in Newport are shown as stone-built and of the period about 1580; other houses are shown as timbered, with vertical studs and straight diagonal supports, a method of building still current in

¹For the construction of water-mills at this period, see Salzman, op. cit., p. 577.

Shropshire long after it had been superseded in Eastern England by the square frame sometimes filled in with ornamental work, and curved braces.

Perhaps a date c. 1590 would not be far out for 38/6.

38/7 Endorsed "The Plot of Wastes," "Plot of Bolas & Meston & Sheryngton," and "to Rember to sende to Richard Taylor shope in Mardoll in Shrewsbury."

Materials.—Parchment, brown ink and thick colour (burnt sienna, raw sienna, green earth, mauve, charcoal black, flake white).

Size.—An irregular skin, approximately W.-E. 2 ft. 3 in × N.-S. 2 ft. 7 in. A strip has been cut off the map on the E. edge, leaving a tree cut in half in one place, but nothing important seems to have been lost by this mutilation.

Area covered.—W.-E. Bolas and Meeson to the boundary between Cherrington and Tibberton.

N.-S. from Bolas and Ercall heaths to just N. of the Upper Strine.

Symbols.—

Townships indicated by houses drawn in elevation, approximately the right number for each township. They are not coloured but are drawn as half timbered or clap-boarded, and thatched. The majority have chimneys.

Church indicated by small spire and cross.

Mill-mill wheel with troughs drawn.

Bridges indicated by oblong brown chequers.

Rivers and ponds coloured mauve.

Roads unfenced shown as dotted lines, cattle drives and lanes coloured green between double lines.

Ford—none shown. Hill—none shown.

Trees drawn conventionally, not coloured.

Gates drawn and coloured raw sienna.

Marshy moor coloured green.

Heaths coloured black.

Arable indicated by curving lines in burnt sienna representing the lie of the ploughlands with their plough curves.

Several fields are left plain and the map may be unfinished.

Scale.—None given. The general scale is approximately 6-in. to the mile, though some fields towards the S. edge of the map have been greatly contracted.

Compass indications.—"Weste" and "Sowthe" written on the edges of the map. Any indication on the E. edge has probably been cut off. There is no sign that the northern edge has been altered, but it bears no compass direction.

Handwriting.—" Bolas Heath," "Arcoll Heath" and "Meyston Heath" written with flake white on the black heaths in Text; other remarks added in a loose free hand.

Date.—None given, c. 1600.

This map must be later than 38/1 and 2, neither of which show a mill at Cherrington. There was certainly no medieval mill here, and the first reference to one is in a lease of 22 June 1604, when Sir Richard Leveson leased 2 messuages with "one water corn milne in the occupation of Thomas Bostock" to William Bostock of Cherrington for lives of himself, his wife, and son.¹

Cherrington, like Crudgington and Sleap, belonged to William Sheldon c. 1565–1579² but had passed to Sir Walter Leveson by 1587.³ The establishment of a new mill at Crudgington c. 1570 must have been followed shortly by another at Cherrington, which may perhaps be dated c. 1590 since it had been held by at least one tenant before the 1604 lease.

Other features in 38/7 also suggest a date about 1600. On the S. edge of Shrawe field, inclosures have been made to the E. of the Marshes; and these are not shown in 38/2. Several houses have been built on the waste since 38/2 was drawn. On the other hand, the inclosures have not proceeded very far and at least 4 other houses had been built by c. 1608, the date of 38/3.

38/8 No endorsements.

Materials.—Parchment, brown ink, and colour (viridian, olive green, a mixture of yellow ochre and burnt sienna, orange, royal blue), colourings and drawing crude.

Size.-W.-E. I ft. 7 in. XN.-S. I ft. 3 in.

Area covered.—W.-E. from Waters Upton to Cherrington.

N.-S. from Waters Upton to Sleap. Symbols.—

Townships indicated by 1–4 almost identical houses drawn in elevation, all with square timber frames, red roofs and 1 chimney apiece. A single house in Waters Upton is drawn with parallel studs, not square frames. Churches—none shown.

¹Eyton, Antiquities, VIII, 195-200; S.R.O. 38/315-6.

²S.R.O. 38/306-311.

³S.R.O. 38/312.

Mills-none shown.

Bridges—none shown.

River-coloured blue.

Road—coloured orange between double lines.

Ford—a red patch in the river.

Hill-none shown.

Trees—none shown.

Arable—coloured tan.

New inclosures coloured viridian or shown by lines under the paint (not easily seen)

Moor—coloured olive green.

A dotted line appears to indicate a township boundary. Scale.—None given, irregular, approximately 6–8-in. to mile. Compass indications—None.

Handwriting.—Difficult to read in places because it has been painted over. A poor Secretary style.

Date.—None given. Perhaps as late as 1650-1660.

Inclosure at Crudgington is known to have been in progress from 1570 onwards,1 but in 38/8 a very advanced stage is indicated, both in the "Crudgington inclosures "south of the Strine and east of Sleap, and in the area between Shray Lane and Crudgington Green, which 38/5 described as the Gorsty Britches. This had been common pasture, and as late as 1653,2 pasture for 4 beasts in Gorsty Britch was included in a lease of the capital messuage called "the Farme of Slepe." But the same lease also included two inclosures of 12 and 4 acres respectively taken out of the Gorsty Britch; and another 12 acres was leased to another tenant in 1651 and 1655 without any accompanying rights of pasture.3 Under the thick paint of 38/8 are traces of squarish inclosures covering the whole of this area, which has been coloured to represent arable.

The frame houses drawn to represent townships on 38/8 are also indicative in Shropshire of a mid-seven-

teenth century date.

38/9 Endorsements.—"Le plat del Wyldmore," "the platt of Wrockwardyn," and (twice) "Wrokwardyn." Materials.—Paper and brown ink.

Size.—W.-E. 2 ft. 8 in. × N.-S. 1 ft. 11 in.

¹S.R.O. 38/70 (1569) mentions a close "lately inclosed out of the fields of Crocheton near the Towne medowe"; and in the following year a specific agreement for drainage and inclosure of part of the moor was entered into (38/72).

²S.R.O. 38/87.

³S.R.O. 38/89 and 88.

Area covered.-W.-E. from the Tern to Kinnersley fields.

N.-S. from Crudgington to Wrockwardine, and from the

Lower Strine to Eyton.

The area covered is therefore a trapezium, with its long side from Wrockwardine to Crudgington and its short side from the "Lawnd Strine" to Eyton; but this is not obvious on the map because of variations in scale.

Symbols.—

Townships—indicated by written descriptions or crude houses in elevation, the walls being drawn at an angle, not upright, and the sides extended without perspective. Each house has a central chimney and tiled or shingled roof. One house is timber-framed, the construction of the rest is not indicated. The whole map is diagrammatical.

Churches—none shown.

Mill—a huge mill-wheel draws attention to Crudgington mill.

Bridges—none shown. River—double wavy line.

Road—fenced roads seem to be indicated by a single line, but cattle drives by double.

Ford—none shown.

Hill-none shown.

Trees—One large oak drawn, some 2 inches high.

Scale.—None given, irregular. The scale N.-S. is much smaller than the scale E.-W., which in places is more than twice as great.

Compass indications.—North, south, east, west written round edges of map, but the directions are only approximate.

Handwriting.—At least 3 different hands, the main one Secretary, but comments in free hand and a latin phrase in Legal.

Date.—None given, c. 1565-1579.

At Crudgington is written "Crochington a towne of Mr. Sheldons" and at Kinnersley "Mr. Sheldons towne." This confines the date of the map to the period of about fifteen years during which William Sheldon owned this property, and puts 38/9 a little earlier than 38/1.

The grievance over the new mill at Crudgington is mentioned, proving that its erection was not the work of Walter Leveson but of a predecessor, either William Sheldon or James Leveson. There are, too, remarks about common rights which confirm this map as mid-sixteenth century, when inclosure was threatened but

not yet accepted. Near the mill is written "This end of Wrockwardyne more is drowned all wynter and distroyed by the erectinge of this new myll which end extendith north west without eyther hedge Rayle par(k) or pale." On the line of the road from Sleapford gate to Crudgington is written "This shuld be no severence as Mr. Dicher¹ saith but a parcell of Wyldmore." South and east of the large oak tree is added "This is called the Rough more parcell of Wyldmore in to the which wee clayme strake of common with our cattals as farr as Newpert," and by the oak itself, "Unto this oke Wrockwardyne more extendythe in length towarde the east parte of Wyldmore" and in another hand" but the comon of straye fr the tenens of Wockwrardine goeth beyonde the sed ocke." Some new development had prevented the Wrockwardine tenants from enjoying their common beyond the "Brode Oke," and this was probably the new dyke made by Mr. Eyton (38/1), which would most effectively cut Wrockwardine off from the eastern Wealdmoors. The inclosures which 38/1 mentions to lie west of Eyton were already in existence at the date of 38/9, for it speaks of "Several pastures to Eyton Upon the Wyldmore" and "Hall pastures"; and similarly the inclosures at Kynnersley are "Severall pastures to Kynersey."

In the heart of the moor, this comment has been written "to all this upon this syde the strynde being northward in breadth & east in lengthe is called the playne wyldemore wch is thowsandes of Acres in to the wch the inhabitaunce of Wrockwardyne & all that holde of that manor have had free strake of comon tyme owt of memorye of mane without Any Restraynt or gayne

saying in that behalfe."

Near the mill above the river is the remark "Crugeton grene enclosed beynge parcell of the Wyldmore," thus dating the inclosure of this strip of land as contemporary with the building of the mill.

38/10 Endorsements.—None.

Materials.—Parchment, black ink, and thick colour (dark blue-green, ochre, slate blue, red lead).

Size.—W.-E. 18 in. \times N.-S. $12\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Area covered.—A road and 7 fields, position not stated.

Between the road and the fields is a barn and cottage, drawn in elevation, marked as "Gravenors Barne."

¹Perhaps the same as or successor to Robert Dycher, one of the assignees of Ellerdine tithes in 1520 (S.R.O. 1/68 Phillipps collection).

The barn is constructed of clapboard pegged together, with large cart doors supported on big iron hinges. There are two small windows high on the W. and E. ends, which are not drawn in perspective. The roof is thatched. On the east side is an extension only half the height of the main structure but built in the same way. This also has a door on to "the streete" which is cobbled. Palings with a door in the centre separate the barn and extension from a one storey half-timbered cottage. It has a door to the street and thatched roof. Only part of the cottage is shown and in that portion there is no chimney, but between the timbers on the west end of the house are 3 diamond paned windows. Thus, though small in comparison with the barn, this drawing is probably meant to represent a substantial farm house. If "the streete" is Watling Street, this map may refer to Street Grange or some of the buildings attached to it, and "the Lande in question" behind the barn be part of the Grange property. As the door in the palings opens into this small field, a right of way may be in dispute. The only other names mentioned are "Banes Lande" behind the cottage, and "Offleys Lande" NW. of the barn.

Symbols used.—None, a sketch rather than a true map.

Barn and cottage drawn in full detail in elevation but without perspective.

Road shown by cobbles and the words "the streete."

Palings drawn.

Fences round fields drawn. Boundaries also emphasised

by red lines.

Trees—4 differentiated trees and a stump drawn as standing in the fences. One represents a fruit tree, another a small oak, and one possibly an ash.

Fields coloured green.

Scale.—None marked.

Compass indications.—North, south, east, west written on edges of map. North was first written instead of east, and though the ink was scratched off, the mark can still be seen through the paint.

Date.—None given. See 72/1.

72/1 Endorsements.—None.

Materials.—Parchment, black ink, thick colour as 38/10. Size.—N.-S. 1 ft. 5 in. ×E.-W. 1 ft. 2 in.

Area covered.—From a point described as "the ende of the mores" N. to cover the course of "The Broke runninge from Wildmore t--e throughe the Mores" and of "Weldmore Lane" or "the Lane leading --- from

Nedffeilde to Wilnall" or "Noose Lane." This suggests that the map may relate to the Leveson's Staffordshire estates near Willenhall and Wednesfield, in spite of the words "Wildmore" or "Weldmore." Other names mentioned are "Brode Meadowe being the fyld of Offley Lane and Undrill," "Hopes meadowe called Marshende meadowe," "Brooke meadowe," "Chandlers meadowe" and "Chandlers Lande," and "Hopes Lande."

Symbols used.—None, a sketch as 38/10 rather than a map. No houses shown

Stream drawn with several wavy lines and coloured blue. Road coloured red between double ink lines. A cattle drive to the moors coloured blue between double lines. Hill—none shown.

Trees shown in all fences, and bordering lanes. Nearly all are drawn conventionally, as trunks with mop heads, perhaps to represent pollarded oaks. But round one "parcel of the mores" are spiky growths probably representing hawthorns.

Fences—drawn.

Some inclosures are coloured dark green, others a slightly lighter shade. The precise significance is uncertain, but perhaps they differentiate between heath and moor.

Scale.—None marked.

Compass indications.—North, southe, easte and west written on edges of map.

Handwriting.—Italic, except for the addition of the name "Brooke meadowe" in Secretary.

Date.—Style, colours and writing are the same as those of 38/10 and crude. Both maps mention "Offleys lande" or "Mr. Offleys meadowe" and "Mr. Offleys pasture." It is noteworthy that James Leveson (d. 1553) married as his second wife Margaret, the daughter of William Offley, and those maps may be concerned with her dower lands.

38/11 Endorsements.—None.

Materials.—Paper, black ink, red lead and pencil. Size.—SW.–NE. 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. ×NW.–SE. 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Symbols.—None. Style as 38/4.

Area covered.—"Trenche waye" from "Simones House & yarde" (W.) to "Dunington gate" (E.); and a piece of land running NW. from this road.

This is the next section of the lane E. from 38/4, though the lands described are not contiguous along the whole W. boundary of 38/11.

This boundary running from the road N. is described by the points marked "Hackles yate," "Hu: Ickes yard" (also given on 38/4); "John Cooper," "Horton Wood," and "Adames medowe."

The N. boundary (W.-E.) is described by the points marked "Barn medowe," "Barnfeldes spininges,"

"Oxe lessowe," and "Gestes close."

The E. boundary is the "Lane betwixt Sr P. Eyton and Sr R. Lewson."

Scale.-None given.

Compass directions.—None.

Handwriting.—Small Secretary.

Date.—None given. "Sr R. Lewson" might refer either to Sir Richard Levison the Vice-Admiral (succeeded 1602, died 1605) or to Richard Leveson, son of Sir John (succeeded 1613, died 1661) who was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles I in February 1625-6.

The reference to "Sr P. Eyton," however, is decisive and can only refer to Philip Eyton, who was High Sheriff of Shropshire in 1633, having succeeded his cousin Richard in 1608. He was knighted in 1619. This map must therefore belong to the period 1625 to 1636, the date of his death.

"Barnfeldes spinninges" may contain a reference to the Barnfield family, who purchased 3 of the manor of Edgmond in 1557 and later obtained the whole of the manorial rights there from John Talbot. The family sold out to Peter Corbet in 1607.2 Richard Barnfield had already sold a moiety of Newport to the Levesons in 1579.

The name Icke occurs a number of times in the Waters Upton registers and is common locally. There are several Adams entries in the registers of Tibberton and Edgmond.

38/12 Endorsement.—None.

Materials.—Paper, brown ink.

Size.—N.-S. 1 ft. 5 in. \times E.-W. 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Area covered.—This is part of a map, and the overlapping junction with the next sheet is indicated on the lower edge. It is on the same size and quality of paper and in the same ink as 38/13, but does not fit onto it.

¹George Morris' "Shropshire Genealogies" Vol. 1; Visitation of Shropshire 1623, Harleian Society (1889), XXVIII, 182; Shaw Knights of England p. 173.

^{*}Introduction Edgmond Registers (Shropshire Parish Register Society, Lichfield, XIII, pt. 2, 235-6).

No indication of locality is given except in field names, but these clearly indicate Sleap and Crudgington, and more particularly, the lands there let with Sleap Farm. "Stonylake next town," "Stonylake fromwards towne," "Greene leasow," "Longe Leasowe," and "Gorsty Brych" are all shown here and are all included in a lease of 1653.³ One of the common fields mentioned in several Sleap leases was Further field, and 38/12 shows "Further field hede" and "Further field gate." "Wilkes Broomesich" is presumably part of the Broomsich of 38/5.

Several pieces of land are connected by name with a tenant called Wilkes (Wilkes Broomesich, Wilkes Intake, Wilkes Gorsty Brych, Wilkes at further field gate, and Wilkes small lands); and these probably refer to William Wilkes, who had pasture for 8 beasts in Gorsty Burche in Crudgington in succession to one Howell Warde, and was himself dead by 1579.5 This fits in with the information given in other leases that inclosure was begun in this area on a considerable scale about 1569-1570, and it may be presumed that Wilkes was the first tenant to hold these plots in severalty. Two other pieces are similarly connected with a tenant named Cornes (Cornes Gorsty Breeches and Cornes further field hede); and we know that in 1579, Richard Cornes was tenant of a messuage and lands in Crudgington and Sleap, which he held from the determination of an earlier lease to Raffe Cornes deceased, Margaret Cornes widow and Richard her son.6

Symbols used.—None. A measured survey, giving the acreage and name of each field. The surveyor, however, does not appear to have measured his angles with sufficient care, so that the areas he maps are only approximately correct in shape.

Scale.—None marked on the part which survives.

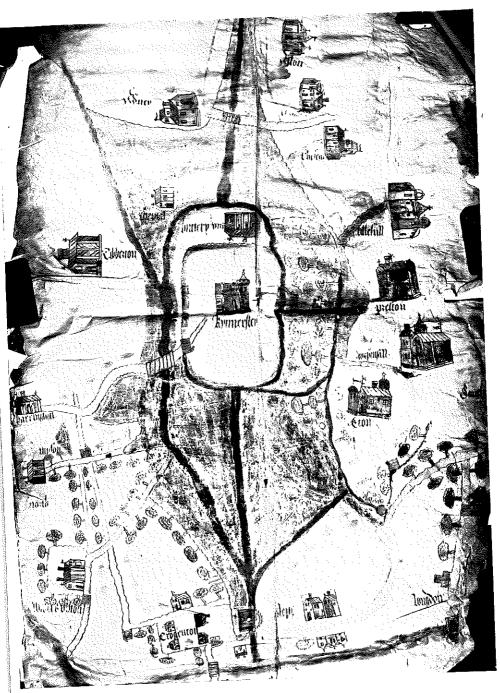
Compass indications.—N. and E. are written on the map, but seem to have been put sideways. The map must be given a half turn to make the Broomsich, the Gorsty Breeches, and the Further field references come in the same positions as on 38/5, 8. If this is so, Greene leasow may refer to part of Sleap Greene (38/9) and the Stonylakes may be the two fields in the crutch of the roads south-east of Sleap. Wilkes' small lands would then be the southernmost of the "Crudgington inclosures" of 38/8.

³S.R.O. 38/87.

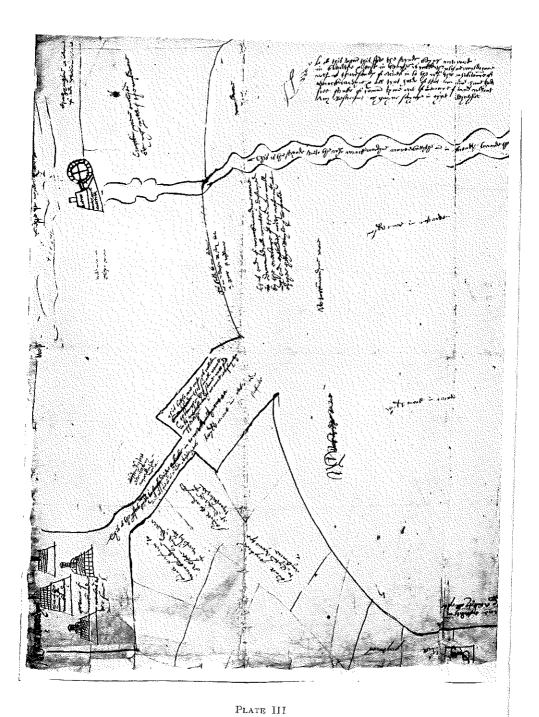
⁴S.R.O. 38/80, 81, 84.

⁵S.R.O. 38/74.

⁶S.R.O. 38/73.



 $\label{eq:plate_II} \textbf{PLATE II} \\ \textbf{S.R.O. 38/6 (omitting Wrockwardine and Newport)}$



THE WESTERN HALF OF S.R.O. 38/9-

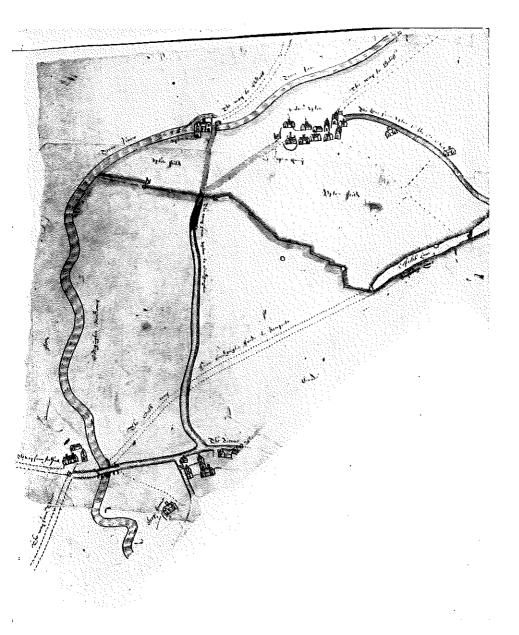


Plate IVa $\mbox{Part of S.R.O. 38/5} \mbox{---} \mbox{Crudgington and Waters Upton c, 1600}$

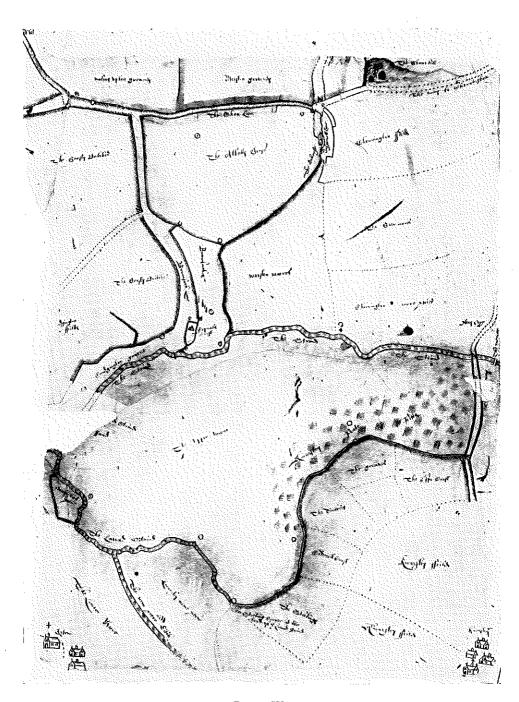


PLATE IVB
PART OF S.R.O. 38/5—
SHRAY HILL TO KINNERSLEY 6, 1600

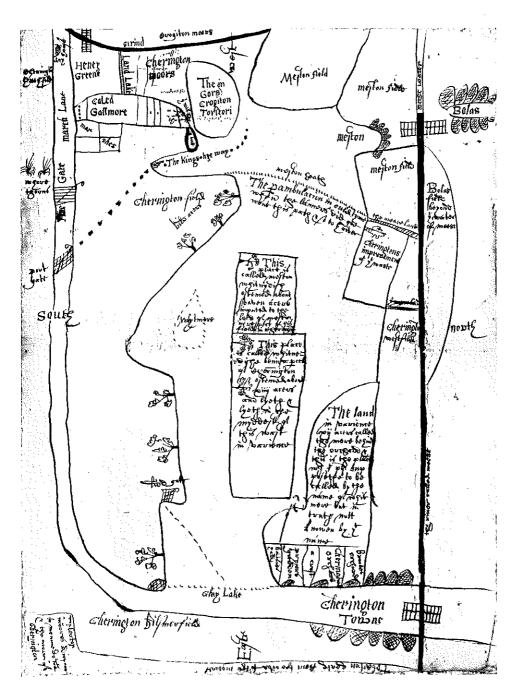


PLATE V



 $\label{eq:plate_VI} $$ S.R.O. 38/7—Bolas, Meeson and Cherrington {\it c. } 1600 \\$

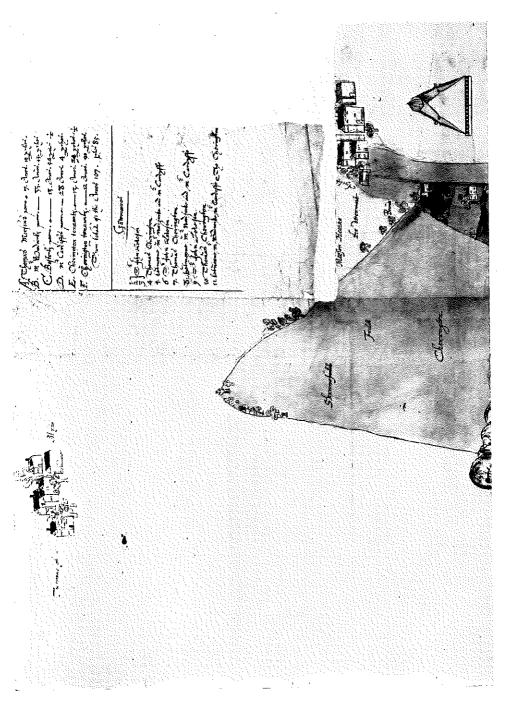
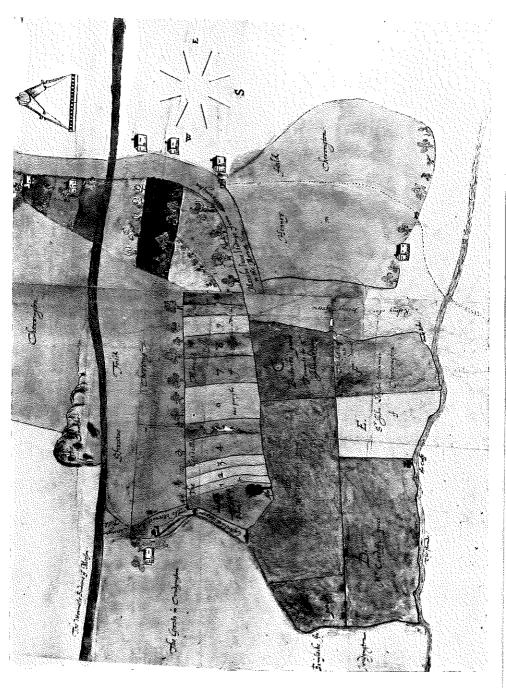


PLATE VIIA



 $\begin{tabular}{ll} Plate VIIB \\ The Southern half of S.R.O. $38/3-Shray Hill, The Gawemoors, Meeson \\ \end{tabular}$

Handwriting.—Large Secretary.

Date.—c. 1634, none given.

The writing, paper, ink, and style of work are identical with those of 38/13, which is dated and signed.

A tracing has been made from this map by the prick method.

38/13 Endorsements.—None.

Description.—" A plot of the demeane land of the Mannor of Lineshull 1634. 653a 2r 1d the whole content of Akers. Surveyed by mee William Browne of Rodon."

Materials.—Paper, brown ink.

Size.—N.-S. 1 ft. 5 in. \times E.-W. 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Area covered.—Lilleshall Grange site, the lane leading to it, "Old Mault Mill," "the poole Head," "A Poole at Lineshull townesend and mills," "Well orchard with howses adioyning" and 41 other plots of land.

Symbols used.—None. Part of a measured survey, and apparently the central portion. Houses mentioned not actually marked either in plan or drawing.

A tracing has been made from this map, which is a tidy working draught, to give the outline of the finished "Plot."

Scale.—None marked. It was presumably given on another sheet now lost.

Compass indications.—None given.

Handwriting.—A large Secretary.

Date.—Given as 1634.

This map, with 38/12, suggests that when Sir Richard Leveson removed from Lilleshall to Trentham in 1633, a reorganisation of the Lilleshall demesnes and of some of the other estates was undertaken. The lay-out of fields then completed at Lilleshall remained substantially the same in 1804 when they were more accurately measured and mapped by James Sheriff, but was very considerably changed soon afterwards. ²

38/14 Endorsed.—" Wyldmore" and, "Platt of Wrookwordyne."

Materials.—Parchment and brown ink.

¹38/15.

²Part of the area covered by this map is covered by Loch in the comparative maps he prints to explain the alterations made in estate management between 1810 and 1820 (An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford in the Counties of Stafford and Salop, James Loch (1820), p. 226.)

Size.—N.-S. 2 ft. 1 in. × E.-W. 2 ft. 6 in.

A yellow line is drawn half an inch from the edge all round. There are two small holes, probably made by mice, a little to the north of the centre of the skin.

Area covered.—W.-E. Crudgington, Allscott and Wrock-wardine (W.) to the southern loop of the Strine (E.)

N.-S. Crudgington (N.) to Wrockwardine (S.)

Symbols used.—

Townships—houses drawn in elevation, with large smoking chimneys. Manor house indicated by flag.

Church—tower and spire.

Mill—none shown.

Bridge—planks drawn as across stream.

River—wavy line.

Road—double line.

Gate—drawn.

Trees—"the meyre ocke" drawn near Black dyke, as 38/1 and 38/9.

Scale.—None given.

Compass indications.—None given. The map must be held almost diagonally to correspond more or less with north and south.

Handwriting.—

Date.—None given. The style is very crude, but the houses have chimneys and the new mill at Crudgington is shown. There is a bridge across Black Dyke marked as "A way lately erected," presumably intended for that shown on 38/1. ("Here was a Bridge latly made & pulde downe by the men of - - - kerdyn.")

The map shows "Wrockwardyne more in Wyldemore wherein the supposed trespass was donne," at a point just E. of Sleapford. It seems to be connected with the same set of disputes as 38/1 and 38/9 and to be of the

same period c. 1565-1579.

II.—MAP-MAKING TECHNIQUE

These maps are interesting examples of the technique of estate map-making in use in Shropshire in the sixteenth century. This was a period when the full possibilities of accurate surveying and recording were being explored in England for the first time, to meet the demand for new maps of monastic estates and freshly inclosed land. Some sixteenth century maps were the work of trained surveyors. Others were drawn by "land-meters" who understood a little of the use of theodolite, circumferentor, and plane-table. Others again

were the work of estate stewards, who knew the district by heart and had perhaps read one of the many books which promised to instruct the reader in "the whole Art of Surveying of Land." The best of these books, Pantometria by Leonard Digges, was published in 1571, and became widely known in the course of the next twenty or thirty

When the whole idea of a map was still novel, it is not surprising years.1 that some of the Sutherland maps should exhibit no high degree of technical excellence. It seems safe to assume that they were all the work of local men. The only surveyor to put his name to his map was William Browne of Roden in 1634, but local attachment is betrayed in such phrases as "my lordys Auncyant closys" (38/1) or "this little out cast is called the small more and throughe the same wee enter into Wrockwardyne more as playnlye appearethe" (38/9). Further, the men who drew these maps were not influenced in their work by the Dutch and English cartographers, who were beginning to produce their series of engraved county maps. None of the Sutherland maps have formal borders or elaborate cartouches and titles, only one of them (38/3) has the compass star and scale with dividers usual in the published maps. A pleasantly old-fashioned individuality marks out the Sutherland maps from the great majority of estate surveys produced after 1591.2

This collection, dated c. 1565-1650, seems at first sight to illustrate the whole development of the idea of the map from pure sketch to measured plan. It is generally conceived as happening in 3 consecutive stages—the realistic child's sketch, which tries to put in everything and emphasises irrelevant detail, like the barn in 38/10; the plot, which imagines the layout of the area as seen from above but takes no measurements, and still shows houses, trees and hills in elevation (38/1 or 38/5); and the correctly oriented scale drawing from which all elements of the sketch have been excluded and even hills are represented by conventional shading or contour lines (38/13).

Unfortunately, technique is a very unsafe guide to the date of an estate map. The sixteenth or seventeenth century surveyor was

^{2&}quot; The general uniformity of design among estate plans after 1591 was no 1Lynam, op. cit., 55-63. accident. By then, all but the humblest draughtsmen had begun to imitate accident by the style of the published maps of large areas." Foreword to A Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office, 1566-1860 (1947).

influenced by other than technical considerations. It would be more accurate at this period to say that examples of all three stages in map development may be produced in the course of a single transaction, depending partly on the skill of the draughtsman but also on the object of the map and the inclinations of his employer.

In this collection, the earliest maps are 38/9 and 38/14, which can be dated within 15 years, to 1565-1579 and 38/2 (c. 1580-5). These are very rough diagrams, drawn to illustrate a point in argument, but adequate for that purpose. Perhaps they were drawn by a steward to show his lord what was happening in the moors, perhaps to help their legal adviser with his arguments if a case were to be brought. These maps have little of the sketch element and few set symbols. Four scribbled houses represent the manor of Wrockwardine on 38/9, but other townships are only named. The mill and the boundary oak are drawn because they are important to the argument of the map, but nothing else. This is the kind of map we all make from time to time, and it may be so far conventional (provided the convention is understood by the other party) as to disregard both scale (39/9) and direction (38/2 and 38/9). The scale in any map of this sort is liable to variation, unintentional variation because distances become elongated or telescoped in recollection, deliberate variation because details important to the draughtsman have been given undue prominence and others dwarfed. Points which ought to lie just off the map's edge are crammed on for convenience of reference, regardless of scale or position. ¹ Two maps have been conceived askew, so that Wrockwardine appears on the same horizontal line as Eyton or Lilleshall (38/9 and 39/14).2 In 38/2 and 38/9, diagramatic representation is taken further, and objects at right angles to each other are shown for convenience as though in a straight line, while a straight road may be drawn in a curve because the edge of the paper has been reached too soon. These tricks have affected the appearance of Marsh Lane in 38/2 and the Strine in 38/9, yet as soon as the convention is accepted, the map is found to be quite sufficient for its purpose.

¹This has happened to Shray Hill in 38/1.

²The map-maker of 38/6 avoided this trap by the device of adding an extra square to the corner of his plot. This enabled him to include Wrockwardine in approximately the right relation to the Wealdmoors without showing Wellington or anything south of Eyton and Preston; and without wasting a

The "plot," on the other hand, whether based on memory or field measurement, was meant to be permanent and decorative, and great pains were taken to that end. Hence a certain style of representation was adopted, and this style might continue in favour for a very long period. 38/1 (c. 1580) is in the manner of Gough's map of the fourteenth century, though it is contemporary with the completely formalized 38/2; 38/6 (c. 1590) is in the manner of a fitteenth century map of Wisbech, which significantly enough was revised and brought up to date in 1597 and again as late as 1657. This shows that old maps were not discarded when their information or method of representation became out of date; and thus there is always the possibility that peculiarities of drawing (such as the absence of chimneys from all houses in 38/1) may be the result of following an old convention or of copying blindly some actual earlier map.

If the plot were to be based on field observation, the surveyor was obliged to make rough notes and drawings of the area as he measured it. Hence such preliminary, and to our eyes technically further developed, maps as 38/4 and 11 or 38/12 and 13, to be dated c. 1630-1634. Yet even for 38/6 (c. 1590) there were probably some preliminary measurements, for small circles coloured brown, apparently measuring points, are shown at Sleapford and at 3 other points along the southern edge of the moors roughly opposite Bratton, Eyton, and Preston. Further east there are none, and approximate distances on the map also become more erratic. Small circles round a point to show the basis of measurement are said to have been first used by Philip Symondson in 1596 in his map of Kent,3 but if so they very soon became general. The surveyors of 38/5 and 38/4, 11, used this symbol, and similar circles are found on 38/3. It is quite possible that had the rough notes for 38/6 survived, they would have appeared to be 50 years at least ahead of the finished map in technique.

It was by no means unusual for the surveyor to measure only the most important or the most accessible part of the area to be

¹Part of Gough's map is reproduced by Edward Lynam, The Mapmakers' Art (1953), Fig. 2.

²ibid., Fig. 3.

³ibid., Fig. 5, p. 9.

mapped, and to depict the rest by guess.¹ This has clearly happened in 38/3 (1608), where the newly divided moors have been measured in acres and perches, while the Shrawe field is merely indicated with a very inaccurate attempt at its northern boundary, far better depicted from memory by 38/2. The measuring points from which 38/3 was measured, are on the south side of Shray hill (here called The Crathe), one at the base just off the road and another immediately above it and just below the summit of the hill. The surveyor who faced south, where his main interest lay, took no measurements and probably paid little attention to the geography of anything at his back, on the north side of the hill.

Even where measurements were taken for the whole area, the resulting map might be less reliable than one based only on recollected familiarity with the ground. Boundaries in 38/13 were obviously measured with care, but observation of angles was inaccurate, so that the complete map is misleading. This sort of mistake, as Lynam points out, was very easily made with Elizabethan instruments.

The first surveyor known to have given a scale with his map was Richard Popinjay in 1563,³ and the only map in this collection to have a scale is 38/3 (1608), though the scale is unfinished. It must be remembered however, that several maps are incomplete. Probably 38/5 and the finished maps produced from 38/4 and 11, or 38/12 and 13 had their scales, information which the surveyor would not need to put on his working drawings.

Compass indications are generally given on the margins of the maps, though they are often inaccurate. It seems as though the surveyor was content with a vague feeling for north and south, and did not consult either sun, or compass. Only the draughtsman of 38/3 shows his directions in the now conventional form of a star.

The surveyor made his measurements and observations, and drew his working groundplan on ordinary paper. From this, transferring the outline by pricking along the lines, he prepared his fair copy for the landowner's use, and added such embellishments in the way of colour, cartouches and coats of arms as he thought would be acceptable. The addition of trees, hills, houses in elevation, and sometimes

¹A map of land in Newport, made in 1681 by William Hill, admits "that the Town was Drawne without an Instruement, but all the rest with it." (S.R.O. 81/599 Leeke collection).

²ibid., p. 62.

³ibid., p. 57.

human figures, were merely part of this process of garnishing, and were recommended in books of instruction for this purpose. "These things being well performed, your Plot will be a neat Ornament for the Lord of the Manor to hang in his study or other private place, so that at pleasure he may see his Land before him, and the quantity of all or every parcel thereof, without any further trouble" said William Leybourn, philomathematicus, in 1674.1 The finished plot should be "garnished with Colours upon Velome or Royal paper," and examples of both materials are found in this collection. In addition, "a Book drawn very fair" should record the acreage and boundaries of every parcel. Leybourn's ideal map was one in which narrow bands of watercolour emphasised and explained the meaning of the ink lines.2 The student is instructed to wash his paper with alum water before applying the colour, so that it may not sink into the paper but retain its full lustre; and the use of gum water as a medium (presumably for parchment) is advised. Many good cartographers disliked the coarser treatment necessary for parchment, and perhaps large parchment maps in opaque colouring, such as 38/6, were intended for wall display, where their bold treatment would appear to advantage. Tempora, gum water and perhaps vaire appear to have been used for the parchment maps of this collection.

The range of colours used for these Sutherland maps may be indicated by comparison with modern artists' colours.

,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	Approximate shade on parchment and map number	A po	pproximate shade on the special properties of the special provides o
Colour	parchment and map have	-	38/3
Green	viridian, 38/6, 38/8 viridian with gambooge or some clear yellow green earth, 38/7, 72/1 dark green (ochre and cobalt?)		38/3
	38/10 olive, 38/8		38/5

¹The Compleat Surveyor, containing the whole Art of Surveying the Land, p. 305.

p. 305.

I am obliged to the Rev. W. R. Cox for allowing me to see a copy of this work in the Stackhouse Library.

²Such a map is 38/5, where the lines of colour appear to indicate township boundaries. Some surveyors of the 16th and 17th centuries preferred to leave their paper map uncoloured and to prepare from it a more decorative version on parchment. This was the method employed by John Reeve in 1639, though for some reason his fair copy was never completed (Bridgewater collection, S.R.O. 212/).

<i>Colour</i> Brown	Approximate shade on parchment and map number burnt sienna, 38/7 with ochre, 38/8 raw sienna, 38/6, 38/7	Approximate shade on paper and map number
	raw umber, 38/6 vandyke or burnt umber leaf brown	38/3 38/3 38/3
Yellow	gambooge, 38/6 ochre, 38/10 with sienna, 38/8	38/3 38/5
Red	brick-red (? red ochre), 38/6, 38/8 pink, dull venetian red (red lead ?), 38/10, 72/1	38/3, 38/5 38/5
Blue	cobalt, 38/8, 72/1, 38/10 peacock (? litmus)	38/5
Mauve	lilac, 38/6, 38/7	·
Black	charcoal, 38/7	38/3
Grey	dark grey (cobalt, white and red lead?),	
White	flake, 38/7	

III.—THE PURPOSE OF THE MAPS

Although this collection of maps belongs to the Duke of Sutherland, it is clear from a study of them that by no means all were made for his Leveson ancestors.

The maps fall into several distinct groups topographically, Wrockwardine, Cherrington, Crudgington, Lilleshall, Eyton, and some unidentified lands which may be in Staffordshire. Where the maps cover the whole of the Wealdmoors, in every case their information about the places west of Kinnersley is fuller and more accurate than their knowledge of the eastern moors towards Lilleshall.

The first and earliest group are those which make claims on behalf of the manor of Wrockwardine and deal with common rights over the whole of the Wealdmoors. (39/9 c. 1565–1579; 38/14 c. 1565–1579; 38/1 c. 1580; 38/6 and 72/2 c. 1590). Two of them, 38/9 and 38/14, are actually described as plots of Wrockwardine, and both show demesne lands of that manor at the point south of Long

Lane where 38/1 puts "my Lordys auncyant closys." North of the same road or "strake way," 38/1 shows "Rushmore my Lordys."1 The personal pronoun suggests that the map-maker was a steward or servant of George, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (1528-1590), whose family acquired Wrockwardine with other Lestrange estates by marriage about 1380. The extra square of parchment added to allow Wrockwardine to be shown with the Wealdmoors in 38/6 seems to connect it with this group and with Wrockwardine's claim to common rights over the whole moor as far as Newport. The new practice of inclosing parcels of moor was reducing the area of commonable waste, while individual land-owners were trying to exclude Wrockwardine tenants from their moors. Mr. Dicher is said to deny them access to pasture west of the Sleapford to Crudgington road (38/9) while others attempted to keep them from the Wealdmoor east of the mere oak or Brode oak shown on 38/9 and 38/1.2 A suit about trespass seems to have been pending $c.\ 1565-1579$, for 38/14 shows, a little east of Sleapford and about the place where 38/1 marks "Playnest more," a spot called "Wiockwardyne more in Wyldemore wherein the supposed trespass was donne." The cryptic phrase, "locus in quo" is written 38/9 in a legal hand across the moor SW. of Kinnersley and the Lower Strine, in the area which the modern map alone allows to be Wrockwardine Moor. Perhaps in the exercise of their customary rights, as they alleged, the men of Wrockwardine had taken their cattle into common claimed by another manor or into the new inclosures. 38/9 is emphatic that the whole Wealdmoor should be open "without eyther hedge Rayle park or pale," and "all that holde of that manor have had free strake of common tyme owt of memorye of mane without Any Restraynt or gayne saying."

A little earlier, there had been an agreement about the tenants of Buttery having right of access to the Wildmoor (VIII, 29).

¹A third of Rushmore was leased by Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Sir Richard Leighton in 1682. The former tenants had been Rowland Lea gentleman and his widow Mary Lea (S.R.O. 303/64).

²This oak is marked on the 1833 Ordnance Survey as Parsons Oak at the S.E. corner of Wrockwardine moor. There had been disputes about Wrockwardine's common rights much earlier than this, and it appears that the wide claims made by 38/9 had not always been accepted. A composition on the subject between the Abbot of Lilleshall for lands in Longdon and Hamo Le strange for lands in Wrockwardine was made about 1256 (Eyton, op. cit., VIII, 236).

Another aspect of the same dispute is seen in the quarrel over the new bridge across the Strine, built to give the tenants of Kinnersley access to Wrockwardine moor (38/14). It is said by 38/1 to have been "latly made and pulde downe by the men of --- kerdyn" (Wrockwardine), who were as anxious to keep others from their moor as to be allowed entry to the whole moor themselves. Without the bridge, there could be no access to Wrockwardine Moor across Strine brook, for the ford was much further north and led only to the Crudgington gorses.

A third problem also connected with common rights arose when Crudgington mill was built about 1570 and by empounding the Strine, "drowneth all thys syde of the moore" (38/1). Similar evidence is given by 38/9, "this end of Wrockwardyne more is drowned all wynter & distroyed by the erectinge of this new myll." There was also the possibility that a new mill might tempt the Wrockwardine tenants from paying suit of mill there. A lease of 1613 stipulates that the tenant shall pay "suit of mill at Rockerdyne and in no other manor."²

The object of this whole group of maps was therefore to illustrate and support the Earl of Shrewsbury's claims on behalf of his manor of Wrockwardine and the makers of 38/1, 38/6, 38/9 clearly knew much less about the eastern part of the moors than they did about the western. The maps must have been handed over to Walter Leveson in 1583 as evidence of the extent of the commons he then purchased.

The second group of maps are those (38/2 c. 1585; 38/7 c. 1600; and 38/3 c. 1608) which deal with Cherrington, one of the monastic properties acquired by the Levesons in 1543. The maps concern Meeson Heath and the area between Shray hill and the Strine which Cherrington and Meeson tenants shared, and in which Edgmond and Bolas also had rights.

The complications of the present day boundary between Cherrington and Meeson are the direct result of their disputes over the heath. On 38/2, a triangular piece of land on the south side of Cherrington West field is marked "the land in varience xij acres called the more behind the orchard & this is the place with the plt supposethe to be

¹The bridge, which was standing when 38/14 was made, is destroyed in 38/1. This confirms 38/14 as slightly the earlier map.

²S.R.O. 303/63 (The Earl of Shrewsbury's collection).

called by the name of Whitmere but in truth nott knowen by yt name." This was not a new inclosure in the sixteenth century and the map-maker seems to have been right in calling it "the more behind the orchard." As early as the reign of Edward I, an agreement gave Lady Isabella L'Estrange of Bolas the waste land at the head of Hamo of Elarton's garden in the town of Cherrington, for her life (38/304). The inclosure is now part of Cherrington, and its southern edge provides the boundary line, so it may be presumed that the claim was made good in court. A second disputed inclosure lay in the centre of Meeson Heath and was divided into two parts. Of the eastern section, 38/2 says "This place is called Whitnedishe being a parcel of Cherington estemed about xiiij acers and lyeth (& lyeth) in the myddest of this wast in varience." This too is now in Cherrington, and the modern boundary makes a curious detour to attach a square field to the rest of the township by a narrow neck of land. The westerly section of the inclosure, according to 38/2, was the result of early inclosure by agreement. "This place is called Meston Whitnydish estemed about seaven acers imputed to the lord of Meston in respect of his field in Cherington." It is now in Meeson.

One claim made by 38/2 on behalf of Cherrington has been disallowed by time. This is a plot lying between the heath and Cherrington West field, called "Cheringtons improvement of the waste."

The same inclosures are shown on 38/7, which colours "Whitnedishe," "Meston Whitnydish" and the "improvement" of the waste as arable; and it seems to belong to the same series. Both 38/2 and 38/7 give the Cherrington side of the dispute, and must therefore have been drawn for the Leveson interest. This is probably true also of 38/3, which describes the pieces allotted to Sir John Leveson, his Cherrington tenants, and to 5 other freeholders who had claims in the Gawemoors. This time it is not an action at law but an agreed inclosure which has caused the area to be surveyed and a map drawn.

The third group of maps are those which deal more particularly with Crudgington, Sleap and Kinnersley (38/5 c. 1600; 38/12 1634; and 38/8 c. 1650). Unfortunately, 38/5 is incomplete and it is not certain how large an area it originally covered. I place it in this group because of the care taken to define the boundary between Crudgington and Waters Upton, as shown by the number of measur-

ing points along this line and in the Gorses and Broomsitch. The "Upper Moore" and Kinnersley peat moss have also been measured with special care, and attention has been given to the new inclosures both at Crudgington and Kinnersley. At this period, Waters Upton had passed from the Corbets to the Wallops, through the marriage of Elizabeth daughter of Robert Corbet to Sir Henry Wallop.\(^1\) A redefinition of the boundary between Waters Upton and Crudgington may well have accompanied the diversion of the Newport road from its old route across Crudgington fields to its new route across the Gorsty Britches. Both "the ould way" and the new are shown on 38/5. 38/12 is definitely connected with a reorganisation of the Leveson estates in 1634, and 38/8 seems principally concerned with fresh allotments out of the waste south-east of Sleap green. The regularity of these small plots (which are still shown on the 6-in. O.S.) proves them to be allotments rather than individual encroachments.

The only maps of Lilleshall in the whole collection are William Browne's plan of the demesnes made in 1634 (38/13) and James Sheriff's survey of the estate in 1804 (38/15 and 17). The first was made a year after Sir Richard Leveson had removed from Lilleshall to Trentham, and it may be that the demesne lands at Lilleshall were then being leased for the first time. Some considerable reorganisation of the Leveson estates was in progress in 1634, for at least one other map, 38/12, is in Browne's hand, and he may have surveyed all their properties. This map is a product of the new ideas of estate management which characterized the 1630's.

In a fifth group are the two maps of Eyton, Horton, Bratton and Malinslee (38/4 and 11), property never owned by the Levesons at all. The manors of Eyton, Bratton and Horton were held together at the time of Domesday and were still held together when Malinslee was sold by Sowdley Eyton to Isaac Hawkins in 1701.² The manorial rights of Eyton and Bratton still belong to the Eytons today. It is difficult therefore to explain why these rough notes for a detailed survey should be found with the Sutherland archives, unless the Eytons and Levesons happened to employ the same surveyor. The families were connected by the marriage of Walter Leveson's aunt

¹Introduction to Waters Upton Registers, Shropshire Parish Register Society (Lichfield XIII, pt. 2). Sir Richard Leveson purchased the manor and part of the estate from Robert Wallop about 1656.

 $^{^2\}mathrm{S.R.O.}$ 513/ . (A collection from Badger Hall deposited by Major N. Capel-Cure.)

Anne to Robert Eyton, and 38/1 shows that both "Mr Luson" and "Mr. Eaton" were interested in improvement and drainage. It seems likely that a friendly connection was maintained in succeeding generations.

Finally, there are two maps, 38/10 and 11, which are by the same hand and which cannot be definitely dated or placed. Their purpose is the only point not in doubt. They were meant to illustrate "the lande in question," and refer to yet another of the many sixteenth century land disputes and suits.

IV:-DRAINAGE ON THE WEALDMOORS

The life and development of the Wealdmoors has always depended on and been limited by its rivers and dykes, so that the Sutherland maps are much concerned with problems of drainage. There is very little natural fall in this area. and a complicated system of rivers and streams, with artificial channels or strines, was already in existence in the sixteenth century. The district dealt with in these maps is bounded on the west by the Tern and on the north by Child's Ercall and Bolas heaths. The centre of the moors round Kinnersley is contained within a double ring of streams, all known as Strine or Strind, and all linking up to form the River Strine which enters the Tern between Sleap and Crudgington.

The main River Strine is formed of two main streams and one smaller ditch, which unite between Crudgington Green (W.) and Crudgington Moor (E.). 38/6 shows all three branches, while 38/1 indicates only the two main ones. Loch in plate 8 shows a pool at indicates only the two main ones. Loch in plate 8 shows a pool at the junction, but no trace of a pool appears on 38/1, 38/6, or 38/8, nor, as far as one can tell, on 38/5 which has a small tear at the crucial point. This must be an artificial pond created after 1650, or a slip on Loch's part. The northernmost of the three branches is called by Loch "Newport Strine," by 38/1 "Strine," and by 38/8 the horse lawne strine." 38/1 does not indicate the bend south-west

^{1&}quot; This district is in some instances so flat, that the old course of the Preston Strine, which formerly conducted the water of that brook in one direction, has, with little difficulty, been made a part of the drainage and carry the drainage water in exactly the contrary direction, a new channel having been cut for the strine." Loch Account of Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford (1820), pp. 221-4.

which this strine makes shortly before it joins the other branch, but 38/5 is correct here and 38/6 gives the right angle, though it exaggerates the distance along Crudgington Green. 38/9 shows the whole course of the river diagramatically, as though it were all in a straight line. The Newport or Horse Lawne strine thus constitutes the northern segment of the outer ring of streams round Kinnersley, while the eastern segment is provided by the Strine Brook and the southern and western by the course of Loch's Sydney Strine. The southern part of this must have corresponded roughly to the course of the Shropshire Union Canal. The western section, as drawn by Loch, is exactly the same as "The new peece ditch" of 38/5, and 38/14 calls it "the little Ryver of Strynde dvidyng Wrookwardin More from Crokylton Upton & Bolas More."

The inner ring is formed on the north by the stream called "Lawnd Strine" in 38/5 and "the brood lawnt strine" in 38/8, on the east by Wall Strine, on the south by the modern Commission Drain, taking approximately the route of 38/1's "Strine," and on the west by an unnamed ditch.

From the Lower (inner) Strine, a ditch called on 38/1 and 38/14 "Black Dycke" divides Eyton moor on the west from the Rough moor on the east. This is the ditch which 38/I says was "latly made By Mr. Eaton to drene hys grounde" (probably between 1565–1579), and it is identified on the modern O.S. by its position a little east of a wide cattle drive from Wappenshall to Eyton moor, and by its use today as the boundary between Eyton and Preston. It now flows from the canal just west of Kinley Farm, the "Kyngley Hall" of 38/1.

Maps 38/2, 7 and 3 also show some small streams, tributaries of the Newport Strine, which help to drain the area. One comes from a pond near the modern Meeson Hall, and, after passing west of Cherrington village, joins another brook from the pond called "Whytmere" on Meeson Heath. The united stream, which 38/3 calls "Hooke diche," torms the south-western boundary of Shrawe field, crosses a square inclosure called "Marshes" in 38/2 and marked on 38/7, turns south at the Gavelmoors and finally enters the Strine at Rodway Bridge. Just before it does so, 38/3 shows "The dytche caste downe," a small water course dividing plots C and F of the Cherrington moor pieces. Comparison of these 3 maps shows that some alteration of the course of this stream to drain

Marsh lane and the Marshes had clearly been attempted in connection with the inclosure of the moors, between c. 1600 and 1608, or shortly before 38/3 was drawn.

Another tributory stream comes from the well by New Farm (called "The dehouse" by 38/5 and "Day House Farm." by the 1833 O.S.), and runs down Creswell Lane to form a boundary between "Bromsitche In Crudgington" and the newly inclosed Meeson Moor pieces (38/3), entering the Strind by a squatter's cottage. The well must have been of importance, for it is emphasised in all the maps. In 38/2 it is marked by a star and the words "the well"; in 38/5 by a circle in the lane called "Cresswell lane"; in 38/7 by a patch of mauve; and in 38/3 by a drawing of a well with stone coping and cover. In a district with much surface water but few good springs, and with easy sources of drinking water often brackish from peat, this well was a distinct asset to a dairy farm. Modern maps mark it as The Spring and the water issues from the junction of the sand and gravel with the boulder-clay.

Outside the circle of the Strine and its tributories, only the River Meese to the north and the Beanhill Brook, entering the Tern between Longdon and Sleap, are shown. The latter is called "Bullock tween Longdon and Sleap, are shown. The latter is called "Bullock Broke" in 38/1, but is undoubtedly the same stream. Where the modern map shows a farm called Longswood, 38/1 has "Longdon wodde" extending to the river and bounded on the NE. by this brook.

Although the district is so flat, standing water and pools are infrequent. The Sutherland maps only show 3 definite natural ponds, and 2 mill-pools. On Meeson Heath are "Whytmere," drawn by 38/2 and 38/7 near the southern edge of Meeson heath, where the parish boundary thrusts a finger north into the moor (6-in. O.S. Shrop. XXX N.W.); and "Cramere pool" (38/7) on the SW. side of the heath, in a corner made by a short eastward bend of Meeson field on a level with the tip of Shrawe field. This large pond is now reduced to a very small one, with a ditch draining into it. A patch of damp scrub on the parish boundary east of Meeson Hall now occupies the site of another small pond shown on 38/7. Marshy ground, but not actual pools, in the same neighbourhood, are represented by the "Marshes" of 38/2 and 38/7 on Marsh Lane, and the names "Clay Lake" (38/2 and 38/3), and "Land Lake"

¹Geology of the Country around Wem (1925), Pocock and Wray, p. 99.

(38/2) used to describe part of the lane from the Newport road to Cherrington village, and a balk of land forming the boundary between Heney Green and Cherrington moors. "Clay Lake" received overflow water from the confluence of two streams coming off Meeson heath, while the "Marshes" and "Land Lake" suffered from the same water at a later stage in its course to the Strine at Rodway Bridge. Miss Jackson noted this use of the word "lake" to denote temporary water on a road, and pointed out that the term is not used in Shropshire for a large sheet of water.

The two mill-pools indicated by the Sutherland maps are at Crudgington² (38/9) and south of Lubstree Park near the site of "Mr. Lusons hammers" (38/1). This pond is probably the one which Peter de Eyton II gave with his mill at Lubersty to Lilleshall Abbey about 1220.³

The pond for the new mill at Cherrington is not actually shown on 38/7, but its site is indicated on the 6-in. O.S. by the modern pumping engine behind which may be seen the remains of mill race and pool. A footpath from Bolas Heath reaches the opposite bank of the Meese at the mill.

One query remains, a small blue patch on the moor south of the Upper Strine opposite Broomsutch lane. 38/8 called this patch "Upton Pole," but no pond can be found there now, or in Loch's maps, unless he has transferred it down the river. The name "Upton Pole" refers to Waters Upton claims to pasture in the central moor, admitted by 38/14.

The total impression made by the Sutherland maps is that in the 60 years following the dissolution of the monasteries, con-

^{1&}quot; It may be noted here that the term Lake is never employed in Shrop-shire folk-speech to denote a large sheet of water; when used, it means a small, temporary, puddle—' the road's all in lakes after the rain'," Jackson Shrop-shire Word-Book (1879), p. 331, s.v. pool, Cf. the field name "Stonylake" at Sleep (38/12 and 38/87).

²The mill no longer exists, but the site of the exceptionally large millpool (very much the shape drawn on 38/9) can be plainly seen.

³Eyton, op. cit.. VIII. 28-9.

⁴The Rev. George Plaxton, who was Rector of Kinnersley from 1673, confirms this impression in his description of the parish, written about 1706. He remarks that a large tract of waste "is now by drainage become good pasturage and yields great quantities of hay." The grass of this new land would "feed an ox surprisingly, I suppose from its dry and binding quality that makes the oxen drink much," though it was too coarse for milch cows or horses. Cattle-rearing was the obvious line for tenants of freshly-drained moor and was no doubt the cause of the general level of prosperity and extraordinary good health which Plaxton found in his parish in 1673. (*Philosophical Trans.* XXV no. 310 article 6).

siderable attempts were being made by the new landowners to improve their estates and deal with the problem of drainage. The Sheldons, the Levesons and the Eytons seem all to have been engaged on piecemeal but at the same time important drainage schemes. They were responsible for improvements connected with Black Dyke, New Piece Ditch and Hooke Ditch; and the creation of many smaller strines on the newly-divided moors. It was this system which the nineteenth century inherited and improved by substituting a few large channels for many small ditches; but the maps show that the general scheme of drainage was not altered as drastically under the acts of 1810-1820 as might at first appear from Loch's account. Unfortunately, sixteenth century improvements in the southern moors were to some degree offset by a deterioration of natural drainage at Crudgington and Cherrington, both lying on glacial deposits of clay, through the erection of new water-mills on the main Strine and the Meese. 1 This prevented winter flood-water from getting away and was especially serious on the Strine, which collects water from so large an area of the Wealdmoors. The weir just east of Rodway bridge (38/5 and 38/3) must also have held up the flow of the river.

V.—COMMUNICATIONS

Travel in the Wealdmoors was notoriously difficult before the nineteenth century. Main roads kept clear of the "playnest moore," and passed round rather than across it. Most of the lanes which now lead into this area were originally the wide green drives by which the tenants of townships north and south of the waste drove their cattle into it; and Kinnersley in the centre of the moor was cut off from all main road communication with the outside world.

The Sutherland maps provide important evidence for the roads actually in use in the sixteenth century, and the bridges or fords available to the traveller.

There were two roads only which crossed the area in an approximately W.-E. direction.

¹Geology of the Country around Wem, p. 77. Loch explains how the same difficulty on the Tern was eventually overcome. op. cit., pp. 221-225.

1. Wrockwardine to Lilleshall

This is shown on 38/1 as "the wey frome Rokerdyn towardys Lynsell." It started from Wrockwardine in an ENE. direction, cut south of Admaston across Dothill park to Wappenshall, and continued in a more or less easterly direction, passing just south of Kingley Hall, now Kinley farm, Preston, and Lubstree park, but north of Hoo Hall and of the mill-pool which supplied "Mr. Lusons hammers." Some sections of this road are still in use, but it no longer exists as "the wey to lynsell."

2. High Ercall and Crudgington to Newport

From High Ercall to Crudgington, this was probably an unfenced road (38/5), "the way from Arkhall." It crossed the Tern at Crudgington by a bridge, indicated by a symbol on 38/6 and drawn with several arches in 38/5. From Crudgington to Moorbank, 38/5 shows an unfenced road taking the present line, with a gate at Moorbank and a sharp right-angled bend north to meet another lane on the parish boundary. But the same map also shows a track going more or less diagonally from the bridge to this point, and marks it as "The ould way From Crudgington Foorde to Newporte"; and 38/6, though vague about roads, seems to agree. 38/8 also mentions this lane as formerly leading from Crudgington to Newport, though the remark is almost concealed by thick paint. It seems then, that some road diversion had taken place about the end of the sixteenth century, causing the highway to leave the common fields for heaths now in process of inclosure. The old road seems from 38/5 to have run for part of its course along side the ditch which now marks the boundary between Crudgington and Waters Upton; and it is possible that the new route was drier. It is this stretch by the parish boundary which 38/5 calls "Casbritch lane," and not the branch which leads from it to Waters Upton, now called "Catsbritch Lane" by the O.S.

From The Terrill, the Newport road continued along the parish boundary to Shray Hill. 38/5 and 38/8 call it "The Shra Lane."

At Shray Hill, the road passed through a gate into one of Cherrington's fields and crossed it as an unfenced road to another gate, the Port Gate or Heney Ash Gate at the junction with the lane up to Cherrington village. The modern road thus divides a field which originally finished two inclosures further south. In the same way, proceeding east, the road cuts off the southern tip of another

common field and continued over Conquermoor heath and Tibberton Heath, and so out of the area of detailed survey (38/2, 3, 7). From Shray Hill, this is called "The Kings hye way" by 38/2, and "The King's highewaye from Crudgington to Newport" by 38/3.

All remaining roads and lanes in the Wealdmoors run approximately N.-S.

3. Wrockwardine to Sleapford (Long Lane)

It is described on 38/1 as "the strakes wey that leadeth frome Rockwordyn vnto the moore called Wyldmore," and followed exactly the course of the modern road from Wrockwardine to Allscott and the Buck's Head. Even the sharp right-angle turns at "Rushmore my Lordys" were there. The whole road is represented diagramatically as "the perfect wey" or "dryest" way onto the moor by 38/9; and the part from Wrockwardine to Allscott is shown on 38/6, with a gate at either end of the stretch. 38/6 also shows a side lane branching off this at Allscott and going to Allscott mill.

4. Wellington to Bratton and Longdon

This is described by 38/1 as "the wey frome Longdon vnto Broughton and so to Wellington," and part of it is also shown on 38/6. From Longdon to Bratton it followed the same line as the modern road, and across Dothill Park appears to have taken the line of the footpath.

5. Bratton to Sleapford

Just north of Bratton or Brockton, a road branched off the Longdon-Wellington road to run parallel with Bullock brook as far as Sleapford or Slafordes gate (38/1), where it joined road 6.

6. Sleap to Eyton This road followed the line of the present road from Sleap to Sleapford, and there connected with road 5 to Wellington or continued SE. till on a level with Eyton, when it bent sharply round to the village. It is marked on 38/1 as "the wey from Slepe to Eaton and to Wellington "; 38/9 corroborates the general line of this road.

From Sleapford north this road appears to be indicated by a single line on 38/9, and Mr. Dicher is accused of treating the road as the western limit of the moor. The road is also shown on 38/6.

7. Sleap to Crudgington

In 38/5, 38/6 and 38/9, this road appeared to cross the river near Crudgington mill and continue to Crudgington village. According to 38/9, however, the Strine was crossed well east of the millpond, while in 38/6 the road ran west of the mill altogether. It is possible that the mill itself, by flooding the old track, had caused a slight divertion of the road between c. 1579 and c. 1590. 38/1 does not show the road at all north of Sleap, but this is probably only from lack of interest in anything north of the Strine. None of the maps shows a bridge across the Strine at Crudgington, so the crossing here was probably a paved ford, suitable for carts coming to the new mill. There was a gate at the junction of this road with the High Ercall road (38/5).

8. Tern to the Ercall Road

An unfenced road (modern footpath)¹ provided a way from Tern farm to cottages by Crudgington bridge, "the way from Terne" (38/5). It was gated at the entrance to the main road.

9. Crudgington to Waters Upton

This is not shown on 38/6, but definitely marked on 38/5, which is only a little later. It is described as "the way from Upton to Crudgington." The road followed the present line to the township boundary, where there was a gate—here it forked, the westerly branch leading to Upton Mill and the easterly to the village. The old quarry on this lane is shown on 38/5.

10. Waters Upton to Hodnet

This is shown on 38/5 as a dotted or unfenced lane running NE. from Upton Mill, "the way to Hodnett."

¹This footpath has recently been diverted to run round the western edge of the field instead of across it.

11. Waters Upton to Bolas

A similar road went NE. from Upton village, "the way to Bolass " (38/5).

12. Waters Upton to the moors

This is shown on 38/1 as a cattle drive to the Strine, and consisted of the modern Catsbritch lane, a short stretch of the present main road where it runs N.-S. to Moorbank, and a continuation of this from Moorbank to the river, "Broomsuch Lane" (38/5).

13. Bolas and Meeson to the Strine

This is indicated as a cattle drive in 38/1 and 38/2. Part is definitely marked on 38/5 and 38/7. From Bolas, the way crossed the Meese by a bridge (38/2, 38/7), and appears to have taken the line of the modern footpath, passing through the half circle of houses which then formed Meeson village. The track continued across Meeson heath to the tip of Cherrington's Shrawe field on the modern boundary, along the line of that boundary as a wide drove way to Shray Hill, and by a gate into and over the Newport road. Here it passed the well (38/2, 38/3, 38/5) and became "Cresswell lane" (38/3, 38/5) which the surveyor of 38/3 measured as 140 perches. At the end of Cresswell lane, the track reached its objective, "Meeson moores" and "the Mosse in the parishe of Bolas."

14. The meare path across Meeson heath

From the tip of Cherrington Shrawe field, 38/2 shows a line across the heath to the modern parish boundary between Meeson and Cherrington. This footpath was in disuse even when the map was drawn, for the comment is made "The perambulacion in ould tyme when the lanners did goe went this path and so to the river."

15. Sheepbridge and Cherrington to the Strine and Kinnersley

A track came over Bolas Heath along the present line of 10ad and boundary (38/7) and crossed the Meese at Sheep Bridge (38/2, 38/7). Between the main village and the Newport highway, it became a wide damp lane (Clay Lake), and south of the main road it continued south and west as a green drive, " Marshe lane leadinge from Cherrington to the Moores" (38/3) or "March lane" (38/2). At the Gawemoors it turned sharply south again and became an even broader green drive, "Rodway" or "Henney Greene." Crossing the Strine by Rodway bridge (38/3, 38/5) the track proceeded over Rodway moor and south to Kinnersley. A gate is marked by 38/5 at the bridge and another where the Kinnersley inclosures began; this is also indicated by 38/6, which sketches the general course of the road from Cherrington to Kinnersley.

This road has been altered considerably since 1600, but Marsh Lane is still shown on the 1-in. 1833 O.S. and its position is indicated by the shape of inclosures NE. of Rodway farm, which is not on its original site (compare 38/3). The modern lane follows an alternative route indicated on 38/3, presumably for the use of travellers without cattle to drive. This crossed one of Cherrington's common fields N.-S. from a gate in Marsh Lane (Haie Gate) to another gate where a footpath now leaves the lane to cross an inclosure diagonally to Rodway bridge. This footpath gives the line of the old road.

16. Liddgate to Cherrington

This was a short unfenced road (38/2, 38/7) from a corner of Shray field to the village, and it is now a lane.

17. Tibberton to the moors

This drive is indicated by 38/I as a short broad way cutting through Tibberton common fields onto Tibberton moor. These moors appear from 38/2 to have covered the whole area from the Newport road south to the Strine, and the vague indications given in 38/I and 38/6 agree with this.

18. Kinnersley to Preston

There must have been some communication between the two townships since a ford is marked on 38/1 approximately where the parish boundary crosses the Strine brook due south of Buttery Farm. No track is shown.²

Buttery and Wall seem to have been completely isolated (38/1, 38/6).

¹One of these inclosures is now called "the king's ground," which sounds very like the king's highway (Information given at Rodway Farm, 1953).

²The maps illustrate Plaxton's remark in 1706 that "you could not come into the parish (Kinnersley) any way upon arable land."

38/1 shows a bridge south of Adeney where the Strine forks E. 19. Adeney to Lubstrey of Buttery farm. No road is shown, and 38/6 does not indicate a bridge here. There may have been some, perhaps temporary, means of communication over the river at this point.

This is shown on 38/6, which has slightly twisted and misplaced 20. Adeney to ? Newport everything on this side of the moors. The road left Adeney in a southerly direction, crossed the Strine by a bridge, marked "Langford Bridge" and continued between Cheswell and Longford, without touching either, in the direction of Newport.

A triangular opening with its base on the moor and its apex 21. Edgmond to the moors pointing rather to the west of the town, is shown on 38/1, and can be traced on the modern map as a triangular field in the fork of the roads. A bridge over the Strine is shown just east of this, and it appears as though the track may have bent round and continued to Longtord.

22. Edgmond to Newport

This road is shown on 38/6 running from a point east of Edgmond to Newport.

A short cattle drive running WSW. from Longford, and possibly 23. Longford to the moors meeting road 21 from Edgmond, is shown on 38/1.

24. Cheswell to the moors

A short cattle drive running almost due west from Cheswell, described by 38/1 as "the wey from Chars(t)all to Wyldmoore." It is also shown on 38/6.

25. Lilleshall to the moors

A drive from Lilleshall NW. to the moors is shown on 38/6, which has unfortunately placed the town too far west and too near Preston so that the route cannot be identified with certainty.

26. Preston to the moors

The moors came almost down to Preston and only a very short drive was necessary to connect them.

27. Wappenshall to the moors

A broad cattle drive running NNE. from the village is shown both on 38/1 and 38/6, and must be identified with the modern footpath to Wappenshall moor and the river. In the sixteenth century, it appears to have ended at the moor; there is no sign of any bridge over the Strine or continuation of the path to Kinnersley.

28. Crudgington Green to Crudgington moor

A ford across the upper Strine is shown on 38/5, "foord," and 38/8, "Sandie foorde," at the place where the modern road from Kinnersley crosses the river. The ford gave Crudgington access to the "Upper Moore" or Crudgington moor, and did not connect Crudgington with Kinnersley by any formal road or track. A lease of 1569, however, speaks of a croft called Crompes Crofte "near Sande Lane within the meares of the town of Crogynton" (38/68).

VI.—COMMON FIELDS AND FIELD INCLOSURES

Common fields had to be on the higher, better-drained ground, and land suitable for arable was limited in this district of impossible marshes, peat which could only be worked to advantage with the aid of marl, and heavy clay. The Sutherland maps indicate the position of the common fields of nearly every township, as they existed in the late sixteenth century, and in some cases it is possible to plot the boundaries of the fields on the modern map, especially as they must always have followed the 200 ft. contour line.

Bolas

Bolas had three fields to the north, south and south-east of the village (38/7), but the map does not name them. The field north of

¹Loch speaks of the practice of marling land with red clay marl, which tenants in the Wealdmoors had used indiscriminately on peat and clay soils, not understanding that marl which improved one would increase the tenacity of the other. The practice had been forbidden on the Sutherland estates when Loch wrote; and a general improvement in road surfaces made carriage of lime into the Wealdmoors easier. (op. cit., pp. 190-1.)

the town was bounded (E.) by the edge of a wood (now represented by The Rookery and a copse by The Pool) , the curve of the village and road (SW.); and meadow on the edge of the Tern (W.). Between this field and one to the south was a boundary marked by trees running straight west from the end of the village behind the church to the river. A similar boundary from the east corner of the village to the Meese a little east of the bridge divided the south from the east field, and the damp ground along the Meese limited it on the S. The third or east field lay between the Meese (S.) and the road to the heath (N.), and seems to have extended eastward to a line from the modern fork in that road (which originally ended here) to the point where the boundary between Meeson and Cherrington reached the other bank of the Meese.

The maps do not indicate any attempt at inclosure out of these fields before c. 1600.

Meeson

Meeson had three fields, all called "Meston field" by 38/2 and 38/7. One field lay to the east of the village between the Meese (N.) and the Heath (S.), and was bounded on the east by "the meare land" where the perambulation is said to have gone (38/2). This meare corresponded with the modern parish boundary. The other two fields lay west of the village, between the Meese and the Newport Road, and are both described by 38/5 as "Meeson growndes." The row of trees dividing them ran due west from the top of Cramere pool, presumably to the boundary with Waters Upton, which seems to have formed the western limit of the fields, though 38/7 does not go quite far enough to make this definite. The eastern boundary was the edge of Meeson heath, and though it is not certain, 38/7 suggests that this followed the line of the modern lane by Shrayhill farm until it bends east, then a field boundary running north and west for a little way before turning north again to the small pond (Cramere pool) and so following the field boundaries to Meeson village.

There is no evidence of inclosure from Meeson fields before c. 1600.

Cherrington

Cherrington's arable was divided into four fields, not three; but the total area was approximately the same as at Bolas and Meeson. "Cherrington west fild" (38/2 and 38/7) was a continuation of Meeson east field along the south bank of the Meese almost to Sheep bridge (E.), though there were then houses between the field and the road through the village. To the south of this field were "the more behind the orchard," the heath, and "Cheringtons improvement of the waste."

"Cherington Hilsmerfield" is shown on 38/2 and 38/7 as lying east of the lane through the village, with the Meese (N.), the Tibberton boundary (E.) and a corner of the third field with two inclosures (S.). The Newport road going eastward from Port Gate, cut across Hilsmerfield; and on the southern portion thus separated from the rest, two cottages had been built against the lane to Cherrington between c. 1600 (38/7) and c. 1608 (38/3). The south boundary of this field ran east from the head of Marsh Lane, just below the 200 ft. contour line. No inclosures are shown before c. 1600. The name is sometimes found in leases as "Hillsmoore field" (38/325), and it seems more likely that it referred to the heath lying east of it rather than to a mere not shown on any of the Sutherland maps and not in existence now.

"Henney feild" (38/7 and 38/3) lay south-west of Hilsmerfield but with a corner of moor between them; and south-east of Marsh lane. It was crossed from north to south by a lane (gated at either end) to Rodway bridge. On the east it had "Cokmoore alias Clomoore" (38/7), and on the west the broad cattle drive known as Henney or Rodway Green (38/2, 3, 7). No incroachments on Henney field are shown by c. 1608.

"Shrafield" or "Shrawe feild," also called "Cherington field bild acers" (38/3, 7, 2) had an irregular northern edge identical with the modern parish boundary. On its west was a cattle drive from Meeson heath, Shray Hill, and Creswell Lane; on its south, with a line of trees between them, the Gavell or Gawemoors (38/3). Southeastward, the field was separated from Marsh Lane by a damp tract known as "whore thorns" (38/7). Gradual inclosure was taking place along this stretch and by c. 1608 a row of small fields separated Shrawe field from Marsh Lane and its continuation towards Cherrington (38/3). All the maps show one cottage on the corner of Shrawe field nearest the village, the "Cherington cott" of 38/7; but by c. 1608, another house had been built to the south

¹Now marked on the 6-in. O.S. as Cherrington Moor.

of it, and there were three inclosures between Cherrington cott and the Newport road, which crossed the field from the gate at Shray Hill (38/2, 3) and left it at Port Gate (38/2, 3). A third gate, called Lidd Gate (38/2 and 38/7), led into Shrawe field at the point where a lane from the village meets the parish boundary; but there was no entry into it from Cresswell lane. "The uttermost Butt in Cherrington Feild" next to Cresswell lane was already inclosed out of it c. 1600 (38/5 and 38/3) and there was a gate into this strip from the moss to the south of it (38/3).

One arable field is shown on 38/7, lying on the north bank of the Childs Ercall Meese east of Arcoll Heath. No other information is available.

No detailed evidence is available, but 38/1 shows that the fields Tibberton were south of the village, on either side of a broad cattle drive to the moors; while 38/2 shows that there was heath between these fields and the Cherrington Hilsmerfield, "Tyberton heath from the river to the moores" (38/2). The Tibberton common fields were not inclosed to any considerable extent in 1653 (38/325).

38/1 shows Upton fields on either side of a lane to the moors, Waters Upton presumably the lane from Upton to Shray Hill. The loss of part of 38/5 deprives us of detailed evidence, but part of one field is shown "Wateres Upton Growndes," lying between this lane (W. and S.) and the boundary with Meeson (E.). A second field, "Upton feild," is shown SW. of the same lane. Dotted lines suggest that inclosure had already begun here (c. 1600) and that a wide strip next to the lane and a piece of the SW. corner had already been taken out of it. This is not at all unlikely, since partial inclosure of one of the Crudgington fields had taken place before 1569.

If there were a third field at Waters Upton, it must have been NE. of the village, to the E. of the Upton meadows which bordered the Tern.

There seem to have been 3 fields, two north and one east of the Crudgington village. Leases speak of Grynley field, Fadeley or Sadley field, and Further Field (38/68, 80).

The first field is shown by 38/5 and 38/8 as bounded on the W. by meadows against the Tern and on the E. by the Waters Upton to Crudgington road.

The second is shown on the other side of this road, with the Waters Upton boundary (NE.), and the Gorsty Britches (E.). The exact limit between field and heath is hard to place, but it was probably just west of Crudgington Leasowes farm (built 1817).

The third field is shown on 38/8 as east of the village and north of the inclosed meadows along the Strine. This seems to be the one called Further field, for 38/12 shows two inclosed plots in this area as "Wilkes at further field gate" and "Cornes further field hede" and 38/5 marks it as "--udginton ---r feildes." The names Wilkes and Cornes connect the inclosure of the butt by the gate and the headland with the period 1565-1579, and a messuage in the town and fields of Crudgington and close "lately inclosed out of the fields of Crocheton near the Towne medowe" were leased in 1569 (38/70). A very considerable amount of inclosure must have taken place during the next hundred years, for leases of 1648-1655 show that in three holdings of 64, 65, and $56\frac{1}{2}$ acres respectively, only 9 acres, 7 acres, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres were held in common fields, and in all three cases, in two common fields (Fadeley and Further field) only.2 This remnant of open cultivation continued some little while longer, for a lease of 1671 included 6 butts and 2 pikes of field land.3

Sleap

Leases mention two fields in Sleap, Thickthorne field (38/81) and Woodfield or Wardfield (38/81, 38/82), and Crudgington's Further field seems, in the seventeenth century at anyrate, to have been shared by the two townships. Lands in both were leased together in 1579 (38/73, 74 and 75) and in 1653 (38/87); and it is plain that, although it was the *caput* of the lordship, Sleap was never an extensive or populous township by itself. On 38/1, "Slepe felde" is shown east of "the wey from slepe to eaton" and apparently extended south to Sleapford gate. The second field lay on the other side of the same road and reached eastward almost to the Tern and Beanhill brook. Some cottages by the railway are now

¹Loch, op. cit., plate 36.

²S.R.O. 38/80, 85, 88, 89.

³S.R.O. 38/91.

called Woodfield cottages, so it may be presumed that this area was the Wood or Ward field of the leases. Both fields must have begun about 2 inclosures south of the village. Nearer home, the land is too damp for anything but meadow.

"Longdon feldys" are shown by 38/1 on either side of the road Longdon from Longdon to Bratton, between Rushmore and Long Lane (S. and SE.), and Bullock Brook, now called Beanhill Brook (N.). This suggests that there were two fields only.

Wrockwardine

One of Wrockwardine's common fields lay north of the town, between the road to Ascot and the green cattle drive to Admaston and the moors. It does not seem likely that the field extended east or west of these roads, for to the east, 38/9 shows pasture, and to the west, the tithe map of 1839 marks moor and meadow. Just to the north of the town, the tithe map has "Green Street furlongs" and "Dale field," which confirm the general note on 38/1 that "the severall feldys and closys of Rockerdyne, Ascote, Admaston' were in this area. The ancient closes or demesne lands formed the

northern limit. It is possible that there was another common field south of the town, and a third to the west of this. The name "Whitefields farm "suggests this, and probably indicates the position of "Wrockwardine Peece, heretofore Wydefeilds," a block of 21 acres, one-third of which was leased in 1682. The whole plot was later divided into four inclosures.1

Bratton, Eyton and Wappenshall

The only indication of common fields in these townships is the note on 38/1 which places them generally to the south of Bratton and Eyton and north of the Lilleshall road which ran through Wappenshall.

Here 38/5 provides definite evidence for two fields, and there Kinnersley may have been three. One field lay NW. of the village, on either side

¹S.R.O. 303/64. Division had taken place before 1745 (303/66).

of the Rodway, its boundary running just below the 200 ft. contour line. The second was SW. of the first, the division between them being the line of the modern road from Kinnersley to Crudgington. Its southern edge, not shown on 38/5, may be presumed to have been on the line of another modern road, the Duke's Drive, from Kinnersley westward to just beyond Sidney House. Neither of these roads existed in any form in the sixteenth century. The third field, if there were one, must have been east of the first, its boundaries roughly coinciding with the 200 ft. contour line.

Lilleshall

No indication at all of the position of the open fields at Lilleshall is given by 38/1; and 38/13 only deals with the demesne lands of the manor, which were concentrated round the grange. There are, however, a few references in leases. In 1596, Sir Walter Leveson leased to his servant Ryce Williams a messuage in Lilleshall with 8 strikes seedness of arable ground in the leet or common field, and a croft in Wildmore (38/108); and another lease refers to a meadow lying "between the leet and common field called Edfield on the west" and land of Walter Leveson on the east (38/116). Considerably later in 1674, names of four common fields are mentioned, Edford field, Limecroft field, Hayfield, and Hillfield (38/121). In spite of the name, Hayfield seems to have been arable; the tenant was to have $3\frac{1}{2}$ roods 2 perches in it, and the lease also gave him part of the Wall meadow and the More meadow.

Somewhere in this area was "a common field called the Conigree-field," mentioned as lying near a parcel of land lately inclosed out of the moor. Unfortunately the township is not named (38/120).

Donnington

Donnington fields are mentioned as landmarks in leases of 1595–6 (38/106 and 38/109) and are named in 1652 in a lease which included lands in Moorefield, Parkfield and Woodfield (38/153). Again, none of the maps help to locate them.

VII.—Inclosure out of the Heaths and Moors1

Although small portions of the moor may have been assarted in medieval times, these maps plainly show that there had been no appreciable inclosure of the common waste in the Wealdmoors before the dissolution of the monasteries. The first generation of new landlords made few changes, but when the new order was securely established, a deliberate policy of inclosure was adopted by progressive men like William Sheldon and Walter Leveson. About the same time, many small plots were taken by squatters who settled themselves on the edge of the heath or on the wide road verges, where they were tolerated, if not welcome. The maps suggest that some lords of manors were more lenient to squatters than others. Certainly there were more cottages at Bolas, Meeson, and Crudgington than elsewhere.2

Bolas heath and moor

There were six squatters' cottages on Bolas heath by $c.\ 1600$ and the strip of moor on the north bank of the Meese had already been divided into three closes (38/7).

Child's Ercall heath

One cottage on the eastern edge of the heath is shown $c.\ 1600$ (38/7), but no other inclosure.

"The moor behind the orchard" (38/2) had been inclosed by Meeson heath the L'Estranges about 1300 (38/304), but all the other inclosed parcels seem to date from the sixteenth century. "Cherrington's

¹Heaths (comparatively dry) and moors (wet) are discriminated in these maps. Thus 38/2 speaks of "Tyberton heath from the river to the moores" where heath and moor form one continuous stretch of country. In 38/7 heaths are coloured black and moors green. The two shades of green used in 72/1 may

²An act of 1588-9 (31 Eliz., c. VII) " against the erecting and maintaining have the same meaning. of cottages," prohibited the building of new dwellings unless each had 4 acres of ground laid to it. The act was not to apply to game-keepers' cottages or those of common herd-men and shepherds, or labourers employed in mines, quarries, brick-works, or lime-works; and in any case an order might be made quarries, office-works, of fine-works; and in any case an order might be made at Assizes or Quarter Sessions authorizing the erection or maintenance of a cottage without land for a limited period. The enforcement of the act therefore depended on the prosecuting zeal of the lord of the manor, who could force the covered for turning a blind one to cottage. easily find an excuse for turning a blind eye to cottages on his waste.

Whitnedish" and Meeson's "Whitnyditch" are shown as inclosed arable on 38/2 and 38/7, and the second is said by 38/2 to have been "imputed to the lord of Meston in respect of his field in Cherington," an agreed inclosure a little prior to c. 1580. Another small "improvement" is claimed for Cherrington just south of Cherrington West field (38/2, 38/7) but this was somehow disallowed and the site remains part of Meeson township.

An inclosed strip to the side of Shray Hill had been filtched from the cattle drive to the moors between c. 1580 (38/2) and c 1600 (38/7). The inclosure is shown as arable, and the site is now occupied by Shrayhill farm.

Three cottages on the heath are shown on 38/7, one near the village and one on either side of Cramere pool. They must have appeared about the same time, for they are not suggested by 38/2.

A lease of 1658 mentions "Lidyate croft," an inclosure of 2 acres (38/325); and another lease of 1660 speaks or "the croft above Lidyate" which was only one acre (38/326). These must have been two small parcels taken out of the heath above the Lidyate between 1610 and 1650. The gate is shown on 38/2 and 38/7, but no inclosures had been made from that part of the heath when those maps or 38/3 were made.

Meeson moor and Cherrington (or the Lowde) moor1

This area (measured as 107 acres 85 perches by 38/3) is shown before inclosure in 38/5 or less clearly by 38/2 and 38/7, the lines of the new inclosures being added to 38/2 by a later hand.

The moor was divided about 1608 into 6 inclosures, 3 allotted to the lord of Cherrington and his tenants, and the rest to the principal landowners of Meeson and Bolas, Mr. Woodcock, Mr. Cardiff and Thomas Meeson, as 38/3 calls them. Presumably the allotment was made according to the size of the holding and the number of beast pastures or "beast gates" in the moor attached to it. Thus Thomas Meeson (plot A) was given 7 acres 19 perches; Mr. Woodcock (plot B) 33 acres 43 perches; Sir John Leveson's tenant Bostock (plot C) 13 acres $54\frac{1}{2}$ perches; Mr. Cardiff (plot D) 28 acres 4 perches; and the Cherrington tenants (plots E and F)

¹Now Dayhouse moor.

13 acres 24½ perches and 12 acres 90 perches respectively. Probably plot C went to the tenant of Cherrington mill, either the Thomas Bostock mentioned as occupier in 1604 or the William Bostock who obtained a fresh lease of it then for lives of himself, Joan his wife and Edward their son (38/315). William was probably the son of George and Amye Bostock who had a lease of a tenement in Cherrington for their lives and their son's in 1569 (38/311), and his lease of the mill included 2 tenements, which altogether would account for the very considerable amount of moor allotted to him. Plot E about the time of the inclosure was leased by Sir John Leveson to William Bowles of Drayton-in-Hales, for the short term of 5 years at 16s. rent (38/317); and two years afterwards, the same man became tenant of a holding in Cherrington, sublet to Reginald Menlove (38/318). He had this for 21 years, not for 3 lives; and when the lease fell in, the tenement was not granted to his son William or to any other member of Bowles' family, but to a servant of Sir Richard Leveson. This suggests that there was a financial side to the transaction which is not mentioned in the leases.

One point emerges, that the lords of Bolas and Meeson had larger claims to these moors than the lord of Cherrington. They now held altogether 68 acres 66 perches, while Sir John Leveson and his tenants held only 39 acres 19 perches.

The Gawmoors or Gavellmoors (now Upper, Middle and Lower Gaumer)

These moors adjoined one of Cherrington's common fields, and were a part of the parish of Edgmond, as 38/3 is careful to note. They were inclosed and allotted at the same time as the Meeson and Cherrington moors, about 1608 (38/3) though 38/7 had shown them uninclosed c. 1600.

The triangular plot at the western end of the Gawmoors did not actually belong to them, but was "the mosse in the parishe of Bolas," a distinction which the present parish boundary still respects. The rest of the moor was divided N.–S. into parcels numbered from west to east 1 to 11. These parcels were allotted in 3 groups.

Plots 1–3 (all very narrow), plot 6 (equivalent to the first three together) and plot 9 (approximately equal to one of the small ones) were allotted to Sir John Leveson.

¹Between plots D and E, a cross is marked on 38/3 and called "the crosse" and the same cross is shown on 38/5 and 38/8 and called "crosse" by 38/2. Its meaning is doubtful.

Plot 4 (equal to two), plot 7 (also equal to two) and plot 10 (another narrow strip) were allotted to Thomas Cherrington, while he had a share in plot 11 with Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Cardiffe. Cherrington must therefore have been a freeholder.¹

Plot 5 (narrow) and plot 8 (equal to 2) were shared by Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Cardiff, either as joint owners of the manor of Bolas, or of some other property. They also had a third share each in plot 11 with Thomas Cherrington.

Neither the total acreage nor individual acreages are stated for the Gawmoors, but in this area a larger proportion went to Sir John Leveson than to Woodcock and Cardiff. Taking the smaller strips as the unit, approximately 7 went to Sir John Leveson, 5_3^1 to Thomas Cherrington and only 3_3^2 to the others. No reason is given for the triple ownership of plot 11. It seems possible from leases that the small Gawmoor strips were meant to be 2-acre plots. Two acres in Gawemoore and Gawemoor gate were leased as part of a holding in 1655 (38/324), and another two acres in Gawemore in 1660 (38/326). Gawemore meadow, estimated as $1_{\frac{1}{2}}$ acres, is mentioned in 1658 (38/325) and a Gawmoor plot, the acreage unstated, in 1671 (38/327).

Rodway alias Henney Green, and Henney land

Rodway Green, the broad cattle drive to the River Strine, consisted of the modern lane plus two neighbouring inclosures. A lease of 1658 mentions "a parcel of land called Rodway Greene or Henny Greene containing about 12 acres . . . and another parcel of land called Henny or Rodway Greene . . . about 7 acres more or less " (38/325). The same lease speaks of "Henny land," probably the corner of moor below Henney field, where 38/3 shows a cottage. Henny land was divided into 2 crofts of $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 acre, both in possession of Widow Allin ; and the lease seems to place here the cottage occupied by Roger Tidder the blacksmith.

¹The Cherrington family held leasehold as well as freehold property in the township a little later. Walter Cherrington purchased the assignment of some leasehold in 1691 and later passed it on to his nephew Walter Thurstan who was marrying a kinswomen, Grizell Taylor. The couple were to have the furniture then in the house, but the nephew covenanted to pay £35 to legatees of his uncle's will and £30 to Francis Cherrington. (38/328).

The Marshes and Whorethorns

This damp tract between Marsh Lane and Shrawefield is clearly shown by 38/2 and 38/7 as a continuation of the Gawmoor. The "marshes" was a square patch of moor divided N. and S. (according to both maps) into 4 equal portions, while two inclosures called "whorethorns," shown only by 38/7, ran alongside the lane as far as the Newport road. In 38/3, both marshy strips have disappeared and in their place are 4 fairly large inclosures, the northern pair parallel with the Newport road, and the southern pair parallel with Marsh lane. The transformation must have been effected by controling the course of the stream and the creation or improvement of Hooke ditch.

It was probably these new inclosures which were spoken of as the Marsh Flats. One marsh flat of 2 acres was leased in 1655 (38/324), and 5 butts in marsh flat, making 2 acres altogether, was leased in 1660 (38/326).

Cokmoore alias Clomoore, or Conquermoor Heath (locally Cockmoor)

The 6-in. O.S. marks Conquermoor heath just north of the Newport road, but local usage seems to support 38/7 in giving the name "Cockmoor" to the pasture lands lying against the Strine east of Rodway bridge and south-east of Henney field. The northern limit of this moor was approximately the Newport road, for north of this, the waste (rising to 200 ft.) became "Tyberton heath from the river (Meese) to the moores" (38/2). The eastern limit was the township boundary, for over this it became "Tyberton moores adioyning to menmedowe and the moores of Cherington" (38/2).

Between Henney field and Hillsmerfield, the moor poked a finger westwards as far as the lane to Cherrington. This is indicated on 38/2 by a couple of spiny bushes and the word "whorethorns," and this map must be right, even though nothing is shown between the two fields in 38/7, for the ground is too low and damp for any other use. A cottage on this patch, just where the ground begins to rise near the Haie Gate into Henney field, is shown for the first time on 38/3, and must therefore have been built about 1608.

Three inclosures in Cokmoore are shown on 38/7, and called "the peece under Henye," "Black fenne," and "Menmedowe." The last is

¹This map is probably unfinished here, while 38/3 is not interested in any land except the newly inclosed moors.

referred to by 38/2, "Tybberton moores adioyning to menmedowe," and may be somewhat older than the other two. Menne meadow, an inclosure of 1 acre, and Henney leasow, 3 acres, were leased together in 1655 (38/324).

Tibberton heath and moor

"Tyberton heath from the river to the moores" and "Tyberton moores adioyning to menmedowe and the moores of Cherington" are shown on 38/2, as a continuous stretch of dry heath and damp moor from the Meese to the Strine.

The Gorsty Britches and Broomsitche

The road from Crudgington to Newport, after passing the modern Crudgington Leasowes farm, had on both sides common land known as the Gorsty Britches (38/5). This continued north to the Waters Upton boundary and south to Crudgington field. The road turned north at Moorbank and had on its right another patch of gorse, known as "The Abbottes Gorse" by 38/5 and as "The Gors in Crogiton Toritori" by 38/2 and 38/3. From Moorbank south to the river, a narrow strip on the east of Bromsutch lane was called "Bromsuches" (38/5) or "Bromsitche In Crudgington" (38/3).

Gradual inclosure of these gorses was in progress during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Abbots gorse was not inclosed apparently when 38/3 was made, but 38/2 has a note added in a later hand about that time, c. 1608, "in Teylies poss"; which suggests that it had been allotted to a single tenant. Some parcels in Gorsty Britches were surveyed by William Browne in 1634 (38/12), most of them in the part south of the road. By the date of 38/8, which seems to be about 1650, lines under the thick paint and the use of brown representing arable show that inclosure and convertion into tillage of this dry heath was practically complete. Some names for individual inclosures are mentioned by 38/12, but the only ones which can be identified are "Great Cahbright Corner" and "Long Casbritch" which abutted on "Casbritch" or Catsbritch lane. They were both leased in 1649 (38/85).

Some evidence about common rights and inclosure of the Gorses is given in leases. In 1534, at Sleap court baron, Abbot Thomas leased to Thomas Evans a messuage in Sleap, 4 beast pastures in "le Gorstebrohe" and 1 in "le Brumsiche" for 60 years. (S.R.O.

1/72, Phillipps collection). Leases of 1579 (38/73, 74, and 75) included pasture for 4, 8, and 4 beasts respectively "in the Gorstye Burche in Crogylton"; and though most seventeenth century leases made no provision for commoning, one of 1653 speaks of pasture for 4 beasts in Gorsty brich (38/87), suggesting that though very little common was left open, there was still some. Twelve acres in the Gorsty Britch were part of a holding leased in 1651 and 1655 (38/89 and 88).

A squatter's cottage near the bottom of Broomsitch lane is shown by 38/5 and 38/3, though they do not entirely agree about its position. 38/5 shows it as a boat-shaped inclosure from the lane and calls it "Copnalls croft." 38/3 puts it on the Broomsitch by the river against "Mr Cardiffs peece" of Meeson moor. It is possible that two cottages had been built in this out-of-the-way corner, for 38/3 does not include the lane. No lease mentions the Broomsitch as an inclosure, and perhaps this was the last piece which remained uninclosed and in which the tenant of 38/87 could pasture his 4 beasts.

Crudgington Green

This strip of land lying along the river was inclosed early. It seems to be part of the moor referred to in an agreement of 1570 (38/72). William Sheldon leased to his father and elder brother all his waste or moor in Crudgington and Sleap for 99 years, on the understanding that they should allow the tenants of Crudgington, Sleap, Kinnersley, Buttery, Cherrington, and Osbaston to enjoy their common of pasture as usual "or else to allot them in severalty as much ground as shall countervail their common rights," the lessees within 7 years to "do as much as they conveniently may" towards draining the waste. The whole agreement might be made void at any time if William Sheldon paid them £40 and their expenses. Such an undertaking could not have been begun or carried through without the concurrence of the tenants; and must have been expected to produce some advantages to the lessees, to repay them for the expense of draining. It is doubtful how far the project was carried before the estates reverted c. 1579 to Walter Leveson, whose energies and resources were engaged in other parts of the moors. But 38/9 speaks of "Crugelton grene enclosed beyng parcell of the wyldmore," and evidently means this land along the north bank of the Strine near the new mill.

Another set of inclosures in Crudgington moor are shown on 38/8. These are south of the river and there are 6 of them one after another from the river to the edge of the map. They may be seen on the modern map and do not seem to have altered since c. 1650. It is possible that they date from the Sheldon experiment of 1570, for unfortunately 38/5 is defective here.

A triangular inclosure on the west side of the Lawnd strine is marked on 38/5 and 38/8. The former calls it "Darbyshirs peece," and the latter "Crudgington inclosure."

Rodway moor and Crudgington moor

The O.S. names the area of moor between the Strine and the "Lawnd Strind" either Crudgington moor or Rodway moor. 38/5 calls them "The Upper moore" and "Kinarsley Peate Pittes." No attempt was made to inclose this moor during our period, though 38/5 hints at an attempt to drain the western side. An unfinished strine is drawn very lightly, as coming from the Upper moor to the Strine just above the ford, and the words "---d strind" were written there, though the map has been torn at the critical point. No such strine seems to exist now or to be indicated on any other map. Perhaps this too may refer to the 1570 Sheldon experiment.

The right to cut peats in the eastern part of this moor was probably valued by tenants outside Kinnersley itself. A lease of 1569 (38/67) stipulated that the tenant should have sufficient underwood and peats for fuel within the lordship of Sleap, of which Kinnersley was part, and this seems to have been the part of the moor reserved for turbary.

Crudgington had access to the Upper moore and the pits by the Sandy ford marked on 38/5 and 38/8.

The Lower or Sidney moor

The moor on the west side of the Lawnd Strind, extending to the edge of Sleap moor, is now called Sidney moor but then "The Lower moore" (38/5). No inclosure is shown, but three houses are drawn somewhere near the modern Commission drain and township boundary, and are named "Ryton." This does not seem to be a mistake for Eyton, which is some distance away; nor on the other hand does this Ryton appear to be an ancient hamlet. It is possible

that at the end of the sixteenth century, a group of squatters' cottages were built here but were pulled down later. An indication of the exact site may be given in the cross marked just above the houses. This is similar to the cross placed on this map between Meeson and Cherrington moor pieces, and may represent a boundary stone. If it does, the cross by Ryton may refer to the boundary stone still marked on the 6-in. O.S.

The surveyor of 38/5 is so careful and accurate elsewhere that it seems very unlikely he should be mistaken here.

Kinnersley inclosures

Between "Kinarsley Peate Pittes" and the common field of Kinnersley, 38/5 shows a series of inclosures on rather low ground. 38/8 calls them all "Kinnersley inclosures called the New Peeces," though the map-maker seems vague about the divisions between them. From the Rodway, working from east to west, 38/5 names these inclosures "The Espo Croft" (now the Espley way), "The greaves," "The Tinacres," "Caldwell Croft," "The Stockinges," "The Stocking Corner at the head of Lawnd Strind," and "Kinarsley newe peece" which adjoins "The newe peece Ditch." These inclosures may be referred to by 38/1 in the phrase "the severall of Kynnersley wythin Wyldmore" which is written just in the area where these meadows would come, and by 38/9 when it says "these be several pastures to Keneysey." In any case they appear to have been inclosed before the end of the sixteenth century, and probably before 1570.

Rough Moor

Wrockwardine, Eyton, Kinnersley, Wappenshall, and Preston all had common rights in Rough Moor, which 38/1 and 38/8 show as the only wooded portion of the waste. It reached from Sleapford on the west almost to Newport on the east, and in its middle stretch from the Strine south of Kinnersley to another strine north of Kinley and Preston.

The westernmost portion was Wrockwardine moor, though, as 38/9 makes plain, this manor claimed strake of cattle in the whole Rough Moor. "This is called the Rough more parcell of Wyldmore into the which wee clayne strake of common with our cattals as farm as Newpert." The next section belonged to Eyton, and 38/1 marks

the whole southern edge of the Rough Moor from "Brockton medowes" to the village as "Eaton severall Inclosurys." These inclosures from the waste are confirmed by 38/9, which describes a square in its south-east corner as a noke "supposed parcel of Eyton more" and a strip nearby as "Eyton pastures several." 38/6 also shows inclosures here. Next to these on 38/1 are "Wapensall Inclosurys," lying west of Wappenshall's cattle drive to the moor. This part of Rough Moor ended at the "Brode Oke" drawn on 38/1 and 38/9, and marked on the 1833 O.S. map as Parson's Oak. The newly cut Black Dyke (made between 1565 and 1579) nearby proved a more effective boundary. To the east of it the moor divided into a northern strip belonging to Kinnersley and a southern strip shared between Wappenshall and Preston. The Kinnersley portion is said to have been inclosed before 1580 "here Betwext thys dyke and Botre hows Mr. luson hath Inclosed nere all " (38/1); and these are probably the inclosures roughly shown, a little too far north, on 38/6. This part of the Rough Moor must be the part of Wildmore "between the new dytche and Buttrey ground" which Richard Penson of Lilleshall assigned to Roger Kaye of Muckleston husbandman for the remainder of his lease in 1595 (38/182); and if so, it confirms 38/1 that the allotment of this waste had been made some little time by 1595.

According to 38/1 and 38/6, the wooded part of the moor¹ came to an end a little east of a line from Buttrey Farm, and none of the maps have much to say about the progress of inclosure in this eastern zone. The whole southern edge of the moor from Lilleshall to Newport is shown as inclosed on 38/6, while 38/1 vaguely suggests "closys" at Chersall. The largest fenced area in the whole moors was the park at Lubstree, which 38/1 draws as completely inclosed in a pale. This park goes back to the thirteenth century, when the canons of Wombridge Priory were confirmed in possession of their park and stank at Lubstree,² and it seems to have been disparked and divided into holdings about 1590–1595. No sign of the park is found on 38/6, and in 1595 Sir Walter Leveson granted

¹Plaxton says "I have been assured by aged people that all the wild moors were formerly so far overgrown by rubbish wood, such as elders, willows, salleys, thorns, and the like, that the inhabitants commonly hung bells about the necks of their cows that they might the more easily find them." His informants, being Kinnersley people, presumably referred to the Rough moor.

²Eyton, op. cit., VIII, 258.

"land inclosed out of Lupstrye called fyfthe piece lying between Preston filde and the Homer brook and being parcel of Wildmore" (38/156). A lease of 1594 speaks of "land late divided" in Wildmore (38/173), and another a year later "land now being divided into five parts," which may well refer to Lubstree and its 5 new inclosures, though it does not actually use the name (38/179).

A good deal of sporadic inclosure was taking place in the moors at the close of the sixteenth century. This is clear from many leases just before 1600, in which named or more often unnamed meadows and pastures in the Wildmoors are being leased to tenants to be held in several. "A piece of ground in Wildmore" (38/97); "a meadow called Stockeinge between the new meadow and Lubstry park adjoining Donnington field" and "a leasowe called the New Hayes meadow" (38/106); "ground in Wildmore" (38/107); "a leasowe called Deerpe moore being now divided into several parts called the ware leasow and three meadows between More lane and Donnington Filds" (38/109) are typical instances.

Inclosure was also taking place all along the northern edge of the moors from Adney to Newport. "The several Inclosures of Edgemonde in Wyldmoore" are mentioned by 38/1, and 38/6 shows a strip of inclosure which must have been taken out of the moor before c, 1590.

Some of this inclosure had certainly taken place before the Levesons became possessed of so much land in this area. Elenor Clybery widow made a lease of Street Grange, Lilleshall, to William Hampton in 1552, and the entire holding consisted of the dairy pasture and eleven other "fields," all named (38/162).

Donnington Wood and Horton Wood

Inclosure was proceeding fast in this area at the end of the sixteenth century. Leases make it plain that Donnington wood had been divided into lots by 1592, and that these, consisting of "a quarter of a coppice in Donnington Wood" or "a parcel of ground in Donnington Wood" were being let by Sir Walter Leveson and Vincent Corbet, the joint owners, to their tenants. There are 11 such leases for 1592 extant and another for 1598 which allows the tenant "sufficient tyncell upon the same premises for the enclosing of the heymeade" (38/132–142 and 147).

One parcel is described as the fourth part of a coppice in Donnington Wood called the Springe, adjoining a leasowe of William Cartwright's called the Quampoole on one side and "shutinge along the Colpytt Way near unto Donnington Wood Yatte," with land of Edward Shelton on the other side. This description connects this Donnington Wood inclosure of 1592 with the maps 38/11, and 38/4 which also speak of "Dunington gate" and "Cole pitt yate"; and it is reasonable to suppose that the map of c. 1625 was needed when the inclosure of the woods was complete, to define the bounds between one holding and another.

Horton wood must also have been inclosed before c. 1625, when it is mentioned on 38/11.

Perhaps the inclosure of these woods was partly due to the economic value of the underwood, useful as charcoal to the developing Shropshire iron industry.

VIII.—THE POPULATION OF THE WEALDMOORS

The following table gives the number of houses per township shown on maps 38/1, 38/2, 38/5, 38/6 and 38/7; and compares them with the hearth-tax figures for 1672. Unfortunately 38/5's missing pieces prevent the figures for Crudgington, Sleap and Kinnersley being definite, and other townships which ought to be shown are not. The hearth-tax roll is also defective at some crucial points. The conclusion that seems to emerge is, that whereas the houses shown on 38/1 and 38/6 only represent townships of approximately the right comparative sizes, 38/2, 38/5 and 38/7 do show the exact number of houses when these surveys were made. This conclusion is confirmed by reference to the Sutherland leases.

	38/1	38/2	38/5	38/6 (c. 1590)	38/7 (c. 1600)	Hearth-tax roll 16721
Place	(c. 1580)	(c. 1585)	(c. 1600)		(6. 1000)	12
Wrockwardine	4 & church		1	5 & church 2 & mill		10
Allscott	2 & mill		_			8
Longdon	3			mill	_	9(?)
Sleap	2		1(?)	3		11(?)
Crudgington	1 & mill		7(?)	6 & mill	_	11(:)
squatter	-		1	***	_	6
Long Lane	1	_	-		_	9
Bratton	2		_		_	23(?)
Eyton	2	-		1 & church		20(1)
Ryton		_	3			4(?)
Wappenshall	3			22		
Waters Upton	2	_	10, mill,	1		19
11 C 10 - F			church		1	`
Bolas	1	10	****	-	11 and	20
20142					church	}
heath				_	5	1 -
Meeson	. 3	6		1	5	- 8
heath	_	_	-		3	_
Cherrington	2	13	_	1	13 & mi	11 (18(?)
heaths	_	2	1	-	2	J
Tibberton	3	_	_	1	-	16(?)
Kinnersley	2 and		3 and	3 and	_	7
rinnersicy	church	_	church(?)	church		> 25
Wall	1	_	- '	1	_	10
Buttery	î			1		ر
Kinley	î	-		-	-	-
Preston	3	_	_	12	-	25
Hoo	ĭ	_		_		_
Horton	î				_	23 ³
	$\hat{f 2}$		-	1		8
Adeney Lubstree	park	_	_	_	_	
Humbers	mill			_	_	
	1	_	_	_		} 39
Muxton	1	_				7 88
Donnington	2 & churcl	_		2 & church	· -	63
Edgmond	2 & church		_	1	<u> </u>)
Longford	$\overset{z}{2}$	-		ī	_	> 11
Chersall	1		_	ī	****	
Brockton				8 & church	h	148
Newport	4 & churc	ii –		church		21(?)
Lilleshall	3		_	1 & churc	h —	16
Aston	_	_	. –	i di chiaro.	••	= -

In most townships, the population grew steadily without any startling increase from 1565 to 1672. The law might forbid the erection of cottages unless they were small-holdings; but it also forbade the use of one house for two families, authorizing the manor

¹The Shropshire Hearth-tax Roll of 1672, pub. Shrop. Arch. Soc. (1949).

²38/6 seems to show a church at Wappenshall instead of at Preston. This looks like a draughtsman's mistake, in getting the places reversed; and in fact several corrections have been made to this map by the original surveyor.

With Horton Wood.

court to proceed against "inmates." The second part of the 1589 act was enforced more rigorously than the first, because "inmates" might become a charge on the poor rate; while a squatter on the common could as a rule maintain himself and his family. The new houses built between 1589 and 1672 were all on the wastes, and may be presumed to have housed one family only.

As the table shows, information is fullest for the townships of Waters Upton, Bolas, Meeson, Cherrington, Crudgington and Sleap, but there is some too for Tibberton.

Waters Upton

At Waters Upton there were 10 houses, a mill, and a church at the end of the sixteenth century (38/5). One house, probably intended for the hall, is shown a little apart from the rest. The mill had been there since the time of Domesday, and the chapel since before 1240, when Nicholas de Upton presented the advowson to Shrewsbury abbey. The hearth-tax roll shows an increase of 9 between c. 1590 and 1672.

Bolas

Bolas had 10 houses about 1585 (38/2); the church is not shown, but this map omits all churches. By 1600 there were 11 houses and the church in the village, with 5 additional cottages on the heath (38/7). This represents a steady increase in the number of householders, 10 in c. 1585, 16 by c. 1600 and 20 by 1672.

Meeson

Meeson grew from 6 houses in c. 1585 (38/2) to 8 by c. 1600 (38/7) but thereafter remained static: there were still 8 in 1672. Perhaps Cherrington's encroachment into Meeson heath and the early inclosure of Meeson's moor had reduced the amount of common too much to encourage squatters.

Cherrington

In Cherrington, the principal house was Cherrington Grange, occupied up to 1587 by Edmund Forster and then leased to John Taylor the younger, Sir Walter Leveson's servant, who paid £140

¹Eyton, *op. cit.*, VIII, 53, 381. Originally part of the parish of High Ercall, Waters Upton was separated for purposes of tax before 1341.

consideration for the 99 year lease (38/312). Seven other houses in the village were leased during the years 1565-1569, one tenant taking two houses and the rest one apiece. Thus we can trace six distinct families in Cherrington besides the tenant of the Grange. These were Roger Ibis and his sons William and George; William Broke, Elizabeth his wife and Thomas their son; William Bolas, Elizabeth his wife and Margaret their daughter; William Podmore, Alys his wife and her son Cherington; George Bostock, Amye his wife and William their son; and Roger Ybbe, Anne his wife and William their son (38/306-311). George Bostock replaced Richard Parlebyn, but the others had all held their tenements for some time previously. When the new mill was built a little before 1600, Thomas Bostock became the tenant and was still in occupation in 1604, when a fresh lease was made to William Bostock (presumably the son of George and Amye). Perhaps this is the reason why the lease granted two messuages as well as the mill, for lives of William Bostock. Jone his wife and Edward their son (38/315). In the same year, a cottage was leased to Dorothy Podmore (38/314). This makes a total of 12 houses known to have been tenanted in 1604 and one other house at least must have been freehold property of Thomas Cherrington, to qualify him for a share in the allotment of the Gawmoors (38/3). Both 38/2 and 38/7 show 13 houses in the village (one very small and chimneyless may not have been a dwelling-house) and 2 houses outside the village, Cherrington cott on the edge of Shrawe field and Dayhouse Farm (now New Farm) by Cresswell Lane. Five extra houses were built outside the village between 1600 and 1608, one below Cherrington cott, three between the Newport road and the top of Henney field, and Rodway Farm, which then stood below the field.

One of these new houses was probably the messuage occupied by Reginald Menlove in I610 and by Reginald Menlove and John Turner in 1631. It was let to William Bowles of Drayton-in-Hales in 1610 and his lease assigned, first to his brother Thomas, a London cook, then to Edward Tyther, citizen and grocer of London, and finally to William Brodhurst of Lilleshall. By this time, the lease had almost run out, and when it was re-let by Sir Richard Leveson to his servant Christofer Dodson in 1655, it was called the messuage late Edward Tidder's, and there was a cottage on the holding besides the house (38/318–324). Although Edward Tyther or Tidder never

actually lived on this tenement, he may have had some connection with Cherrington, for a lease of 1658 mentions a cottage in possession of Roger Tidder, blacksmith (38/325), and Roger Tyther was still a householder at the time of the hearth-tax roll. John Turner is also on the roll.

Another Cherrington tenant was John Barnett who in 1658 surrendered a former lease for 3 lives to receive a fresh lease (38/325) of a messuage and lands, including half a leasow on Tibberton heath shared with William Ibb (whose name is on the hearth-tax roll), 6 beast gates in Cherrington Hurst late in possession of Thomas Jones of Cherrington, Rodway Green, 2 closes late in possession of Richard Taylor and Gefferey Dawes, and 2 crofts nearby in possession of Widow Allin. As Mary Allin widow, she is referred to later as tenant of a messuage on the south side of the River Meese called the Horsemoor (38/328), and she must be the widow whose surname on the hearth-tax roll is missing, for she was living in 1673, when Sir William Leveson Gower granted her holding to John Walter of Cherrington. Walter assigned this lease to John Peake in 1684, and it later passed to his son John, and was reassigned to Richard Price and by him in 1692 to Walter Cherrington, who made it part of his wedding gift to his nephew Walter Thurstan and kinswoman Grizell Taylor in 1717 (38/328). John . . . (with 2 hearths) on the roll is probably John Walter; and one of the 3 complete gaps may be filled with the name of Walter Cherrington. Another Cherrington holding was let to Thomas Holland of Sleap in 1660. This tenement had been in possession of William Middleton, and now included some land lately held by John Hill (38/326). He may be the John H . . . and Thomas Holland the Thomas . . . of the hearth-tax roll. William . . . is William Wilkes of Cherrington, who in 1671 paid £125 for a new lease of his house and land (38/327). His house was a substantial one with 2 chimneys, in accord with this high entry fine.

The hearth-tax roll contains altogether 15 names or parts of names, and at least 3 lines completely missing. The head of the membrane has gone and with it, presumably the name of the occupier of Cherrington Grange (rebuilt in 1635). If John Taylor's 99 year lease granted in 1587 ran for its full term, he or his successors would still have been there in 1672. The same may also apply to the Bostocks at the mill, who had a lease for 3 lives in 1604¹; and to

¹The mill's tenant in 1721 was Joseph Chesterton.

John Barnett who had a lease for 3 lives in 1658. We may also have successors or heirs to Thomas Jones, Richard Taylor, and Gefferey Dawes who are all mentioned in 1658, and to William Middleton mentioned in 1660. Richard Taylor¹ is probably John's successor. The roll gives the christian names only of "Roger . . . " and "Isaac . . . " who cannot at present be traced and nothing is known of the holdings of two new-comers, Jasper Millington² and Randle Tackson. The Ibb family, who had 2 tenements in 1569, now held 3. This means that if we fill 2 of the 3 missing lines with the names of the tenant of the Grange (?Richard Taylor), and Walter Cherrington, supply the surnames of "Widow" Allin, "Thomas" Holland, "John" Walter, "John H." Hill, and "William" Wilkes; and presume "Roger . . . ," "Isaac . . . " "Jasper Millington," and "Randle Jackson" to have taken the holdings of Thomas Jones, Gefferey Dawes, William Middleton, and John Barnett, the information of the roll and the leases as to the number of tenements in Cherrington will tally exactly.

Tibberton

In Tibberton, we can also reconstruct to some extent the village from the Sutherland leases. This is important, because none of the maps except 38/1 and 38/6 show Tibberton at all, and the hearth-taxroll is completely lost. It is believed to have contained 16 names for Tibberton.

Eight families at least lived there during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. These were William Yerwood, Elizabeth his wife and Francis their son; William Howle,³ Thomaseen his wife and William their son; William Cherrington, Elizabeth his wife and John their son; Robert Felton, Sicylie his wife and Robert their son; Robert Podmore, Jone his wife and John their son (39/291–300); William Barker and his sons Olyver and John, tenants of William Butcherd of Great Bolas (38/296); John Howle tenant of

¹Richard Taylor of Cherrington married Elizabeth, daughter of Rowland Hill of Hawkestone, born in 1629. George Morris "Shropshire Genealogies" vol. III.

²A Joseph Millington had a lease in Sheriffhales in 1658 (38/233).

³The Howle family came of villein stock and had been able to pay considerable sums for their freedom in the fifteenth century. (S.R.O. 53/38, Phillipps Collection).

George Howle of Yoxall (38/298); and Margaret Podmore, whose lease was renewed for her and John Ward by Sir Walter Leveson (38/298).

Barker's tenement had previously been held by Thomas Cardiffé and was leased again to Giles Yonge, Richard Cherrington and Ralfé Sneyde for the lives of the 2 last in 1596. They were probably not occupiers. It is not clear whether Barker still occupied it, but he probably did, since no other occupier is named.

John Howle obtained a fresh lease of his holding from Sir Richard Leveson in 1634, for which he paid £45; and for the first time, the familiar clause restricting the "pleasure to digge delve and foark for pit coales lymestone and ironstone" appears in a lease (38/302).

John Warde's tenement was regranted in 1606 to his daughter Dority Warde of Tibberton seamster (38/301).

John Podmore (presumably the son of Robert and Jone) had a fresh lease of his holding in 1653 (38/303).

The increase in families at Tibberton may therefore have been something in the order of 8 in a hundred years, which probably meant that inclosure of fields and wastes had proceeded rapidly during the early seventeenth century.

Crudgington

At Crudgington, 38/6 shows 6 houses and a mill; and has arranged them in a way which suggests a village green. This is so unlike the stylized houses of most of this map as to be worth remark. Seven houses are drawn here on 38/5, if the building by Crudgington bridge is taken to be a farm house with red roof and chimney, and two outhouses with brown roofs and no chimneys. The corner with the mill is lost, so this makes the total 8. According to the evidence of the leases surviving, there were seven families in Crudgington in 1569 and at least 8 in 1648. The sixteenth century families were William Rowley, Anne his wife and Margaret their daughter; Thomas Felkyn, Jone his wife and Jone his daughter; William Buttrey, Anne his wife and Thomas Crompe her son; Margarett Cornes (widow of Raffe Cornes) and Richard her son; William Wilkes, Alice his wife and Thomas their son, who replaced Howell

Warde¹ (William Wilkes died about 1579 and the holding was then regranted to Alice Wilkes his widow, Mary Howell alias Warde, and Jone Coke); Thomas Vicares, Margaret his wife and John their son; (38/69–74, 77–78). Margarite Viccars widow and her daughter Anne had a fresh lease of this holding in 1648 (38/80).

New names had appeared in Crudgington by the mid-seventeenth century. Thomas Woode of Rowton had a lease for lives of himself and his children Thomas and Dorothy (38/79); and in 1671 a lease was granted for lives of Richard Wood of Crudgington, Mary his wife and Anne his daughter, but in the name of John Williams of Crudgington (38/91). Richard Aimes had a lease in 1648 for lives of himself and Elizabeth his daughter, and of Elizabeth wife of Richard Osburne of Crudgington. Osburne must also have been a new tenant (38/85). Robert Whilton of Crudgington had a lease in 1651, renewed in 1655, of a messuage late John Cooke's, now to be held for lives of Whilton, Margrett his wife and Robert their son (38/89, 88). Margaret Viccares was the only one of the older tenants to have a lease renewed.

This means that we can very nearly reconstruct the 1672 hearthtax roll for Crudgington, where the top of the membrane has been completely lost. It is believed that there were I1 names.

Sleap

Sleap was one of the townships where the population was static. Leases of 1569 (38/63-68) mention Thomas Cherme, Margaret his wife and Robert their son; Thomas Smythe, Ellyn his wife and Thomas their son; John Gerie and Marie his wife; William Browne, Elizabeth his wife and a daughter, about whom the conveyancer seems to have been uncertain whether she were Rose or Johane; Thomas Ward, Marye his wife, and Thomas their son, who took a tenement late in their tenure and that of Mary Browne widow but previously held by Howell Warde and William Walker now deceased. The Colfox family had been tenants of the capital messuage and farm

¹Howell Ward must have been an acquisitive man, for he had a messuage at Crudgington (38/74), a messuage at Sleap (38/68) and a lease from the abbot of Shrewsbury of Ellerdine grain tithes, which in 1520 he assigned to Robert Dycher and Thomas Both for 15 years or the abbot's life (S.R.O. 1/68). The abbot did not approve of Ward's activities, for in a 1534 lease to Thomas Evans, he stipulated that the messuage should not be assigned to anyone without permission and especially not to Howell Ward. (S.R.O. 1/72, Phillipps Collection).

of Sleap since 1515, when Allen Colroxe had a lease for 80 years from the abbot of Shrewsbury, which was still valid in 1579. Raphe Colfox was then tenant (38/75), and in 1585 Walter Leveson leased another messuage in Sleap to Thomas Colfaxe, Elisabeth his wife and Robert their son (38/76). This accounts for 7 houses in Sleap during the last part of the century.

A new batch of leases were granted in 1648 (38/81-84, 86-87), and as at Crudgington, the tenants were in the main new men. Godfrey Cooper, Lucy his wife, Thomas and Elizabeth his children; Thomas Griffiths, John his son and Anne his daughter; John Ward, John and Richard his sons; Edward Powell, Thomas and Richard his sons. In 1650 Sir Richard Leveson granted a lease to Robert Cherme of Slepe (presumably the son of Thomas and Margaret), for £40 and in consideration of Cherme's service in taking and killing fowl upon the Wildmores. It was to be for lives of Robert, Margarite his wife and Robert their son (38/86). The Colfaxe tenure of the " capital messuage called the Farme of Slepe" came to an end before 1653, when Sir Richard Leveson granted it to John Langley of the Amias in the parish of Broseley gentleman, in consideration of his faithful service (38/87). Langley's name appears as witness on many leases. His lease was to be for the lives of himself and John and Mary, the children of his brother Timothy late citizen of London. Thomas Holland of Slepe must have held another tenement here, though he is only mentioned in connection with his lease of one in Cherrington in 1660 (38/326). Arthur Powell, son of Edward Powell of Sleap is a life in a lease of Tern land in 1656 (38/90); so that only one more name is needed to make up the 9 presumed lost from the hearth-tax roll. Unfortunately the maps give little help. 38/5 has lost a corner here, and only shows the farm of Sleap standing by itself on the north bank of the river.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{A}$ widow Cherme had been living at Sheriffhales just before 1658 (38/232).

IX.—THE SIZE OF FARMS AND TENANCY CONDITIONS

These are best summarized in a table.

Abbreviations.—C=consideration paid for lease; y=yeoman; bu=husbandmun; gt=gentleman; m=messuage; l=land; ydl=yardland; a=acres; li=lives; s=good service; su=surrender of former lease; h=heriot; bb=best beast; bg=best good; g=goose or geese; hn=hen or hens; c=capon or capons.

	1	7		~			
Ref.	Township	Tenant	Date	Holding	Time	C	Rent
38/63	Sleap	Cherme	1569	m, i	80 yrs or 31i		Pa 1 ha 1 = 3 1 t
64	,,	Smythe hu	1569	,,	"		8s, 1 hn, 1g, h.bb 13. 4d. h.bb
66	**	Gerie	1569	,,	",	l _	13s. 4d. h.bb or bg
67	**	Browne hu	1569	mese pl,	,,,	l	17s. 8d. & 4d. in lieu of
76		CV		2 ½ydl	1		1g 2hn No h
	**	Colfaxe y	1585	m, l	3 li	£60	55s, 4d, 2g 2c h,bb
81	,,	Cooper y	1648	m, 61 a	99 yrs, 3 li	€200	62 1g 2o h hh 65
82	,,	Griffiths y	1648	m, 89a	"	£300	£2 1g 2c h.bb or £5 £5 1g 2c h.bb or £5
83	,,	Ward y	1648	m, 89a m, 29a	,,	£50	£2 lg lc h.bb or £3
84 86	2.7	Powell y	1648	m, 74a	, ,,	£50 £240	£4 1g 2c h.bb or £5
87	"	Cherme R. hu	1650	ın, 19 1 a	,,,	s & £40	£2 lg 1c h.bb or £4
		Langley gt	1653	m, 140a	11	s.	£2 No h.
70	Crudgington		1569	m, 1	80 yrs, 3 li		19s. 3d. 1g 1hn h.bb or bg
71 77	"	Buttery hu	1569	m, 1	,,	£8	16s. 7d, 2hn 1g h,bb or bg
78	,,	Rowley hu	1569	m, l	13		12s. 1g 2hn h.bb
70	,,,	Vicares	1569	m, 1	**	€10	20s. 1g 1hn h.bb or bg
79	,,	Woode y	1641	m, 1	99 yrs, 3 li	£470	£3 2hu 2c h.bb or £5
80 85	"	Vicears M.	1648	m, 64a	"	£200 £200	£2 1g 2c h,bb or £4
89	"	Aimes y	1649	m, 65a		£200	£7 1g 2c h.bb or £5
00	,,	Whilton y	1651	m, 56‡a	,,	£150	£6 2hn 2c h,bb or £5
88	,,		1655			P 6150	1 man in war or £2
91	"	Williams y	1671	m, 1	21	su & £150	C1 10" 01 1 2'1 1
		_			,	£53	£1 16s. 2hu h.bb or bg or
306	Cherrington	Ibis	1565			ļ	
307	,,	Broke hu	1569	m, 1 m, 1	3 li	***	6s. 8d. h.bb
308	**	Bolas hu	1569	2m, l	80 yrs, 3 li	£8 £8	10s. 10d. h.bb
309	1)	Podmore hu	1569	m, 1	"	1.0	19s, h,bb
310	25	Ybbe	1569	m, 1		_	12s, h,bb 6s, 8d, h,bb
$\frac{311}{312}$	"	Bostock G.	1569	m, i	3 li "	£14	54s, 8d, h.bb
312	17	Taylor	1587	grange, l,	99 yrs	£140	£4 13s, 4d, 2hn 2c h.bb
				2 p'st'res			A Id, Zilk Zo Mibb
314	,,	Podmore D,	1604	m, i	99 yrs		12s. 2hn 2c h.bb or
315		D41, 337		· ·	· ·		46s, 8d.
317	"	Bostock W. Bowles	1604	2m, mill	3 li	£70	54s. 8d. 2hn 2c h. "
318	"	DOMICS	1608 1610	moor	5 yrs	_	16s.
324	"	Dodson	1655	m, I	21 yrs		40s, h,bb
	"		1000	m, cott, 53a	99 yrs	£50	19s, 2hn 2c h,bb or £4
325	.,,	Barnett y	1658	m, cott,	,,	su	20s. 2hn 2c h.bb or £5.
326	,,	Holland y	1660	613a			man in war or £5
327		Wilkes	1671	m, 30a m, 1	,,	s £125	40s. 1hn 1c h.bb or £2
005				, .		£125	10s. Ihn 1c 1 strike oats, h,bb
328	,,	Walter	1673	m, l	2 li	_	£54, 2 strikes oats, 2hn
						}	2c. No h
291	Tibberton	Yerwood hu	1569	m, 1	3 H		0 111
292	"	Howle W. hu	1569	m, i	90 yrs		8s. h.bb
293	31	Cherrington	1569	m, I	90 yrs	£3 6s, 8d,	8s, h,bb 5s, h,bb
294	**	Felton	1569	m, 1	3 li	£3 05, 60,	8s, h,bb
295 296	n	Pedmore R.	1570	m, l	80 yrs		10s. h,bb
296	"	Barker hu	1578	m, l	3 li	£10	10s,
298	"	Howle J.	1592	m, l	10 yrs	£4	10s.
300	"	Ward & Podmore Yonge et al	1594	m, l	2 li		12s. 2hn 2c, No h
	**		1596	m, 1	2 li	£10	10s. 2hn 2c h
301 302	27	Ward D.	1606	m, 1	100 yrs	24s.	12s, h.bb
302	,,	Howle J.	1634	m, l	90 yrs	£45	8s. 2hn h.bb or £2
500	"	Podmore J,	1653	m, 30a	99 yrs	£150	£2, 2c 2hn h.bb
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X.—CONCLUSION

The evidence of the Sutherland maps and leases points to a very fair degree of prosperity in the Wealdmoors between 1560 and 1660. Improvement of waste and inclosure of both open field and waste were in progress, though attempts to improve the drainage of the whole area could only be on a comparatively small scale at that time. The holdings of individual tenants were large enough to be satisfactory economic units, and tenants must have been prosperous to be able to pay the high consideration asked (as on other Shropshire estates) for renewal of leases. Obviously they felt it worth while to do so. The farming population was being increased by new men, as a comparison of leases of 1569 and about a century later has shown; and they must have been attracted to the Wealdmoors by good prospects there. It is a mistake to think that any sixteenth or seventeenth century population was static. On the contrary, keen farmers then as now were alert for opportunities outside their own township or parish. The greatest drawback to life in the moors must have been the lack of good 10ads for marketing produce; but since most of the improved moors were bound to be pasture land used for cattle-rearing, the lack of hard roads was less serious than in a mainly arable district. One unsatisfactory feature of the moors in this period was the increased number of squatters; for as the commons became completely inclosed, these people were bound to find it difficult to maintain themselves and so drifted into pauperism. That problem, in part the inevitable result of an increasing population and in part the effect of the 1589 act which restricted normal cottage building, was destined to become serious in the course of the next century and the abolition of the squatter and his cottage was one of the nineteenth century reforms so strenuously recommended by Loch and his contemporaries.

THE LORDSHIP OF CAUSE, 1540-1541

(continued from p. 68)

NETHERGURTHER. Account of Wm. ap David, Ringild there.

Arrears 6/8 as at the foot of last year's account.

Assize Rents, $30/3\frac{1}{2}$ assize rents of the free tenants of Hopton.

Owen ap Griff ap Jenn ap Kethin, land once Jenn ap Jenn ap Jen ap Kethur $2/\frac{1}{3}$.

J. ap Jenn Gough ap Owen and J. ap T.—once Job ap Jenn Kethin 10/3.

Hugon ap T. Gough, Griff ap Jenn ap Merd and Dd. ap Bedo once Mathei ap Owen 17/11.

 $17/9\frac{1}{2}$ free tenants in Wynnanton. D. a. J. a. W. a. D. land once J. a Griff 22d.

J. a Lewis Port, once Rd a Griff, afterwards Lewes a Rd. 3/10.

said Reginald a W., once W. a. Dd 6½d. Griff a Jenn Mered, once Mered Deyo 10½d.

Roger a. Dd. Vayne, once Dyeo a Jen a Holl. 8d.

T. Rowland, once Howell a Guttin 5d.

W. Lyngen, once Madwra 19½d., once Griff a Robert 8½d., once
W. Howell 13½d., Hugh ap John a Madock 8½d., W. a Guttin a
Dyeo ap Jonkns 13½d.

12/3 Rents in Whitefeld. J. a. T. a D., once D a Griff and others 3/-.

T. Rowland once D. a. Griff 18d.

Isabell verch W. once D. a. Griff 18d.

Reginald a W. once Howell a Jenn a Gigneon 13d.

Roger a D. Goughe Veyne once Dieo a Jenn a Howell $6\frac{1}{2}$ d.

JaTaD? once Dyeo a Da Howell $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. The same John once Howell a Jenn a Gigneon 13d.

5/2 Rents in Bromropoll. T. Rowlands and Isabella verch W. once W. a Guttin $17\frac{1}{2}$ d.

J a Lewis Porter once J. Trenenemite 15½d.

Reinald a W once Rd. a Jenn a D a Philip & afterwards Ewenell videlt Richard 20½d.

Reginald a W once J a Guttin a W. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d.

12/- Rents in Hargrove. Reginald a W. for all his lands and tenements there 10/- and the same R. for his lands in Iperenton 2/-

- 20/- Of all the tenants of Crugion, Upton & Wynnanton for render called Portheanna Bagnall paid yearly at the feast of All Saints.
- £4.11.11. Rent of the free tenants of Crugion
 - Robert a. Rd once Llu a Jenn Wethe the lords (nativi) bondsman 3/1.
 - Do. for 1 gavell of land once Jenkyn a. Guam a Holl the lords bondman now granted to Robert & his heirs male for ever & for default of heirs male of his body lawfully begotten remainder &c 17/2.
 - David a. Reynold & Cadwalador a Reynold the lords bondmen for a gavell once Dyeo a Guttin's 6/8.

Their rent for land once Dykyn a Jor' 3/4.

- Jenn a. Reignold lords bondman once Llericke verch Griff lords bondman 3/-.
- Do. for $\frac{1}{8}$ a parcel of demesne land then called Dee Brue 15d.
- D a Reynold bondman for land once Owen a Jenn a Daywn bondsman 6/8.
- J. a D. Llid Vigh for a gavell of land once Owen a Griff a Sereid $10/7\frac{1}{2}$.
- J. Goughe once (omitted) Holl a D. Gough bondman granted to John & his heirs male for ever by charter of the lord dated Nov. 24 Hen VIII, 23/4: rent of the same J. Goughe for the ½ part of a parcel of demesne land there (called) Ydee Grene 15d.
- W. a Rd alias Goughe for a parcel of land called Kaye Llo-warghe late held by D. a Jenn a Dyeo 6/8. & for another called Garth Yrrondry 2d. & another once Dawyn a Medyn Boughe 12d & $_{\rm s}^{\rm l}$ of a parcel called Newlond 16d.
- Reginald Will a gavel of land once Owin a Jenn a Howell the Lords bondman 7/11.
 - ¹₈ part of lands called De Grente 16d.
 - ¹₅ part of lands called Newlond 16d.
- J a D. Lloid for a gavell of land once Guam ap Athar's 6/-. Sum £19 19. $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Rents of Tenants at Will.

- 30/— lands in Gruigio once Eagneon ap Rerid afterwards Griff a Robert let T a Griff Vighm.
- 4/4 parcel called Caye Broyio part of the Lords demesne here let to the same Thomas.

- 14/- Jenn a J. Bedo the lords bondman viz for a gavel 8/10, 2 parts of Dee Grene of the demesne land & 2 parts of Newland 2/8.
- 7/9 land once Bedo Cor bondman 6/6 & 1/8 part of le Grell of the demesne 15d let T. Lloid.
- 2/6, $\frac{1}{4}$ part of land called Digge Errewe 16d. & $\frac{1}{5}$ part of Newland let D. a Bedo.
- 6d a garden called Garthe Griff(ith) let Humfrey Lloid
- 12d a parcel of forest land let J. a. D. Lloid.
- 6/8 a pasture within the vill of Crugio(n) called Kaye Holl let T. a. Griff Richard.
- 2/8 a parcel called Place Cumlyn let T. a. Griff.
- 6/- a parcel called Place Maw Yollin in Crugio let W. David.
- 3/- land in Upton once J. Githin bondman let Hugh a. Griff, a Kethin.
- 8/6 mess: & appurts: once D. a Jenns, bondman, now granted to Jenn ap Llu & Gwen his wife & their heirs male for ever. by charter of the Lord of November 24 Henry VIII.
- 3/8 land once Cadwalador a Jenn a Holl. let W a Cadwalodr, bondman.
- 8/9 land once Holl a Guttin, bondman, let W. a Cadwalodr.
- 16/8 1 gavell, once Howell a D. bondman, now granted J. a. Howell as a free tenant (liba tent) & the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten for ever.
- 10/- land once Howell a. Gigneon & Malky verch Guttin bondmen, now granted by the lords charter to J. a. Llu(ellin) & his heirs male.
- 2/10 land once Jenn ap Holl ap D. Goughe bondman so let J. Goughe.
- 2d rent of 2 butts of land in Upton once Cadwalador a. D. let J. a. Owen.
- Sum, £8 7. 8., exceeds the particular (rents) by 3/- for which note the Rental in the Lords hands.
- Rent of the Mill. 20/- the rent of malt (bladifer) mill called Crugian Mille which used to be let to the Lords tenants then as former accounts show, was not paid for the reason given in the accounts of 16 Henry VI.
- Nor 100/- the rent of the Office of Balliff there because no one wished to rent it this year, on oath.

Decayed Rents. Nor 26/8 rent of a parcel of pasture called Eweru y Grigion or 6/8 rent of the cows (vacrs) let therewith, above the rent of this piece of land; or 4d rent of 6 acres of land there; or 2/- the rent of 2 acres of land called Berrynwich; or 10/- rent of 10 acres; or 12d for a parcel called Kot-Kay Madewyio; or 12d new rent of D. a Helyio & Howell a D.; or 6/8 for a parcel called Newlands. All lately charged together as 58/6. It is supposed that they are included above. Memo for a fuller examination of this at the next Mtio. [Manor Court].

Advocar they & their pledges are long since dead leaving no goods or chattles, on the Accountants oath. But in 21 Henry VI 17/4 was paid.

Sale of Malt (bladum) & Works. No render of 23/- for 56 quarters of corn rendered there yearly as the accounts of 21 Henry VI show, when it was sold at 6d, because it is included above under the heading "rents of tenants at will" see Rental of Hen VIII. Nor 28/6, price of 228 autumn works of 6 free tenants & 11 bondmen of Upton, 21 bondmen of Grewgowe, 18 tenants of Gwynhinton, 8 tenants of Hergrewe, 6 tenants of Whitfield & 6 tenants of Bromehoppell, of whom each of them must find one man or woman for getting in (inetend) the Lords corn & carrying it (ligand) in autumn for 3 days. In the account of the Bailiff of this office of 27 Ed III the price of a work appears as 1½d.

Nor 6/3 the value of getting (ingrt) 7 bushels of oats at 5d a bushel for the same reason.

Nor $4/5\frac{1}{2}$ the value of ploughing & cutting 9 gavels of land & 2 "percus" (parts) of 1 gavel of land worth $5\frac{1}{2}$ d a gavel viz for ploughing 4d & cutting $1\frac{1}{2}$, for the same reason.

Nor 6/5 for the sale of the harvest from these gavels of land at 8d for each gavel.

Nor 4/- the value of 48 works of hauling wood for the Lord from the hills (per Colla) for repairing the Castle, valued at 1d each work; due from the free tenants as well as tenants at will; for the same reason.

Sale of Woods with Agistment & Pannage of Pigs 25/9 the price of wood sold to divers people from the Forest of Brether viz:—Roger Loveley 2/- for 3 oaks.

Wm a J. for 16 faggots (virg) of "flott" wood 16d.

T. Whylewright for 24 faggots of the like wood 2/- & one oak 8d the tops of 2 stok welles 6d & one willow; 2 ashes 12d.

Wm a D. one "diceiss" beam 12 feet long & 23 thumbs broad 8d. Willogor [W. Gor?] for 114 faggots of flott wood 29/7.

J. a. Rd Barker for 24 faggots of flott wood 24d.

Rd. Pithanor & D. Coc 40 faggots of flott "wod"

Reginald a. D. a Jenn de Powes for a windfall oak 6d.

T. Lloid of Krew for an oak in Keyholl 9d.

D a Meredith for "Ellers & Mapulls" 12d.

J. Turner for the like 21d.

In all as above, as per a bill of particulars.

And divers pence of divers persons received for agistment, on their importunity & strays within the lordship in the Forest of Brethen, are not shown this year, for no such profits fell due within this period.

Nor any pannage for pigs in the Forests of Haia & Brethen.

Nor any money for Tak pigs. 13 pigs however are in the hands of the Lords Steward there until the time of the next years account, which is to be noted: of which 4 have been delivered to the Vicar of Albury, the Clerk of the Court, the Ringild, & Eart Ringild, as per the said Rolls. Sum 25/11.

77/6 perquisites of 9 Courts with 14/- for 2 heriots & 63/6 for amercements [fines]. And 3/4 the fine of J. Gough, for 3 pigs in the hurst, 3d & of David ap Meredith for 1 open place [in the hedge of the common fields] 4d. Sum £4. 0. 10.

Sum total with arrears £23. 10. $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Fees. Ringild 20/- p a by virtue of his office, allowed in account Senschals expenses for 9 Courts 11/-.

Money paid to Edward Ocley £21. 3. $2\frac{1}{2}$. & accountants fee 20/-.

There remains 6/8 shown above in the arrears of rent of T. a Gryff. a Ric for C. Kayholle because Griff was indicted & arrested for felony & all his goods and cattle seised by our Lord King [anno] 28 therefor this remains until the next account.

[Noted] "unde"

Divers persons among the [item for] perquisites of court [have not paid] the amercements imposed this year, viz.

Reginald a. W. for not coming to the Lords "bruend" 4d. & 6d. W. Lyngham 4d., 6d & 4d, 6d D. a. J. a. W. 4d, 6d, 4d, 6d. for

R. a. W. for not coming to mend defects in the demesne hedge in Peryngton 5/-.

LORDSHIP OF CAURS. OFFICE OF RECEIVER.

The Account of Humfrey Lloid Receiver of the Lord Henry Lord Stafford & Dame Ursula his wife 1540/1.

Arrears. Four score & seven pounds 16/9 from last years accounts as is shown at the foot of them.

Caurs Manor	£10.	11.	$0\frac{1}{2}$,	of John Purslow Bailiff there of the profits of his office, allowing 20/- his fee.
Caurs Borough		11.	0.	of John Purslow. Collector of the Rents.
Manor of Hoope	£5.	1.	2.	of John Purslow Bailiff.
Worthyn Manor	£14.	5.	2.	of Roger Draper deputy of J. Draper Bailiff.
Worthyn Borough		20	.10	of the same.
Mynsterley Manor		2	2.4	of T. Stevyns reeve for pannage of pigs
	£I£	5. 19	. 5.	rents.
Mynsterley Park	£4.	9.	0.	John Purslow Keeper of the Park.
Aston	£6.	3.	2.	Thomas Gittyns Collector of Rents.
Ballinat of Overheth	£6.	5.	0.	Richard Whateley Forester there.
" Netherheth	£4.	16.	2.	John Gittyns Forester there.
Forest of Haia	£4.			(not paid).
Haburley		4	6.8	Rd. Corbett deputy to Rd Mytton Esq. Forester & 36/-fee, total £4. 2. 8.
Overgurther	£12.	0.	$13\frac{1}{2}$.	Oeyn ap Enn ap T. Ringild there as by the Foresters account & 23/6 unpaid.
Nethergurther	£21.	3.	$2\frac{1}{2}$.	Wm ap David Ringild there & fee.

106/8 rent of divers of the demesne tenants in Aston, Worthyn & Brokton for pasture in the Balliffry of Netherheath leased to T. Gyttins, Rowland Parsant, J. Llu(ellyn) & others for 21 years.

21/- the value of an ox the heriot of T. Shrawley of Brokton.

100/- the value of the goods & cattle of Hugh Edwards, felon, who murdered Humfrey Corbett viz:—4 oxen & 4 mares £4 & certain grain 20/- as appraised by Roger Merideth & John David of Fenyngton.

25/- of William Lyngham for the old timber of one barn in the Borough of Caurs situate near the east gate there which is called Yate Tower, sold by the Lords mandate.

26/8 money received by this accountant for rebuilding a house at Blakelake for holding courts there. Because it is not yet built, as the accountant confesses.

60/- received by the accountant from the Bishop of "Cistern" for 60 oaks sold from the Forest of Brethen in 1539 as certified.

8/- received of Ralph Sadlar for 12 oaks sold from Crugyon Moore in 1534.

48/9 charged for money paid by Mr. Thomas Saull to Laurence Stele for his wages this year, because the Accountant has allowance therefor under the item of £6 paid by Mr. Saull to Jacob Mason as appears therein & by the Lords mandate.

53/4 charged by Thomas Gyttyns as received of the Reverent Mr. T. Saull towards the repairs made by him this year, as by the said certificate.

Sum total of rents and arrears £233. 10. $8\frac{1}{2}$.

Fees & Wages.

Fee of Henry Stafford son & heir of the Lord, as Chief Senschal of the whole Lordship at 66/8 a year, as granted to him for the term of his life by Letters of his father.

The Accountant, Receiver of the whole Lordship @ 26/8 p.a. but £2 this year, as allowed in the above account.

John Corbett, Constable of the Castle £4.

Humfrey Lloid. Subsenchal of the Lordship 53/4.

Robert Lloid. Clerk of the Lords Court there 40/-.

Hugh Fuller, the Lords Auditor (blank).

Thomas Holte, esquire, retained of the Lords Council, 20/- during the Lords will.

Thomas Bromley, gentleman retained as Counsel of the Lords Council 20/- at will.

John Purslow [& the other officers] (as before).

Sum £24. 7. 4.

Necessary Expenses with law costs & other outside expenses. Money allowed the Accountant for parchment paper & pumice bought for engrossing the Court rolls at 2/- a year. £2 this year.

The allowance for the expenses of John Purslowe his journey in April from Caurs to Wigmore to reply to William Gor's complaint, for having Adam Grace of Salop & Wm Lynghin complainants for le Brome Hyll & staying there for 7 days as per Bills signed by the Lords hand & by the Accountants memory 6/10.

Allowed J. Purslowe for pasturing divers of the Lords horses & divers [blank] in Bromehills 13/4.

- T. Stevyns, journey from Mynsterley to reply to the complaint of Wm Smith's wife about Williams heriot, for 6 days 3/- & money paid for examining H. Lloid in the said cause 4d & copy order 3/10.
- T. Gyttins for the expenses of Wilfrid Hyke & John Harper sawyers, for travelling by the Lords order from Caurs to Salop to testify with T. Stevyns against John Corbett son of Thomas Corbett of Wytton & returning 2/9.
- T. Gyttins expenses of a journey from Caurs to Ludlowe with the Lords letter to Mr — Haklude for a certain order between the Lord & Reginald ap William signed in November, 12d.
- J. Baugh for carriage of the said four oxen & 3 horses the goods of Hugh Edwards from Caurs to the Castle of Stafford in July 1541 by a Bill Mandate of the Lord 12d.

Expenses at Mynsterley Court 3/4 & Takk there for "ler drawing pigs" from Mynsterley to Caurs & for expenses of Court at Caurs & Tak within the Forest of Haia 5/6.

Sum 35/5.

Repairs. Paid for repairs for the Castle of Caurs viz:—
by the hands of John Purslowe viz:—
for workmen in the sawpits in Mynsterley 11d.
for 2 trescills to hold wood in Cause Castle 4d.
in all by a bill signed by the Lords hands 15d.

And repairs then made by T. Gyttins—paid—Holmes, carpenter, for work in le Squarrying of 10 oaks at the rate of 12d for so many oaks. 10/-.

Paid John Alcocke, carpenter for 'le Squarying for the lower chamber within the tower above the Castle Gate there by a contract made with him, in total £4; for wages of the stonemason (lathamore)

Paid John Gor & John Williams for taking off the lead there 3/4. for certain Slatstones bought 2/-; for 3 yorne pyns 2 hoopes 2 goodgeons & 1 hooke for le Gabulls 5/- for one pynne of iron for le Crayn 4d.; for two great ropes 2/- for forge (or iron) 3d sawpitts 8d.; for carriage of nine cartloads of lime [faded—from the] kylne 6d. & for gathering together & other expenses. of divers persons in carrying the rubble and dross out of the Castle gate to several places 6/9. In all as by a Bill of Particulars £6 2. 9.

Money paid by the Accountant for repairs there this year

Richard Corbett of Wallope for making a lyme kylne 20d.

The costs & expenses of Stephen Mason 8d.—Ancoke 12d. for coming to Cause Castle 20d. In all 3/4.

Paid Mr. Thomas Saull, clerk, for repairs on the Castle viz for making a new house for holding the Lords Court situate in le Barbycan at the Castle bridge 15/7.

Repairing & amending the great turrit before the gate viz:—
in wages to John Alcock & other carpenters working there in
making the topmost part called le highe Roofe five lawers
& one craeyn & 2 great windows £4.

Wages of divers persons labouring there £6 14. 0.

Wages of James (Jacobi) Mason & other masons in mending divers places £6.

For glazing divers windows in the same tower 34/9.

Wages of plumbers workers in covering the said great tower 47/4.

Wages of Thomas Cowpe and other workers in making lime & for the carriage of the same 49/8. & for the like paid Mr. Thomas Saull, with provisions already in the Castle, in superintending the said works. $72/9\frac{1}{2}$.

In all as appears by a paper on behalf of the Lord.

For divers repairs made this year by Thomas Gyttins viz:—for wages of a sawyer (sarrator) & for old timber there for the said repairs £4. 5. 9.

To the accountant for making two houses within the Forest of Haia of which one house lies in the field called Wynston Feld & the other at Black Lake as allowed by the Lords Mandate 40/-.

And for 8 pairs of gymmars for les casements 16d.; for 7 claspes 4d & 14 staples for the same & for half a hundred great Tenterhooks 3d. In all as certified by Thomas Picto on this account 22d.

Sum £41. 6. 4\frac{1}{2}.

Moneys paid to the hands of Thomas Picto the Lords Cofferer for the arrears of divers persons viz :-

by the hands of John Jayms for his Fine 18/8.

John Purslow, Bailiff of the Manor of Caurs, the Manor of Hope & Keeper of Mynsterley Park £9, 14, 10½.

John Bough, collector of the Rents of the Borough of Caurs 13/6. Thomas Stevyns, Reeve of Mynsterley £8. 2. 9.

T. Gyttins collector of the Rents of Aston 57/10.

T. ap David Lloid, Ringild of Overgurther £11 13. 1.

W. ap D, Ringild of Nethergurther £13. 11. 1½d.

Rd. Maydow for certain bark (cortic) 50/-.

Edward Ocley & W ap D for the Forest of Haia 70/- & by the accountant 22/10 in all, by the Recognisance of Thomas Picto £55. 0. 20d.

The like money from divers ministers [officers] in payment of their excise [profits] to Thomas Pieto viz :-

by the hands of J. Purslow £11. 10. $6\frac{1}{2}$, J. Draper £8. 18. 0. T. Stevyns £8. 4. 4. Rd. Whatley 64/10. J. Gyttins 42/10. Corbett 46/8. Wm ap David £16 3. 2½. Mr. T. Saull clerk £11. 7. $10\frac{1}{2}$. In all £61 18, $2\frac{1}{2}$.

Money paid into the Lords hands. The price of 4 oxen & 3 horses goods of Hugh Edwards felon, by Wm. Lyngham & 25/- for old timber sold by him £4 15. 0.

Total allowances and payments £149 4.0; and £44.6.8½ is owing, out of which 43/4 is allowed for money paid by Mr. T. Saull to T. Gyttins towards his repairs at Caurs Castle allowed above at £4. 5. 11. [leaving] £41 13. $4\frac{1}{2}$ owing. of which:—

Francis Lynghin late Bailiff of the Borough of Caurs for arrears in 1535-6 4. 2.

Griffith Permos' & Rd ap T. farmers of 2 pastures called Byrgains Knott (6/8) & Byrchyn Hillond in the Forest of Netherheth arrears for 1532

13. 4.

Reginald ap William farmer of the Forest of Haia 1535-7 72. 0.

Dio ap Jenn Gor & J ap James the sureties of John Porter for the 10th part of his hearth in the Lords Forest 53. 8.

T. a D. Lloid Ringild of Overgurther beyond £11. 13. 1 paid T. Pieto 66. 3.

Philip ap D. a Bedw for an amercement charged among the	
perquisites of Overgurther Court for divers causes &	
arears, in 1539	100/-
Rd. Maydow & W. Berde for certain cords of hollys bought	
by them, above 40/- paid T. Picto.	100/-
Eymond ap Cador & Cador a Owen a J. sureties of Reginald	
a Cador for the heriot of Cador a Edward father of	
Reginald for his lands & tenements in the vill of	
Baugheldre in the Lordship of Caurs, as in Overgurther	
Court Roll in 1539	7/-
The tenants of Wynnington for amercements charged in	
the Court roll of Netherheth for default of suit of Court,	
1539	6/8
Edward Ocley & W. a. D farmers of the Forest of Haia last	
year & two years before that, beyond 41/4 paid last year	
w 10/ this your	6. 8. 8.
Rd Corbet deputy of Rd Mytton, arrears for Haberley	201
Forest	36/-
Owin a Jenn a T. Ringild of Overgurther	23/11
The Accountant himself, farmer of the Forest of Haia,	
arrears	£4
Thomas Gyttyns, Rowland Persaunt, John Lleu' & others	
for the farm of certain lands within the Bailiffry of	FO /4
Netherheth, beyond 53/4 paid	53/4
- late the wife of T. Shrawley of Brokton for the heriot	
of the said J. (sic) beyond 10/- paid by the hands of	0.70
Mr. Saull	6/8
W. Lyngham for certain old timber (or materials) of barn	
in the Borough of Caurs beyond 15/- paid to the Lords	10 /
hands	10/-
T. Gyttyn Collector of Aston Rents	12/6
The Accountant himself for the years arrears	$59/2\frac{1}{2}$

FINIS

Notes on Causeland will be added in a subsequent Part of Transactions.

MISCELLANEA

SHREWSBURY IN NEW ENGLAND

Through the connection with Bristol certain Shrewsbury Drapers became involved in the early colonisation of New England and especially Maine.

Thomas Lewis, son of Andrew Lewis, Draper and free of the Company in 1616, obtained a grant on 12 February 1630 from the Great Council for New England of land on the north side of the

Saco River where he migrated in 1631.1

Arthur Macworth, a second cousin of Lewis and an apprentice with the Drapers in 1612, probably went to New England with Lewis and later secured title in 1635 from Sir Ferdinand Gorges to land on the eastern side of Presumpscot River and the island which now bears his name in Casco Bay.²

Two other sons of Drapers, John Prowde the younger and Daniel Cheshire, went overseas sometime between 1630 and 1650.

In addition to these more separate enterprises overseas, at least one Draper was involved in a corporate effort. George Wright, son of a yeoman and one of the most successful Drapers of his generation, died in 1636 leaving to his son "all his stock or adventure of £55" in in the Shrewsbury Adventurers to New England. The origins of this company remain confused but it apparently developed out of Edward Hilton's grant by the Great Council in March 1631, to lands on the Piscataqua River, near Dover, New Hampshire. Hilton soon sold the land to a combination of merchants, two-thirds representing Bristol and one-third Shrewsbury. The Bristol group dropped out in 1633 but the Shrewsbury merchants, now associated with Lords Say and Brook and others of the original Great Council, apparently stayed with the venture until 1641, when Dover, proving to be of little profit, was transferred to Massachusetts.³

Although no other Shrewsbury Adventurers are known by name, it is probable that the cloth trade furnished the connecting link between the two merchant communities. Certainly in Wright's case, he himself had carried cloth down Severn as early as 1617, and had met and traded with such Bristol merchants as John and Robert Aldworth, Andrew Charlton and Thomas Wright (apparently no close relative) who were all active in Bristol's overseas adventures.

T. C. MENDENHALL.

¹W. D. Spencer, *Pioneers on Maine Rivers* (Portland: 1930), p. 174; S. F. Haven, *History of Grants under the Great Council for New England* (Boston, 1869), p. 157.

²Spencer, p. 225. I am indebted to Mr. Walter G. Davis of Portland, Maine, for information on Lewis and Macworth.

³Spencer, pp. 73-79; Haven, p. 158, J. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire* (Dover, 1831), I, 17. For Wright's will see Somerset House Wills, 114 Pile

Wroxeter Summer School in Archaeology

A Summer School in Archaeology was held at Wroxeter from 6th-20th September, 1952. The School was organised by the University of Birmingham Extra-Mural Department and was directed by Dr. Kathleen Kenyon (Lecturer in Palestinian Archaeology at the University of London). The students were housed at Attingham Park Adult College, about seventy taking part the first week and fifty the second week.

The object of the excavation was to examine a large building south of the Baths, and separated from it by a street, which showed quite clearly on an aerial photograph taken by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph. The building which had been erected over primary occupation of the first century consisting of wattle and daub structures, proved to be constructed on a courtyard plan with internal corridors. It was very complex with several building periods and a further structure with an apsidal end had been added.

It was not possible to prove conclusively whether the building was a Public Building or a Town House and the excavation was left

to be continued at a second Summer School in 1953.

The pottery from the excavation was brought to Shrewsbury and a week-end School for sorting and drawing was held at Rigg's Hall under Mr. Graham Webster. Classes for drawing the pottery have continued during the winter.

EVELYN SLADDIN.

PUBLICATIONS

It is not a function of these Transactions to aspire to the art of book reviewing. The fact that at least a year ordinarily elapses between the issue of Parts must render any notice of publications being out-of-date by a considerable period. However, brief notes inserted here may perhaps be of use by way of record.

A publication of outstanding importance to those who wish to keep abreast of antiquarian matter contained in periodicals, monographs, etc., is the Archaeological Bulletin for Great Britain and Ireland; that for 1948-49 appeared in December, 1952 (Council for British Archaeology, 4/6). Its elaborate system of crossreferences allows of the utmost ease in searching for items required under the classifications of period, locality, author, or subject type.

The Preservation of Buildings of Historic Interest (Council for British Archaeology, 6d.), is by way of a summarised note on the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, in their relation to architectural preservation, which is often a matter of urgent importance in these times. The moral of this little guide is-constant vigilance and speedy action; and it contains advice as to the steps to be taken when there is threat of danger to such buildings.

It is a pleasure to place on record the publication of an interesting study in military concerns, The Lord Bradford Militia Documents, by T. H. McGuffie (The Kings' Shropshire Light Infantry and Herefordshire Light Infantry Regimental Journal, XVIII, 108, January, 1952, 1/6), which deals with the extensive series of documents of Lord Bradford, Colonel of the First Shropshire Regiment of Militia in the Napoleonic period, which have been deposited by the present Lord Bradford in the Shropshire County Archives. It touches on all the vivid minutiae of regimental administration.

This Society may justly take a reflected credit in the fact that 1952 witnessed the publication of three important works by, or under the editorship of, members of its Council. The painstaking transcription and research contained in The Lordship of Oswestry, 1393-1607, by W. J. Slack (Wilding & Son Ltd., Shrewsbury, for Shropshire Archaeological Society, 21/-), has been rewarded by the remarkable evidence, to be found in its series of surveys, of ancient Welsh custom re-establishing itself on the English side of the border. A History of Shrewsbury School, 1552-1952, by J. B. Oldham M.A. (Blackwell, 25/-), is a comprehensive account, which will take the place of a variety of predecessors, of an organism of many human and historical interests. In A Guide to the Shropshire Records, 1952 (Wilding & Son Ltd., Shrewsbury, for Salop County Council) one may begin to appreciate the wealth of material which has flowed in for the care of the County Archivist, Miss Mary C. Hill, M.A., as well as to take a delight in the format of the volume and its illustrations. These three have combined to make a memorable year in the study of Shropshire, past and present. M.P.

CORRIGENDUM

Old Deeds of the Shrewsbury Drapers' Company. Page 104 of this Volume. Sixth line. Delete: "his patent from the term of Easter last past. And the said Nicholas"

Substitute: "then individually in entirety in £100. to be paid

to the said Nicholas"

M.P.

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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 in parts, at half-price, on application to the Assistant Secretary of the Society. These prices are as follows: the whole work (except Part I), £2 2s.; Parts 2 to 9, 5s. 3d. each; Part 10, 10s. 6d. Part I is now unobtainable. 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, and of The Lordship of Oswestry, 1393-1607, edited and with Introduction by W. J. Slack, at fl 1s. each, post-free.

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