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SOME ERRONEOUS TRADITIONS.

BY J. E. AUDEN, M.A.

"Man is said to be a hunting animal. Some hunt foxes; others for fame or fortune. Others hunt in the intellectual field; some for the arcana of Nature, and of mind; some for the roots of words, or the origin of things. I am fond of hunting out a pedigree". So wrote Lowther in his *Curiosities of Heraldry*, (p. 292).

While I was Vicar of Tong, 1896-1913, I, too, was fond of hunting out a pedigree, not only of the families connected with the parish, but also of the erroneous traditions current in the neighbourhood, of which I found a large crop. And I tried to run to earth every legend I came across either in the pages of guide-books, the columns of newspapers, or in conversations with persons, and to discover their how, why, and wherefore. The consequence was that I acquired many notes on the subject.

When, therefore, I received the following invitation from a member of the Editorial Committee of the Society, I had only to turn my books, and transcribe what I had written therein. "I wish you would write about unreliable traditions. Though "there is no smoke without a fire", the place and purpose of the fire is often grievously miscalculated. It would be very interesting if you would go into the subject, and it would make a very good paper for the *Transactions*".

But how are we to account for the prevalence of baseless legends? Psychologists tell us that their vogue is owing to the working of Suggestion, which is one of the most powerful, habitual, and subtle factors in all our mental existence. By Suggestion is meant a process of communication resulting in the acceptance of the communicated proposition in the absence of logically adequate grounds for its acceptance. The tendency to yield, without serious question, to the ideas and opinions and persuasions of others is indeed universal. Uncritical people,

those whose critical faculties have never been aroused, are very open to Suggestion, and to absorb ideas from it. They are prepared to swallow all that they are told, without thinking, or asking themselves what it really means. This tendency to act upon, or repeat, the assertions of others is called Suggestibility, and when these assertions are false it is called Credulity. Such Suggestibility is due to deficiency of knowledge, and to the apparently impressive character of the sourse from which the suggested proposition is often communicated. This seems to be especially the case when the communicator "thinks he knows everything because he knows nothing", as the old Sergeant said of the young Corporal. Most of the myths concerning Tong Church may be traced to this latter source. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

First of all, however, I will insert a communication I received from the late Mr. J. H. Clarke, a former Tong parishioner, but then living in Surrey. He belonged to a family resident in the village for many generations, and was a very keen student of its history, legends and folk-lore, and a regular and valued contributor to the *Byegone* columns of the Oswestry Advertizer, for which his notes might have been originally written, though they never appeared there. They reached me a year, or so, before he was killed in a motor accident, on April 8, 1931.

TONG CHURCH. As there seem to be some strange inventions going about concerning this famous Church, I venture to give the following authentic information.

(1) There is no tomb to a Crusader. The last Crusade to Palestine took place in 1270, and the Church was built in memory of Sir Fulke Pembruge, who died in 1409. If he had been on a Crusade, he would have been about 140 years old at the time of his death. Yet I heard a lady, who asked why his legs were not crossed if he was a Crusader, told "oh he was taken ill on the journey, and therefore never really reached Jerusalem, so he could not have his legs crossed on his tomb".

(2) There is no "peep-hole" for lepers. No leper was ever allowed in a churchyard, much less inside a Church. The mediæval laws were extremely strict on this point, and the punishment for breaking them very severe. The three holes in the Vestry door were made for the convenience of the officiating priest, who, at certain services, had to incense the High Altar. For this two incense-bearers had to come out of the Vestry at the right point, and return thither when it was done, and the holes were cut in order that they might know when it was the proper time.

(3) There are no "precious stones" in the Bishop's mitre in the N.W. window of the nave. Those so called are pure glass, and are no more "precious stones" than are the "jewels" in cheap rings and brooches. All are made of glass, and consist of nothing but bits of coloured glass inserted in the sheet when it was in a molten state[1].

(4) American travellers are not guilty of stealing the missing brasses from the tomb of Sir William Vernon. An illustration of that tomb made nearly 200 years ago shows that even then two figures of his daughters and a scroll above them were missing. If any more have been taken in recent years, it does not do credit to the watchfulness of the custodians, and what evidence is there that *American* visitors were the culprits?[2]

(5) The story that the Pulpit Frontal, now in a glass case in the Vestry, is the work of the nuns of White Ladies, and was once an ecclesiastical vestment, is the invention of the Rev. R. G. Lawrence, Vicar of Tong, 1870-6. It could not, under any

1. When Mr. C. E. Kempe, in his day the greatest authority on ecclesiastical stained glass, was restoring the Tong East window, in 1902, I told him of this "jewel" fallacy. He laughed and said: "Whoever saw any precious stones of that size and colour? Only an ignoramus could think that for a moment". [J.E.A.]

2. Waller, in his *Monumental Brasses*, writes: "In Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, 1767, the engraving which illustrates the author's text is an undoubled reduction of the monument at Tong". When, in 1895, Mr. Mill Stephenson published his rubbing of this brass to Sir William Vernon, only the scroll from the mouth of the 4th son, and the figures of the two youngest daughters were gone. And only these were missing when I left Tong in 1913. If other figures or scrolls have disappeared since, it argues much carelessness on the part of those in charge. [J.E.A.]

circumstances, have been either a Dalmatic, Tunicle or Humeral Veil. Had the nuns worked the frontal the mottoes would certainly have been either Scriptural or Saintly Invocations, not family mottoes. The material also of which the hanging is made, is declared by one of the greatest authorities in Church embroidery not to have been manufactured till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it was introduced into England by the refugees who fled from religious persecution and the Inquisition in the Low Countries.[3] (A similar or nearly similar hanging is still to be seen in one of the Churches of the Roger de Coverley country, which was made from a ball-dress worn at one of Queen Elizabeth's masques). It was described in an old MS. book on Tong Church, which mysteriously disappeared about 1872-3, as "the Worke and Guifte of that most excellente Ladye, Dame Ellinor Harries".[4] Lady Harries gave it to the Church in 1629, according to the Churchwardens' Book, and White Ladies was dissolved in 1535-6.

(6) Royal Coat of Arms on North Wall. A few years ago visitors used to be informed that these were to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo, fought on June 18, 1815, and "the white horse the Duke of Wellington rode", was always pointed out. Is this 'cock and bull story' still told? The Arms were ordered

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3. Elihu Burritt, once American Consul in Birmingham, mentions in his *Walks in the Black Country*, that he visited Tong Church in November, 1867, and that Mr. Longstaff, (Schoolmaster and Clerk, 1851-71), showed him this book, and he saw it was full of interesting information. But it disappeared a year or two after the latter left, some unscrupulous person having purloined it.

4. By the kindness of Miss Rachael Leighton, I was enabled to send the Tong Embroidery to the South Kensington Museum to be repaired. Mr. Kendrick, the needlework authority there, was much interested, and said quite decidedly that it is *not* a part of any vestment at all. He considered it undoubtedly a "Hanging", probably a Pulpit Hanging, but the date was not before 1560, nor later than 1630. He himself was inclined to think it Elizabethan, and complete in itself, not a fragment. Mr. Kendrick suggested that the Sacred Monogram in the centre of the design pointed to its being intended for a Church, and that the Piece was originally made for a private Chapel. The cherub heads, the scrolls with mottoes, the velvet powdered with stars, and the clouds with rays coming from behind them, and especially the clouds and rays, were probably symbolical like so many Elizabethan designs. Mr. Kendrick considered that the Hanging was in quite a good state of preservation, and the South Kensington Museum Authorities had a photograph taken of it, as it was a very interesting piece of work. [J.E.A.]

at a Vestry meeting on Nov. 6, 1814, to commemorate the Peace of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the banishment of Napoleon to Elba.[5]

(7) There are no genuine Little Nell's Grave, or Little Nell's Cottage, for the very simple reason that she never lived on this earth in the flesh. She was born only in the brain of a very clever writer, and lived only in the pages of his book. *The Old Curiosity Shop* is fiction from cover to cover, though very attractive fiction, as all readers of it must acknowledge. As for the so called grave, years ago the sexton wanted me to find him a gravestone which would do for Little Nell, and which he could show to visitors saying it *was* Little Nell's grave. I declined. To my certain knowledge, her grave has migrated half across the Churchyard, from where it used to be pointed out, to where it is shown now. As for her cottage, the one pointed out as hers, can deceive no one, who knows his Dickens. He placed her imaginary dwelling "close beside" the Church, and, "hard by" the porch, while its modern representative is a house nearly half a mile away, from which it is absolutely impossible to see either of them.[6] Dickens wrote the whole of *The Old Curiosity Shop* entirely "out of his own head". I hereby challenge anyone, who doubts this, to explain who told the writer all the details of the pilgrimage, and when, and where. I affirm he did not make his two characters follow an itinerary

5. Minutes of Vestry meeting

1814. Received of George Jellicoe, Esquire, of Little Chatwell, for the admittance of his uncle, the late George Jellicoe, Esquire, to be buried in the Church at Tong £10 os. od.

1814. Nov. 6. The accounts seen and allowed by us, first deducting the ten Pounds received of Mr. Jellicoe, which is given by the Rev. Dr. Muckleston to pay for the King's Arms in stone to be put up in the church. It was also ordered that the Ch. wardens do apply to the Artificial Stone Manufactury, Lambeth, for the King's Arms, to be erected in a conspicuous place in the Church. [They cost altogether £73.16s.5d., made up of Arms £65.3s.od., carriage from London £3.12s.4d.; expenses for putting them up £5.0.0., postage of letter from London 1s.1d.] J.E.A.

6. Dickens speaks of two small dwellings "with sunken windows and oaken doors hastening to decay, empty and desolate", as hard by the church, and the subsequent homes of the Schoolmaster and the travellers. But beyond the ruined wall, seen to-day, there were no such buildings there in 1832. The Charity Commission report of Oct. 1820, states that shortly after Mr. George Durant came into the property, which he bought in 1764, he pulled down the old college almhouses, and erected others in their place in another part of the parish. [J.E.A.]

exact in direction, locality and mileage, such as we find on an Ordnance Map. For instance it would be very quick walking for a child and an old man to reach Warwick on the evening of the fourth day after leaving London, and very slow travelling for a large waggon to take two nights and a day to traverse the 10 miles between Wolverhampton and Shifnal. The novelist was not writing a guide-book but an imaginary journey, for which the framework was his own coach-ride of November, 1838, from London to Shrewsbury and Chester. But it was only the framework, which he filled in to suit the plan of his tale. So we must not press for accurate detail as to places, but must remember that it is only a general outline, and not a geographical treatise. Writing the story in distant London, he made use of scenes which stood out in his memory, and his retentive mind did not fail him in the salient features of the towns through which his coach had passed, but he also filled in subordinate details which he considered improvements to his mental pictures. And the village where he describes the last resting place of his child-heroine, might be that of any of hundreds of villages in England, though Tong has been chosen for some unintelligible reason. There is not one scrap of evidence that he ever saw the place till long after the successful issue of his book in 1840. J. H. CLARKE.

Here follow some of my own remarks on erroneous traditions which I came across in Tong and its immediate neighbourhood.

This is from the *Birmingham Weekly Post* of Feb. 24, 1923, in an article signed by J.H. and styled "Neglected Places of Interest on the Borderland of Birmingham" :—

"Albrighton and Donnington (*sic*) churches stand almost opposite each other near a considerable sheet of water, and tradition explains their proximity. Two sisters, very wealthy, very jealous of each other's attainments, and very pious, discussed the question of building (or rebuilding,) a church for the parish of Albrighton. They considered many plans but could agree upon nothing. Finally they quarrelled, and one sister set about the work on her own account. Whereupon the second in the spirit of rivalry built a new church for Donnington (*sic*) as near to her sister's as she could".

This tradition is a comparatively modern one. For it was first introduced into the neighbourhood by the late Rev. H. G. de Bunsen, Rector of Donington. Being repeatedly asked why his church had been built so near that of Albrighton, he fell back on the above story, known in several other places of several other churches, and facetiously suggested it might supply an answer. Of course he, as a keen archæologist, knew well it could not really be the case, the dates of the two buildings being so different. But it served to satisfy ignorant enquirers, and, much to his astonishment, became a local legend. This authorship was ascribed to Mr. de Bunsen by his son-in-law, the Rev. W. A. Sheringham, who succeeded him at Donington, and by Mr. Daniel Jones, of Kilsall Hall, when I asked them to account for the tradition.

Mr. de Bunsen was also credited by them with the importation of a fable, which is also known elsewhere in similar terms. He was asked why his church had till recently only two bells while the much smaller building of Boningale had three. He asked in reply if his questioner had ever considered that originally each church might have had two bells, but the Donington people thought they would 'go one better' and have three. So they ordered another. But the Boningale parishioners intercepted it on its way from the foundry and hung it in their own steeple. There it remained, for peaceable Donington did not choose to have recourse to violence for its recovery. Another application of a legend from elsewhere to explain a local fact.

The Gazebo on the wall by the Convent Lodge drive to Tong Castle seems to have attracted the attention of reporters hovering in the neighbourhood during the time the Royal Honeymoon was being spent at Weston Hall. Here follows the absurd piffle which appeared in two papers which I saw, and similar notes may have been made in other publications.

(1) "The Silent Rostrum, a quaint relic, that speaks of earlier days, when religious practices differed from those of today, is to be seen in the decaying wall of Tong Castle. Perched

on this stone wall, which surrounds the castle grounds, is a quaint stone pulpit of picturesque design. The origin of this lonely preaching place is unknown".

(2) The following is from the *Yorkshire Weekly Post* of May 24, 1924. "The name of Richard Baxter is eternally recalled by the stone pulpit which surmounts the wall of Tong Castle. In Baxter's earlier days the Five Mile Act was in force. Whether or no this fact accounts for the existence of the outdoor pulpit on the boundary wall of Tong Castle I cannot say. It seems not improbable. Baxter could in the evening sunshine, preach from his stone pulpit to the clustering rustics of Tong, Albrighton and Codsall, without contravening the Five Mile Act. The elegant stone pulpit from which Richard Baxter preached is not far from the lodge gates of Tong Castle. In bas relief are representations of the castle as seen from different points of its lodge and its stone pulpit".

How utterly foolish these statements are is easily seen. Richard Baxter died on Dec. 8, 1691, and the "pulpit" and wall were not built till 1821, that is, 130 years after his death. How then could he preach from it? The bas reliefs also represent the Castle erected after 1764, and standing in 1821, and not of the building existing in 1691, and removed in 1764. Whoever therefore first connected Baxter's name with the erection was an ignorant illiterate.

The wall on which the 'gazebo' stands, bears a tablet with the inscription "Posteritati sacrum impensis Geo. Durant Ar. 1821". The old coach road then ran close to the wall, and over the old bridge, through the Kilsall Hall grounds where it may yet be traced, and the gazebo on the wall was intended for Mr. Durant to sit in, and speak to any friends who might be passing by along the highway on horseback or on foot. This structure was always known locally as the "Squire's", or "The Castle," "Summer House", the term "Pulpit" being a modern importation. There was, till about 1890, an exactly similar erection at Tong Norton, on the wall near the brook, but it was removed as dangerous. The whole of the carvings were done by John Vaughan, the estate stone-mason, and are very skilful work for a local craftsman. The wall, by the bye, does not surround even a small part of the Castle grounds.

The Convent Lodge to the "Grand Drive" to Tong Castle was so called simply because the woman who kept the gate was obliged to dress as a nun when on duty, according to one of Mr. Durant's fanciful notions. It had nothing to do with any religious establishment. Neither had Tong Priory, a misnomer given by Mr. Durant to a house he made by incorporating a new front with a building standing in the "Cree Orchard" in 1739.

At the back of the so called Convent Lodge are two bare and ruinous walls, part of a house called The Hermitage. This was once the abode of a man named Charles Evans, whose burial is thus entered in the Register :—

1822. Sept. 27. Charles Evans, the Hermitage, aged 60, buried.

The Overseers' Book has "For Feching the Doctor to the Hurmet, 1s. 0d." ; while the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of Oct., 1822, says :— "Shropshire. Died C. Evans, better known by the name of Carolus, the Hermit of Tong, where he lived seven years in a lonely and romantic cell on the domains of G. Durant Esq."

He was subsequently succeeded by an old Army-pensioner named James Guidney, or "Jimmy the Rockman", a once well known character in Birmingham. In his autobiography which he used to sell, he wrote that "on June 11, 1825, he retired to Tong Castle, the seat of G. Durant, Esq., who had offered him an hermitage on his estate for a residence", but he "only stay'd a month". When the Earl of Bradford bought the estate in 1855, the Hermitage contained 3 poles in area, and was let to Thomas Dean, wheelwright, for 10/- per annum, but was soon allowed to fall into ruins.[7]

The Big Bell, Tong. On this bell is the inscription "perduellionum rabie fractam refudit Abr : Rudhall, 1720". This inscription seems founded on error, according at least to the Churchwardens Accounts.—"This old bell lost its voice in the Civil Wars, it being then cracked by the Cromwellian artillery

7. Hermits were a familiar, though artificial, feature on many great estates. One of the Pendrill family inhabited a cave in Weston under Lizard Park, about 1775—1790.

that left such tell-tale traces on the Church's outer-walls", so writes one historian, misled by the inscription. But we have in the parish accounts :—

1635. Receaued for a peese of mettle w^{ch} was broken of the greate bell 1^{li} 12^{s} 8^{d}

Now this was seven years before the rabies perduellionum broke out, and there is no mention of recasting till 1720. But there is another entry which seems to explain how the tradition originated :—

1644. Paid to the Cananeere for the redeeming of the litle bell 6^{s} 0^{d}.

By the laws of war the bells of any place captured after the refusal of a summons to surrender were forfeited to the Master of Artillery. But the Churchwardens were permitted to redeem them.

Tong Church, College, and Castle, were garrisoned by the Parliament, and in April, 1644, were taken by the Royalists under General Tillier, who reported on April 28 : "I beganne with the Church fourst, and drove the Rebells from thence Into the College the nexte morning after I came". The Tong bells were therefore forfeited. But the Cannoneer was a Royalist fighting unto the motto "for Church and King", so was merciful, and only claimed one bell and that the smallest, and only put a low price on it for redemption.

In after years people saw the broken "big bell", and hearing some remote stories of the attack on the Church, and mention of some sort of transaction about the bells, suggested that the breaking was done in the War, whereas it had really happened nine years before.

The Big Bell was certainly not broken by a cannon ball, for there is not the single mark of a shot on the tower, and only round the North doorway are there holes.

LITTLE NELL'S GRAVE IN TONG CHURCHYARD. Mr. J. H. Clarke is ansolutely right. There never was and never could be any genuine grave. For she and her grandfather were wholly imaginary characters, who had no real existence except in the brain of the novelist and the pages of his book. This all educated students of Charles Dickens agree upon; they all speak of her as his "creation". Mr. J. C. Garratt wrote "dear little Nell, the most lovable of all the great writer's wonderful creations whose prototype was Mary Hogarth, the author's wife's youngest sister, who died at the age of 17". Mr. W. B. Cooper, in the *Village Shrines of England* (1911), after speaking of the supposed connection of Little Nell with Tong, wrote bluntly "yet there never was a Little Nell".[8] When the late Mr. F. G. Kitton was preparing his illustrated edition of the Old Curiosity Shop, the artist spent a long afternoon with me at Tong Vicarage, discussing what local views he should reproduce (incidentally borrowing several of mine to select his pictures from), and remarked "it was a bit strange to use real places to illustrate a purely made-up story". We must bear in mind that the book is wholly a novel, a romance, and that all the characters in it are fictitious and never existed in the flesh. Little Nell no more lived on this earth than Quilp, Dick Swiveller, the Marchioness, Samson Brass, and his sister Sally, the Single Gentleman, or any of the other characters.

As for the so-called "Little Nell's grave", it was in quite another part of the Churchyard when I came to Tong in 1896. Soon after I was appointed to that living, I had a long talk with an old lady, widow of the late Clerk who had been in office 1872-93, as she was acting as custodian of the church, and she informed me she remembered Charles Dickens speaking to her one day when he brought over a couple of friends from Wolverhampton or Shrewsbury. I asked her if there was any suggested stone to Little Nell. She pointed out a peculiar one near the Durant vault. I went across at once. On the eastern side was the inscription "Eleanor Lee, wife of John Lee, died January 9,

8. My attention was drawn to this book by the late Mr. George Griffiths, Author of *A History of Tong with Notes on Boscobel*, who quoted with approval the statement that Little Nell never lived in the flesh, which had always been his opinion, and was now confirmed.

1817, aged 39", on the western side some lines beginning "Emblem of life". But I saw at once that only the very careless could be taken in, when shown the grave of a married woman of 39, as that of a young girl of about 12, even though her name was Eleanor, and I strongly expressed my opinion. Later on, when making a plan of the graves, I came across a small bare grave-space to some child of about 8, marked with a small rough stone, on which was scratched the single letter E. Then, when the Sexton asked me if I had found any stone "that would do to show to photographers and visitors as that of Little Nell", I pointed it out to him as suitable to the feeble imagination of those who must have some sentimental picture of a real object in their minds, even though it was only a "fake".

So I plead guilty to transferring the local legend concerning the grave from a stone with an utterly unsuitable inscription to another, which seemed to fit in better with an illustration in the book as passed by Dickens himself, and having no words on it which would at once demonstrate the falsity of its claim. But I utterly and absolutely deny having had anything to do with the additions that some unscrupulous individual has fabricated. Namely that the old grandfather overcome by the shock of Nell's untimely death, wandered away no one knew whither, and never again returned, but before he went he placed on her grave a stone which he had found in some roadside ditch, and on which he had laboriously scratched the letter E. Of course this is all pure and unadulterated fiction, repeated to awaken the sympathies of unthinking visitors.

There are also other arguments. Dickens himself dated the pilgrimage and showed plainly what year he was writing about. Describing the imaginary journey, he says "it was the beginning of a day in June", that the old and young traveller left London. Later on he tells the year,—1832,—the year of the Reform Riots, and the Cholera Epidemic. Travelling along "the strange black road" from Birmingham to Wolverhampton, they met bands of men "armed with sword and firebrand rushing forth on errands of terror and destruction, and carts filled with rude coffins, for contageous disease and death were busy".

The Reform Bill was introduced in 1831, but Parliament was dissolved before it passed. During the subsequent elections great riots and disturbances took place, accompanied by loss of life. The Bill passed the new House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords. This was the signal for repeated and more serious rioting throughout the country. But it eventually became law in 1832.

In 1832 Wolverhampton and the neighbouring towns suffered very severely from a visitation of Asiatic Cholera, the disease being more fatal at Bilston than in any other place in England, for there were 3568 cases and 742 deaths, and, as the *Times* reported, "so great was the havoc effected by the disease, that coffins were procured from Birmingham in cart-loads, for the burial of the dead, the tradesmen of the place being unable to manufacture them in sufficient quantities to keep pace with the demand for them". At Wolverhampton 193 died; at Tipton 404; at Dudley 277; at Sedgley 290, while at Shrewsbury over 100 persons fell victims. Truly "contageous disease and death were busy" and "terror and destruction" were rife in 1832, as the novelist describes.

Dickens published the first number of the Old Curiosity Shop in April, 1840. But there is no entry in the Tong Burial Register between 1832 and that date which can possibly be applied to the heroine of it. And no fresh schoolmaster was appointed to the village school in the year 1832.[9]

Also the description of the place where she is pictured as ending her days hardly applies to Tong. It was not true to fact that "the castle in which the old family had lived was an empty ruin". It was fit for habitation and inhabited till 1908. It is not possible to see "the far-away Welsh mountains" from the Church porch, nor was there a well underneath the belfry, nor any armour preserved in the sacred building, nor is there any "turret top" to the octagonal spire. And, too, there is no "distant water-mill" visible from the churchyard. Dickens

9. Richard Chesney, a Tong man born and bred, was Schoolmaster 1829-46, and had to make no long journey in order to take up the position, as the Schoolmaster had to do in Dickens' story. He was christened at Tong, Nov. 12, 1792, and buried there February 17, 1846.

simply wished to create a suitable setting for his romance, not to give a meticulously accurate description of any particular place. But admirers have chosen to detract from his skill by cutting down his powers of imagination and invention and holding him out as a mere copyist of actual scenes and persons. This is nothing else but an insult to his memory as a novelist.

The only reason why Tong has been selected to serve as the final scene of the tragedy seems to be because when Kit and the Single Gentleman on leaving their coach in their search for the lost travellers, had to take "a cross country road", which brought them to their destination about midnight.[10]

The local legend that the shots which struck the Church were fired from "the Castle Hill" at Tong Norton is proved to be baseless when the angle of impact shown by the marks, and the distance—nearly ¾ of a mile—between the two positions, are taken into consideration. In the 17th century the range of a musket was only 40 yards, and for a siege gun not more than 200 yards, according to the standard works on Artillery of that time. So from Tong Norton the shots would have actually fallen far short of their objective, to say nothing of their not piercing the stone so deeply. In addition the Church would be screened by the buildings of the North Farm, which then stood at the opposite side of the road running close past the Church. No doubt the shots were fired from the cover of the farm buildings, at the North door, which was the point of attack, as it was out of sight from the men in the College and Castle.

There is also a story that Charles II. concealed himself in the baking-oven of the present cottage of Hubble. But even a little man could not get into it, and the King was above the average height. The house also, as it stands to-day, is a comparatively modern affair. It was not there when the map of 1739 was drawn up, but was built during the minority of the

10. Charles Dickens was born at Landport, near Portsmouth on Friday, Feb. 7, 1812, and died at Gadshill Place on June 9, 1870. It is therefore difficult to see how a person who was caretaker of the Church 1872—1893, could have had official conversation with him. If he spoke to him at all it must have been casually in the village, before he was clerk.

second George Durant (1780-97) by Mr. John Bishton, who was then acting as agent of the Tong estate. In 1739 are marked a great many buildings which are now totally removed This old grange of Black Ladies nunnery had grown ruinous and dilapidated. So Mr. Bishton, instead of rebuilding or repairing, had them pulled down and the present small house built in their place, the land belonging to the grange, (on the map the largest farm in area in the parish) being divided between the Park, Offoxey, Holt and Meesehill farms. But, also, there was no possible need for an oven-refuge during the King's short visit to Hubble on Thursday, Sept. 4, 1651. Accounts tell us how he called with Richard Pendrill at the latter's home, when making his way to Madeley, and while Mrs. Pendrill was cooking the bacon and eggs, nursed the little daughter Anne on his knee, and chaffed Richard on his appetite, the supper being his sixth meal that day.

This "oven-story" is also told in several other places of the King's hiding in 1651, e.g. an oven is shown at Little Woodford Manor House, Warwickshire, as a place where Charles II. was concealed (see Danvers' Royal Oak).

There is, however, one local tradition which seems to rest on a very strong foundation—that Mrs. Fitzherbert, the morganatic wife of George IV., was born at the old Tong Castle, on July 26, 1756. Her father was Walter Smythe, second son of Sir John Smythe of Acton Burnell. He served in the Austrian army for about 11 years, and, shortly after resigning his commission, married, in 1755, Mary, daughter of John Errington. According to family tradition, the ceremony took place in the private Catholic Chapel at Acton Burnell, then the residence of his brother, Sir Edward Smythe. Here the married pair stayed for a few months, and then moved on to Tong Castle, rented at that time by Mr. Carrington Smythe, "a Roman Catholic gentleman of ancient lineage", as the Rev. William Cole described him. Here their eldest child was born, but the faith of her parents, of course, prevented any entry of her birth or baptism in the Church Register. According to the late Mr. H. F. J. Vaughan (*Transactions* pt. 1. vol. IX. (1885) p. 60):

"she was born in the Red Room at the Castle, having arrived somewhat unexpectedly during a visit of her parents". The midwife, who attended the confinement, was Margaret, wife of John Woolley, of Tong. As for the name given to her, she always signed herself Maria, though she is generally called Mary Anne. Not long after her birth, her parents left Shropshire for Brambridge, near Winchester. In 1775, at the age of 19, she married Edward Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, but he died at the end of that year, and in 1778 she married Thomas Fitzherbert, of Swynnerton, Staffordshire, who died in 1781. Lastly on Dec. 15, 1785, she was morganatically united to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., in the presence of her uncle, Henry Errington, and her brother, John Smythe, while Orlando Bridgeman, afterwards Earl of Bradford, kept guard outside the door during the ceremony. She died at Brighton, March 29, 1837, aged 81. I have not been able to discover if Mr. Carrington Smythe, the tenant of Tong Castle, had any connection with the Acton Burnell family, beyond being of the same religious persuasion, which would account for the visit of Walter Smythe and his wife.

On the Meesehill Farm, between White Ladies and Boscobel is a raised mound in the middle of a large field. Trees are growing all over it, and it is marked on the Ordnance Map as if it were a site of archæological interest. But there is nothing to show whether it is artificial or natural. It commands an extensive view of the surrounding country, and local legend says it was made by Cromwell to place his cannons on so that he could blow down the churches of Tong and White Ladies. Cromwell may be ruled out at once, for he never came to Shropshire. But the mound being within the area of the Boscobel woods, where Colonel Dud Dudley was caught training men for a Royalist rising in Aug. 1648, the tradition may have had something to do with this fight. As for White Ladies, it was already a ruin. As Mr. Allan Fea says on p. 15, of *The Flight of the King*, "the thirteenth century chapel and cloister of St. Leonard was undoubtedly ruinous", in 1651. For in a deed, dated 1633, it is alluded to as "the late Church of St. Leonard", and the nunnery was dissolved about 1536, and handed over to William Whorwood, Attorney General of Henry VIII., and the house to which the

King fled, was built some years before 1550, at the west end of the now ruined church. As for Tong, no shot of that day could have reached the Church from such a distant gun-emplacement, and no officer would then have tried to make it do so, and thus waste his powder. But because there was a ruined church, another pitted with bullet marks, and the story of a fight, they became all jumbled together into one thoroughly erroneous local tradition.

I have taken up so much space with Tong's baseless or semi-baseless legends that I can only find room for one more. When I was Curate of Montford with Shrawardine, I often heard that Montford Bridge was built by French prisoners who were interned in the old Foundling Hospital on Kingsland, during the Napoleonic wars. My knowledge of English history made me doubt the truth of the story, and research proved I was right. Official papers say that Great Britain was at peace with the world from January, 1783, to February, 1793

"Towards the end of the year 1782 a negociation was opened by the belligerent powers [France, Spain, Holland, the United States of America, and Great Britain], for the restoration of a general peace. Provisional articles were signed on Nov. 30".

"The National Convention of France declared war against Great Britain and Holland on Feb. 2, 1793".

So there was no fighting in the 10 years of 1783—1793, and therefore there were no prisoners of war to be had for forced labour.

How then did the legend arise? There were certainly Dutch sailors interned in the old Foundling Hospital, Sept. 1781, till they were repatriated in January 1783, but this building was bought in the latter year by the parishes of Shrewsbury as a Workhouse or House of Industry, and served as such 1784—1871, so there were no prisoners of war there during those years, and the bridge was being built 1789-93. Prisoners were employed but they were merely English criminals, as the following orders of the Shropshire Quarter Sessions prove.

1789. Nov. 6. Advertisements issued for the erection of a temporary bridge.

1790. Jan. 21. Advertisments issued for building a stone bridge, stone to come from the Quarry at Nesscliffe.

1790. July. Work done by "convicts" and for their maintenance paid for, and similar payments till Oct. 1793.

1792. April. A bill for "Bicton prison" was paid.

So the picturesque legend disappears in the face of stern facts.

THE 'GATES' OF OAKENGATES.

BY THE REV. J. E. GORDON CARTLIDGE, F.R.Hist.S.
VICAR OF OAKENGATES.

The use of 'Yate-Yates-Gates' in connection with Oakengates is undoubtedly capable of two interpretations, for as the entrance to a wind-swept valley, it fulfils the requirements of the Old English 'Geat' i.e., entrance, but as the place where several roads converged from an area where the old Norse 'Gata' i.e. roads, was in use, the derivation is much more likely to be Norse, and in that sense it is interpreted throughout these notes. The boundary between Saxon and Dane agreed upon by Alfred and Guthrum was but a few miles along the road, and both Claygates and Oakengates are found at the junction of roads in close proximity to Danish influence. For a correct valuation of the importance of these gates or roads, some knowledge of the site where they converge is essential.

Prior to the Glacial period, the valley was apparently cleft in twain by a formidable ravine, through which ran a stream of fair dimension. The coal measures of the smaller pits which have been sunk in the bed of the valley terminate in the sand of the ravine, which reveals signs of having been well-bedded by the stream. After the ravine had been filled with Glacial Drift, a barrier gradually formed at a point lower down the valley, thus creating an embayment which was fed by the stream (cf Dr. L. J. Wills—Geological Survey). The formation of this silt barrier was too great to have been formed by the stream itself, and I suggest that it was due to a sudden fall in the level of Lake Lapworth, of which the valley formed a part, when the waters forced their way through the gorge at Ironbridge. This would have the effect of a sudden rush of drift from the slopes which surround the bed of the embayment, and its movement would be arrested when the waters had reached the lower level.

At some period anterior to the coming of the Romans there can be little doubt that a Celtic settlement arose on the higher ground at the apex of the valley above the level of the impounded waters, for the name which the Romans gave to their settlement at the same point is obviously a pre-existing Celtic name which aptly describes the natural surroundings of the settlement, viz. 'Usc-water, and Cond' the embouchere of a stream with that water, a name which they merely Latinised into 'Uscocona'.

It is worth recording that at a depth of approximately eight feet, oak piles have been dug up from the natural clay in the churchyard, at what may safely be presumed to have been the level of the old lake.

It is of this human settlement and its approaches that I would speak, after a prolonged study of the problems which those approaches involve, and first of all I would call attention to the Celtic approach, i.e.

THE CELTIC GATE.

The existence of a Celtic settlement at the head of the lake does not depend for its proof solely upon the derivation of a place-name, it is corroborated by the existence of a Celtic road through the apex of the valley which, on the one hand communicated with the hill-city on the Wrekin and thence with Wales, and on the other hand with Pen-cruc and thence proceeded across country by way of Tamworth. Whatever the importance or insignificance of the settlement at later periods of its history, there can be no doubt of its importance in Celtic times, situated midway between the Wrekin and Beacon Hill. The Celtic character of the trackway or road becomes evident as we observe the place-names on route which have retained their Celtic character. Leaving the settlement which we will call Usccon, we leave the valley via. Quob Lane (pronounced locally as Cob—cf Celtic 'Cob' embankment)—through Hollinswood (cf Celtic 'Celyn' and Old English 'Holeyn' holly)—past the south side of the original hamlet of Priors Lee—thence by a sunk road through a field till we reach the Stafford Pit mineral railway line, beyond which the sunk road is known as the Dingle which terminates in the Stafford Pit spoil-heap—across a field

through which the old road has been destroyed, though still remembered by aged residents of the district—here it crosses the Naird Lane (Naird, derived from a Goidelic word for sheiling)—at this point a section of the old road remains in its original condition with trees on either side, but beyond an old cottage, it forms a raised track of the same width as the road, which crosses the fields direct to the end of Haughton Lane. By the side of this road, in an adjoining field, are several earthworks of a sepulchral nature, the farm being known as Blithbury (cf Celtic 'Blaidd—Wolf). Note that from Oakengates to this point, the road has been superseded by Telford's Holyhead Road.

Turning down Haughton Lane, the road continues past Knowle Bank (cf Celtic 'Cnol'—hill. It is so spelt in a charter of Walter de Dunstanville of 13th century date)—thence to Shifnal, where its course has been diverted, but may still be traced across the park of Haughton Hall, where it originally joined the road to Stanton—on to Tong—thence to Bishops Wood, passing Meese Hill (cf Celtic 'Maes'-field) and Offoxey (cf, Can Office near Welshpool)—on again to Kiddermore Green (cf Celtic 'Cyddwr'-confluence)—to Oakley— into Brewood (cf Celtic 'Bre'-hill)—thence by Somerford Hall to Standeford and Latherford, between which places two small sections of the road have disappeared (cf Celtic 'Fford'-way and 'Stan', ie, the paved way) on to Laney Green (cf Celtic 'Llan' with the existence of a Camp and a moated site in the immediate vicinity), after which another small break appears, but the road is picked up again near Cheslyn Hay at a Smithy, and then continues uninterruptedly via. Landywood, Brownhills to Wall and beyond (cf Etocetum and Luit Coet, names with a Celtic derivation).

This road through the apex of the valley, was first cut by the canals over which a bridge was erected, then bridged by Telford, who incorporated the canal bridge in the structure which carried his Holyhead Road across the valley and finally utilised as a track for the railway. The mineral railway of the Lilleshall Company is also laid upon it, but its course is easily traceable. A new inclined road was made from the town to take the place of the original Quob Lane, to which the old name was transferred.

We will now trace the same road from Usccon to the site of Uriconium beyond which it may be traced into Wales, but it will be sufficient for our purpose to treat Uriconium as a limit. Immediately outside the apex of the valley, in land attached to a Bone-works, the original forking of the roads still exists about 18 inches below the surface of the ground, with a hard metaled surface. From this point it proceeds via a section in a garden, and another section among the Pit mounds, to the present road through Hollinswood to Malinslee (cf Celtic 'Meillen'-clover)—thence to Lawley Bank, where a section is restricted to foot passengers by the side of a Nonconformist Chapel—it then crosses the road from Lawley Bank to Dawley, and proceeds direct to Horsehay Pool, before reaching which, it is severed by the Great Western Railway, but can be traced clearly on the opposite embankment to the head of the pool—after passing the pool, a diversion has become necessary in consequence of the building of a large private residence upon it—here it crossed the Wellington-Horsehay road, where it has again been destroyed by quarrying operations, but it can be picked up again on the other side of the quarry, and continues via. Lydebrook (cf Celtic 'Llaid'-muddy) direct to Little Wenlock (cf Celtic 'Gwen llwch'-clear pool)—here the erection of another house causes a slight diversion but it then continues round the south side of the Wrekin, where its original course may be traced through Spout Lane plantation and a private road at Neves Castle, until it joins the road to Rushton, beyond which it is continued by an old lane and a clearly defined track across two fields to a lane which emerges at the Public Baths at Uriconium (cf Celtic 'cond'-embouchere). The section between Rushton and Uriconium is traditionally known as Watling Street. Here it is worthy of note that when a section of Watling Street between the Basilica and the river was excavated by Mr. Bushe-Fox in 1912, six layers of road metaling were revealed, the lowest being separated from the second layer by a thin covering of disturbed earth, and being only a narrow trackwidth, which he described as 'curious and impossible of explanation'— may not the answer be, that it is the original Celtic trackway which was buried in the creation of a new level before the wider Roman road was super-imposed upon it? However, he states that it aimed for the crossing of the river where we reach our self-imposed limit of enquiry.

Such was the course of the Celtic road between Luitcoet (Etocetum) Pencruc (Pennocrucium) Usccon (Uscocona) and Wreconn (Uriconium), and we may well stop to enquire if the Romans knew and used it? The answer surely is in the affirmative, for the following reasons:—

1—From Etocetum to Brownhills, Watling Street is superimposed upon it.

2—Between Etocetum and Uriconium, are to be found three sites bearing the title of Castle (Knaves Castle about 2½ miles from Etocetum, The Castle Farm near Uscocona, and Neves Castle about 2½ miles from Uriconium)—four moated sites—two sets of earthworks—one camp—one place-name embodying 'Cold'—two embodying 'Stan'—one embodying 'Hungry'.

3—Metaled roads exist at Oakengates and from Rushton to Uriconium.

4—Direct communication with other Roman stations was obtained from Uriconium and Uscocona by means of it.

5—It would be essential for supplies to Uriconium before the construction of Watling Street.

The existence of a road round the south side of the Wrekin, the measurements of which would harmonise with the mileage given in the Antonine Itinerary, was suggested by Pennant and Dickenson in 1767, and was again suggested in 1936 by Sir Charles Marston, and these notes provide confirmatory evidence of its existence, and in view of the difficulties mentioned by Pennant and Dickenson, and the insuperable mileage difficulty of the Itinerary, it is difficult to evade the conclusion that the mileage of the Itinerary is that of this Celtic road, and that the stretch of Watling Street from Brownhills to Uriconium is of late construction.

THE ROMAN GATE OR ROAD.

At some unknown period the Romans apparently decided to supersede the old road from a point (where a road connected Icknield Street at Little Aston with Watling Street at Brownhills Common) by a road which would follow higher ground, and pass on the north side of Pennocrucium and Uscocona, entering Uriconium at its north-east corner. As it approached Uscocona, a watch-tower was erected on the summit of Red Hill, the remains of which were discovered during road-widening operations,

together with some coins which were unfortunately dispersed. The loss of the coins is regrettable since they might have helped to date this stretch of road. (A similar watch-tower formerly existed 1½ miles to the south of Vindomora). The site was at the corner of the field in which the Oakengates U.D.C. reservoir is situated.

The road descended straight down the hill into the valley, the present curve on Albion Hill being a diversion due to the increasing size of the Albion Pit mound, the straight course of the road on the hill-side has been verified, and it emerged at a point in front of the present Duke of York Inn, following the course of the present main street of the town and joining the old Celtic road at the site of the famous Bullring, the last vestiges of which are known as The Green. Within the area enclosed by these two roads stands the site of the settlement at the head of the lake and which until the industrial development of the town in the eighteenth century was known as the village of Oconyate in the parish of Shifnal.

There are reasons for believing that Watling Street passed through the northern side of Uscocona, for during drainage operations heavy masonry was found on the north side of the original course of the road, and it is significant that until 1850 a single row of buildings occupied the northern side of Watling Street through the entire course of the town, the rest of the streets on that side being of subsequent construction.

The construction of Watling Street across the valley involved many difficulties, for they had to cross the stream which was later known by the name of 'Spremgwella Broc' which fed the apparently much diminished lake, and it is significant that this point is referred to in Wombridge Chartulary as 'Stanford', now corrupted into Stafford Road, and then they had to negotiate the quicksands which form the bed of the lake, and are the despair of modern surveyors. This they did apparently by utilising the timber from the holly wood (Hollinswood) just outside the apex of the valley, as a foundation for the road, recent drainage operations having revealed the existence of this foundation of holly logs laid diagonally, with stones and gravel superimposed upon them, at a point where the road rises from the bed of the valley. From Oakengates the Watling Street

proceeds in a straight line to Uriconium, with two notable diversions, viz. at Ketley and Overley Hill, both modern.

Drainage operations which are taking place at the present time at Ketley reveal the fact that though the road was distinguished by the customary straightness, little or no attempt seems to have been made to overcome the rise and fall of surface levels. The surface of the modern road presents an easy and regulated incline, but the position of the sandstone base of the Roman road varies irregularly from three to over eight feet within a distance of 100 yards. A thin layer of grey and black beneath the foundation, suggests the burning of the forest undergrowth when clearing the track for the road.

Such was the Roman Gate or road which ran through the settlement, but there was a third road which branched from the Celtic road at the old village of Priors Lee, where well-preserved sections may be traced across two fields in direct line with a disused old road to Stirchley—thence it runs almost parallel with the Coalport Railway line to Cuckoo Oak passing near Brockton, Sutton Maddock, Higford and Stableford to Chesterton Walls. At Brocton the road forks, giving a line of communication with Bridgnorth, Kidderminster, and Worcester, consequently this road is known to aged residents as the Old Worcester Road, but it seems fairly obvious that its original destination was Chesterton Walls, and that it was joined in the vicinity of Madeley by a short connecting road from the Celtic road at Little Wenlock, thus giving communication between Uriconium and Chesterton Walls. It should be noted that this road begins in the vicinity of 'Castle' farm and its earthworks, is marked by two 'Fords' along its route, and terminates at 'Chesterton', with its great camp.

This road is clearly defined in Cary's Map of 1805, a perfectly straight road from Brocton to Chesterton, but I have failed to trace any road connecting it with the Watling Street from Priors Lee, and it seems fairly obvious that whatever the fate of the Celtic road after its supersession by Watling Street, such portions as were essential to the communication with Chesterton were still maintained and used by the Romans. Certain it is that metaled roads exist on such portions of the road, in the vicinity of Uscocona and Uriconium.

OTHER ROADS NOW EXISTENT.

From a study of the Chartulary of Wombridge Priory, it is evident that no roads existed in the valley to the north of Watling Street until after the Dissolution, the Hadley and Wrockwardine Wood roads owe their existence to the industrial period of the 17th and 18th centuries.

USCOCONA AND ITS SITUATION.

If the course of these roads is traced on the Ordnance Map, it will be seen that both Pennocrucium and Uscocona occupy positions between the two lines of communication with Uriconium and that the watch-tower on Red Hill commanded a view which embraced the Watling Street and its junction at Weston-under-Lizard, together with a considerable section of the Celtic road and also the road from Uscocona to Chesterton, while the Wrekin and Uriconium could be seen in the distance to the West, from which it will be seen that strategy played as important a part as utility in the choice of these sites by running water.

I will conclude these notes with a few references to Roman remains at Oakengates. Speed, in his notes which accompanied his Map in 1610, refers to Uriconium, Redcastle, and Oakengates and 'the finding of Roman coins in these three' thus implying that coins had been discovered here before that date. In 1767, Pennant refers to the existence of a Roman hypocaust at Ocongates. Thompson Walker also refers to the finding of Roman coins here. In an account of the development of the estates of the Marquess of Stafford printed in 1820, there is a reference to the discovery of the ruins of a building near Red Hill, the circular pillars of which were removed to the grounds of Lilleshall Hall. The writer states that they were claimed to be Roman. Heavy masonry lies buried beneath the approach to the L.M.S. Station, while reference has already been made to evidences of Roman road construction. The possibility of further discoveries must be restricted to rebuilding operations on any sites at present occupied in the main street of the town, owing to the fact that the original surface of the surrounding land lies deeply buried beneath industrial spoil-heaps.

I need hardly add that every available map from Speed to the latest issue of the Ordnance Map has been consulted in compiling these notes.

SHREWSBURY AND SHIP-MONEY.

BY H. BEAUMONT, M.A.

"For the people, I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government, in those laws by which their life and goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in government; that is nothing pertaining to them". The great mass of the common people of seventeenth century England either before, or during, or after the Civil War of 1642-49, would have found little cause for quarrel with these words which Charles I. spoke to those near him a few moments before he placed his neck on the block. They knew little and cared little about the means and formulæ of government. Such matters they were content to leave to the lawyers of the two Houses. It is even doubtful whether the lawyers themselves knew in 1642 how far along the road to Republicanism they would have travelled by 1649. True enough Parliament's claim to "having a share in government" had been growing ever since the first murmuring of protest had startled Elizabeth, and it was on this issue that the Civil War was fought by the upper middle class M.P's. who by the end of the Queen's reign were beginning to show the strength of their position. Nevertheless there was a wide gulf between the motives which actuated the Members, and these which moved the artisan and farm labourer to follow them against the King. The men of the Commons had not been slow to divine that a principle of great political importance lay behind the outward expressions of Stuart extortion, and they opposed those extortions for the form in which they were imposed rather than for the pecuniary hardship which most of them engendered. Not so the common people. They regarded the actual physical effects of Stuart policy rather than any constitutional questions which it raised. If James and Charles had given them by any means, constitutional or unconstitutional, a form of government "by which" as Charles said, "their life and goods may be most their own" they would never have left forge or farm for the

infantry of Essex or the Cavalry of "Ironside". They beat their ploughshares into swords because under Charles paradoxically enough their goods were becoming less and less their own. And because it was direct in its imposition the levy of Ship-money made them realise this more intently than all the other exactions had succeeded in doing. The resentment aroused by this imposition (whether the Ship-money was legal or illegal is beside the point) was widespread—and Shrewsbury's reluctance to pay was as marked, in spite of Phillip's[1] assertion that there was no hostility to Ship-money in the border counties, as that displayed in towns which afterwards declared for the Parliament.

Ship-money was first demanded in 1634, when Noy the King's Attorney searching for some means of wiping off the Royal debt of £1,200,000 discovered amongst the records in the Tower evidences of former provision of ships in time of war by seabord towns, and of their equipment by the maritime counties. How much this astute discovery meant to Charles may be judged from the financial results. In 1635 the ordinary revenue of the crown amounted to only £600,000, but Ship-money brought in £100,000 in 1634 and with the extension of writs to inland towns in 1635 the receipts were doubled. At first the writs were issued only to seabord towns, although the wording of these was carefully drawn up to avoid any statement that might provide inland towns with a claim to immunity. The first writ issued says significantly enough ".....And although that charge of defence which concerned all men ought to be supported by all, as by the laws and customs of the kingdom of England hath been accustomed to be done; notwithstanding we considering that you constituted in the sea-coasts.....are chiefly bound to set your helping hand".[2] The extension of the levy, as foreshadowed above, came in the following year with the despatch of writs to inland towns.

1. J. R. Phillip "Civil War in Wales and the Marshes" 1. 75.

2. First writ of Ship-money, issued to London 1634, 20th Oct. from Gardiner "Constitutional Documents" p. 106. The first writ for the levy of Ship-money on seaport towns only, dated 10th Oct. 1634, is given in Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 258.

In August 1635 Shrewsbury was called upon to contribute £456 10s.—a large sum when compared with the amounts levied on several other towns. For example Wenlock was asked for £302, Coventry for £266, Bridgnorth £51 10s., Winchester £190, Stafford a mere £30, Canterbury £300, Hereford £220. Only one town was asked to contribute more than Shrewsbury—Gloucester with £500,[3] and it should be remembered that Gloucester in those days was "a great, vast, old city wherein are xi churches, and a great vast minster".[4] The total demanded for Shropshire was £4,500 compared with Staffordshire £2,000,[5] Warwickshire £4,000,[6] Lancashire £3,500,[7] Northamptonshire £6,000[8] and Somersetshire £8,000.[9]

The amounts demanded from Shrewsbury and Shropshire were not so unreasonable as might appear from a hasty consideration. The sum required of the county does not compare unfavourably with the other county figures, especially when the wealth of Shropshire, to which its numerous castles and mansions bear witness, is taken into account. In examining the amount demanded from Shrewsbury one must be careful not to lose sight of the fact that although the town had lost something of that political importance which had made it the London of the west during the periods of border warfare, it still possessed in the seventeenth century considerable importance as a commercial centre. In this very year of 1635 one who was afterwards to wage a vigorous military campaign against the Shropshire Royalists visited Shrewsbury. This is what he says of the town:—"This is a very fair, large, spacious town, famous for that trade of stuff which is here maintained, and it is one of the richest towns in these parts of England, Newcastle-upon-Tine excepted. Here is a very stately market-house, a very great,

3. State Papers Dom.Cal.Vol.296 No.363, and all previous amounts stated.
4. "Brereton's Diary, 1635" Ed. Chetham Soc. 1844. p. 179.
5. Cal. State Papers Dom. Vol. 300 No. 68.
6. Ibid. Vol. 300, Oct.
7. Ibid. Vol. 304 No. 34.
8. Ibid. Vol. 304 No. 5.
9. Ibid. Vol. 304 No. 36.

vast brewhouse of Mr. Rowleyes, the brewing vessels wherein are capable of 100 measures; a well ordered Free-school—as well ordered as any I have found in England. This town is seated upon the River Severne, which is hitherunto navigable, though with much strain, force and pains, the vessels being hauled up by strength of men against the stream many miles. This town as it is very rich, so it is very populous".[10] The shock administered to industry by the Reformation had not been able to prevent the growth of a prosperity in the town which at the beginning of the seventeenth century was remarkable.[11] Trade had been growing ever since the Welsh wars had ceased, especially trade in wool, the "stuff" of which Brereton speaks. By 1633 Shrewsbury had gained the monopoly of the Welsh cloth trade having successfully staved off the challenge from Oswestry.[12]

It is not then surprising that so rich a town should be confronted with an unusually heavy writ, nor that it should have to bear the chief burden of the County total. Of the other corporate towns Wenlock, as has been noticed, was assessed at £302 and Bridgnorth £51 10s. For the rest Ludlow contributed £100, Oswestry £50 and Bishops Castle £15,[13] the remainder being imposed upon the rural districts.

Before the end of the year the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury were protesting against their assessment on the grounds that, first it was not in accordance with the customary proportion of the town's contribution to public charges on the whole county; and secondly that the ravages of the plague had impoverished the town; and thirdly that the Sheriff's methods of assessment were unfair. The town's usual share of county charges was, claimed the Bailiffs, one fifteenth and a half part, and therefore the correct sum for them to pay would be only £292 10s.[14] Moreover even this would be difficult to collect as plague had depleted

10. Brereton's Diary.
11. F. A. Hibbert "Influence and Development of English Gilds" p. 3.
12. Ibid. No. 96
13. Cal. State Pap. Dom. Vol. 302, No. 80.
14. Cal. State Pap. Dom. Vol. 302, Petition of Bailiffs of Shrewsbury, Nov. 1635.

the finances of the borough.[15] This was no mere appeal to sentiment. The law demanded that poor sufferers should be relieved by rates. In 1631 the town had suffered so severely from an outbreak in St. Chad's parish that the Corporation of Bishop's Castle had instigated a voluntary collection for the relief of Shrewsbury sufferers as a result of which £16 was raised[16] and in the year preceding the Ship-money writ (i.e. 1634) Richard Herbert, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury, elder son of Edward most famous of all the Herberts of Cherbury, was, as one of the magistrates of Shrewsbury, actively engaged in relieving the poor of the town who were the stricken with the plague.[17] So far the town's case for abatement was fairly strong, but the case against the Sheriff's methods was not proved. The Bailiffs claimed in Petition "That the Sheriff of Salop did of himself without any of the head officers of the corporation assess upon Shrewsbury £450".[18] John Newton the Sheriff for the year replied in a letter which no doubt did much to persuade the Council to reject Shrewsbury's claim. In this letter of January 14th 1635-6 he indignantly denied the charge and accused the Bailiffs of being present when the assessment was drawn up without his assistance, and asserted that he was merely asked for a warrant to confirm the assessment.[19] Further he thought at the time that the burden had been unfairly distributed, the able men paying too little at the expense of the poor. Since Robert Madocks Under-Sheriff of Salop had specifically stated in a letter to Secretary Nicholas on 14th November 1635[20] that the town quotas, including Shrewsbury's, had been fixed at a general meeting, Newton's assertion was corroborated.

No doubt the Sheriff had angered the Bailiffs by his unconciliatory manner and by the smallness of his own contribution to Ship-money. He was a wealthy man with an estate of £4,000 and an annual income of £900, but he raised a popular outcry

15. Ibid.
16. Corpn. of Bishop's Castle mss. also Phillip's "MS History of Shrewsbury". p. 19.
17. Dictionary of National Biography.
18. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 311, No. 62.
19. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 311, No. 62.
20. Madocks to Nicholas S.P. Dom. Vol. 301.

by fixing his own assessment at £9.[21] As a result his case was brought for arbitration before the Chief-Justice at Chester who so far upheld the gentleman's honesty as to lower the figure from £9 to £4.[22] This incident does not reflect very creditably upon Newton, but as Blakeway has pointed out, the office of Sheriff, on account of the unpleasant duty which it involved of collecting state rents, was often thrust upon men as a punishment for some offence, and did not therefore appeal to men of worth.[23] Nevertheless it is only fair to recognise that the burden of collecting Ship-money placed the Sheriff in an invidious position. To begin with he had the difficulty of apportioning assessments—in itself a thankless task when the money had to be wrung from his own friends and neighbours in the shire. Then came the difficulties of actual collection and safe remittance. The work of collection had to be delegated to inferiors who demanded 6d. in the pound as commission "as had been accustomed in collecting money for the King's service".[24] The commission automatically raised the unpopular assessment since Nicholas insisted that this be paid out of an additional levy of £102[25]—and the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury resolutely declared that they would not pay the expenses of collection. As contributions trickled in the Sheriff was confronted with the problem of remitting them to London. Roads were bad, vehicles slow and inefficient, and thieves abounded. Newton solved the problem by entrusting the money to the Drapers Company who undertook such transaction over a wide area. For example on 26th March 1640 Thomas Phillips, Sheriff of Merioneth, wrote to the Council that he would send £416 Ship-money on April 20th by bill of exchange from John Prowde and Adam Webb, two drapers of Shrewsbury.[26] The Drapers only accepted Newton's commission

21. Sir P. Harris to Nicholas S.P. Dom. Vol. 347, No. 31.

22. Same to Same 17th March 1636-7 S.P. Dom. Vol. 350, No. 21.

23. "Sheriffs of Shropshire". John Newton was of Heightley in the Parish of Chirbury, Montgomeryshire and was sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1638. He was allowed to compound for his great estates in the small sum of £32 16s. 4d. (see Mont. Collections Vol. IX, 1876).

24. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 302, No. 80

25. Ibid, Vol. 303, No. 66 and also Vol. 345, No. 58

26. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 449, No. 2

on condition that he allowed them "a convenient time for payment."[27] The Company dealt in turn with a fellow draper Richard Shearer of Blackwell Hall and thus by devious channels the money found its way to the coffers of the Treasury.[28]

Newton no doubt was relieved when his year of office ended. The Council remained adamant, and as the following letter shows Shrewsbury not only paid the full amount demanded, but was asked for the same sum in 1636. Rushworth[29] gives the following figures in a list entitled 'A distribution of Ships to the several Shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men and charge, together with the sum set on the Corporate Towns in each County, Oct., 1636' :—

Shropshire, one Ship of 450 tons—180 men—charge £4500.

Corporate Towns	Town of Shrewsbury	456*l.* 10*s.*
	,, ,, Bridgnorth	51*l.* 10*s.*
	Borough of Ludlow	102*l.*
	,, ,, Bishops Castle	15*l.* 10*s.*
	,, ,, Oswestry	51*l.*
	Town, Borough and Liberty of Wenlock	302*l.*

The whole business of objection by Petition was repeated, with the result that the Council gave permission for a local enquiry to be instituted to assertain whether Shrewsbury's share could not be abated, on the strict understanding that any such abatement was to be made up by the county at large. The Council's letter, with the signatures of the councillors appended is amongst the Ship-money Papers in Borough Records of Shrewsbury.

The MS reads as follows :—

"To the High Sheriff of the County of Salop.

Wee send you inclosed a petition presented to this Board in the name of the Bayliffs, Burgesses and Inhabitants of the Towne of Shrewsbury complayninge of the inequality of the rate leavyed upon them towards the businesse of shippinge, and likewise puttinge us in minde

27. Ibid, Vol. 302, No. 80
28. Ibid.
29. Rushworth Hist. Collections, Vol. II, p. 335.

of our order made the last yeare that their conformity in payinge the rate of £456 10s. the last yeare, should not prejudice them for the future. Wee have thereby thought hereby to require you to take a view and examination of the small rates charged upon the said Towne in proportion with the county, in former publique services and that thereupon you do rate the said examination accordinge to the liberty given you by his Ma^ties writt and our Directions sent with the same. And for such pte of the said £456 10s. as you shall find cause to abate, according to former and usuall rates as aforesaid you are to supply and assesse the same upon the county in generall or upon such other corporate Townes with the said county as shalbe found fitte. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell—from the Court at Windsor the 13th of November 1636

Your lovinge ffriends,

W. Cant; Tho: Coventrye; Guil. London; H. Manchester; Pem. Montgomery; Sterline; H. Vane; Tho. Formin; ffran. Windebank."

The following year 1637 marks the peak of the Ship-money era. On October 2nd a long document was issued from Hampton Court bearing the signatures of Charles most powerful supporters[30]. More soothing and conciliatory in tone than some of the previous notes sent to Shrewsbury it explained at great length and with considerable ingenuity exactly why Shropshire and its corporate towns were required to provide a ship of 450 tons and to furnish the vessel with men, munitions, victuals "and other necessaries". It was urgent, the writer pointed out, that naval defence should be provided against "the Turks and all other pirates in these troublesome and warlike times". In case Shrewsbury folk should wonder why they were worried about a ship to fight the Turks it was explained that similar writs had been sent "unto all other Counties, Citties and Townes throughout the whole Kingdome, that as we all are concerned in the mutuall defence of one another" so all "must putt a helping hand for the taking of such prepararions as by the blessing of God may prove of value against those dangers and extremities".

30. Borough of Shrewsbury MSS. Box VI, No. 221.

Trevelyan calls this year of 1637 "the first of the revolutionary epoch". In spite of the stringent system employed (Nicholas checked his accounts regularly each week) and the exertions of officials, the amount paid in 1638—the year of the fourth annual writ for Ship-money—was £30,000 short of the amount for the previous year.[31] Petitions and pleas for abatement were now being discarded for the more forthright methods of open refusal to pay and the use of violence against the collectors of the tax. In October 1638 John Trench one of the Sergeants-at-Mace of Shrewsbury testified that he had endured many "scandalous, opprobrious and threatening speeches"[32] in his endeavour to collect Ship-money, and on September 9th the Council severely reprimanded the Corporation of Shrewsbury on account of the town's backwardness in payment.[33] The amount of £376 had been levied as Shrewsbury's share of the County Assessment in February 1637-8[34] and a reminder that this amount was still unpaid had been sent from the Court at Oatlands as late as August 5th.[35] Unless arrears were paid before October 20th the Bailiffs were to appear in person before the Council to answer for their neglect. They were not to excuse themselves by blaming the collectors, but must themselves give a better example of increased activity.[36] This letter followed a complaint from Sir Paul Harris of Boreatton, Sheriff of Shropshire, that the Corporations of Wenlock and Shrewsbury were very backward in providing contributions, Shrewsbury being more concerned with "divisions and factions" about a preacher.[37] The preacher concerned was Richard Poole, curate of St. Chad's, who in spite of local feeling in his favour was not approved by Laud who had him summarily removed and the Rev. George Lawson, described as a very able scholar and a great honourer of Laud appointed in his place.[38]

31. Preface to Cal. S.P. Dom. 1637-8.
32. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 400, No. 103.
33. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 398, No. 23.
34. Demand signed by Wm. Pierpoint, Sheriff of Shropshire, Borough of Shrewsbury MSS. Box VI, No. 221.
35. Borough of Shrewsbury MSS. Box VI, No. 221.
36. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 398. No. 23.
37. Sir P. Harris to Nicholas, S.P. Dom. Vol. 354, No. 48.
38. Cal. S.P. Dom. Vol. 375, No. 55; Vol. 386.

With the passing of months in 1639 it was fast becoming apparent that the organization for the collection of Ship-money was breaking down. Towns everywhere were in arrears with payments and the bluster and threats of the Court of the Star Chamber were ignored or met with half-hearted excuses as to why the arrears were not called in. The Hampden Case was having its effect. Shrewsbury was definitely in arrears and no effective measures were being taken to wipe them off. The Mayor of the Town was personally threatened in the following letter[39] which he received from London.

"Greeting and harty comendations. We have read and considered of yr. letter of Ye 20th of Septemb: last of you sent concerninge ye Names of ye persons in Arreire with their Assesst. and the severall somes charged upon each of them, and cannot but lett you know we are not att all satisfied with ye reasons by you given in yor letter why ye saide arriere hath not been by you hitherto leavied and payed in consideringe ye Importance of this Service and the trust Reposed in you and ye power and authority given you by his Maties writt, and have therefore thought good hereby againe to will and require you to leavy and pay in ye same to ye Treas. of ye Navy by ye end of this Tearme att ye ffarthest or in Default thereof to Attend ye Board at that time to answere ye same. And as for ye Discouragement you mention given to you and other Inferior Officers Imployed in this Service by beinge threatened as you alleadge with actions and suits to be brought against you and them, you are to know that order is already given to his Maties Attorney Generall to take care that upon advertisemt and certificate of ye P'ticulars to him made, all such actions and suites shalbe resisted and defended without any chardge or trouble to you or them; and soe wee bid you hartily ffarewell.

Dated by ye Inner Starr Chbr. this 23rd of October 1639.

39. Borough of Shrewsbury MSS. Box VI, No. 221.

Your lovinge ffriends

Tho : Coventrye
Holland — E. Newburgh
Fra. Cottingham — Fra. Windebank
Coke — (ROYAL SEAL)
Mayor of Shrewsbury".

It is possible that by some means or other the arrears were paid, for there is no record that the Mayor was called to account. Moreover, although the town was behind time with its contributions for the next period, there is no mention of arrears in the correspondence. Within three months, however, the Mayor was being threatened again—this time from nearer home. Roger Kynaston, the Sheriff, applied himself diligently to the task of collecting Shrewsbury's portion of the assessment made in November, and addressed this peremptory letter[40] to the Mayor —

"To the Right Worshipful the Maior of the towne of Salop.

Whereasit appeareth by his maties demand and the Privy Counsells order unto me directed bearing the date the twelfth of this instant January that his Matie taking into consideration how much it importeth the honour and service of his Matie and the Safetie of this Kingdome that there should be this yeare more than ordinary diligence showd in the hastinge forth his fleete to Sea wch cannot be expedited so soone as is necessary unless the shipp money payable by this countie upon the writt issued in November last be forthwith leavyed and payed in to the Treas. of the Navy by the Twentieth Daye of February next, I am commanded in his Maties name to will and require you to show all possible dillegence in the speedy leavyinge of the said money and that you faile not to bring in ye money to my office in Salop being the howse of Mr. Thomas Baytons at the signe of the Boare the tenth Day of ffebruary next comynge by nyne of the clocke in the morninge. This faile you not as you consider the honor and safetie of his Matie, the Safetie of the kingdome, and youre owne, and as you will answere the contrary at

40. Borough of Shrewsbury MSS. Box VI. No. 221.

your perill. Dated under the seale of my office the ffyve and Twentieth day of January in the ffifteenth yeare of his maties raigne that is now Anno Dmi 1639, notwithstanding my former warrant sent unto you heretofore.

Rogerus kynnaston.

V.C.

(Seal). "

Kynaston wrote in the spring of 1640 as we now reckon dates. Charles had just recalled Strafford from Ireland to order the campaign which was to wipe out the stigma of the Treaty of Berwick which the Scots had compelled him to sign on 24th June, 1639. The fleet was to play a vital part in the attack—it was to blockade the Scottish ports and also to transport reinforcements from Ireland. That is why the Privy Council was so anxious that "there should be this yeare more than ordinary diligence showd in the hastinge forth of his (Charles's) fleete to Sea".

In order to hasten the collection of arrears for the years 1636-7-8, the Council on 30th Nov. 1639 issued the following circular to all past and present Sheriffs[41] :—

"Notwithstanding the continual calling upon you, the Sheriffs of the former years by this Board, by his Majesties special command, it appeareth there is yet an arrear upon you the Sheriff of that County, upon the Writ issued in the Year 1636, the Sum of [left blank] and upon the Writ issued 1637, the Sum of [blank] and upon the writ issued 1638 the Sum of [blank]. We therefore require you the Sheriffs for the former years to pay in respectively to the Treasurers of the Navy, so much of the said arrears as you have collected and not paid in, and to Assess, Levy and Collect the residue of the said arrears. For which purpose we do require and authorise you, the present Sheriff, to give Warrant and Authority to you the Sheriffs of the former years respectively for the Assessing, Levying, and Collecting, as aforesaid, of the said Arrears."

41. Rushworth Vol. II, p. 977.

Kynaston would have received this notice and was doubtless moved by it to send the "former warrant" to which he refers.

Threats and coercion, however, were no longer effective for the purpose of raising money. Ship-money was dead, and Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal admitted the fact even when as an act of formal duty he exhorted the King's Judges to use all their powers to revive it. In the Court of the Star Chamber on 13th Feb. 1639-40, addressing the Judges about to go on Circuit, he said, "I know not how it comes about, I hope it is out of misapprehension or false intimation put into the hearts of his Majesties people, that there is not alacrity and cheerfulness given to the obedience of his Majesties Writs for Ship-money.....I doubt not your Lordships will look to see that there be obedience given, and that those officers that do neglect their duties may be brought to account, that they may know what the displeasure is to disobey his Majesties commands".[42] The same admission stands out stark and clear behind the bluster of what was probably the last Ship-money paper to reach Shrewsbury[43]:—

> "It so much importeth the defence and saftey of the Kingdom that the Ship-money payable by your County should be forthwith (without further delay) leavied and paid in to the Treasurer of the Navy, and you have already to that purpose received from this Board so many letters to quicken you in the performance of that duty, as we shall not only let you know that his Majesties occasions for the defence of the Kingdom are rather more (than less) pressing, and that if through your continual neglect all the Ship-money be not timely paid, both this and the former admonitions given you will add weight to your default and contempt. And if you pay not in at least one half of the money payable by your County for the said service by the last of this month, and the other half by the 24th of June next; you must expect the smart and

42. Rushworth ii, p. 985.

43. This letter was addressed to 42 counties, including Salop, Cheshire, Worcestershire, Montgomeryshire, but not Herefordshire. Rushworth Vol. II, p. 1182.

punishment due to so wilful a remissness in a business of so great Import and consequence. And so etc. Dated May 11, 1640". Usual Council signatories.

Revival was impossible. In 1640 "not a tenth of the Ship-money imposed was paid"[44] and Strafford was not slow to see that much as he detested the idea the only way to raise money was to end the eleven years of absolute rule and summon Parliament. Charles quickly offered to give up his claim to levy Ship-money in return for a grant of £840,000,[45] but no agreement was reached and the Short Parliament terminated after sitting for only three weeks.[46] The Members of Parliament went home comforted by the knowledge that the Scots remained, and that ere long Charles would have to ask again for money. During the summer Strafford failed again and the London mobs were becoming violent. The Scots threatened to advance on York where Charles was holding his Council of Peers, and the Long Parliament had to be called "to buy the Scots out of England". The redress of grievances was made a condition of the granting of supplies, and Ship-money was one of the first of the long standing impositions to be declared unlawful.

The part played in these events by William Spurstow and Francis Newport, Shrewsbury's two representatives[47] in the Long Parliament can only be guessed at. Possibly the future builder of Newport House on Dogpole opposed the sweeping away of the Royal right to Ship-money in the same manner that he soon afterwards braved the derision of his colleagues by refusing to lend his support to the Bill of Attainder against Strafford. He was one of the small band of ultra-royalists whose names were placarded up and down London as "Straffordians or enemies of their country".[48] On the other hand Spurstow no doubt

44. C. H. Firth "Oliver Cromwell" Edn. Putnam, p. 45.

45. Ibid. p. 44.

46. Shrewsbury's Members were Francis Newport and Thomas Owen—see lists in Official Returns (1878) and Rushworth ii, 1105.

47. "Official Returns of M.P's" 1878, and also Edwards "Parliamentary Elections of Shrewsbury" p. 10.

48. Clarendon "Rebellion" i. 133. Francis Newport on authority of Harl MSS. 4931, fol. 86.

favoured the curtailment of Royal privilege, for he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee set up to enquire into the conduct of "scandalous ministers". This Committee met as early as 19th December 1640 and continued for the duration of the Long Parliament, and included in its members Cromwell and Sir William Brereton.[49] Whatever views they formed, Shrewsbury's two M.P's. could have had no lack of first hand evidence on which to base them, for the whole story of Ship-money in all its phases had been well illustrated in the history of their own Borough. The first writ had evoked mild protest and dispute as to the correct proportion which each part of the shire should bear. From the very first there had been bitterness evoked by the unsatisfactory methods of assessment, and by the Treasury's demand that the victims of the assessments should also pay the costs of collection. Succeeding years brought increased discontent, a hardening of feeling on both sides, and the outbreak of violence against the tax-collectors. Even Francis Newport could not have failed to notice the influence of the Hampden Case on the affairs of town which he represented, how the mortal blow which this judgment struck at the "sacred" rights of the King had caused such widespread repercussion that the men of Shrewsbury, like so many others, were beginning to regard with indifference the threats of the Court of the Star Chamber.

So the whole story of Ship-money was enacted in Shrewsbury's history, not differing much from the history of other towns in those eventful years 1635-40. Nevertheless the story is complete. No characteristic aspect of the Ship-money dispute is missing in Shrewsbury's version of it. In miniature the story of a nation's struggle with Royalist imposition is depicted in the events which dominated the life of the town during those years when Charles's attempt at absolute rule passed through its climax of apparent triumph to the forceful disillusionment of the Long Parliament.

49. Walker "Sufferings of the Clergy" Ed. 1714, p. 63.

SUTTON UPON TERN.

The manor of Sudtone was held under Earl Roger by Roger de Curcelle at the time of the Domesday Survey, and consisted of four hides. Countess Godiva held it in Saxon times. Eyton has little to say of this manor. He writes, "Sutton seems gradually to have lost its distinct status as a manor, and its four Domesday hides to have been nearly absorbed by adjacent manors"; and again, "of Sutton in any later or more distinct relation I cannot say a word".

This is somewhat misleading. In the Tayleur MSS., now deposited at the Shrewsbury Free Library, there are Manor Court Rolls for the years 8, 9, 41, 42 Edward III, but the name of the lord is not given. Later the manor belonged to the Skrymsher family, and John Skrymsher of Norbury and Dorothy his wife held their court here in 1557 and 1568, while their son Thomas Skrymsher of Aqualate held his court in 1572 and 1604.

Letitia, sister and co-heir of Edwin Skrymsher of Aqualate, brought Sutton to her husband John Tayleur of Rodington, and their descendant William Tayleur held his court here as late as 1781. In 1796 he settled this manor, with the Farm of Sydnall. It would seem therefore that Sutton retained its manorial status until recent times.

In various deeds Sutton Manor and Sydnall Farm are mentioned together. In 1415 Robert Hussey and Alina his wife settled all their lands in Sidenhale on Ralph Banaster and Margaret his wife,—she being the daughter and heir of Hussey. In 1528 Robert Banaster sold his messuage called Syddenhall to Thomas Skrymsher. Sutton may have come to the Skrymshers in the same way.

R.C.P.

THE OLD MOAT FARM.

(STAPLETON, SALOP.)

BY RICHARD OAKLEY.

The Old Moat Farm stands raised on a mighty plinth of stone ashlar, some fifteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding fields. The moat which no doubt at one time was filled with water to a level half-way up the plinth, has long since dried up and an untended orchard has taken its place on two sides. The ground is boggy and spongy to the N.W. save where an old brick bridge has fallen in and become part of the cart-way leading under the square opening of the ancient gateway. But a few years ago a Tudor gate-house stood above the massive timbers of the opening. Black oak was its frame, mortised together and held with wooden pegs, the interstices filled with wattle and daub, whitewashed, and the whole projecting on either side overhanging the wide gateway.

Full three and a half centuries had it stood, keeping guard of the entrance, where once a drawbridge swung; battling with Nature, since its ancient foes from over the Welch Marches no longer came, until at last, buffeted by wind and lashed by rain, cared for by none, as though in truth its heart were broken, it let the enemy in. Now beaten to its knees it still fights on, dignified in its ruin.

On one side of the gatehouse lies the malthouse and what remains of the ancient farm buildings; on the other the house proper, the whole forming three sides of a quadrangle with the gateway in the middle. On passing through one enters a small cobbled courtyard, the cobbles set edgeways in the old fashioned manner to aid the drainage and keep the feet from wet.

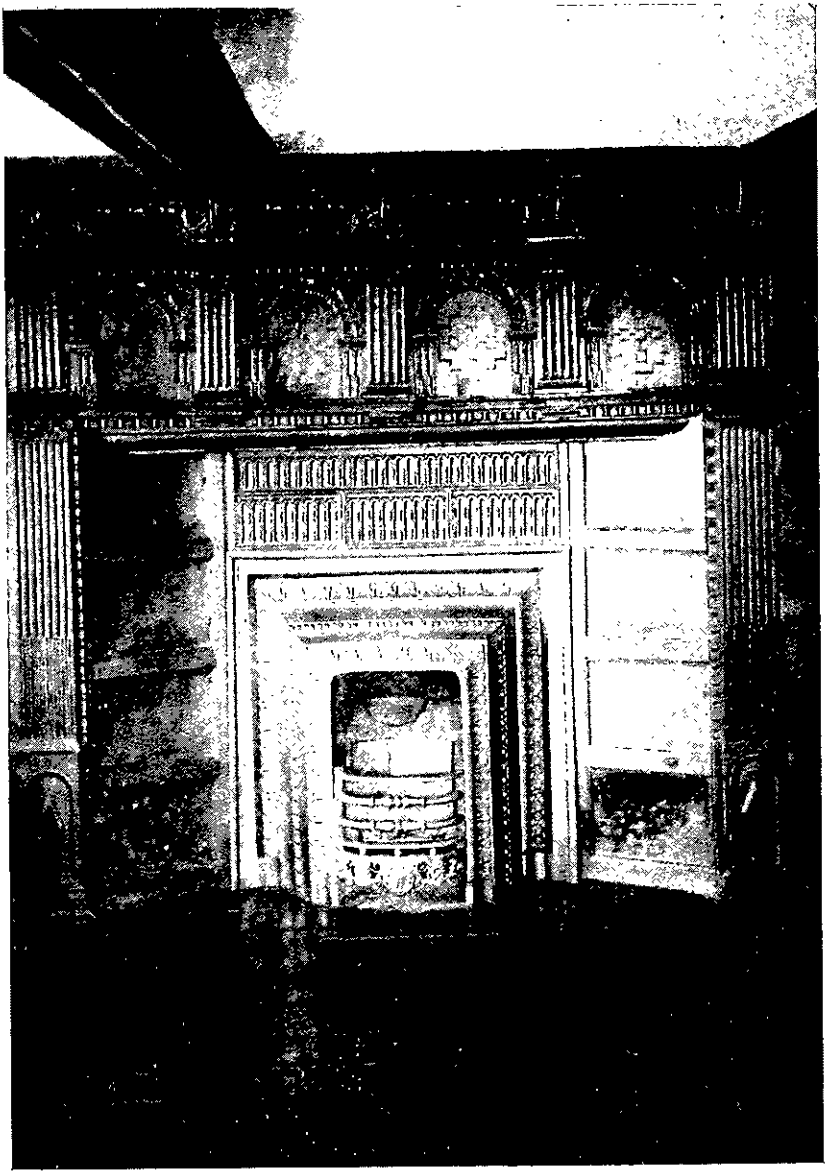
On the right, under a porch supported on great timbers, within a flattened Tudor arch, is the main door into the house, massive oak, scorched and seasoned, and studded with iron bolts. A huge iron handle, such as one sees on doors of ancient churches, coldly greets the visitor, as though to say, "what is your business"? On the other side, beyond a decrepit fence, which

bounds the yard, lies a level garden running out to the edge of the plinth, and surrounded by a low square-clipped holly hedge. Once there may have been a close shaven lawn, with perchance a sundial in the centre; but now an unkempt vegetable garden offends the eye. Dilapidated stone steps lead down the plinth on the S.W. side to the filled-in moat below, where cankered apple trees grow alongside a tiny brook; all that remains on this side of the one-time moat. Spring flowers; snowdrops; daffodils, and later, cowslips in their season, grow among the tussocky ungrazed grass, save where fowls have dusted or pigs rooted. A swampy pool, overgrown with "segs" still lingers at the most southerly corner, the warmest spot of all. Here a snipe may be flushed when all other parts are too hard frozen for his probing beak. Only at the N.E. end deep water remains, a drinking pool for beasts.

In Domesday the lord of the manor dwelt here, vassal of the great Earl Roger de Montgomery, cousin and tenant *in capite* of King William. He would seem to have been Saxon, for Alward was his name. He provided men and arms, when his overlord called, to cut off the raiding Welch, as they tried to pass back with their stolen cattle and booty between the string of Castles and fortified manors that held the wild Marches.

Later, in the 13th Century, a religious house held the surrounding land in thrall, save this manor, which by agreement with the Abbot was left undisturbed to the lord of the day.

In Henry Tudor's time, he who brought peace to the Welch Marches, and that of his famous successors, the old stone house, save one wing, was allowed to tumble into ruin and a less pretentious, if hardly less durable, black and white half-timbered portion replaced it on the old foundations. No doubt the Civil War took toll of its inhabitants until the peace of the Restoration brought luxury and comfort with it. The small low-ceilinged living room now was wainscoted with oak, to keep in the warmth; with small panels moulded at the top but bevelled at the bottom to prevent the dust from lodging. Around and above the one-time Tudor fireplace, the oak forms a canopy to the ceiling, arched and pillared with dignity and taste, the work of some old Jacobean craftsman.



The Moat, Stapleton.

At a distance on one side of the fireplace, built out, but all encased in the same panelling, stands what appears to be a wide sideboard, beneath a buttery hatch. It sounds hollow to the knuckles; but search where one will there is no opening in it. This is, in fact, a recess in the wall from the kitchen beyond; built to give clearance to one's head as one descends the cellar steps. Two windows deep-set in the thick walls; but long since robbed of their leaded lights look out, one to the S.W. directly above the moat, to the hills of Wales beyond, the other to the S.E. over the lawn. A massive beam trimmed with an adz, then moulded with skilful hands, spans the room, while two smaller ones meet it at either side, and where they meet, a deeply carved acanthus leaf embraces all, the work of William Hill of Smethcote.

Beyond lies the kitchen, low raftered but expansive, that once welcomed master and man, mistress and maid to its ample inglenook. These were the days when men turned their swords into ploughshares and the Earth gave forth her increase. Yeomen families of substance were established, styled "Gent" in the parish register. Others remained plain "Mister"; but they had their rights, for it was a time of law-making, and an Englishman's home was his castle. Now in place of the inglenook stands a Victorian range, blackened and shiny, like a sweating Ethiopian, blocking the herring-bone small brick of good Queen Bess.

The floor is of stone flags and in the recess, that jutes into the wall beyond, was formerly a wooden trap-door, with iron ring and staple, which, on being lifted, revealed the stone steps leading to the cellars. Cellars they are to-day; but dungeons they may have been, whose floors are level with the bottom of the moat and whose walls are its side. Narrow openings beneath the floor above give light, and a hole bored through solid stone, many feet thick, *now* lets out the drainage.

A small sanctum leads off the kitchen, where the "Master" kept his books and whence his watchful eye could scan the land and the modern folds, since built further from the house, the product of a more enlightened age.

A spiral oak stair leads to the upper chambers, whose panelling and four posters have long since gone to form cupboards and pedestals for display in antique galleries. All that remains are the low ceilings, oak-raftered and underdrawn.

There is a second kitchen with huge fireplace spanned by a baulk of oak and a quaint old cauldron cased in stone, where the ale was brewed, before the malthouse was built; whose date and builder is fixed by the stone in its gable, a hundred and fifty years ago. Scullery and dairy bring one back to the gateway and as one pauses on the cart-road, raised above the level of the field, one forgets the squalor and tumbling ruin and sees again the proud gate-house or hears in imagination the rattle of the draw-bridge chains. It is but a fleeting vision. Sadly the old house stands, silhouetted on its mighty plinth, facing over the Marches. No longer is there need for defence; no longer is *it* needed. Cared for by none; it cares for none, save the dear departed; sadly it awaits the end.

One turns away, and, as one turns, the eye is caught by the water at the N.E. end, lying like an ancient shield, blazoned per pale, sable and vert, where the duck weed's brilliant green cuts across its black surface. Willows and tree roots form its mantling; but the field of this liquid escutcheon is blotted by the refuse of those who care for none of these things. Ichabod—truly—the glory has departed.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE OLD MOAT FARM, STAPLETON, SALOP.

There is little doubt that the Moat Farm, the subject of this essay, stands on the original site of a "Mote" or "Moot", the meeting-place of the Saxon elders, who settled in this part of what became known later as the Welch Marches.

Prior to the Conquest the manor of Stapleton was held by two Saxon franklins, Huning and Aelric, whose patriarchal homesteads, forming the centres of two separate manors, are probably still represented, one, by the mound in Stapleton Church-yard, and the other by "The Moat", a mile or so away in the direction of Church Pulverbatch. In 1086, at the time

of the making of Domesday, one of these manors, probably the former, was known as "Hundeslit", Huni's Lyth, but Hunine had been dispossessed, and Roger Fitz Corbet, and Rannulf, of him, held the land; while Alward, a Saxon, held the other manor; both being sub-tenants of the Earl Roger de Montgomery, cousin of the Conqueror.

Some time after this the two manors appear to have been merged and held by a race of feofees under successive Earls of Montgomery, the first of whom recorded was Baldwin de Meisy, Lord of Stapleton and Wistanstow, in the reign of King Stephen. In 1231, a descendant, Philip de Stapleton, held the manor and asserted his rights and that of his son, Robert, to a wood that lay between Stapleton and Wilderley, which must have been quite close to the Moat, as against the Abbot of Haghmon.

The de Stapletons held land as far afield as Herefordshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire and the Moat Hall was their manor house in Shropshire, until 1455, when Elizabeth, one of the six co-heiresses of Sir John Stapleton, took it by marriage to Edward Leighton, an ancestor of the well-known family of Leighton in Shropshire to-day.

In 1614 the Moat was still spoken of as a "capital messuage" and was in the occupation of another Elizabeth Leighton, mother of Robert Leighton of Wattlesborough. He apparently sold it to Lord Keeper Egerton, who held so many manors in Shropshire, and, whose son John, Earl of Bridgewater, became Lord President of Wales. As late as 1699 it was known as "Motehall": but sometime before this latter date it had ceased to be a manor house and had become a farm.

Early in the 18th Century the estate was bought by the Powys family of Berwick Hall near Shrewsbury and on the death of Mr. Henry Wentworth Powys in 1875, his nephew, the Earl of Denbigh, sold it to the late Mr. Purcell Llewellin, that well-known Field Trial sportsman, whose English setters became so famous.

Of the tenant families who lived at the Moat, the earliest of whom we have any knowledge, is that of Blakeway, probably a branch of the Blakeways of Pontesbury and Westbury.

The name appears in the Stapleton Parish Register between the years 1654 and 1699; while the Geo. Morris MS. mentions Roger Blakeway, senior, and Thomas Blakeway, senior, as witnesses to the "Customs belonging to the Rectory of Stapleton, taken on April 6th, 1699": when Netley Hall and Motehall are each rated at 1/- "to the clerk".

As Thomas is referred to in the "Churchwarden's Book, 1670-1704": giving the names of the "Inhabitants of Stapleton in 1678": as "of ye old mills"; it is presumed that Roger was of Motehall. About 1730, Richard Oakeley of Cruckmeole appears to have married Elizabeth, daughter of a Blakeway of the Moat, near Stapleton, and, presumably, on the death of her father, to have succeeded him at the Moat. Canon Newling's MS. gives the Oakeleys or Oakleys of the Moat as being formerly of Cruckmeole and the Broomhill, near Westbury, which is borne out by the respective Parish Registers; the children of the above Richard and Elizabeth being all baptised at Pontesbury; the youngest in 1739 and later buried at Stapleton, in 1742. So it would seem that they came to the Moat about 1740.

Richard Oakley, son of the above Richard, built the malt house in 1781, as shown by the stone in its gable, and the family continued here, intermarrying with the Meyricks of Stapleton and Brazenors of the Upper Moat and Auston, until 1850, when the writer's Grandfather moved into Montgomeryshire. They, in turn, were succeeded by the Fox family, another well-known Shropshire name, to be followed by the present tenants.

To return to the house, itself; it is only within recent years that the old Tudor gate-house has been demolished, as unsafe, and its timbers taken to form a Lych Gate for Stapleton Church. The main part of the house and buildings are still capable of renovation, and, it is hoped, that a house with such an ancient lineage will be preserved for the Nation.

SOME OLD SHROPSHIRE HOUSES AND THEIR OWNERS.

(SECOND SERIES)

BY H. E. FORREST.

XVI. HARNAGE GRANGE.

The Manor of Harnage in the parish of Cound, was given by Gilbert de Lacey to Buildwas Abbey about 1230. In 1536 the last Abbot of Buildwas resigned upon a pension of £16, and the Abbey, with Harnage Grange, was given by the King (Henry VIII.) to Lord Grey, whose son sold the latter to Mr. William Fowler, of Broomhill, Staffordshire. His grandson, William Fowler, was sheriff of the county in 1650. His grandson again, Francis Leveson Fowler, great-nephew and heir of Sir Richard Leveson, of Lilleshall and Trentham, was sheriff in 1667, and died in office. The Harnage Grange estate then devolved to his brother, William Fowler, who was created a baronet in 1704, and was sheriff in 1712. He was succeeded in his title by Sir Hans Fowler, Baronet, with whom it became extinct. Harnage Grange then passed to John Windsor, of Shrewsbury, attorney at law. His son Edward Charles Windsor, was sheriff in 1781. Mr. Windsor having suffered a financial collapse, the Harnage Grange estate passed to Mr. Smitheman, of West Coppice, in the parish of Buildwas (the present Buildwas Park). Mr. Smitheman's eldest daughter was married to Mr. Benjamin Edwardes, second son of Sir Thomas Edwardes, Baronet, of Frodesley, whose son, the late Mr. Smitheman Edwardes, his grandfather's heir, left the Harnage Grange estate to his cousin the late Sir Henry Hope-Edwardes, Baronet. At the beginning of the 18th century Sir William Fowler erected a lofty Queen Anne mansion in the garden adjoining the old house, which Sir Henry Edwardes took down about 1878. The cellars of this house still exist beneath the garden east of the present building. Although it shows traces of many alterations from time to time, there is no doubt that the latter incorporates most of the pre-Reformation Grange, for the main walls of stone

are nearly three feet thick. The plan appears to have been originally L-shaped, the longer arm running east and west, the shorter arm (at the east end) northwards. There was a way right through the main building from north to south—a feature which I have found in only a few houses of very early date. At some distance to the west are the fish-ponds, and a very large timber tithe-barn with two cartways through it from north to south. This is of pre-Reformation date. The eastern portion of the existing house is of brick with stone dressings. A puzzling feature is the east gable which has "crowsteps", as also has the summer-house, some way off the house eastwards. These can hardly be earlier than James I. as crowsteps are of Flemish origin and the fashion did not reach Shropshire till then. These were probably built by William Fowler III. The extension west incorporated a large part of the original stone monastic Grange, re-pointed and altered to adapt it as a modern residence. The "Queen Anne" Hall, built by Sir William IV., was a square building of four storeys and had a very large banqueting hall. When it was taken down about 1878 the materials were used to build labourer's cottages. A painting in the possession of Miss Horton of Harley Towers, shows that it was a detached building nearly twice as lofty as the old grange.

FOWLERS OF HARNAGE.

The Fowlers are a family of great antiquity and occupied a high position before the time of Richard I, for it was in that monarch's expedition to the Holy Land that Richard Fowler, of Foxley, Co. Bucks (who stands first in the pedigree) prevented by his extraordinary care and vigilance an attempt by the infidels to surprise the Christians by night at the siege of Ptolemais or Acon. At that time he commanded and maintained at his own expense, a certain number of British bowmen who were his own tenants. In recognition of his eminent services, the King knighted him in the field, and caused his then crest, a hand and lure, to be exchanged for a Vigilant Owl. From this Richard descended Sir

JOHN FOWLER, of Foxley, Bucks, who married a daughter and heiress of — Loveday. His son Sir

HENRY FOWLER, of Foxley, married the sister and heiress of John Barton, and had a son

HARNAGE GRANGE—EAST END.

WILLIAM FOWLER I, of Ricot, Co. Oxford, who married Cicely, daughter and heiress (or co-heiress) of Sir Nicholas Englefield, comptroller of the household to Richard II. By her he had two sons

RICHARD (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) and

THOMAS FOWLER I, Esquire of the body to King Edward IV. He married Margery Coleville (arms Or ten billets gules) and had a son

ROGER FOWLER, of Broomhill, Co. Stafford, who married Isabella sister and heiress of Roland Lee (Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, president of the Council of the Marches of Wales), whose brother George Lee was Dean of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury. By this lady he had three daughters and four sons—Roland, Brian, William and James.—See below.

ROLAND of Broomhill married — Bradshaw, of Presteigne, and had two sons, George and Brian. Brian was of Stow, Co. Stafford. James (d. 1584) was of Penford, Co. Stafford. He married Margaret Morton, of Haughton, Salop, and had a son, Walter Fowler, of Penford, two of whose sons Thomas (1602) and Matthew (1618-87) became doctors of Divinity, and successively rectors of Whitchurch, Salop. They were both zealous royalists. The third son

WILLIAM FOWLER II., was of Harnage Grange, which he purchased from the Greys. In 1561 he was appointed Steward of Shrewsbury for life, and on January 16 following he was admitted a free burgess. He died in 1598, leaving by his wife, Mary, daughter of John Blythe, M.D., four daughters, and two sons, Richard and Peter. Of the latter there is no further record.

RICHARD FOWLER I., of Harnage (1563-1630) married Mary, daughter of Edward Littleton, of Pillaton, Co. Stafford (buried Cressage 1612), and had by her four daughters and five sons—William, Edward, John, Richard and Thomas. Of these the eldest

WILLIAM FOWLER III. (1593-1667) of Harnage Grange, was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1650. He married Anna daughter of Richard Parkes, of Wednesbury, Co. Stafford and had by her (who died 1631) five sons—Richard, Walter, Edward, Parkes and John. The eldest

RICHARD FOWLER II. (1618-1686) succeeded to Harnage Grange on the death of his father in 1667. He was admitted to St. John's College, Oxford, 1635, and Inner Temple 1637. He married Margaret, third daughter of Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall, and had by her three sons—Richard III., Francis, and William IV., each of whom must be dealt with separately, only noting here that it was the last named William Fowler who was created Baronet in 1704. As noted previously, Richard Fowler II., of Harnage Grange, had by his wife, Margaret Newport, three children, (a) Richard, (b) Francis, and (c) William.

(a) RICHARD FOWLER III., was baptised at High Ercall, 1640. He was rector of Longford 1662 when he contributed £3 to the free and voluntary offering to King Charles II. He was also rector of Kinnersley, and died there in 1670, but was buried at Longford.

(b) FRANCIS (LEVESON) FOWLER, of Harnage Grange (1642-1677) was great nephew of Sir Richard Leveson, of Lilleshall, and Trentham, K.B., who made him his heir, with an injunction to bear his name and arms which he assumed in 1667. By his wife, Anne, daughter of Peter Venables, Baron of Kinderton, Cheshire, he had three sons—Francis Leveson, Peter, and Richard—who died infants, and a daughter FRANCES LEVESON FOWLER, his heiress. She must have been an attractive lady, for she was married three times and by her two first husbands became ancestress to two titled families. She married first (1679) Thomas Needham, 6th Viscount Kilmorey, and by him (who was buried St. Alkmund's, 25 Nov., 1687) was mother to Robert, 7th Viscount (born 1683) from whom the later Viscounts Kilmorey are descended. She married secondly Theophilus Hastings, 7th Earl of Huntingdon (1690), and had by him two sons and five daughters. The eldest son, Theophilus (born 1696) became 9th Earl of Huntingdon, who in 1728 married Selina, second daughter of Earl Ferrers, who after his decease in 1746 became celebrated as the foundress of a branch of Methodists called after her name. The later Earls of Huntingdon are descended from this lady. The 7th Earl Huntingdon

died in 1701. The widow married as her third husband the Chevalier Michael de Legondes, Colonel of Horse, one of the French prisoners taken with Count Tallard. She died 26th December, 1723.

(c) WILLIAM FOWLER IV. succeeded to Harnage Grange as heir male to his brother Francis. He was created baronet in 1714; was Sheriff of Shropshire 1712; and died 1717. He married Mary, second daughter of Sir Richard Cotton, of Combermere, and had by her four daughters and a son, Sir

RICHARD FOWLER IV., of Harnage Grange (1681-1731), M.P. Admitted Burgess 1730. He married Sarah, only daughter of William Sloane, of Porstmouth, merchant (niece and heiress of the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane) and had by her a daughter Sarah, who married Col. John Hodges, of Abbey Cwm Hir; and three sons, William, Richard, and Hans. Of these the second (Richard Fowler V., 1719-1758) died without issue; while the third (SIR HANS FOWLER, 1712-1773) was the fifth and last baronet, as he survived his nephew Sir William Fowler, fourth baronet.

SIR WILLIAM FOWLER V., third baronet, baptised at Cound 1707, was lost at sea. He married Henrietta, daughter of Brig. General William Newton (buried St. Chad's 1739), and had by her three daughters, and one son

SIR WILLIAM FOWLER VI., fourth baronet (1738-1760), an officer in the Army. He died unmarried at Padeshorn, Westphalia, in 1760, when his uncle Sir Hans Fowler became 5th and last baronet.

Arms of Fowler: Azure on a chevron argent between three lions passant gardant or as many crosses moline sable.

The senior male line terminated with the above Sir Hans Fowler in 1773. The family is described as Fowler of Penford (or Pendeford) in the Heralds Visitation of Staffordshire. This is in the parish of Tettenhall, 4 miles north west of Wolverhampton.

FOWLERS OF SHREWSBURY.

One of the junior branches settled in Shrewsbury. They descend from

JAMES FOWLER (died 1584), of Pendeford (fourth son of Roger Fowler by his wife Isabelle (Lee) whose son Walter (born 1554); grandson Walter (born 1601); great-grandson James Walter (1631); and great-great-grandson Charles Fowler (1669); were all of Pendeford.

CHARLES FOWLER (1669) married Sara, daughter and heiress of Robert Leveson, of Wolverhampton. His nephew Rev. Samuel Fowler (1701:1772) was vicar of Atcham 1726-1772) Of his two sons, Richard (1691) succeeded him at Pendeford, while

THOMAS FOWLER (1698-1759) settled in Shrewsbury as a draper. He married Barbara, sister of Samuel Newton (died 1748) and had by her three sons and three daughters. Mary (born 1726) married (1760) George Fletcher of Cubley, Derby; Sarah (1733) married (1764) William Heath, of Birmingham; Barbara (1737) married Rev. John Wingfield, vicar of Atcham. The eldest son

THOMAS FOWLER (1728-1795), of Shrewsbury, draper, was bound apprentice to his father 1744, and admitted burgess 1775. He married Mary Leversage, and had by her five daughters and a son

THOMAS LEVERSAGE FOWLER (1759), of Pontesford, gentleman, admitted burgess 1796. The same year he married Harriet Fowler, and left issue. In 1775 he was bound apprentice to his uncle

CHARLES FOWLER (1741-1797), of Bellstone, Shrewsbury, draper, admitted burgess 1780, who married Frances daughter of Thomas Ambler, and had an only daughter and heiress, Frances Fowler, who married at St. Chad's in 1804, Samuel Alsopp, of Burton-on-Trent, and died 1848.

XVII. THE STYCHE.

The drawing here reproduced shows the old timber building in which Clive was born. The original was lent to Mr. Sloane, editor of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle.*

The drawing had evidently been taken out of a large quarto book of country houses, but its source is unknown. On the opposite page is printed matter as follows :—

"Old Styche Hall, near Market Drayton, Shropshire (Miss Allen). This house, the birthplace of the great Lord Clive, has been pulled down many years ; this present house at Styche is inhabited by two of his nephews of the same name.

"There are one or two traditions of Lord Clive's boyhood current at Drayton. One is, that he used to climb to the top of the church tower, and when there, drop himself over the parapet, and standing on the gurgoyle, put his foot through the mouth and work it about like a tongue.

"Another is, that having run in debt with an old woman who sold cakes, she refused to let him have any more till he had paid her. To revenge himself for this, he waited for a violent thunderstorm, when, her house being on the lower level than the street, he laid himself down across the gutter so as to flood it, thus wetting himself to the skin for the sake of his revenge.

"Lord Clive is buried in the neighbouring parish church of Moreton Say".

The (Miss Allen) was probably the artist who contributed the sketch to the volume.

It will be seen that Styche was a timber building with the diamond pattern bracings characteristic of the Elizabethan period. As the Styche family were here so far back as the 14th century, there must have been a house on the site as early as that, but the Elizabethan house was probably built by John Styche, grandfather of Katherine, who married George Clive. Its general plan was E-shaped, like Pitchford Hall, but lacked the central porch which forms the middle stroke of the E.

In "Country Life", June 20, 1936, Christopher Hussey writes :—

"In his later years, Lord Clive was a great builder. Not only did he buy Claremont, Esher, where he pulled down the Vanbrugh house, and erected the present one from designs by "Capability" Brown and Henry Holland. He re-built Styche from Sir William Chambers' designs, who also provided him with the plans for Walcot".

With all due respect to Sir William Chambers, I must say that the design of the old house was far more picturesque than his.

A curious feature of the new house is that the lower sash of each window has an arched centre panel, glazed with pink glass.

STYCHE FAMILY OF STYCHE.

This name was anciently spelt Stuche. The pedigree in the Heralds Visitation 1623 gives the arms as Sable, 3 garbs or. It goes back to

THOMAS STYCHE I., living about the time of Edward I., who married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Hugh Wlonkeslow of Wlonkeslow (Longslow) and had a son

WILLIAM STYCHE I., lord of Styche, who was living in 1351. He married Alice, sister and heir of Edmund Broughton of Broughton, and had a son

THOMAS STYCHE II., of Styche, whose wife, Agnes, married as her second husband Roger Lyney. Of his two sons, William and John, the elder left daughters only, but the younger

JOHN STYCHE of Styche, has the following note (in Latin) in the pedigree : "This John Stuche younger son of Thomas, brother and heir male of William Stuche, esquire, held lands of Stuche, Wlonkeslow, and Broughton, by gift of Elizabeth his niece, wife of Howel ap Gwilym, and Margery, wife of John Colynton, her cousin". By his wife Joan this John Styche had four sons, but of these the names of only two are recorded—Thomas (the elder) and George (the fourth). The latter was ancestor to the Davisons of Brand.—See below.

THOMAS STYCHE III., eldest son, had only a base son, so on his death, the Styche estate passed through his daughter and heiress Katherine to her first husband.

JAMES CLIVE, who came from a family seated since the time of Henry II. at Clive, Shropshire, and Huxley, Cheshire. His grandson

RICHARD CLIVE of Huxley and Styche, married Margaret, d. of Sir Richard Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, and had three sons. The eldest

RICHARD CLIVE, married Jane, sister of Sir William Brereton, Kt., and died 1573, leaving five daughters and a son

SIR GEORGE CLIVE, who signed the pedigree in the Herald's Visitation of Shropshire, 1623. He married Susannah Copinger, and had two sons, Joshua (who had no son) and

AMBROSE CLIVE of Styche. He had a son

ROBERT CLIVE, M.P., in the Long Parliament, whose son

GEORGE CLIVE, died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son

ROBERT CLIVE, who succeeded his grandfather. His son

RICHARD CLIVE of Styche, married Rebecca, daughter and co-heir (with her sister Lady Sempill) of Nathaniel Gaskell, of Manchester. Their eldest son

ROBERT CLIVE, born at Styche, 29 September, 1725, was the famous Lord Clive, to whom England, in a great measure, owes her Dominion of India. He pulled down the old timber house at Styche and built a large brick mansion in its place which is still standing. It is the heritage of his descendants.

XVIII. BRAND HALL.

At first sight Brand Hall looks rather a modern brick mansion with stone facings, but the architectural details and interior fitments show that it is older than it looks.

The frontage is straight, but its flatness is relieved by stone surrounds to the windows and door, a low triangular pediment over the centre, and a stone balustrade with alternate panels and pillars along the top, almost concealing the roof and dormer windows.

Just below the pediment is a large stone carving, with the arms and crest of the Styche family granted to Samuel Davison in 1737. It might be concluded from this that the house is of similar date, but I think that the arms are a late addition, and that the house itself is older. There are two reasons for this conclusion. The first is that when Samuel Davison matriculated in 1686 his father, George, is described as of Brand, gentleman; so must have acquired the estate by then from the Grosvenors; they had held it up to 1621, when William Grosvenor, gentleman, was buried at Norton. Secondly, the style of the building is definitely "William and Mary." The stairs balusters rest on a sloping string (not on the step-ends as they would in a Queen Anne house); the newel-posts have square caps and the handrail is lipped on each side. (These would be rounded in a Queen Anne house). There is a dado on the staircase wall following the same lines as the balustrade, but the panels in it—and in the overmantels—are not beveled as they would be after 1700. These details are similar to those of Newport House (now The Guildhall) Shrewsbury, which was built 1696.

I am inclined to think that Brand Hall was built by George Davison before 1700, but that a new frontage was added by Samuel Davison in 1737, after he had obtained a grant of arms and crest.

DAVISON FAMILY OF BRAND HALL.

This family is in actual fact a branch of the Styche Family of Styche, as will appear presently. Reverting to the above JOHN STYCHE of Styche, who appears to have been living about the time of Henry VII. His fourth son

GEORGE STYCHE had a son

ROBERT STYCHE whose wife married as her second husband a gentleman named Davison who died without issue seized of lands in Market Drayton, which he left to JAMES STYCHE his wife's son by her first husband. Thereupon James Styche took the name of DAVISON. His son and heir RICHARD STYCH, alias DAVISON, married Mary Higgins and had an only son

GEORGE DAVISON, builder of Brand, gentleman, who was buried at Norton-in-Hales, 1714. His second wife, Constance, was buried there 1693. By his first wife, Susannah, daughter of Samuel Simcocks, of Whitchurch, Salop, he had a son SAMUEL DAVISON of Brand, gentleman (1667-1741).

Foster's Alumni Oxoniensis states: "Samuel Davison, born in Co. Galway, son of George Davison, gentleman, matriculated Brasenose College, 19 March 1685-6, aged 19. Of Middle Temple 1685. His father described as of Brand, Salop".

From this we learn that he was born in Ireland in 1666-7—either away from home; at his mother's home; or before his father, George, had settled at Brand—by 1685.

The following is a copy of the declaration made before the College of Arms by Samuel Davison when applying for a grant of Arms in 1737.

Extract from Grants 8, 217b. Dated 8, Sept., 1737.

WHEREAS Samuel Davison, of Brandhall, in the Parish of Norton, in the County of Salop, Esqre., hath represented unto the Rt. Honble. Francis Earl of Effingham, Deputy (with the Royal Approbation) to the Most Noble Edward Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England. That the family of Stych, of Stych, near Drayton, in the County of Salop, did lawfully bear for their Coat Arms Sable, three Garbs Or, and for their Crest, an Eagle displayed Argent, holding in the Beak a Branch Vert as appears from several entries in the College of Arms, which likewise shew, that this family was divided into several branches by younger sons, and that George Stych was the fourth son. That the said Samuel Davison, who is at this time above seventy years of age, hath been informed by his ancestors, and it is likewise the common tradition in these parts of Shropshire, which lye near to Norton, that he is lineally descended from this George Stych, who was the Father of Robert Stych, who dyed leaving a widow and one son by her, called James, then very young. That the said Relict of this Robert Stych remarried with one Davison, who was seized of several lands in the parish of Drayton, and who, having no issue by her, settled these lands upon this James, the son of his wife by her said former husband Robert Stych; which lands descended from him to the said Samuel Davison, as being the son and heir of

George Davison, of Brandhall, by Susannah, daughter of Samuel Simcocks, of Whitchurch, which George was son and heir of Richard Davison, by Mary, daughter and co-heir of Mr. Higgins, and which Richard was the son and heir of the above mentioned James Stych; who in regard to his education under his step father, was usually called Davison. That this descent from the said James appears from sundry Deeds and Evidences executed by the Persons above named, now in the said Samuel Davison's custody, which are sealed with the above mentioned Arms of Stych. And by these Deeds it further appears that tho' the said James Stych thus assumed the sirname of Davison; Yet that he and some of his immediate descendants also preserved the Memorial of this their original descent in their Subscriptions to their Deeds, wherein they continued to use the initial Letters of the Sirname of Stych, prefixed before that of Davison till of late that method has been discontinued tho' the Arms of Stych have been constantly used; But the said Samuel Davison being unwilling to continue the usage of any Ensigns of Honour without an indisputable authority hath therefore prayed his Lordship's Warrant for our Granting, ratifying and confirming the aforesaid Arms and Crest with some necessary variation, to be born and used by him the said Saml. Davison and his descendants, etc., etc.

From this it will be seen that the arms confirmed to Samuel Davison were those of Stych of Stych—"sable three garbs or"—with the difference "on a canton argent a martlett gules" The martlett indicates descent from a fourth son. Crest—An eagle displayed arg. collared gu. holding in the beak an ear of wheat or.

SAMUEL DAVISON who had the above grant of arms and crest in 1737 died 1741, aged 74. By his wife, Barbara, d. of William Bainbrigge of Lockington, Co. Leicester (who d. 1748 aged 75) he had (besides 3 d. infants) 6 sons and 4 daughters, (1) Robert 1697, (2) William 1701, (3) Samuel 1704, (4) George 1705, (5) Nicholas 1707, (6) Richard 1712, (1) Barbara 1696-1763, (2) Susanna 1698-1760, (3) Mary 1700-1783, (4) Dorothy 1703. All except the eldest, Robert and Barbara, were baptized at Norton. The entries of Dorothy, Samuel, and George have the following curious note appended (patrimonii realis ad valorem Quinquaginta librarum per annum).

| The eldest son

ROBERT DAVISON, who d. 10th October, 1772 aged 75, was twice married—1st to Rachel, d. of William Leighton of Leighton, who d. 21st August, 1762; and 2nd to Ann, d. of Sir Philip T. Chetwode, of Oakley, Bt., who on his decease, m. Edward Mainwaring of Whitmore, Esq.

The will of Robert Davison, of Brand, Salop, dated 17 November, 1769.

Appoints as trustees and executors Viscount Kilmorey and William Bulkeley of Doddington. Also William Cotton, of Bellaport, trustee for wife, and assistant. Wife Ann also executrix with the above.

The estate is left in remainder

(1) To wife Ann for life.
(2) To brother William's son, William Holt Davison, in tail male, eldest always preferred.
(3) To brother Samuel in tail male.
(4) To Robert s. of brother George in tail male.
(5) To sister Mary.
(6) To nieces Barbara and Jane.
(7) To cousin Thomas Bainbrigge late of Derby.

Proved Lichfield 16 Dec., 1772.

The effect of this will was peculiar. The widow Ann, after her re-marriage to Edward Mainwaring lived on at Brand Hall till her death without issue at the ripe old age of 89 in 1816. She survived all the Davisons of her own generation and all the male heirs of the succeeding generation. The ultimate heirs were therefore grandsons (1) of William Davison 2nd son of Samuel, and (2) of George Davison, 4th son. The 3rd son SAMUEL DAVISON II. (1704-1770) was rector of Dalbury, Co. Derby, 1732, and Trusley in same Co. 1738 till his death in 1770. He had a daughter Jane, but no son.

WILLIAM DAVISON (1701) 2nd son of Samuel Davison I., who | died at Youghal, Ireland before 1769, married — Holt, relict | of — Rhodes of Okers Hall, and, by her had a son

WILLIAM HOLT DAVISON I. of Bramcote, Co. Notts, who married | Sarah Amielh, widow, and had by her two sons, Robert | Samuel, (1781-1799) and

WILLIAM HOLT DAVISON II. (1780-1822) who succeeded to Brand Hall on the death of his great aunt Ann Mainwaring in 1876. He died, unmarried, 1822 and was buried at Norton-in-Hales. He being the last of the senior line, the estate passed to the younger branch then represented by Daniel Wilson Davison, grandson of

GEORGE DAVISON II. (1704-1766) of Newcastle, Co. Stafford, 4th son of Samuel Davison I. who, by his wife Elizabeth had 9 children who died young, and a surviving son

ROBERT DAVISON II., senior physician for many years at the General Infirmary, Leeds. He died at Leeds, 12 August, 1810, leaving by his wife Mary, 2 daughters and a son

DANIEL WILSON DAVISON (1772-1836) who had by his wife Margaret Ann (?Stewart) two daughters; Jane Georgina b. 1828, and Diana Hay Bainbrigge, 1832; and a son

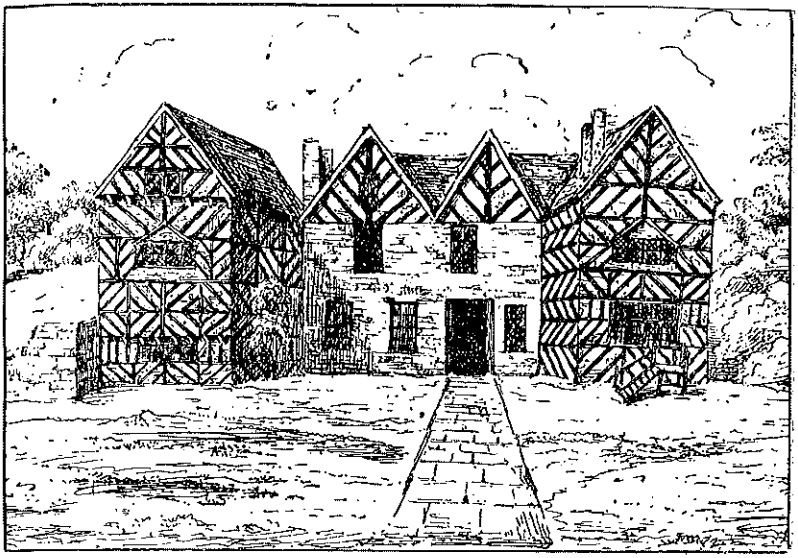
GEORGE DAVISON, Major Gen. Bombay Staff Corps., m. 28 Nov., 1855, Constance Louisa, 2nd daughter of Major Close, 9th Lancers, and d. in Texas. U.S.A., ca. 1908, leaving issue,

1. GEORGE MARKHAM, of whom presently

2. KENNETH STEWART, C.B. (1908), Major-Gen. Bengal Staff Corps, served in Waziristan 1894-95, and in Great War 1914-19, in Mesopotamia (despatches thrice), b. 1857; educ. Christ's Coll. and R.M.A. Woolwich; m. 1882, Nina Theophila (d. 1931), 3rd dau. of late Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S.I., and d. 17 April, 1934. The elder son

COL. GEORGE MARKHAM DAVISON, Durham L.I., gazetted Lieut. 1875, Col. 1906, educ. Haileybury; m. 1st, 11 Feb., 1885 (marr. diss. 1902), Adelaide Churchill (who m. 2ndly, 16 Sept., 1902, William Freeman O'Donoghue, and d. 22 April, 1935), dau. of Rev. Almeric John Churchill Spencer. He m. 2ndly, 23 Jan., 1926, Florence Elizabeth Largen, and d. 9th March, 1926 By his first wife he had two sons, Frank Clarence Davison and Almeric Davison. The elder

FRANK CLARENCE SPENCER-DAVISON was born 1889 at Mt. Abu, Central India: educated Heidelberg and Canada. Barrister-at-law. Lieut. 1st Canadian Exped. Force. Attached R.F.C. 1915. Manager Burma Cotton Co., Ltd., Myinmu, Upper Burma 1920, during the great influenza and plague epidemics. Founder of Davison & Co. (London,) Ltd., merchants and shippers, Junior Carlton Club, and Castle Kaps, Tyrol.



THE STYCHE — OLD HALL.

BRAND HALL.

EARLIER OWNERS OF BRAND.

The Brand estate originally belonged to the Grosvenor family, who also owned Bellaport. Richard, younger son of Thomas Grosvenor, of Bellaport, was of Brand, and his son William died in 1641 seised of the Brand or Brand Hall and of 40 acres of land, 10 of meadow, 50 of pasture, 6 of wood, and 100 of furze and heath thereto belonging. In 1639 he settled the same on himself and the heirs of his body, with contingent remainders to his brother George and his half-brothers Edward and Henry. He left at his death an infant son William, aged 1½ years, and his widow Margaret survived him.

The pedigree begins with

SIR THOMAS GROSVENOR, of Holme, from whose eldest son are descended the Dukes of Westminster. His younger son

THOMAS GROSVENOR II. was of Drayton-in-Hales (Market Drayton). He married Isobel, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Peshall, of Chetwynd and Bellaport, and had by her a son

RANDLE GROSVENOR, of Bellaport, who married Margaret, daughter of Randle Mainwaring. Their son

RANDOLPH GROSVENOR, of Bellaport, married Anne, daughter of William Charlton, of Apley, and had by her two sons—Thomas, and Henry (of High Offley). The elder

THOMAS GROSVENOR III., of Bellaport, married Mary, daughter of John Cotes of Woodcote, and had by her two sons William I. and Richard. The elder son

WILLIAM GROSVENOR I. was of Bellaport, which he sold to Sir Rowland Cotton, who rebuilt the house. The younger son

RICHARD GROSVENOR, was of The Brand. He married first Ursula, daughter of Francis Charlton, of Apley (bur. 1586) by whom he had two sons (William II. and George) and two daughters (Dorothy, and Anne, wife of Francis Mainwaring). Richard married secondly, Helen—who in 1609 married as her second husband, Timson Firchild—by whom he had two sons—Edward and Henry. The eldest son

WILLIAM GROSVENOR II. of The Brand also married twice (1) Anne, daughter of John Shirley, of Stanton Harold, who with her infant son Richard died 1634. And (2) in 1635 Margaret, daughter of Thomas Naylor, by whom he had a son William born 1639. William II. died 1641, and the Brand estate appears to have been purchased by George Davison from his heirs.

ANCIENT LAND TENURES. PRINCIPALLY OF SHROPSHIRE AND THE WEST MIDLANDS.

BY LILIAN H. HAYWARD.

In Feudal Times all the Land of England belonged nominally to the King, including the Towns and Church Property. There was no such thing as Freehold, or absolute private ownership of land as we know it to-day.

Although the seeds of our Land System were sown in Celtic times, perhaps even in the Prehistoric Ages, and developed during the Saxon Period, it was under the Normans that the Feudal Land System was built up.

Now there is just one date in English History that everyone knows "1066. William the Conqueror invaded England," and with good reason for he it was who established the Land System which lasted for so many centuries, and of which some of its most picturesque incidents disappeared as recently as 1936.

We are told that William set sail with 3,000 vessels and 60,000 men, nobles, knights and churchmen, as well as a horde of adventurers. Having conquered and more or less subdued the country, William dispossessed practically the whole of the native nobility of their lands, and gave them to his followers by way of reward—first to about 700 Tenants in chief—Earls, Barons and great Churchmen—who in their turn passed on parts of their property to sub-tenants—Knights, or men who were made Knights, (many of them being of quite base birth). These smaller properties, known as Knight's Fees, contained about 5 hides of land, a hide being on an average about 120 acres of arable land, plus a much larger area of pasture, woodland and waste land. Below the knights came the Agricultural Tenants, Freemen and Villeins, Cottagers and Serfs, most of whom were probably still the Saxon Tenants. The English were not allowed to hold any land as Tenants in Chief, but some who submitted were permitted to hold land as Vassals under the Norman nobles.

Among the Normans who gained great estates were William's nephew, Hugh de Arbriensis, who was given the whole of Cheshire, William de Warren, and Roger de Montgomery who received a large part of Shropshire and of what is now Montgomeryshire. In the Shropshire section of the great Land Survey, known as Domesday Book which William caused to be drawn up in 1086, we find names such as Pigot, Corbett, Mortimer and de Lacy, and de Warrenne, some of which are well known names in Shropshire to-day.

The Conquest also affected the Boroughs. The English born Burgesses sent up a wail "They still have to pay the same geld, or Tax, which they paid under Edward the Confessor, although Earl Roger has taken the sites of 51 houses to build his Castle, and laid waste 50 more: some are now occupied by Frenchmen and 39 are given to the Abbey which he is building."

All Tenants had to attend the Court of their immediate Lord and to do Homage for their lands and receive Investiture, the Chief Tenants from the King, the Knights from the Barons, and so on—for one of the great principles of the Feudal System was that every holder of land must hold it under some superior Lord. This was the usual custom, though soon after the Conquest, William summoned all who had received larger grants of land to do personal homage to himself, and our Saxon noble, "Wild Edric," was one of those who were summoned by William.

The King would be surrounded by his Court; the Noble knelt before him, and putting his folded hands into the King's, swore an oath as follows: "I swear to be faithful and attached to you as a man should be to his Lord. I will do so as long as I am your man, and as I hold your land." To this act of Homage corresponded the Investiture by the Lord who delivered to his Liegeman a Charter, a Flag, a Staff or some other symbol of the property conceded. Even the Villein (or Farmer) swore an oath of fidelity, and the Steward of the Manor gave him a Rod as Symbol of Admission to his Land, and the transaction was recorded on the Roll of the Manorial Court—hence the Copyhold Tenure of English Land—recently abolished. Though a Parchment Deed or Charter most frequently accompanied a Grant of Land, there were other forms of Tenure such as CORNAGE, when a Horn was the Title Deed.

The Title Deed of some of the Lands of York Minster is the HORN OF ULF. This is an ancient ivory drinking horn, elaborately carved. King Canute bestowed certain lands on his Vassal, Ulf, the Horn being the Title Deed. Ulf rebelled against Canute, who defeated Ulf, took back the Lands and the Horn and had Ulf slain in the Church to which he had fled for Sanctuary. As an act of atonement for this act of Sacrilege—so runs the story—the King later bestowed Ulf's lands upon the Church of St. Peter at York, and the Horn was again used to convey the Gift, which consisted of 19 Manors and their appurtenances, the names of which were recorded a bare half century later. The Horn is still to be seen in York Minster.

Another example is that of the PUSEY HORN to which the following story is attached. A few years earlier than the time of Ulf, Canute was at War with King Ethelred in Berkshire. One of his followers disguised himself as a shepherd and penetrated into the Saxon Camp on White Horse Hill, where he learned of an ambush prepared for the Danish King, and thus saved his life. Canute rewarded his brave follower by giving him as much land as lay within hearing of its blast. The Horn, a genuine Ox Horn, over two feet long, remained in the Pusey families ever since, and in the 17th Century it was produced in the Court of Chancery as a Title Deed. Captain Bouverie Pusey sold the property in 1933, and I wish I could say that the Horn went with it, as its Title Deed—this would round off the tale so very nicely. But, alas, the Horn was sold at Christy's in 1935 for 1900 guineas.

Sometimes a WEAPON was the Title Deed. Robert de Umfrevil held Riddesdale, Northumberland, by the ownership of the very sword which King William had by his side when he entered Northumberland, and by the service of using it to defend that part of the Country from the King's enemies and from wolves.

William de Plumpton held his lands in Warwickshire by virtue of a certain ancient Weapon called a Danish Axe, being the Charter whereby land was given to his ancestors, and which was hanging up in the Hall of the Capital Messuage at least as late as the 18th century.

In the 6th year of Edward I. at the Parliament of Gloucester, the King, by his Justices, questioning certain of his great tenants by what titles they held their lands, among others John, Earl of Warren and Surrey being called and questioned, showed them an old Sword and unsheathing it said, "Behold, my Lords, here is my Warrant. My ancestors coming into this land with William the Bastard did obtain their lands by this same sword and I am resolved with this sword to defend them against whomsoever shall endeavour to dispossess me."

Though it was held that the land was the King's, the Vassal retained it so long as he kept his oath and performed certain duties; and he was usually able to pass it on to his heir.

On the death of a Chief Tenant the King would enter into possession of the Fief for a year and a day, and the Heir must do Homage for his Lands and pay a Compensation to the King before he could take possession. If the Heir were a Minor the King could enjoy the Revenue of the Lands, or farm out the Estates to a Favourite, making the heir an allowance for his needs until he came of age. Such Wards had to marry the partners chosen for them (especially if the Ward was a Girl), or to pay the King a large sum of money to marry as they wished. The King's Tenants had to find the Dowry for the marriage of his eldest daughter, and to raise his ransom if he were taken prisoner in battle. The Chief tenants had much the same powers over their own vassals.

Holders of Land could be and were deprived of it if they failed to do Homage, or to perform Military Service; if they adhered to their Lords' enemies, or betrayed his secrets.

Lands were often granted for special reasons, such as for Service on the Field of Battle, or for doing some act of personal service. We read of a Saxon Kinglet making a grant of Land to a Lady for teaching his Daughter "Orfrey Work."

Edward Charleton of Powisland received a large sum of money for the capture of Lord Cobham in the reign of Henry 5. He rewarded two brothers of the name of Vaughan, who had helped him in the capture, with Grants of Land, free of all rents and services. Morris Jones refers to the Charter of these Grants (1489), in 1869, and it is presumably still in existence.

MILITARY SERVICE was the greatest charge upon the Mediæval Land-owner. Even Church Lands had to furnish Men at Arms and their equipment. In the reign of Henry 2. the Bishop of Worcester held 399 Hides, and he was bound to put 80 soldiers in the Field, (that is one for each Knight's Fee of 5 Hides), or to pay 40/- for each man lacking.

The Tenants in Chief, besides having to keep their Castles fortified and garrisoned, had through their sub-tenants, to raise men, horses, and equipment. A great undertaking this was. For instance, from the records of the Barony of Powis we learn that in the reign of Edward 2. in the 3rd year 400 men were ordered to be levied, in the 7th year, 500, and so on; during the short space of 15 years 3,781 men had to be raised.

Everyone possessed of a Knight's Fee was ordered to possess, for each Fee a Coat of Mail, a Helmet and a Lance. All Burgesses were to have an Iron Cap, a Lance and a Wombais (i.e. a quilted coat).

Besides the special Levies, such as those in Powisland, many Fiefs were permanently charged with the duty of providing one or more Sergeants in Arms, Horses, Equipment, etc., and this form of Service was generally known as Sergeantry.

During the Welsh Wars of the 13th and 14th centuries many such examples of such Service are to be found in Shropshire and the neighbouring counties.

HARCOTT, near Stottesden, had to provide one foot soldier with a bow and arrows.

In 1274, at LONGDEN, Reginald le Boteler was providing two foot soldiers, one with a lance, the other with a bow and arrows, in time of war.

At ROWTON Roger Burnell, who held in Chief from the King, was to send two archers to Montgomery Castle, in time of war.

At WHITTINGTON one Wrenoc, son of Meuric (these at least do not sound like Normans), held his lands by being Latimer, or interpreter between the English and the Welsh, and at another time by escorting the Latimer to Montford Bridge. Later the Lord of Whittington performed the service of bearing the King's Mandates through Wales. In 1200 Thomas Fitz Roger provided a Knight to conduct the Welshmen of Powisland, when they had to visit the English Court.

CHETTINGTON (now Chetton) provided a foot soldier for the Welsh Wars. The man had to take a bow and arrows, a calthrop and a cured hog. When he reached the King's Army he was to deliver to the King's Marshall one half of the hog, and the Marshall was to deliver to him daily for his dinner of the said hog, as long as he stayed in the King's Army, and as long as the hog lasted. (We are not told what was done with the other half of the hog).

The holder of GREAT BERWICK was also to attend the King in his wars in North Wales with a man at arms with a lance, a helmet, and a bacon, and to continue as long as the bacon lasted him and his man. In 1215 John de Spenser had to provide one horseman, one man and a greyhound, with the usual bacon, and they were to remain until the bacon was consumed, and afterwards if they must remain, at the King's charges.

The holder of SUTTON MADDOC was to be the King's Interpreter.

In 1225 the holder of ASTLEY near Bridgnorth had to bear the costs of the King's Pavilion when he went to Wales, while in 1255 the service was to find a Horseman for 40 days, and to send him supplied with Victuals.

FAINTREE, near Bridgnorth, was held of the King by the service of sending one foot soldier, with bow and arrows, when the King should be in Wales.

HODNET. The Vernons were Seneshalls or Stewards of the Honour of Montgomery.

At NORTON (Co. OXON), William son of Alan provided two good Catzuros or Tilting Horses.

The Manor of BRIMESTOW gave the King Breeches and Drawers when he went to Scotland.

The Earl of CHESTER'S Barons were anciently bound in time of War with Wales, for every Knight's Fee, to find one Horse with Caparison and Furniture, within the Divisions of Chester, and *their* Knights and Freeholders were to find corsletts and haubergers and to defend their Fees with their own bodies.

Hugh Lupus created Nigel, Baron of Halton, Constable and Marshall of Chester, by condition of leading the Vanguard of the Earl's Army when he should make an expedition into Wales; so the said Baron should be the foremost in marching into the enemy's country, and the last in coming back.

The Lord of MORE and LONG STANTON. The Lord of MORE was Constable of the King's Host, and to assume the Command of 200 Foot Soldiers whenever the King of England crossed the Welsh Border in warlike array. The said Constable was to move on the Vanguard of the King's Army and with his own hands to carry the Royal Standard.*

That this was a very important trust is shown by the fight in the Pass of Counsyllth near Flint, where the Welsh beset the English Army in a defile. The English Constable of England, Henry de Essex, was accused of being the cause of the disaster. Being in the thick of the fight, he threw down the Royal Standard. The Welsh were emboldened and the English dismayed by the correlative idea that the King had fallen. De Essex subsequently had to engage in ordeal of Battle with his chief traducer, Robert de Montfort, and being defeated was by law liable to death. The King spared his life, but he had to forfeit his Estates, and retire to the Cloister of Reading, where he died. We do not, however, hear of any such accusation against the Lords of More.

*The latter custom is still carried out. At the Investiture of King Edward VIII (then Prince of Wales) at Caernarvon Castle the present "Lord of More" was summoned to carry the Royal Standard.

In 1255 John Fitzaer held WITHIFORD of the Barony of WEM. He had to render the service of providing two Foot Soldiers with Bows and Arrows in time of War at Wem for 15 days. In 1313 Hugh Fitzaer held by the service of sending one man with a Lance at Wem for 20 days in time of War with Wales.

The Tenant of LANGSLOW had to perform "certain services" at Shrewsbury Castle, but in 1200 the service was commuted for the rent of a pair of spurs, value 3d.

In 1284 Ralph de Sandford held SANDFORD in Chief by the service of finding a man at Montgomery Castle in time of War, for 40 days at his own costs, while in 1308 Richard de Sandford held by the service of one man armed, and a horse not barbed.

In 1308 Richard de Leton held LEATON. His tenure was by 40 days Ward at Shrewsbury Castle, during which period he was to provide one man with a bow and three shafts, not feathered, in event of War, and after the 40 days were ended the man was to shoot his three shafts into the three quarters of the said Castle and to depart unless the King wished to detain him.

OTELEY. In 1216, among the Tenants of Roger le Strange were David de Oteley, who had to abide 40 days at Ellesmere Castle in time of War at his own costs, and the Lady of Lunyal who had to victual the Men at Arms in the Castle.

Henry 1. gave BRIDGNORTH to Sir Ralph de Pitchford by the service of finding dry wood for the great chamber, against the coming thither of his Sovereign Lord the King.

Domesday Book tells us that the "City" of SHREWSBURY then contained 252 houses. When the King lay in the "City" 12 of the better sort must serve him as Guards, and when he went hunting, as many of the best Burgesses having horses served as his armed guard. The Sheriff sent 36 Footmen, as the King's Bodyguard at the Park at Marstley.

All over England are innumerable instances of Lands held by such Military Services, and those of the Welsh Border are typical of the rest, though it should be noted that Lands

in the North of England were generally charged with service in the Scottish Wars, and those in the South in Wars with the Kings of France, while the King of England's Vassals in his French Territories had to aid him when he was at War with the King of France.

Walter de Hungerford held HOMET in Normandy by service of attending the King at the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, bearing a Lance with a Fox's Tail on it, and by finding 10 men at arms and 20 Archers during the Wars with the Kings of France.

SETONE, Kent, was held by Bertram de Oriel by the service of providing a man called a Vautier, to lead greyhounds when the King went to Gascony, for as long as a pair of shoes costing 4d. should last.

At TREY MAGNA, Essex, Robert le Trumpeter held his Lands by the service of bringing the King a Horse, a bag made of Hempen Cloth to hold Food, and a Leather Jug to carry Drink to the King's Wars in France.

BURG ON THE SANDS was held by the Service of blowing a Horn when any invasion of the Scots was perceived.

The Lord of BROCKHAMPTON (Southampton) must provide a shirt of mail, straw for the King's bed, and hay for his horse when he lay there.

The Lord of the Manor of CUCKEY (Notts.) had to shoe the King's Palfrey on all four feet, and if he chance to lame the horse he must provide a new one of four marks value.

William the Conqueror gave St. Loy, a Norman Noble, the whole Town of NORTHAMPTON, then valued at £40 per annum, by the service of providing the shoes for the King's horses. Walter de Glanville held FELSTED (Essex) by sergeantry of carrying a Seam or Horse load of oats (supposed to be eight Bushels) at his own costs for the King's Horse, when the King travelled in Essex outside London between the Bridges of Stratford and Colchester.

The usual Military Service was for 40 days, and one can imagine how difficult it must have been to organise an army, when its units were liable to change every 40 days. The service was also very burdensome to the Landowners, so after a time they were charged instead with a tax called Scutage, which exempted them and their subordinates from Military Service. The Tax levied on a Knight's Fee was £4.

The needs of the SHIPS were not forgotten.

The Town of MAULDEN (Essex) was held in the reign of Edward I. by providing the King's Navy with a ship and its furniture, when required.

William de Bok held LENYNGBURN by the Sergeantry of carrying and transporting to the Lord King (Ed. I.) the Ship called "the Bayard" towards Vasconium, at his own costs.

The City of GLOUCESTER had to provide 360 iron bars wrought to a fit shape to make nails for the King's Ships (though perhaps this was rent rather than service).

Francis Leek of CHICHESTER held Lands in Chief by paying to the King, when he came over the Western Sea in a Vessel called the "Goddeshalle," one spindle of thread to make the King a string for his Crossbow.

Before we leave the Sea, I must mention the remarkable Service of Saloman Allfield, who held Lands at KEPERLAND and OTTERTON near Kent, by the condition "that when the King wished to cross the sea, the said Saloman and his heirs must cross with him, and hold his head on the sea, when it might be necessary."

There were other forms of Sergeantry than Military or Sea Service. Several Shropshire Proprietors held their Lands by the Service of accompanying the Sheriffs when they conveyed the Ferm or Revenue of the County to the King's Exchequer, the King paying their costs. Two of these held Lands at STOTTESDEN, one at WORFIELD, and others at LITTLE HALES, BARDLEY (Stottesden) and Ewdness.

Many old Tenures were connected with Forrests, Hunting, Hounds and Hawking.

At Great BOLAS we find Hugh Fitz Herbert, Chief Forester of Shropshire.

In 1211 Ralph Moresdale, the holder of COTES, kept the custody of the Royal Forest of Biriwode.

The Sergeantry of MINTON obliged its Tenant to keep and protect portions of the Long Forest which lay about Stretton and the Longmynd Hills, and more particularly to preserve the Royal Hayes of Hazenor and Bushmore, the citadel, as it were, of the whole jurisdiction.

In the reign of Henry 3. Hugo de Kilpeck held his Herefordshire Manor by keeping the Haye of Hereford at his own costs.

The Tenants of HAMPTON had to get six horseloads of rods or withens in the Haywood, and to bring them to Hereford for the making of Hurdles for the Fair.

In the reign of Edward 1. Gilbert the Harper held his Lands at CHESTERTON, Warwickshire, by keeping the place called TEDDESLEY HAYE in the Forest of Cannock.

In 1281 the Manor of WHITCHURCH was held under the Earl of Warren, (apparently the same man who drew the old Norman Sword) The Lord of Whitchurch had to do duty as the Earl's Huntsman at the will and charge of the Earl. In 1316 Fulco le Strange held the Manor from the Earl by taking the Vermin throughout the Earl's Lands, at the charge of the Earl. (As the Earls of Warren held some 200 Manors, in different parts of England, this must have been no light task—though the Service may have been in respect to the Whitchurch Manor only).

Thomas de Egham held Lands at PYTCHLEY (Notts), by service of keepdogs for the destruction of foxes, martens, cats and other vermin at his own costs in the Counties of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Bucks.

At BISHOPS CASTLE (we are back in Shropshire) all the Burgesses must provide a man three times a year to drive deer to a stand in order to shoot them, or into Deer Hayes for the taking of them, when the Bishop wishes.

In 1330 Roger de Baskerville held PICKTHORN and LAWTON by the service of furnishing the King with a barbed arrow as often as he came to hunt in Corndon Chase.

Some kept Hounds or Horses for the King.

BERICOTE, Warwick, was held in the reign of Henry 2. by the service of keeping one young white Brache with red ears, to be delivered to the King at the year's end, and then to receive another to raise up, with a quarter of bran. (As *we* should say, "To walk a Puppy.")

At BAYTON, Essex, William de Rogers held two Carucates of Land by the service of keeping Wolf Dogs for the King.

A frequent form of Sergeantry was the payment to the King of a Hawk.

WRICKTON and WALKESLOW had the custody of one of the King's Hawks.

UFFINGTON paid the King a Hawk yearly.

The Lord of LANGLEY was to convey a Goshawk (or Falcon) from the Gates of Shrewsbury Castle to the King's sojourn at his Royal Palace.

At EDGMUND, Henry de Aldreley (ancestor of Lord Audley) had to provide a mued Sparrow Hawk to be delivered to the King's Exchequer every year at the Feast of Saint Michael.

There were many examples of Estates being held by the Sergeantry of performing honourable Services for their Lords, some of the most interesting being the Services to the King, and especially at Coronations. Such were—Providing three Maple Cups; being Steward of the King's Household, and taking charge of the Napery at Coronations; being Chief Lardner; taking charge of the Pantry Door, and doing so in Person at Coronations; providing the King with a Glove for his right arm; bringing a Basin and Ewer; supporting the King's right arm while he held the Royal Sceptre, and so on.

Perhaps the most notable of such Coronation Services was that of the family of Dymocke of SCRIVELSBY (and before them of the Marmion family from whom they derived), the Head of the family being the King's Hereditary Champion at

the Coronation Banquets. A splendid fine sight he must have been, as clad in rich armour, with a plume of blue feathers on his helmet, he rode into Westminster Hall on a splendid charger, accompanied by a Retinue of high Officials, including the Earl Marshall of England (still the hereditary office of the Duke of Norfolk), the High Constable, Heralds and others. After the Herald had proclaimed the Challenge, the Dymocke of the day threw down his gauntlet. Of course nobody ever accepted the Challenge, so the King drank to his Champion from a golden goblet, which was then given to him as a fee. The ceremony was last carried out at the Coronation of King George IV.

To come nearer home, Ela, Countess of Warwick, held a Manor from the King by the Service of carving at the King's Court on Christmas Day, and she was given as a Fee the Knife with which she carved.

Lady Lore de Sainford held HORNMEDE, Hereford, in the reign of Edward I, by service of being the Lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen.

At ASTLEY, Warwick, Philip de Astley held of William de Warren by the service of holding the Earl's stirrup when he should mount or alight from his horse.

The Greens of NORTON (Northants) held by this Service, to lift up the right hand towards the King on Christmas Day, wherever the King should be in England.

Hugh Courtney and his heirs held their Lands at SLAPTON, Devon, from the Bishop of Exeter by the Service of being Steward at the Installation Feasts of the Bishops of Exeter. When the Bishop entered Exeter, Hugh met him at the East Gate, descended from his horse and walked beside the Bishop to keep off the press of the people, and later served the Bishop at the Installation Feast. Hugh and his Heirs were to receive pieces of silver from the Bishop's table as a Fee.

And Rowland Sarcere held HEMINGWAY, Suffolk, by the Sergeantry that on Christmas Day before the King, he should perform a "Syfflet simil and semal," of which the Translation is given that he should Dance, puff out his cheeks, and with them make a crack.

Instances of important Ceremonial Services, such as bearing the King's Banner, or holding high office at Coronations were known as Grand Sergeantry, smaller Services as Petty Sergeantry. Some instances are picturesque, some are amusing and some are definitely useful. It is sometimes difficult to say whether the objects presented are to be considered as Sergeantry or as Rent. Generally speaking, we may say that when one arrow, rose or goose is was given it would be Sergeantry, but when a large number, as for instances, 6,000 dog loaves for the King's Hounds were paid, that would be rent. Instances of Lands held by the payment of a silver needle, an arrow, a hawk, peppercorn, etc., are so common that it would be difficult to even count them.

Roger de la Zouche held the Manor of TONG in the reign of Henry 2. He granted to Henry de Hugford and his heirs, Messuages and Lands at NORTON IN TONG, for the Service that Hugo and his heirs for ever should yearly give to Roger and his heirs a Chaplet of Roses on Midsummer Day, when he was at Tong, and if not that the Chaplet should be hung on the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Chapel. After the Reformation, the Chaplet was hung on the Tomb of Lady Pembridge, the Foundress, and I have been told that the Custom is still kept up.

At STONELEY, Warwick, four Tenants held their Lands by the Service of making the Gallows, and hanging the thieves.

At HENLEY, Warwickshire, Lord Stafford gave the King yearly a pair of scarlet hose.

In the reign of Edward 3. William Barneby held LASTRES, Hereford, by the Service of a Goose fit for his Lord's Dinner on Michaelmas Day, while William of AILESBURY had very appropriately to give his Lord two green geese at Michaelmas.

The holder of LOWER POSTON had to provide a bundle of box for the Chapel of Saint Michael in Shrewsbury Castle on Palm Sunday.

The Burgesses of NEWPORT (Salop) held their Liberties by conveying to the King's Court the fish taken in the Vivary.

The holder of IGHTFIELD paid the Lord 1 lb. of pepper for one Manor, and 1 lb. of cumin for another.

BENSINGTON (now Benson, Oxford) provided 5 sticks of eels yearly.

At BISHOP'S CASTLE Howel de Lyden and William ap John paid 3d. at the Feasts of Pentecost and Michaelmas, and gave 3 Ploughshares and 3 Coulters to repair the iron work of 3 ploughs at the Election of the Bishop's Bailiffs.

At STONE ASTON, Somerset, Bartholomew Pentengres had to send a Sectary (said to be $8\frac{1}{2}$ pts) of July-Flower wine each year on his Lord's birthday, and Matthew de Churt held the Manor of STURT by sending his Lord a measure of wine.

At CUMBERS GURRY, Peter de Waldron held the Lands by service of wool gathering for the Queen—i.e. collecting sheep's wool off thorns and bushes.

CORLETON, Norfolk, was held by payment to the King of 24 Herring Pasties annually, and these were being sent at least until the 18th century.

I suppose that everyone knows the little lace or paper mats called Doyleys which are put underneath cakes. They used to be made of linen, and were formerly larger than those used to-day. The family of Doyley of Gloucester held their Manor by the Service of rendering to the King yearly a small piece of fine linen. Hence the word "Doyley."

Many Manors, of which CONYNGSTONE was one, were held by saying Ave Marias or Paternosters for the souls of the King's progenitors. Alice Paternoster held Lands in the reign of Edward 1. at PUSEY, by saying a Paternoster 5 times a day, while at a later date Richard Paternoster had to say the Lord's Prayer thrice only before the Barons of the Exchequer, and that only when he succeeded to the Estates. A Community of the Nuns of South Brent, on the edge of Dartmoor, were given a Charter by Henry 4. on the Condition that they should pray every year, on August 31st for the soul of his predecessor, Richard 2. It will be remembered that Henry 4. seized the throne from Richard, and it is generally supposed that he had Richard murdered. The Nuns of the Abbey of South Brent still pray for the Soul of King Richard every year on August 31st.

Some light is thrown upon the rude manners of mediæval times by the following story of Stamford. William, Earl of Warren (how often his name appears) in the reign of King John, standing on the Castle Walls, saw two Bulls fighting, and one of them maddened by the noise of the people, ran right through the Town. "This so delighted the Earl" that he gave the Castle Meadows, where the fight took place, for a Common to the Butchers of the Town, on condition that they should yearly find a mad Bull the day six weeks before Christmas Day, for the continuance of the sport for ever.

Although Military Service was commuted in many cases, under the plantagenet Kings, for the money payment called Scutage, nevertheless Military Tenures lasted for nearly 600 years, being finally abolished during the Commonwealth, and this was confirmed in the Year 1662, when most cases of Petty Sergeantry were also extinguished. Grand Sergeantry (that is the performance of honourable offices to the King) were alone exempted from the Statute, and many instances of Grand Sergeantry still exist.

We have been wandering, somewhat at random, through the Feudal Period, having mainly concerned ourselves with important people.

Now let us turn to that class which we should to-day call Agricultural Tenants. Broadly these were of two classes, Freemen and Villeins, Farmers and Cottagers being included in both. After the Norman Conquest, the Freemen decreased in number, while the Villeins increased. Perhaps the Normans found the complicated Saxon system of men who were wholly free or only partly so an untidy muddle, and for the sake of order were inclined to group together as many possible of the non-knightly class, to strengthen the Norman principle that everyone should own allegiance to an over-lord.

The Freemen paid their Lords Rent and gave Military Service; they could move from one place to another, or transfer their service from one Lord to another; they were judges jointly with their Lord in the Court Baron of the Manor, though they themselves pleaded in a higher Court. The Villein Farmers and Cottars were tied to the Land. They could not leave the

manor without their Lord's consent, though he could sell them to another Lord. If a daughter married, a fine had to be paid, and if she went to another Manor the fine was heavier. If a son became a Clerk or a Priest another fine was paid, because the Lord lost a servant. On the death of a Tenant, his heir and successor must pay a fine—succession duty on the Land, so to say, and also a Heriot, which was generally the best beast or chattel on the holding. This was an acknowledgement of the assumption that the Lord had originally stocked the Land. Among the Tenants on the Manor of OTELEY, the best beast, a cuirass and the Tenants armour are named as Heriots—Heriots were of course paid by others than Villeins. When a Hereford Burgess died the King received his War Horse and Armour as Heriots. Though Heriots have been commuted into a money payments for a considerable period of time the Lord of the Manor has continued to receive them. In 1922, a Heriot of, I believe £20, was paid at TICKLERTON on the death of the owner of that property to the Lord of the Manor, Mr. Hanbury Sparrow. Heriots were, with other manorial "incidents," extinguished in 1936.

To return to the Feudal period—Rents were paid in several ways; in money, in kind and in labour, and sometimes by a combination of these methods, for even under the Saxon Kings, part of the rent was sometimes paid in money, though the rent paid by service was probably the most important to the Manor.

The Lord had a number of actual servants on his demesne (in Saxon times and under the first Norman Kings some of these were serfs; although the employment of serfs continued in the West of England and on the Welsh border longer than in the South of England, we do not hear of them after the 12th century) but much of the Husbandry was performed by the Villein Tenants, who had to do a certain number of days work each week, under the order of the Steward. Their Labour included ploughing, harrowing, sowing, ditching, fencing, draining, building and repairing buildings, erecting hunting lodges, etc.; gathering nuts is also mentioned. At Harvest time the entire population, including the Freemen, had to come and help the Lord to gather in his crops. Work beyond the ordinary Week-Work was rewarded by money, bread and ale, and so called

"Boon Work." The Boon Workers were often given a Feast in the Hall of the Manor, at Christmas, and we still use the expression "Bean Feast" no doubt a corruption.

The following extracts from the "Customs and of the Manors of THURGARTON and HOYNPOLL," Notts, are of interest.

"The Tenants of these Manors hold their Lands by these services. Every Native or Villein pays a cock and a hen besides a small sum of money. These cocks and hens are paid the second day in Christmas and that day everyone, both Cottagers and Natives dine in the Hall, and those that do not have a white loaf and a flagon of ale, with one mess from the kitchen. Every Villager gives ½d. towards clearing the Mill Dam. The Free-holders are bound to plough 3 days for the Lord with one plough, which is valued at 12d., and likewise to come three days in the harvest, the first with one man, the second with two, and the third day with five workmen and one of themselves in person, and every day to have their refection. The Natives or Villeins are likewise bound to give so many plough days each, and every plough is allowed a brown loaf and two herrings a day. Like-wise all the Natives and Cottars are to reap every other day in the Harvest, the first day every two are to have a brown loaf and two toillects, the second day two brown loaf and one toillect and afterwards every two men are to have three brown loafs" —and so on.

Copyhold Tenancies grew out of Villein Holdings. They were held under the Lord of the Manor. No written Deeds were given as in the case of Freehold property in modern days, but transactions were recorded on the Rolls of the Manor, and some form of admittance, generally by a Rod, took place at the Manorial Court. A widow usually had the right to some part of her Husband's Copyhold. My Husband held some Copyhold Land, and I surrendered my share in it for a small sum of money. I had to meet the Steward of the Manor, and to hand to him a rod which had been my Husband's symbol of possession. All Copyrights have been redeemed for cash recently, and that form of Land Tenure no longer exists.

In Mediæval times Rents in kind were paid in great variety. Sometimes they were an acknowledgement rather than rent. Some Tenants paid yearly as many eggs as they had acres, but often quite large quantities of food such as corn, bacon, honey, poultry, etc., were paid as rent.

A Manor of the Abbey of THORNSEY paid to the Abbey as rent a fortnight's Ferm (that is sufficient food to supply the Abbey for a fortnight). This consisted of 2,000 Loaves of Bread, 24 Gallons of Beer, 12 Quarters of Flour, 48 Gallons of Malt, two Sesters of Honey, 10 Rounds of Cheese, 10 Flitches, 10 very best young Sucking Pigs, 14 Geese, 120 Chickens, 2,000 Eggs and 2 Tubs of Butter.

Some of the King's own Manors paid as great or greater Ferms or Rents. This may perhaps explain why the Court moved about so much. When the Rent was paid in kind, it could not always have been possible for it to be sent from a great distance to the Capital, so the King had to go to the Manor instead, and consume his rents on the spot.

Things are very different to-day, and yet some old customs still survive. The Duke of Norfolk is still Hereditary Earl Marshall of England, and from the descriptions of the Funeral of King George V we know that the office is by no means a mere matter of form. The Earl of Radnor is the Hereditary Chief Forrester of Dartmoor and Warden of the Duchy of Corn wall. Early in 1936 we heard the proceedings of the Market Drayton Court Leet broadcasted; the nominal Tenant of the Moors near Bridgnorth still chops faggots as an acknowledge ment every year in October before the King's Remembrancer. At the Coronation of King George VI the Earl of Shrewsbury, as the Premier Earl, performed the act of Homage to his Majesty as the Representative of the Earls, and Viscount Hereford did the same on behalf of the Viscounts. The Court of Claims granted to the Earl of Shrewsbury the right of carrying a white wand as Lord High Steward of Ireland. The Marquis of Cholmondeley, as Lord Great Chamberlain, took part in the military Investment of the King with the Swords and the golden Spurs. The Duke of Wellington still holds his property by the payment of a rose, and the Duke of Marlborough holds his by

payment of a flag. The Farm Tenants of Shropshire still agree in writing to do yearly two or three days hauling for their Land lord, free of cost to him, and they are occasionally asked to do this. Even since the War, I have known of small sums of rent being offered and accepted in the form of Pork or Bacon. In these days of imported and manufactured foods, Landlords may well wish that some part of the Rent might still be paid in good farmhouse Bacon, Bread, Butter, Honey, or even by "very best young Sucking Pigs."

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ROMAN ROADS COMMITTEE: A BRIEF REPORT.

By H. E. Forrest (Hon. Secretary).

This committee was appointed in May, 1926, to investigate and map Roman roads in Shropshire and the neighbouring counties.

Clawdd Coch and Yockleton.

The first excursion was on 3 June 1926 to Clawdd Coch, near Llanymynech. Four old roads converge here; one of them, paved with cobble-stones, runs for a long distance in a nearly straight line to Llanymynech Hill. Mr. Jeffreys, an old inhabitant, stated that these are known locally as Roman roads. The paved one may have been made to convey lime and minerals from the Roman mines in Llanymynech Hill to the River Vyrnwy, thence to float down the Severn to Uriconium. On the return journey a call was made at Yockleton to inspect a length of old road which had been uncovered east of the Rectory, running east and west. This had the camber and compact gravel facing characteristic of a Roman road.

Caer Flos.

On 24 June 1926 a visit was paid to the Roman Camp at Caer Flos (The Gaer), near Forden, recently excavated by Dr. T. Davies Pryce and Mr. F. N. Pryce, who have published reports on it. The camp is situated in two fields and the hedge dividing them crosses it from N. to S. On following up this hedge northwards it was found that it rested on the original Roman road, which passed through the camp from N. to S. and probably continued on to the Severn, where there is a ford—Rhyd Whiman. The road northward probably connected with the British trackway along the top of the Long Mountain, which may have been utilised by the Romans, and continued through Westbury and Stony Stretton to Yockleton—the section inspected on 3 June.

PITCHFORD, ACTON BURNELL AND RUSHBURY.

On 9 July 1926 several lengths of Watling Street were examined at Pitchford and Acton Burnell, also the remarkable paved road at Ruckley known as the Devil's Causeway. Then along Watling Street through Frodesley, past Leebotwood, and through Cardington to Rushbury, where the church has herring-bone work with pieces of tufa, concrete, and bricks, which may be Roman. The special object of this visit was to examine an ancient narrow stone bridge about 100 yards N.W. of the station. This proved to be a medieval pack-horse bridge —not Roman. (Note: In 1933 this bridge was taken over by the Salop County Council, to be preserved as an ancient monument).

On 21 July a second visit was paid to Rushbury, and Roman Bank was thoroughly explored. It is supposed to be on a road to Nordy Bank.

NORDY BANK.

On 31 July 1926 Mr. H. E. Forrest, with a friend, visited Nordy Bank, on the flank of the Brown Clee hill, and carefully examined it, but found it difficult to decide whether or not it is of Roman origin. It is situated on a detached knoll of the Brown Clee, from which it is separated by a slight depression opposite Clee Burf. The camp itself is oblong in shape, with rounded corners, and slightly curved—not straight—sides. It is formed by a single vallum and ditch, the slope being very steep on every side. It is made of earth, with a few large stones. The space enclosed contains no hut circles such as are found in the great British camp on Abdon Burf; in fact, the surface of the ground seems to have been left untouched. On the outside, however, there are numerous earthworks. Towards Clee St. Margaret there are a number of deep pits along the outside of the vallum. As this is the natural approach, it may be that these were hiding-places for the guard or sentries (or possibly modern sinkings for coal). On the opposite side there are several long trenches parallel with the walls of the camp, and crossing the depression between it and Clee Burf. These might be designed to hamper the approach of an enemy attacking the

camp from that side, i.e., the British camps on Clee Burf and Abdon Burf, the latter being the strongest British post in Shropshire. There is a well-marked ancient trackway running for miles along the opposite ridge towards Cold Weston and Leintwardine (Bravinium). On the Ordnance map it is marked The Thrift. This passes Nordy Bank along the depression and between the parallel trenches, in the direction of Tugford, though the intervening length of roadway seems to be lost.

ROMAN BRIDGE AT WROXETER.

On 7 August 1926 work was begun to try to discover the position of the Roman bridge which is said to have crossed the Severn opposite Wroxeter Church, but of which there was no visible trace above ground. On the Brompton side of the river the Watling Street from the direction of Cound is still perfect, but comes to an end about 100 yards from the river bank. Trenches were cut which showed that beneath the turf it extended further towards the river. Funds for this research were provided by Sir Charles Marston. Excavations went on during August and September under the supervision of Mr. J. A. Morris, but no trace of a stone bridge-head could be found on that side of the river. On 16 October, Mr. Forrest having obtained leave to dig on the Wroxeter side, trenches were cut at various points in the large field between the church and the river. These were continued until 22 October. They revealed a well-made Roman road crossing the field diagonally towards the river in the direction of the Watling Street on the opposite side. The foundations of a house were also found, with the ashpit containing bones and potsherds.

No further work was done at Wroxeter till May, 1928, when it was resumed at the point where it left off in 1926. It was continued through June and July, and was rewarded by the discovery of the bridge-head, formed of large square stones and flat oak piles driven into the earth to prevent slipping. The stones, however, were not in position, but appeared to have been thrown down forcibly. A full account (with illustrations), by Mr. J. A. Morris, appeared in the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archæological Society, 1928.

WHITCHURCH AND A WATLING STREET CUTTING.

On 7 April 1927 Whitchurch was visited and the Roman remains in the Museum examined and listed. Professor R. Newstead, of Chester, was kind enough to come over and to give expert assistance in dating the pottery. For list see Minute Book. Coins date from Nero (54-68) to Constans (337-361).

Mr. H. E. Forrest exhibited materials from a cutting through the Watling Street at Hart's Hill, Oakengates, made in laying a sewer for the adjoining school, under the direction of Mr. Bayley, architect to the Salop Education Authority. These showed that the road was built on a foundation of timber logs 8 to 12 inches in diameter, laid diagonally across the roadway, about four feet apart. Above these was a layer of twigs, holly leaves, moss and clay; then pieces of rock or sandstone 9 to 12 inches deep; and above this six inches of black concrete. The holly leaves were still green, and the oak logs sound (though black with age) after the lapse of over 1,500 years. Mr. Bayley stated that when a sewer was laid opposite the Old Hall, about 12 years before, the construction of the Watling Street there was found to be similar.

MUCKLESTONE.

On 13 May 1927 Mucklestone was visited, particular attention being paid to hamlets bearing the significant names of Little Manchester and Arbour Farm, though nothing distinctively Roman could be seen there. A hoard of 645 Roman coins was unearthed by the plough at Longford in 1898, and, by good luck, the committee came across a farm labourer living here who was present when they were found and who pointed out the exact spot on the map. They are described in *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, 1898, p. 21. Near Arbour Farm is a curious megalithic monument known as the Ring and Finger stones. The Long Ford is part of the Roman Road from Gailey to Whitchurch and Chester.

LLANYMYNECH HILL.

On 9 June 1927 Llanymynech Hill was visited and some time spent in examining the numerous works of man which cover the hill-top. The Romans mined extensively for lead, copper

and zinc. Their workings are remarkable for the fact that in addition to excavating horizontal passages in the side of the hill, they sunk shafts from the top to reach the mineral veins. The Ogof Hole is the deepest of the horizontal workings, but there are several others along the hillside which are roofless. The huge quantity of lime used in the buildings of Uriconium was doubtless obtained from Llanymynech Hill; carted down the paved road to Clawdd Coch; and floated down the river to Wroxeter. Mr. Forrest suggests that Llanymynech is Mediolanum, and that Iter II was diverted thus far westwards (instead of going direct to Chester) because it was here that the Romans could obtain unlimited supplies of lime, as well as other minerals, with a minimum of labour and cartage.

LYDHAM AND LINLEY.

On 21 June 1927 Lydham and Linley were visited, and the site of the Roman villa inspected, as well as the big camp on the Roveries Hill.

ROMAN VILLA AT HALES HALL.

On 20 April 1928 a visit was paid to the Roman villa half a mile east of Hales Hall, which was being excavated by Mr. T. Pape and a party of his schoolboys. A second visit was made on 9 June. See report in *Transactions* of the North Staffordshire Field Club.

On 1 June 1928 a visit was paid to Aqualate, near Newport, where there is a reputed Roman well.

On 7 September 1928 the committee visited Leintwardine (Bravinium) and, in company with Mr. Jack, County Surveyor of Hereford, explored the Roman site and a length of Watling Street in the neighbourhood of Wigmore.

On 27 June 1929 Greensford, near Wolverhampton, was visited, where Mr. G. P. Mander pointed out traces of a rectangular earthwork, where finds of pottery, etc., indicated Roman occupation up to about 120 A.D.

WROXETER TO MEOLE.

On 20 July 1929 the committee met at Betton Strange Hall, with the object of tracing the Roman road which ran between Wroxeter and Meole. Behind the Hall it was found as a raised causeway along the western edge of a pond running N.N.W. towards Sutton. On the Ordnance map this is marked as a footpath running straight to Sutton Hall, where it becomes a roadway towards Meole. In the opposite direction the road was traced southwards to Betton Abbots. A little to the E. of the farm-house it shows as a lane with hedges on both sides, entering the road to Betton Pool at right angles. Here it is blocked by the hedge of the latter road, but beyond the hedge it was discernible crossing the grass-land as a straight road, well cambered and ditched on both sides. The third field was ploughed and planted with mangolds. But beyond is a place called King Street (now marked by two cottages). Close to one of the cottages the Roman road again appears as a short length of lane with hedges on both sides. Here it diverges eastwards in order to avoid the two Berrington Pools. This was as far as it was investigated, but it undoubtedly went on through Berrington to Watling Street and crossed to Wroxeter by the same bridge as that highway.

OLD ROADS ON WENLOCK EDGE.

On 14 August 1929 a day was spent examining a number of old roads and trackways on Wenlock Edge, with the assistance of Mr. George Potts, who is familiar with them. One near Rushbury is known as the Pilgrims' Way, because it was the route taken by pilgrims to the shrine of St. Milbutga at Wenlock. None of these roads appeared to be of Roman construction.

RATLINGHOPE AND WENTNOR DISTRICTS.

On 10 July 1930 the neighbourhood of Ratlinghope was explored—the Castle Ring camp on Stitt Hill, and a linear earthwork of the "short ditch" type on the way up to it; also an old grassy lane leading up to the Port Way along the top of the Longmynd. Hartshorne mentions Roman coins found in a ditch between the New Leasowe and the Thresholds farm.

None of the tracks, etc., could be identified as Roman. The same remark applies to the Wentnor region, explored on 31 July 1930.

Bury Walls.

On 1 October 1930 a visit was paid to High Ercall, Rowton, and Bury Walls, the largest and strongest earthwork in North Shropshire. Camden and later antiquaries state that Bury Walls was a Roman station, and it has even been suggested that this Rowton was the Rutunium of the Antonine Iter II. With the object of ascertaining whether or not there was evidence of Roman occupation, extensive excavations were carried on at Bury Walls between 23 October and 15 December 1930, under the supervision of Mr. E. W. Bowcock. Funds were generously provided by Sir Charles Marston. A report by Mr. J. A. Morris was published in the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archæological Society, 1931, with a large-scale plan by Mr. P. W. Taylor. The net result was of a negative character, no proof of Roman occupation having been found.

The Roden District.

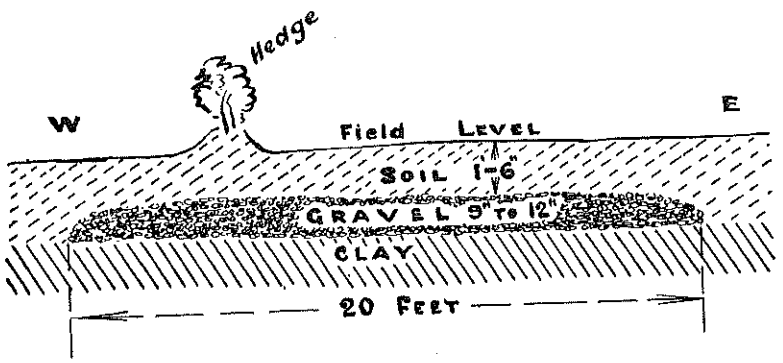
On 17 August 1931 the committee explored the region around Roden, covered by a series of air photographs taken in February, 1929. These revealed and confirmed a considerable portion of what was almost certainly the line of the Roman road from Uriconium to Deva (Chester). There was a sprinkling of snow on the ground when the photographs were taken, and this brought out little irregularities in the land-surface which would otherwise have been invisible. On this date the road was traced from the main road at Roden southwards, where it appeared to be almost in line with, and partly beneath, a field hedge; then along the edge of a plantation into a grass track between hedges. A continuation of this is called 'Drury Lane,' and a field there is known as the Farthing Piece on account of the numerous Roman coins turned up by ploughing. Northwards it runs across fields to Poynton Grange. On 23 September 1932 the committee continued the survey further north. From Shawbury to Moreton Corbet the road appears to have coincided

with the modern one, but where, just beyond the latter village, the present roadway diverges westward, the Roman road kept straight on across the fields. The air photographs seem to indicate that it crossed the Roden to Harcourt Mill.

On 7 October 1932 the committee continued the exploration to the north of Harcourt Mill. Crossing the old mill-leat, they walked up the east side of the Roden to a point where a cow-house in a fence at the far end of the field appeared by the air photographs to be possibly standing actually upon the Roman road. In the next field beyond, three large oaks wide apart were in the line of the supposed road, while a little to the right was a ditch in the same line. Twenty-five feet south of the northernmost of the oaks, Miss Chitty was lucky enough to find a piece of pale red pottery, evidently form the base of a wheel-turned vessel. This is accepted by experts as Roman, and probably second century. [Exploration further north yielded negative results: 16 May 1933].

In November, 1933, having heard that the Co-operative Society were erecting extensive glasshouses at Roden and making a new road which would cross the supposed line of the Roman road, Mr. Forrest went over to examine the site. He found that the new road would cut right across the line of Roman road explored by the committee on 17 August 1931. On 14 December the manager, Mr. Vogel, sent word that all was ready for cutting through the road. Three members of the committee—Dr. Gepp,

SECTION OF ROMAN ROAD AT RODEN



Mr. Bowcock and Mr. Forrest—went over, and under their direction the workmen (kindly provided by Mr. Vogel) cut two trenches across the line of the road, which was also the line of the hedge, both running N. and S. The surface was soil, the ground having been ploughed for ages past. But about a foot below the surface a compact gravel surface was encountered, and this was found to extend E. and W. 20 feet. The gravel was found to be 9 to 12 inches thick. The hedge was on the road, but nearer the W. than the E. side. The gravel came to an end five feet W. of the hedge. Beyond was nothing but undisturbed boulder clay. Thus we have definite proof that the Roman road came this way, and the hedge is right upon it.

EBURY CAMP, BESFORD AND LEE BRIDGE.

On 24 August 1934 a visit was paid to Ebury Camp, on the western extremity of Haughmond Hill, where quarrying operations had revealed that at the N.E. corner the rock had been levelled so as to form two small platforms, and then paved with flat pieces of sandstone. The camp is not at all strong as a defensive work, but may have been used as a look-out, as it commands a wide view over the plain where the Roman road to Chester runs northwards through Roden. There may have been towers on these platforms. The camp itself is neither typically Roman nor British, being rectangular only at this N.E. corner. The other sides are slightly curved.

From Ebury a sandy lane was followed to Besford and Lee Bridge. This is now grass-grown on the flat, but bare sandstone on the hill, where in one place it forms a deep cutitng in the rock. It has no distinct Roman characteristics.

On 18 September 1934 the line was taken up again at Lee Bridge, and though the present road keeps along the low level, it was thought that the original road may have been the one which runs along the hillside above it and which joins it at Holloway further up. Several old roads in the neighbourhood of Hodnet were afterwards explored.

ROAD CROSSING MEOLE BROOK BY FORD.

In April 1937 Mr. Forrest discovered the ford at Meole Brace by which the Roman Road crossed the Rea Brook. It is in line with Sutton Lane which itself is the Roman Road traced by this committee to Sutton on 20 July 1929. The brook bank at this point showed another road surface about 2 feet above the Roman road. This upper road was evidently modern, far the material used in its construction was full of broken tiles of late 18th century date. Mr. Forrest found documents in the County Surveyor's office showing that a temporary bridge was erected here to carry the traffic while Telford was re-building the main-road bridge 1811-13. The Roman Road went straight on from the ford to the Mill (now the Ice factory) and then to the School. Here a branch road went westwards via Yockleton and Stony Stretton to Caer Iflos (see under June 1926) but the main road (represented by a footpath) went northwards to the Cemetery, and then along what is still known as the Roman Road to Copthorne, Alberbury and Llanymynech. Between Sutton and Copthorne the new By-pass Road follows almost exactly the same line as the Roman Road.

THE ANTONINE "ITER II" IN SHROPSHIRE.

The researches of the Roman Roads Committee, 1926-37, seem to point to the following conclusions. The earliest Roman roads were those made by the military. As plotted on the map, it would appear that the Watling Street was at first continued in a direct line from Gailey to Chester. But, Uriconium being founded about the same time, a branch road was constructed due west to that city, and another due north from Uriconium to Chester joining the one from Gailey at Whitchurch.

Early in the second century large quantities of lime and stone were required for the building of Uriconium, so a new road was constructed to Llanymynech, where not only lime but copper and other minerals were obtainable. This road was extended north from thence to Chester. When the Antonine Itineraries were compiled this had become the permanent road

between Uriconium and Chester (53 miles in Iter II). The direct military road via Whitchurch was abandoned except between Uriconium and Grinshill, that section being kept in good repair for the transport of stone for building. This explains the gaps in these earlier roads, where they cannot now be traced; they had ceased to be used or kept in repair.

There seems no reason to doubt that this later road is the 53-mile section of Iter II between Uriconium and Chester, and that the three stations between these places, mentioned in Iter II, are identifiable as follows:—

Rutunium	11 miles	=	Rowton
Mediolanum	12 ,,	=	Llanymynech
Bovium	20 ,,	=	Holt
Deva	10 ,,	=	Chester

The above is the only section of Iter II which had not (until now) been traced; it has been described as going to Chester "by an unknown, circuitous route," the direct north route being under 40 miles.

The skill displayed by the Romans in the layout of this road is remarkable. They contrived to avoid all the windings of the Severn, and to make the one bridge at Wroxeter serve all the roads, including the branch roads to the Minsterley lead mines and Caer Fflos. Similarly, they avoided all the windings of the River Dee, keeping to the east of it right into Chester.

In reply to a letter of mine on this subject Professor R. G. Collingwood writes:—

"My own work on the Itinerary has persuaded me that it does not aim at prescribing direct routes, but routes passing through important places; my own suggestion (published lately in Tenney Frank's Economic Survey of Rome, vol. III.) is that it describes the routes followed by the official postal system. If so, it is only natural that Iter II. should have followed a devious route such as you suggest, provided that by doing so it passed through important places. I do not think that roads unmentioned in the Itinerary necessarily dropped out of use,

or even that they were no longer repaired at the expense of the Emperor. What I think is that they were not used by the postal vehicles carrying official dispatches."

I agree that these roads did not "necessarily drop out of use or.....were no longer repaired," but the section of the north road between Shawbury and Lee Brockhurst has disappeared so completely that our committee were unable to find any trace of it, although they spent a considerable time in probing and digging the ground. It is therefore certain that this portion of the road was not kept in repair, although between Uriconium and Grinshill it was in excellent condition.

SHREWSBURY CASTLE.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY J. A. MORRIS, F.R.S.A.

Tradition avers that both the town and castle of Shrewsbury were built soon after the destruction of Viroconium in the 5th century. It claims that "this most ancient and famous Towne was first founded by the noble and victorious kings of Brutaines, Dyffenwall Moel, and that this most noble Kinge, made the Castle there, and the North Gate, and a wall from the Castle to Seaverne on the North side, leaving Seaverne to be a wall and defence to the towne".

The foregoing are the words of Oliver Mathews writing in 1616 without, so far as we know, any precise evidence as to its strict historical truth; but it records the survival of a tradition, containing some element of probability at least as to the origin of the town and castle, though the name of the earliest founders is by the nature of the evidence lost in the mist of time.

SAXON PERIOD. It may be reasonably assumed however, that contemporaneously with the building of the town, some kind of defence grew up on the castle site. The first step, when the Saxons came here in the sixth century, would be to erect some kind of stockade across the isthmus, if this had not already been done, and we may equally be sure that one of their earliest works was to fortify the crest of the hill and to erect some kind of watch tower on the highest point.

The site of the castle has been described as a precipitous eminence, the ground on which it is built rising to a height of 67 feet above the isthmus, and being some 900 feet in width between the windings of the river Severn.[1] At the south-east corner of the hill-top is an artificial mount 35 feet in height, oval in plan, merging on the east into the scarp of the hill. This "mount", now surmounted by Laura's Tower, probably marks the position of the watch tower of the Mercian Earls;

1. Vict. History of Shropshire, p. 399.

the pre-Norman Castle being indeed merely a simple structure, composed in part of timber, with a protecting wall or stockade surrounding the area enclosed.

During these early years, the town gradually increased in size, and in the time of Alfred the Great, Shrewsbury was numbered amongst the principal cities of Britain, possessing indeed the high priviledge of a Mint. We know that Ethelred the Second paid occasional visits, in the early years of the eleventh century. Shrewsbury must have grown in royal favour, for Edward the Confessor (1041) frequently resided in the town, finding it a convenient centre for hunting in the adjacent forests.

At this time it is stated, that there were 250 houses in the town.

But times of peace alternated with periods of war, and in 1066 it is recorded that the "King's Castle" in "Scrobesbury" was besieged by Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, accompanied by bands from Wales and Cheshire, when the town was partially destroyed.

NORMAN PERIOD.

11th CENTURY. In 1070 the town felt the results of the Norman Conquest, when William gave to his kinsman Roger de Montgomery, the surrounding country, and the town of "Shrobesbury", with the dignity of an Earl.[2] One of Roger's first works was the construction of a castle, or rather the re-building and re-construction of such buildings as already occupied the site. Domesday Book shows the considerable enlargement that took place; it states that the "Castle erected by the Earl, occupies the site of 51 houses, and that 50 houses lie waste".

In 1094 Roger died, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Saints Peter and Paul, which he had founded.

12th CENTURY. But Shrewsbury Castle as a baronial stronghold had but a short tenure. In 1102 Robert de Belesme (brother and successor to Roger) unsuccessfully rebelled against Henry I. with the result that both the Castles of Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury surrendered to the King in the same year.[3] Robert

2. O. and B., Vol. 1, p. 39.

3. p. 77.

de Belesme was expelled from the country. All his possessions having been surrendered, the Earldom was vested in the Crown, and the castle became Crown property. It remained as the "King's Castle" until the time of Queen Elizabeth.

As a Royal Castle in a remote district, it had but little official use, which resulted in a chequered career, alternating between a state of dilapidation and periods of reparation; much depending upon the policy of the successive Kings, and the occasional importance of its strategic position during the wars with the Welsh. In 1138 when it was held in the interest of Queen Matilda by William Fitz Alan (as castellan and Sheriff of the county) against King Stephen whom he regarded as a usurper, the Castle was besieged, but surrendered after a siege lasting four weeks. In the next two centuries its importance waxed and waned, varying with the degree of turbulence on the Welsh border, and its importance to the English Kings, in their ambitious projects as regards the sovereignty of Wales.

13th CENTURY. Under Richard I and John, whose interests mainly lay elsewhere, the castle was neglected, and fell into a ruinous condition. The capture of the town in 1215 by Llewelyn the Great, Prince of Wales, forcibly directed attention to the weak condition of the defences. Henry III visited Shrewsbury in 1226 when he entered into an amicable peace with Llewelyn. Royal grants were made and a new rampart surrounding the town was commenced, the work occupying a period of 32 years. The castle was repaired and strengthened; but these repairs do not appear to have been of a very substantial character, as before the end of the long reign of Henry III the castle had fallen into a state of ruinous decay; with the result that probably little remains to-day of the building erected by Roger Montgomery except some portion of the ramparts.

In 1269, the town and castle were placed under the government of Prince Edward, the King's eldest son.

In 1272, Edward succeeded his father, and it soon became clear that it was not his policy to allow the castle to remain in a defenceless condition.[4] Edward had very early conceived the idea of annexing Wales to his dominions, and this purpose

4. Topographical Hist. of Shrewsbury, p. 10.

necessitated a strong line of castles to overawe the country. Accordingly, he built castles at Beaumaris,[5] Rhuddlan, Conway and Harlech, and re-built Shrewsbury Castle as we have it to-day, with the exception of the upper portion of the Great Hall, with the windows which lighted the upper story. The Hundred Rolls, assigned to the third year of Edward I (1275) comprise some particulars of the possessions of the castle in Edward's reign.

"Of the Castle of our Lord the King".

"A certain meadow called King's meadow belongs to the King. It is worth by the year 5 shillings, which the Sheriff receives. The ancestor of Roger de Layton were accustomed to perform Ward in the castle with a cross-bow for forty days at their own cost, in the time of Earl Roger: at a subsequent period, that service was turned into an annual payment of 40 Shillings".[6]

In 1283 Parliament was summoned to meet at Shrewsbury,[7] this being the first occasion on which the Commons shared any legal authority in the affairs of the realm. The Castle was neither adequate, or in such condition as to make it suitable for the purpose, and it is likely that the Parliament, although it assembled at the Abbey, was afterwards adjourned to Acton Burnell. It was on this occasion that David, brother of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, was tried for high treason, and afterwards barbarously executed.

14th CENTURY. The 14th century was a period of unrest in the history of the town and country, and the castle was placed under the control of a constable appointed by the King, who fulfilled the somewhat undignified role of the custodian of a prison for malefactors of all ranks. Early in the century a certain Roger Springhouse being displaced, a new keeper, Leonius, was appointed to Shrewsbury Castle, with "armour and victuals".

In 1317 we get a glimpse of the state of affairs in the county, as in this year the Sheriff of Salop was ordered to put 20 men

5. O. and B., Vol. 1, p. 147. Note 5.
6. Blakeway, Topographical History of Shrewsbury, p. 8.
7. O. and B., Vol. 1, p. 147-8.

in the castle,[8] and to pay them the King's wages, out of the issue of the bailiwick, "provided that the castle may be safely guarded". And the Sheriff was also authorized to expend £20 on necessary repairs. In the next year, a new custodian was appointed (apparently under the control of the Sheriff), it being "the King's will that Roger Tremwyne shall have custody of both the castle at Shrewsbury and Bruges" (Bridgnorth).[9]

In 1335 Gilbert de Brompton was appointed "custodian of the gate and goal of Shrewsbury Castle".[10] He seems to have entered into a somewhat dilapidated inheritance, as in 1336 a commission was issued to the Abbot of Shrewsbury and Nicholas de Aston to "survey the castle of Shrewsbury which is reported to be very much out of repair".[11]

The general evidence appears to suggest that the Sheriff of Salop was made responsible for the garrisoning and provision of the castle, but the deputising of the Royal responsibility and the frequent changes of Keepers were not calculated to promote its welfare. The King appears to have regarded the Castle as a means of rewarding deserving retainers, for we find that in 1399 there was a "Grant for life, to the King's esquire Thomas Hynkesley of the office of constable of the King's castle at Shrewsbury, with the accustomed fees and profits, as Hugh Cheyney, chevalier, had, viz:—with wages of 6½ pence daily from the issue of the County of Salop".[12]

The obviously lax supervision over the Castle property in the 14th century, led to abuses and trespass. And gradually the Knights and gentry of the county took advantage of the situation: they built for themselves houses within the outer bailey, which gradually became private property.

The chapel attached to the Castle may be mentioned here, as it seems to have shared in the general neglect at the end of the 14th century. This Chapel dedicated to "St. Michael within the Castle" is mentioned in Domesday Book (1086) when it held about 150 acres of land. The Patent Rolls give the names of

8. Patent Rolls, p. 504.
9. ,, ,, p. 510. Edward II.
10. ,, ,, p. 171.
11. ? Edward III.
12. Patent Rolls, p. 218. Henry IV.

many "King's Clerks" who held the appointments of Chaplains to the "King's Free Chapel of St. Michael within the Castle". They do not appear to have held office for any lengthy period; perhaps the position was looked upon as a step to higher preferment. The religious functions must indeed have fallen into desuetude, as in 1395, William Tyrington was charged with destroying the chapel, removing the stone, lead, glass and vestments; the chapel being described as "utterly destroyed and laid down in ruins. 200 Marks would not be sufficient to repair it".

In 1399 Ralph Repynton, Dean of St. Chad's, was appointed "Warden of the Free Chapel of St. Michael within the Castle", and it is probable that the general condition of neglect of both chapel and castle which he found, resulted in the Commission which was appointed in the succeeding year.

15th CENTURY. The condition of the castle in 1400 is vividly portrayed in the instructions to a Commission, of Hugh Burnell, William Slepe, and Thomas Inkele who were appointed to "enquire about divers wastes and destruction committed in the Castle of Shrewsbury in the lead, iron, windows, towers and timbers. And to report on the building without license of divers houses and outbuildings in the King's soil, called 'Kyngesdyche,' between the Castle and the town of Shrewsbury".

Further, as regards the Chapel of St. Michael.

In 1402. A grant was made to John Repington, brother of Ralph Repington, of the Free Chapel of St. Michael within the Castle, with the church of St. Julian's annexed. Frequent changes were at this time in vogue.

In 1402. John Acton, succeeded Thomas Hynkesley—"with dues and profits", and in 1404 he surrendered his office, "being invalid receiving £10 yearly from date."

During the early part of the 15th century, the castle appears to have been used solely as a gaol, and when Henry VII. visited the town at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury (1403), the Castle was described as a "mere pile of ruins."[13] The King was informed that no prison existed in the county, except the

13. Pt. Rolls, Part 1, Henry IV, 1399. Blakeway, Top. History, p. 10

"ruinous Castle of Shrewsbury now utterly wasted", and he was "besought that a sufficient prison be made, with a chamber over it for the Warden"; and the plea was in so far effective that he directed a warrant to be issued to apply a remedy thereto.

In 1405 the King's cousin, the Earl of Arundel, was appointed Keeper of the town of Shrewsbury. Shortly after (1407) a commission was appointed to audit the accounts of the collectors in aid of the fortifications of the town, and repairs of the wall during the last 20 years. In the same year a new constable, Nicholas Gerard, was appointed, to be followed by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to David Holbache, Thomas Newport and Robert Lea of Roden touching all treasons committed by certain traitors within the Castle of Shrewsbury.

During the 15th century nothing of importance appears to have occurred in the history of the Castle. It continued in the possession of the Crown with Constables appointed under the control of the Sheriff to act as gaoler of the prisoners interned therein. About the middle of the century repairs were again urgently needed and in 1459 large quantities of timber were required, probably for the repairs of the roof and floors which had falled into decay. For military purposes indeed the castle had become practically useless, and after a century of neglect it was described by Churchyard as "old and ruynate".

16th CENTURY. [14]We now come to a period comparatively settled and civilized, when law, though still, for two centuries, deformed by frequent examples of tyranny, was beginning to exercise her sovereignty over every department of the state. The Merchant Guilds grew in power, and the general prosperity of the country produced a race of Merchant Princes to whom their martial ancestors gave place. The castle dwindled in importance, it ceased to be of any use for military purposes, and provided only an inadequate prison. The outer bailey in fact had long ceased to be recognized as within the castle precincts. As early as the time of Henry III[15] a "house was built between the two gates under the Castle". During the wars between Henry and the Barons, it was removed, but the "Jurors gave it as their opinion that there is no nuisance to the Castle.

14. O. and B., Vol. 1, p. 282.
15. Topographical History of Shrewsbury, p. 9.

Richard Smith raised a shop in the town's ditch at the time, when he was making our Lord the King's chamber in the Castle, and the King's wall round the town, for the accommodation of the masons, and so it still remains". All of which goes to show that the Castle precincts were gradually being absorbed as sites for civilian residences.

As early as the middle of the previous century the greater portion of the Outer Bailey was in the possession of a member of the Plowden family, in the capacity of "King's Tenant".[16] This John Plowden was the grandfather of Edward Plowden, the great lawyer. He sold it to Sir Roger Kynaston, son-in-law of Richard Gray, Lord Powis, whose widow sold it to Peter Newton of Petton.

[17]In 1503 Peter Newton built himself a fine mansion on the site of the Council House, which afterwards became for many years the occasional residence of the Council of the Marches of Wales. It was at first known as "Newton Place" and later as "Lord's Place".

[18]In 1564-5 the Council House had passed into the occupation of the Queen's Solicitor-General, Richard Onslow, and had assumed the name of "Master Onslow's Place". In the same year Queen Elizabeth demised to Richard Onslow the site of "the late castle, and all the ground and soil within its circuit for a period of 31 years from Michaelmas last past, at a rent of 13 Shillings and four pence per annum", so ending the long period of its existence as a "Royal" Castle.

[19]In 1570 St. Nicholas' Chapel and an adjoining piece of ground were let to him at a rental of 2 Shillings and sixpence per annum ; and late in the same year the Smith's Forge adjoining was added at an increased rental of three shillings and fourpence.

Richard Onslow died in 1571. "This year master Richard Onslow master of the Queen's majestie's wardens, commynge in good healthe to Shrewsberie (where he was borne and brought up) to vyset his uncle Umffrey Onslowe, then being baylyf,

16. Topographical History of Shrewsbury, p. 13.
17. O. and B. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 271.
18. do. do. p. 376.
19. Hist. Manuscript Commission 15, Report, Appendix Part X, p. 16.

endyd his lyfe and lyeth buried in St. Chad's churche". The Onslow family were generous contributors to their native town: Humphrey Onslow restored and partially re-built the Lady Chapel of St. Chad's Church; erected a building for the sale of corn, another building for the sale of produce near the High Cross (probably on the site of the Post Office) and paved the great causeway between the Lord's Place and the High Cross.

Nothing is recorded about the Castle during the lease granted to Richard Onslow which expired in 1596, and the question as to whether the raising of the Great Hall, with its upper storey and windows, including the ornamental roof timbers, was due to the munificence of the Onslow family is never likely to be decided.

Prior to the termination of the lease (1578) the bailiffs appear to have exercised some sort of authority in the castle when an order was issued that the "bailiff shall enter upon the castle-gates and prisoners, and expulse all the Sheriff's prisoners, and take the keys into their possession".[20] The Queen in 1596 granted "all the walls (of the Castle) and stone thereof and all the soil, ditches, etc. within the precincts" to the bailiffs and burgesses, they paying the same rent as before.

17th CENTURY. Very little is recorded about the Castle in the early part of this century, and we are left in doubt as to exactly when the town authorities bestirred themselves in the preservation and repair of their newly acquired possession. Sometime about this period the upper storey was added over the central portion, but when or by whom, we do not know.

In 1600 a "Kyre or caller for the night-tyme" was appointed, "his duty being to kyre and call all throughe the towne in the night gyving all people knowledge of the clock, to take heede of doores and lockes, of fyre and candell-light, and so bydding them all good-night[21].

In 1617 an order was made for "raising money and for setting the poor to work on repairing the castle".

In 1641 Watch and Ward[22] was ordered to be set at the gates of the town and castle, and the inhabitants of the town were

20. Hist. Manu. Commission 15, Report, Appendix X, p. 19.
21. O. and B., History, Vol. 1, p. 401.
22. do. do. p. 415.

enjoined to provide themselves with sufficient fire-arms. In September 1642, King Charles I came to Shrewsbury, and stayed two nights at the Council House and again in the following year. He presented two pieces of ordnance to the Corporation, and entrusted the military command of the town to Sir Francis Ottley of Pitchford. After the battle of [23]Edge Hill later in the same year, the Corporation adopted further measures for the security of the town, and levied a cessment of £250 to repair the Castle Walls, the postern gates and other war-like purposes. In 1643 Lord Capel visited the town. He found the "Castle so ruinous, that it was fit neither for habitation or defence". A few months later (January 1644) Prince Rupert, now appointed Captain General of the Forces, wrote a letter to Sir Francis Ottley, from which extracts are as follows :—

"I require you to call together the gentlemen and townesmen to assist you in such charges as will be requisite for the covering of the Castle of Shrewsbury, and the dividing and disposing thereof into rooms capable and fitting to receive the stores ; so as such ammunition as from time to time shall be sent into these parts may lie dry and safe".

Immediately after the receipt of this letter, the town was required to raise £1000 and to provide accommodation for the troops, so that it may be assumed that the repairs to the Castle were the least that would suffice to make it fit for the required purpose. The Castle, having been placed in a state of defence at the cost of the inhabitants of the town, was garrisoned in the Royalist cause. Dissensions and suffering ensued, and representations were made to the Governor pointing out the miseries and extremities to which a once flourishing town was reduced in the following terms :—

"The town, was at first ordered by Prince Rupert to pay in contribute money, and were promised that no free quarter should be put upon them".

"The charges for fortification, buying 8 pieces of ordinance, making of gun-powder, providing coals and candles for the several guards. For this, the whole revenue of the town will not pay the coals and candles for the sentries".

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23. O. and B. History, Vol. 1, p. 431.

On the appointment of Sir Michael Earnley as Governor, matters went from bad to worse; partly owing to his declining health, he was unable personally to enforce that vigilance essential in dealing with an alert and active enemy. Negligence and debauchery among the soldiers, and disaffected inhabitants of the town found no great difficulty in seducing them from their allegiance.

The town was attacked on February 22, 1644-5. A small body of men led by Lieutenant Benbow, had little difficulty in gaining an entrance through St. Mary's Water-lode. They scaled the bank beneath the Council House, captured the Burgess gate, adjoining the Free School, and admitted the main body of soldiers who marched into the centre of the town. Very little fighting took place and only 5 persons were killed in all, on both sides. About midday, the garrison in the Castle surrendered, and were allowed to march out, with the intention of going to Ludlow. Many tradesmen were ruined by the plunder of their goods, and the plate and other property of gentlemen of the county, which had been lodged in the Castle for safety, enriched the soldiers with a plentiful bounty. Lieutenant Benbow, who took such a prominent part in the capture of the town, subsequently transferred his allegiance to the Royalist party. He was captured after the battle of Worcester, tried, and ordered to be shot on the green before the Castle. This took place on October 15, 1651. His grave can be seen in the churchyard of Old St. Chad's.

In 1683 it was stated that the castle contained 38 barrels of powder, and arms for 300 men, when a plot, which failed, was discovered in opposition to Charles II. In 1686 the cannon, arms and munitions were removed, and the castle ceased to be of any military value. In 1660 a new charter was given to the town by Charles II which reserved "all that our Castle at Shrewsbury, to us lately surrendered". The surrender of the Castle to the Parliamentary forces, terminated its history as a military fortification, and its surrender to the Crown shortly after the restoration of Charles II, dissolved its connection with the town authorities. Soon after the Restoration Sir Francis Newport was created Viscount Newport, and made Lord Lieutenant of the County. About this time (1663) the Castle was

granted to him by the King. The actual date of this grant is not known, neither is any documentary evidence known to exist in confirmation of the grant.[23a] Gough, in his history of Myddle, says that "Colonel Hosier of Cruckton was appointed Captain of the Castle, when the Kingdom was wholly at peace, and that the castle was by the King sold or given with the waste ground belonging to it, unto Francis Viscount Newport". He also adds:— "In 1702 the Earl of Bradford, hath builded two fair houses on the waste ground".

These are probably the two houses at the approach to the Castle now known as The Castle House, and Castle Gate.

[24] "In the time of James II all the cannons, and all the matches of which there were several hundred weights, and many of the muskets that were in the Castle were by the King's order taken away; and sent down water, I know not whither."

[25]George Hosier of Cruckton, the Captain or Governor of the Castle, made it his residence until 1673. In 1683 there was a plot to seize the Castle, by disaffected Royalists, when it was stated to contain "38 barrels of gunpowder, arms for 300 men, and great guns" but "the plot was revealed to the Secretary of State".

From the time of James II onwards through the 18th century the Castle appears to have been occupied as a private residence. [26]In 1730 it was leased to Mr. Gosnell of Rossall, who made certain alterations, which were described as "making it into an inconvenient and dismal domicile" until it came into the hands of Sir William Pulteney, when it was modernized by his friend Telford, the eminent engineer. The circumstances under which the Newport estates came to the Pulteney family, and eventually to the Duchy of Cleveland, will be found in Blakeway's "Sheriffs", p. 110.

23a. On enquiry from the present Earl Bradford he writes: "I have been making enquiries of my relatives, and have been searching the Muniment room, here (Weston Park) for documentary evidence of the grant, but I am sorry to say entirely without success". S.A.S. Vol. XII, 2nd series, p. 13. "Sir Francis Newport received a grant of the Castle". Shropshire Houses, Stanley Leighton M.P. p. 1. "In 1663 Charles II granted the Crown estate (the Castle) to Francis Lord Newport".

24. O. and B., Vol. 1, p. 455.

25. Gough's History of Myddle, p. 177.

26. O. and B., History of Shrewsbury, Vol. 1, p. 492.

In 1773 The lower Castle Gate (on a site opposite Meadow Place) was removed.

In 1780 The Upper or Burgess Gate, which had been used as a prison, was also removed.

In 1825 the surface of the roadway (Castle Gates) opposite the Free Grammar School, having been lowered, Mr. Pelham, the tenant at the Castle, offered to build a wall to the level of the newly formed terrace (in front of Castle House) at a cost of 80 guineas. He also contributed £50 to the general improvement of the roadway.

During all the years of its existence, the Castle appears to have had little association with the life of the town. The garden between the Castle House and the entrance to the castle precincts, forming part of the outer bailey, was known in late mediæval times as the "Cabbage Garden" and "Bowling Green". It was probably on this site that Lieutenant Benbow was shot, and that the election of Knights of the Shire took place.

To summarise the long history of Shrewsbury Castle, it was founded as a King's castle, to overawe the surrounding country, and as one of a chain of fortesses forming a protection against Welsh marauders. But the Royal owners do not appear to have taken any personal interest in its welfare and placed it under the care of the Sheriff and the resident governor. This latter appointment could not have been an attractive one, as most of the governors held office for a very short period. In mediæval times the Castle was little more than a prison. Very little money was allowed for its repair, and probably only such portions as were required for the prisoners were maintained, all the rest being allowed to fall into a recurring state of ruin and neglect. It was quite unsuitable for a private residence, and it is fortunate that the alterations made in the eighteenth century have destroyed so little of its original features.

On the death of the Duke of Cleveland, the property passed to the late Lord Barnard. His son, the present Lord Barnard sold it to the Shropshire Horticultural Society, by whom it was subsequently presented to the town of Shrewsbury. The interior was re-modelled, the upper floor removed, and the building generally restored. It was opened to the public on 21 January 1926, and the main chamber is now used as the Council Chamber.

ST. MICHAEL'S WITHIN-THE-CASTLE.

The early history of the Church of St. Michael Within-the-Castle is intermixed with that of St. Julian's. The date at which they were first brought together is not known. It held two manors when Domesday was compiled, the "donation" being "of our Lord the King", and at one time Ford Chapel also belonged to the Rectory of St. Michael. The names of most of its Rectors are known up to the time (1421) when its revenues were annexed to the newly built College of Battlefield.

Speed's Map (1610) represents it as standing to the east of the Castle, somewhere in the direction of the archway in the wall near Laura's Tower, but it is probable that all traces of it had disappeared when this map was made, and the site of the chapel forgotten. It may be that future excavations on the greensward on the right of the front of the castle may reveal the foundations of the building.

The position of succeeding "King's Clerks to the Free Chapel of St. Michael" does not appear to have been an attractive one. There were frequent changes, and the incumbents appear to have spent much of their time in looking after the temporal emoluments of the Rectory. The Chapel, like the castle, suffered from neglect, and as early as 1395 it was stated to be "utterly destroyed and laid down in ruins". The end came when the College of Battlefield was founded in 1410 and the revenues of St. Michael's were granted to it. Yet, some remnant of the chapel must have existed when in 1605 an order was made by the Corporation "that persons shall view the stones in the Castle belonging to St. Michael's Chapel, and take account thereof, and enquire what stones are taken away".

THE OUTER BAILEY AT ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.

The present gateway forming the entrance to the Castle grounds, was originally the entrance from the outer bailey. This may have extended as far as Windsor Place, enclosing all the area afterwards occupied by the Lord's Place or Council House, and the premises between Castle Street (The High Pavement) and St. Mary's Water Lode. The Outer bailey would, in early times, be intended for the accommodation of the stables of the Knights, and the dwellings of their retainers.

The commission of 1400 already referred to, probably refers to these encroachments, and eventually the outer bailey was almost entirely built over.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.

Very little is recorded of the early history of this building ; it would be required for the use of the retainers who resided in the outer court of the fortress. Through all the changes and periods of decay it survived until the year 1867, when it was taken down, and the site is now occupied by the Presbyterian Church of England. An illustration of the building at page 473, O. & B. History, Vol. 2, shows a building which may have been contemporary with the Norman Castle. It consisted of a nave 50 feet long and 19 feet wide, with a semi-circular archway leading into the destroyed chancel. Two of the original narrow high windows remained, and a 14th century inserted window in the west end. A large opening had been made in the west end, so that it could be used as a coach-house : the chancel end being used as a smith's shop. On the north side two stables had been erected, the whole forming a picturesque, if inconvenient, adjunct to the approach to the Castle. Blunt's drawing dated 1839 of the Free Grammar School and S. Nicholas's Chapel shows a watch-man's box standing in front of the Chapel.

It is an interesting fact that whilst we know nothing of its history until the time of Henry VIII, when it evidently belonged to the Corporation, and a small sum was expended on its repairs, it was the best preserved portion of the Norman Castle that remained until the middle of the last century.

Rev. W. A. Leighton described it as a small cruciform structure of Norman character with an apsidal east end, and herring-bone work in the north wall.

SHREWSBURY CASTLE.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES AND THEORIES.

The site on which the castle is erected would be a desirable one to its early builders : it protected the isthmus across which the town is approached : it stood high above the surrounding country, and it was almost inaccessible.

To what extent the plot on which it stands has been flattened out, we do not know; but the existing contour of the inner-ward, suggests that the centre may have been scooped out to make a level area in front of the building, and the surplus earth piled up against the mound on which the early watch-tower stood, now surmounted by Laura's Tower. The existing ground level of the building would then have a basement, the surface of the soil sloping up to the level of the Main entrance to the Great Hall, and towards the boundary walls on the western side.

This theory is supported by the evidence discovered as to the position of the main entrance in the 1926 restoration, when a portion of the thirteenth century jamb of the doorway was discovered; and the entrance re-constructed, as it might have been when the castle was re-built by Edward I.

There is no evidence as to the position of the "King's Castle" of Saxon times, but the probabilities are that it occupied the position of the present building, as represented by the two round towers and outer north wall. It will be well to consider what evidence is provided by the drawings which have come down to us showing the castle at different periods of its existence.

The earliest plan is that known as Lord Burleigh's plan, which was made about 1570, on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's proposed visit. It shows the two round towers, the central great hall roofless, and the main entrance in about the position in which it was recently discovered; a round tower in the position of the eastern postern gate and the watch tower, on the site of which Laura's Tower now stands.

On the western side of the inner ward, is a building with two gables and no roof, this may have been St. Michael's Chapel. There is also a building nearer the entrance archway a little to the east: but for what purpose, we do not know.

Then comes John Speed's drawing of 1610: this is interesting as showing an ecclesiastical building at the north-east corner, which it has been suggested represents St. Michael's Chapel.

Phillips' north-east view of the Castle circa 1760 shows four windows on the north side, in deep shadow.

Rocque's drawing of about the same date is an impossible drawing. The Towers are square, and the frontage greatly exaggerated.

Hulbert's drawing—1830—is fairly accurate: it shows the 4 window and Telford's Dining room window—circa 1800. Later drawings of the north front are those of Pearson, Radcliffe 1843, and Mrs. Stackhouse Acton 1867. All are treated artistically and afford little information as to the original windows on this side.

A coloured plan published with Rev. W. A. Leighton's "Shrewsbury of Past Ages" shows the two towers connected by a screen wall: and this, he thinks, represents the Norman Castle. These walls are of great thickness, and one is tempted to suggest that some of the original Norman masonry remains in the lower portion of the walling on the north front. It is improbable that there were any openings in the screen wall as first erected, and only narrow slits in the towers on the outer sides. The towers appear to be earlier than the great hall, and if this is admitted, the doorways into both towers would be the entrances to the towers before the central area was enclosed to form the great hall.

It will be convenient to consider the evidence in the fabric of the towers, as apart from the central portion.

Both towers have unlighted basements, which may have been used as prisons.

The basement of the west tower appears to have been lined with new masonry and was made into a wine cellar in the 18th century.

The basement walls of the east tower have been repaired with brickwork, it has been a beer cellar.

THE WESTERN TOWER has features which suggest that it may have been the quarters occupied by the governor of the castle. There is a square headed doorway on the west side, which would be the nearest point of approach from the main entrance to the Inner ward. This leads into a lobby, lighted by a narrow double chamfered window (now blocked up) which, like the doorway, may be original. Beyond this is the apartment now used as

the Mayor's Parlour. Every original detail was hidden or destroyed when Telford re-constructed the interior with enlarged openings for windows, elaborate rococo chimney piece, plaster cornices and panelling in the style of the period. The doorway into the great hall has slightly sunk rounded jambs with a pointed arch, and although in its original position, there is some evidence of alteration in the walling at this point.

The upper room is approached by a stairway in the thickness of the west wall of the great hall. This wall has two features of interest; on the inner face it has a plinth and set off next the hall, and on the outer face it is corbelled over to increase the thickness of the upper portion. The plinth may indicate the exposed face before the great hall was constructed, and the corbelling over on the outer face may have been necessary for the greater thickness required by the stairway leading from the hall level to the upper floor of the tower: it is very difficult to reconcile these two possibilities.

On arriving at the entrance to the upper room, there is again evidence of disturbance of the masonry. The doorway leading into the room has the remains of an earlier arch above it, which may have formed part of the vaulting of the chamber.

On entering this room a square opening on the right has been partially blocked up. On the left, the facing of the lower part of the masonry has been cut away. In this, the south-west angle of the room, there is a kind of recess, lighted by a window which may re-produce the original one.

The evidence of vaulting in this corner is very clear, part of the groining ribs remain, as well as a delicately moulded 13th century corbel. Lying on the floor is a carved keystone boss, with the termination of the groining ribs, similar to that in the S.W. corner. It may be that this was the keystone of the vaulting of this room.

The recesses and seats are in part original, but probably the window openings have been widened.

A flue pipe for a stove was at one time connected into the flue which comes up in the interior of the wall from the room below.

The window in the south-west angle commands a view of the main gate and inner ward : it may have been the Governor's sleeping room.

THE EASTERN TOWER is entered from the present entrance Hall. The doorway has the same rounded mould and a pointed arch. It is unusually high, and this is explained by the fact that the floor of the tower was 18 inches higher than it is now, and that the door opening was lengthened when the floor was lowered. The floor in the recessed north window remains at the higher level. On the south side towards the entrance hall, there is a pointed arch which has been built up, and a small look-out opening adjoining : behind these openings is a small chamber, which may have been intended for the door-keeper. The arched opening is obstructed by a later cross wall, reducing the size of the little chamber. It may be that this arched opening was at one time the means of access to the dungeon below. The difference in the levels of the floor of the towers would be discovered when the great hall was built. All the floor levels were made to correspond with the ground floor of the western tower. The upper floor is approached like the western tower by a stairway in the thickness of the east wall of the hall. It was a bedroom with a modern chimney in the 18th century, since removed, and the masonry was much damaged in the alterations that were made at that time. It has a recessed cupboard, and a pointed arch leading to the bottom of another stairway giving access to the roof above.

When the upper storey was added to the great hall, a doorway was roughly cut, giving access to the rooms on the upper floor and to what is now the public gallery.

CENTRAL PORTION.

THE BASEMENT FLOOR probably had no windows, other than the narrow slits which gave a dim light and provided ventilation. If it had an outer door, it may have been the opening under the steps to the main entrance. There were doorways giving access to the two dungeons under the towers. The octagonal room at the west end, the and window in the north wall are part of the alterations which were made when the building was adapted for domestic occupation in the 18th century. The

details are very similar to those in the Mayor's Parlour, and may have been Telford's work at the end of the century.

THE GREAT HALL is approached through an entrance hall, from which it is divided by a timber-framed screen. This screen was removed to its present position during the recent re-instatement of the building, and was constructed at the time that the building was raised to its present height.

When the hall was built, the Norman north wall was probably taken down, wholly or in part, and a fireplace built in it, of which part of the original work has been discovered. This has been re-built as it is believed to have been designed. There was a chamfered string course running along the north wall, and possibly on the south wall also, which may have been widened out to form a seat. The windows in the north wall are insertions, but at what period it is not possible to suggest, whilst the lower openings in the south wall are original. The splayed jambs have the characteristic filleted round of the late 13th century; the windows themselves, though modern, are in the style of the period.

At some date late in the 16th century, when the hall was roofless, or early in the 17th century, an upper storey was added, and the upper row of windows dates from this period. The original height of the hall is shown by the remains of a hollow and round string course in the north wall.

The lead covered timber roof with its elaborate mouldings gives evidence of the skill of the mediæval carpenters engaged on the work. It must have occupied a considerable time to erect; and it is difficult to believe that it was hurriedly put together, when the Civil War was looming in the distance.

On the other hand, the period of greatest activity in the construction of the timber framed buildings in the town was between 1570 and the early part of the next century, and it is probable that this was the period when it was constructed. Outside the building there are few features which attract attention.

All the openings in the basement are obviously modern. The plinth projection at the west end of the south front is difficult to explain, but it may be an insertion, as it does not course with the walling above.

The portion of the South wall in which the entrance is built projects, making it thicker than the other portion of this front, and it is finished by a weathering at about the level from which the hall was raised. Most of the parapets, and a good deal of the replaced facing dates from the time when the castle was restored by the Duke of Cleveland in 1887.

Walls and Gateways.

The enclosing walls have been restored and re-built at many periods. If there is any early work it is on the east side, between the Posterngate and the Laura Tower.

The Posterngate-way was probably re-built with old materials at the time when the Civil War was approaching.

It may have been intended for access to the river. It has a pair of massive doors and a groove in the masonry for a portcullis gate which was never provided. Above is a chamber, which may have been a store room.

The main Entrance has a semi-circular arch, with a bold round on the jambs and arch: it is built into an early portion of walling which is much thicker than the walling of later times. It has been assumed, that this archway dates from Roger de Montgomery's Norman castle; but the moulded work is similar to that in the doorways leading from the Great Hall to the two towers, which have pointed arches, and is believed to have been built by Edward I late in the 13th century. The massive door and the outwork screen walls belong to the civil war period.

There is a well in the centre of the Inner Ward 74 feet deep which supplied water for the inmates of the castle.

Stone used in the Building.

In the Norman period much stone was obtained from a quarry in the public park "The Quarry", now "The Dingle": also from a quarry on the slope between Claremont Hill and Claremont Bank: this stone is of a purple colour, and only found in very early work.

In the 13th century Grinshill stone began to be used, and red stone was brought down the river from Belvidere and Eyton-on-Severn.

In the middle ages, red stone was used from Red Hill, and when the Castle was restored in 1887, stone was brought from Myddle. In the recent restoration Hollington and Runcorn stone was used.

INQUISITION POST MORTEM (ABSTRACT).

WILLIAM GROSVENOR.

Inquisition taken at Shrewsbury, 6 October, 17 Charles I [1641] before the King's Escheator there to enquire after the death of William Grosvenor, gent., deceased.

The jurors [named] say on oath that long before his death, the said William Grosvenor was seised of a capital messuage in Brand, co. Salop, called the Brand or the Hall of Brand and of 40 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 50 acres of pasture, 6 acres of wood, 100 acres of furze and heath to the same capital messuage belonging, in the parish of Norton in Hales, co. Salop and of 2 cottages, and a close of land divided in three parts in Norton in Hales in the tenure of John Ankers and formerly of Richard Poole. The jurors do not know of whom or how held and the same is worth, clear, 33*s.* 4*d.* Also of the moiety of the leet and view of frankpledge of the Manor of Betton under Lyne, held of the King in chief by 100th part of a Knight's fee and worth yearly, clear, 12*d.*; and also of a yearly rent of 16*s.* 8*d.* issuing from lands in Newton within Cawsland, tenure unknown; also of a cottage in Bridsmere, *alias* Bridgmere, co. Chester, in the tenure of one Tankard, worth yearly 12*d.*; and of 2 burgages in Newcastle under Lyne, co. Stafford, in the tenure of Ottiwell Stubbes and Richard Bolton, worth yearly, clear, 5*s.*

So being seised, by his indenture bearing date 20 December, 15 Charles I [1639] he granted the same to Francis Charleton, John Cotes and George Taylor to the use of himself, for life, and his heirs in tail male with contingent remainders in default of such issue, to his brother George Grosvenor, in tail male, to his half-brother, Edward Grosvenor, in tail male, to Henry Grosvenor, brother of said Edward, in tail male, to the right heirs of the said William, under provision made that on the deaths of the said William Grosvenor and Helen Firchild, late the wife of Richard Grosvenor, gent., deceased, father of said William, £20 a year should be paid to Margery, wife of the said William, for life, she having power to distrain for the same, and £10 a year to Dorothy Grosvenor, sister of the said William,

He was also seised of a messuage called Brownings Acre and of 10 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow and 20 acres of pasture in Gravenbunger, co. Salop., in the tenure of Edward Woodd and formerly of John Heath, held of Sir Henry Wallop, Kt., as of his manor of Gravenbunger, by fealty and suit of court and worth yearly, 10s.

He died 9 June last past at the Brand having issue William Grosvenor, his son and heir, aged 1 year, 6 months at his father's death. Margery, relict of deceased and Dorothy his sister, survive, and dwell at the Brand.

[The above will serve to illustrate the Account of Brand, by Mr. H. E. Forrest, which is printed in this Part. R.C.P.].

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