Transactions

OF THE

Shropshire Archæological Society

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED 1877.

VOLUME XLIX.

Part 2.

(1938).

SHREWSBURY:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

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SHREWSBURY.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEA.

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY).

ANNUAL MEETING, 1937.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Castle on Thursday, 14 October, Sir Charles Marston, President, being in the Chair.

In his opening remarks the Chairman said he wished that there was a greater interest taken in Shropshire archæology than had been the case in recent years. "We belong to a County with peculiar rights in archæological matters. We are proud of our Shropshire descent, and of the archæological evidence which exists in the County, so that we must emphasise these facts to get more and more people to take an interest in the subject." In the case of Wroxeter they had a site of extraordinary interest, and the whole surroundings of Roman Shropshire were inviting them to devote attention to it.

Miss H. M. Auden, in giving the annual report said that the work of the Shropshire Archæological Society had gone on quietly since the annual meeting a year ago without very much to be noticed in that report. The repairs at Pitchford Church had been completed and Wilderhope had been opened as a Youth Hostel having been saved from ruin by Mr. Cadbury through the interest and kind offers of some members of the Society aided by Mr. Allan Hughes.

The Society had to deplore the loss to Shrewsbury of such old timber work as the Old Ship Inn, a good structure of the smaller type which has vanished in the clearing of Barker Street, and Sherar's House, mentioned in 1582, one of the picturesque features of the Wyle Cop. Sherar's House was for years known as the "Hero of Moultan" Inn and was adorned by a portrait of Sir Herbert Edwards, who distinguished himself at Moultan in 1848.

Thanks to Sir Charles Marston ground was cleared of earth in the old excavations at Wroxeter preparatory to fresh exploration undertaken in the autumn by Miss Kenyon.

The Roman Roads Committee had continued their work of research in North Shropshire. Miss Chitty was going on with her study of the bronzed and stone implements of the county, and several members, notably Mr. L. C. Lloyd and Mr. Forrest, had interested themselves in the arranging of spare copies of the Society's transactions and printed registers.

The financial statement shewed a balance in hand of £58-9-7. Details will be found on another page.

Mr. J. A. Morris, in moving the adoption of the Report and the Accounts, spoke of the excavations at Wroxeter. The motion was seconded by Dr. Gepp and carried.

Mr. H. E. Forrest submitted a Report on the work of the Roman Roads Committee, which has been printed in the *Transactions* for 1937.

Mr. Alfred Marston was re-elected auditor, and the following were elected to the Council:—Miss Auden, Miss Chitty, Miss Rachel Leighton, Mr. Bowcock, Preb. J. R. Burton, the Rev. J. E. G. Cartlidge, Mr. H. E. Forrest, Dr. Gepp, Mr. Hobson, Sir Charles Marston, Mr. L. C. Lloyd, Mr. J. A. Morris, the Dean of Norwich, Mr. J. B. Oldham, the Rev. E. C. Pigot, Mr. Michael Peele, the Rev. R. C. Purton, Major Price-Stretche, Dr. Urwick, Dr. Watkins Pitchford, Mr. H. T. Weyman, Mr. C. S. Woollam, and Mr. Ernest James.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Cadbury for the purchase and restoration of Wilderhope.

On the proposition of Ald. C. S. Woollam it was decided to send a letter of congratulation to Mr. Weyman on his election as freeman of the borough of Ludlow.

Miss Kenyon gave an account of recent excavations at Wroxeter. A full Report of this work will be issued by the Society. She was heartily thanked on the motion of the chairman, seconded by Miss Auden.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1938.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on 21 September at the Castle, when Sir Charles Marston presided over a good attendance.

In opening the meeting the President referred to the need for increased interest in the Society. Archæology, he said, was to his mind one of the most important forms of education, and he believed that the rising generation should have a reasonably clear idea of the past history of their county, and of the men who had lived before and the remains they left behind. He hoped that some efforts were going to be made to add to the membership of the Society, and with a view to increasing popular interest in its work. There was a great deal in the county of Shropshire which needed inquiry from the antiquarian point of view, and some of them were anxious that that work should be carried on. They wished to feel that when the time came there were younger people ready to carry on with the work,

men and women with the same enthusiasm as they had, ready to record for the benefit of the future what had happened in Shropshire in the past.

Miss Auden submitted the following annual Report :—

The Society has steadily carried on its work since the last Annual General Meeting. Interest in archæology is growing, and the Society has welcomed some Associate Members, but modern exigencies have robbed us of some interesting things, especially in half-timbered work. "Master Sherar's House" at the bottom of the Wyle Cop is irreplaceable, and modern building is invading Butcher Row. There is a danger also of good Georgian brickwork disappearing, and not being valued as it should be.

The question of the keeping and safe storage of local records has come much to the fore in late years. The Records Committee of the County Council is concerning itself with the subject, as the Archæological Society has done for a considerable time. The Society learns with satisfaction that, thanks to the Library Committee and to Mr. James, the valuable collection of the Transactions of other Archæological Societies are now housed in a comfortable room at the Library, where they can be consulted by Students.

Last April the collection of Roman Antiquities was moved to Rowley's House in Barker Street, and was formally opened by Sir Charles Marston. In June two members of the Council of the Society, Mr. H. E. Forrest and Mr. J. A. Morris received the Honorary Freedom of the Borough, and in July one of its Vice-Presidents, Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, received the same honour. Lord Baldwin comes of Shropshire ancestry, and the Society has called attention to this fact by a small Brass in Munslow Church, placed below one of the 17th century commemorating a member of the family.

On the Parish Register side of the Society's activities, the voluminous Register of High Ercall has been printed, and that of Norbury is in the press, to fulfil part of the generous bequest of Mr. C. S. Betton.

Mr. A. E. Cooper submitted a Statement of Accounts for the past year, which will be found in detail on another page.

The Report and the Accounts were adopted.

The following were elected to the Council for the ensuing year :—Miss Auden, Miss Chitty, Mrs. Hayward, Mr. Bowcock, Rev. J. E. G. Cartlidge, Mr. Forrest, Dr. Gepp, Mr. Hobson, Mr. E. J. James, Miss Rachel Leighton, Mr. L. C. Lloyd, Sir Charles Marston, Mr. J. A. Morris, Mr. T. J. Mytton More, The

Dean of Norwich, Mr. Oldham, Mr. M. Peele, Rev. E. C. Pigot, Rev. R. C. Purton, Major Price Stretche, Dr. Urwick, Dr. Watkins-Pitchford, Mr. Weyman, Mr. Woollam.

Mr. A. T. Marston was thanked for his past services and re-elected auditor.

An interesting account of the activities of the Society, particularly with regard to the work which had been carried out at Wroxeter, was given by Mr. J. A. Morris.

He pointed out that during the summer Miss Kenyon had been busy on excavations in what was known as the basilica field at Uriconium. He had explained to Miss Kenyon that some of the members of the council were a little disappointed that there had not been more tangible results in the way of finds, but Miss Kenyon said that on a site where there were no rubbish tips she thought they had done very well. The few finds made had been sent to Rowley's House. Miss Kenyon had suggested that there should be some exploration at the top of the Wrekin where she anticipated that they might find a tribal centre and headquarters of those people who founded Wroxeter before the Romans came. There was no evidence at the moment, but it was desirable that there should be some investigation made in the future. Miss Kenyon's suggestion embodied the idea that the hill forts might have been the tribal capital of the Cornovii, who inhabited that part of the country in Roman times.

During the past summer, stated Mr. Morris, Mr. P. W. Taylor, of Wem, had been continuing his investigations as to the source of the water supply to the Roman city. As a result of his surveys and levelling on the line of the Bell Brook, he had found the sites of what he believed to be two reservoirs formed by damming the water of the brook. Their united contents would be about 6,500,000 gallons. Considering there would be a continual feed to these reservoirs, he thought that they would form a very useful reserve for the baths and domestic purposes. His investigations were not yet complete, but sufficient information had been obtained to induce Mr. Taylor to think that the city was supplied with water by gravitation from those reservoirs.

Referring to the proposed re-erection of Lloyd's Mansion on the approach to the Castle, Mr. Morris pointed out that the whole of the site in front of the Castle was being cleared to give a view of the Castle and its old walls, and with regard to the exact spot where the mansion should be re-constructed, very careful consideration was being given. Three architects had been consulted, and when re-erected, with the old sash windows replaced by mullioned windows of its period, the mansion would be an important addition to such old buildings in Shrewsbury.

A resolution "That this annual meeting requests the Council of the Shropshire Archæological Society to consider ways and means of enabling the general body of members to take a more active and practical part in the work of the Society." was moved by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. H. E. Forrest, and supported by Major E. Price Stretche.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

An interesting address, illustrated by numerous paintings and sketches, was given by Miss Matley Moore, of Worcester, on "Medieval Encaustic Tiles from Worcestershire."

The meeting concluded with thanks to Sir Charles and Lady Marston, to Miss Matley Moore, and to the Shrewsbury Corporation, following which members were entertained to tea in the lower hall of the Castle.

ANNUAL EXCURSION, 1937.

Between forty and fifty members attended the annual excursion held on 12 August 1937, when the leaders were Miss Auden, Miss L. F. Chitty, and Mr. Forrest.

Harlescott House was the scene of the first halt. Here the members examined with interest the square moat—one of the most perfect in the county—lined with masonry on both sides and still containing water. The interior is now a garden, and all traces of the original house have disappeared ; the present house, however, which stands outside the moat, contains an oak staircase and oak panelling which very possibly came from the old house. There are no records known to show what the latter was like or when it was demolished, but there was certainly a house at this spot at the beginning of the fifteenth century, for it was reported in 1417 that the body of Sir John Massey, killed in the Battle of Shrewsbury (1403) had lain at Harlescott. The Husseys were the principal family in the district, but do not appear to have lived at Harlescott. Mr. Forrest, who acted as leader here, said he was of opinion that Harlescott House was the home of the yeoman family of Parks.[1]

From Harlescott the party made their way to the fine old timber-framed and brick mansion of Albright Hussey, of which full accounts are given in the Society's "Transactions" for 1889

1. Accounts of Harlescott House are given in *Trans. S. A.S.*, ser. 2, vol. v, pp. 384-8 (J. B. Blakeway and W. G. D. Fletcher), and in *Tran. Caradoc and S. V. Field Club*, vol. ii, p. 39. On the connection of the Parks family with Harlescott, see H. E. Forrest in *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, 23 August 1935.

and 1913.[2] Mr. Forrest pointed out the many interesting features of the house, and related the amusing story of "Scoggan" Preece's resourceful defence of it in the Civil War, with only a handful of men. Lea Hall, the next place visited, was built in 1584[3] by Richard Lee. As the house has recently been fully described in the Society's "Transactions",[4] a lengthy account of it need not be given here, but mention cannot be omitted of the sixteenth-century octagonal dovecote, which is still in perfect condition and which retains in working order the revolving ladder used for reaching the nests.

Myddle Castle.

Continuing their way to Myddle, the party were met at the ruins of the castle by the Rev. Spencer A. Woolward, formerly Rector of Myddle, who has made a special study of the history of the manor, castle and church. He explained that in 1086 the manor was held by Rainald the Sheriff, but by 1165 had come into the hands of the first John le Strange. Eight lords of the same name held the manor in succession, and it was probably the fifth John le Strange who built the castle—a fortified manor-house—and in 1308 he received the king's licence to crenellate it. In later times it was associated with Wild Humphrey Kynaston, and although it fell into decay soon afterwards, there was still enough of it left to give shelter to a fugitive Cavalier during the Civil War. All that remains now is a staircase tower, one side of which abutted on the dining-hall.

The Berth.

Lunch was taken amid pleasant surroundings in the Rectory garden at Myddle, after which the party proceeded to Baschurch, where they examined the Berth, an Early British marshwork of exceptional character, which was described by Miss Lily F. Chitty.[5] The following is an abstract of Miss Chitty's remarks:

2. See *Trans. S.A.S.*, ser. 2, vol. i, pp. 104-112, and ser. 4, vol. iii, pp. xii-xiii. A short account is published in *Trans. Caradoc and S.V. Field Club*, vol. i, pp. 51-2. The story of "Scoggan" Preece's defence is told in Gough's *History of Myddle* (ed. 1875), p. 81.

3. Not in 1581, as is stated by error in the paper first cited below.

4. H. E. Forrest, *Trans. S.A.S.*, ser. 4, vol. ix, pp. 239-40. There is a shorter account in *Ibid.*, ser. 4, vol. iii, p. xiii.

5. The basic references are to be found in Owen and Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury*, i. (1822), p. 8 note; site illustrated, p. 1; Hartshorne, *Salopia Antiqua* (1841), pp. 172-6. Most subsequent references to the site are founded mainly on these descriptions. See also: *Victoria County History*, Shropshire, i (1908), pp. 198 (Auden), 408-9, with plan (J. C. Wall); and Reginald A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxi (1907), pp. 324-6, with more accurate plan showing site of discovery of water-clock, illustrated Fig. 5; *Ibid.*, xxvii (1915), pp. 76, 87-9, 93.

Here two big glacial mounds rising from a broad peat-flat have been fortified with stone and earth ramparts; they are linked together by a gravel causeway 150 yards long and connected with the rising ground towards the south by an extension 250 yards in length. In flood-time the area becomes a shallow mere, reverting to its normal condition prior to extensive draining; of this former lake the Berth Pool, a deep kettle-hole nearly eight acres in extent, lying between the great mound and the mainland, forms the shrunken remnant. On the occasion of our visit prolonged drought had baked the grass on the causeways and ramparts so that they stood out in brown contrast above the surrounding green. The position must have been almost impregnable in prehistoric times, owing to its complete natural isolation; it touches the mainland only by a ridge north-east of the lower mound, where the adjacent soil is boulder-clay, which would produce dense woodland.

Reasons were given for assigning the initial occupation of the site provisionally to about the middle of the first century A.D. The entrance in the stone rampart encircling the base of the great mound is a remarkable example of the inturned type, a form probably introduced into the central Welsh Marches by hill-fort builders of the South-Western Culture (Iron Age B) during the first half of that century.[6] The only human artefact known from the area is a large bronze water-clock, now in the Iron Age Gallery of the British Museum, to which it was presented by the late Mr. Richard Wall in 1907. It was discovered by one of his workmen, named Wood, who was cutting turf where the stream from the Berth Pool has been carried through the line of the southern causeway. The cauldron-like vessel is of thin wrought bronze, 17¾ inches in diameter and 12 inches high, with a small perforation in its rounded base; it has traces of iron handle mounts. The type is dated to about 50 A.D. by the associations of a similar specimen found at Santon, Norfolk.[7] Such water-clocks were made in stock sizes and are widely distributed in Britain; their weights accord with the standards of the iron bar currency used by folk of the South-Western culture.[8]

For subsequent occupation of the Berth there is no direct evidence, but it is the traditional home of Cynddylan of Powys,

6. Cf. O'Neil and Chitty, Breiddin Excavations Report, with Supplement, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1937, pp. 86-150, with distribution map at end.

7. R. A. Smith, *Pr. Cambridge Arch. Soc.*, xiii (1909), pp. 146 ff., figs. The site is now proved to have been Santon, Norfolk, not Santon Downham, Suffolk; information kindly supplied by Mr. R. Rainbird Clarke, 1932.

8. R. A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxvii, pp. 90-1.

who, after the burning of Pengwern (Shrewsbury) by the Saxons, fell in battle at the White Town by the Tern, and was buried in "the churches of Bassa". The tale is told in the third cycle of poems formerly attributed to Llywarch Hen; the subject was recently analysed by Professor Ifor Williams in the Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1932.[9] He demonstrates that Powys once had its saga, similar to those of Gwynedd, Dyfed and Gwent, preserved in the *Mabinogion*, of which the Cynddylan poems form part of the verse elements, the prose setting having been lost. The plaintive Welsh melody and lament, translated by Mrs. Hemans as "The Hall of my Chieftain," embody a series of these *englynion*. Prof. Williams assigns them to the middle of the ninth century on historic and metric grounds. He agrees that "the churches of Bassa" cannot very well be other than Baschurch. The plural form suggests a Celtic group of little churches, such as those of Glendalough, Co. Wicklow.

Miss Cooper,[10] when teaching at Baschurch School, was told by an old man that there was a great battle at the Berth, and afterwards the Prince and his leaders were buried under the mound on the south slope, and the men in the longer narrow mound lower down. The tradition of a church here persisted when Miss C. S. Burne wrote her *Shropshire Folk-Lore* (1883-7)[11]; the attempt to build one on the top of the Berth hill was frustrated by supernatural powers, the bells lie in the Berth Pool, and a new site had to be chosen for Baschurch. Possibly the bell-shaped water-clock itself may have been seen long ago before it finally sank, and may have given rise to the bell legend, but the story is far from uncommon.

Melverley Church.

Intended visits to Ruyton-XI-Towns Church and Castle, and to Woolston Well, were omitted owing to shortness of time, and the party next visited the fine manor house of Stanwardine-in-the-Wood, built by Robert Corbet about 1580, thence they drove to Melverley, where the fine old timber-framed church was seen under the guidance of Miss Auden and the Rector.[12] Some portions of the timber-framing have obviously been renewed, but Mr. Forrest suggested that the timbers of the north

9. *Proc. Brit. Academy*, xviii; read 1 February 1933.

10. Information kindly given to L. F. Chitty, 4 July 1925. Other versions of the Berth legends are given in *Salopian Shreds and Patches*, ix, p. 73 (James Tasker, 29 May 1889).

11. pp. 9, 68.

12. The only adequate published account of Melverley Church is that in Cranage's *Churches of Shropshire*, Pt. 9, pp. 804-5, with two plates.

wall are quite possibly original. There is no documentary evidence to assist in dating the church; certain features have a fifteenth-century character, but a fourteenth-century date is by no means impossible. The church was probably an affiliation of Kinnerley, but it is not mentioned in any record until 1557. It stands probably on the site of a hermitage, placed on the dangerous trackway which here crossed the river Vyrnwy.

The Manor of Ruyton.

From Melverley the party returned to Nesscliff, where tea was taken. After tea Miss Auden read some notes on the manor of Ruyton, of which the following is an abstract: The manor of Ruyton was early a possession of the Fitzalans, and was held under them by the Le Stranges of Knockin. About 1195 John le Strange II. made a park at Ruyton, and some twenty years earlier his father (John I.) gave the mill of Ruyton to Haughmond Abbey, while John II. gave land at Newton-on-the-Hill in his manor of Myddle to the Abbey of Shrewsbury, to which house John IV. gave the Plat mill, while he gave the advowson of Ruyton to Haughmond. John le Strange V. sold Ruyton, and Glazeley near Bridgnorth, with their rights and fees, to his overlord, Edmund Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. While Ruyton was a chapelry of Baschurch it had a connection with the Abbey of Shrewsbury, but under the care of the lords of the manor it became independent, till John le Strange IV. in 1272 gave the advowson to the monks of Haughmond, who promptly appropriated it, leaving a small stipend for the vicar. The first vicar was appointed in 1332, and Richard Earl of Arundel being at Oswestry, gave to the vicar, William of Tickelwardine, and his successors, a house and ground (*curtilage*) in the vill of Ruyton, to pray for the souls of the Earl and his ancestors. Edmund Earl of Arundel bought the manor with the intention of founding a borough here. He added to the church, rebuilding the east end, and seems to have made provision for the dwelling of an anchoress or anchorite on the north side of the chancel, as Bishop Burnell also did at Acton Burnell, which he designed to be a borough.

Earl Edmund was beheaded in 1326, through the influence of Queen Isabella and Earl Roger Mortimer. His son Richard was restored to his estates in 1330 and was a great man under Edward III. He died in 1376 and was succeeded by his son Richard Fitzalan III., who took a leading part in opposing Richard II. and was executed on Tower Hill in 1397. His son Thomas accompanied Henry IV. to England and was restored to his estates. He died at war in 1415. The charter to the borough was confirmed in the reign of Henry VI. by Lord Maltravers. In 1566 Queen Elizabeth gave licence to Henry

Earl of Arundel, John Lord Lumley, and the Lady Jane his wife, to alienate the manors of Kinnerley, Ruyton and Melverley to Thomas Younge, Archbishop of York, and his heirs. In 1598 George Younge sold the third part of Ruyton to Richard Thornes. In 1611 Sir George Younge sold the three manors to William Willaston, who in 1621 sold the manor of Ruyton to Elizabeth Craven, widow. In 1642 John, brother to William Earl of Craven, was created Lord Craven of Ruyton. The Lords Craven held the manor until 1777.

It had been intended to conclude the excursion with a visit to Kynaston's Cave at Nesscliff, but a thunder-shower prevented this part of the programme from being carried out, and the party returned to Shrewsbury via Montford Bridge, after a pleasant excursion favoured with beautiful summer weather.

ANNUAL EXCURSION, 1938.

The annual excursion of the Shropshire Archæological Society took place on July 29th, under the guidance of Dr. Watkins-Pitchford, in the south-east of the county, nearly on the Staffordshire border.

The main body of the party left Shrewsbury at 10-15 and drove past Sutton Maddock, and Norton, with its stocks, to Worfield Church where they joined members who had come in private cars from various parts of the county. Dr. Watkins-Pitchford pointed out the various interesting features of the beautiful church, which is much of it of 14th century work, though its foundation probably goes back to Saxon days, when the Manor was held by Leofric, Earl of Mercia. The church possesses a wonderful complete series of Court Rolls dating from the 13th century. Its interesting 15th century Churchwardens' accounts were printed in 1904 in the Society's "Transactions". Its fine parochial church registers are copied and ready to be printed by the Parish Register Society, when the necessary funds are forthcoming. They are interesting as containing entries relating to families connected with the many hamlets of the wide parish. There are in the north aisle, tombs with recumbent effigies to Sir George Bromley (1588) and Sir Edward, his son (1626) and their wives. Standing against the wall near were the old church doors, with magnificent iron work, and there is an early chest, and a quaint almsbox on which is carved, "Bee sure as you remember the Poor, 1683". The village has picturesque half-timbered cottages, and the manor house of the Talbot family.

From Worfield, the party drove to Claverley, where the finely situated church was held from the 12th century onwards

by the Deans of St. Mary Magdalene's, in Bridgnorth Castle. Every period of English architecture is represented in the building, and over the Norman arcade of the north aisle are some interesting early frescoes brought to light in 1902, and recently very carefully restored. The Vicar was not at home, but his place as guide to the church was ably taken by Dr. Pitchford, and other friends who had known the church for years. Mr. George Green called attention to the many traces of wall painting, especially that over the north arcade, which looks like an excerpt from the Bayeux tapestry. Many guesses have been made as to its subject, but that now most generally accepted is that it represents the combat between Virtues and Vices for the possession of man's soul—a favourite allegorical theme in early mediæval days. The church possesses many other points of interest from the Norman font to the dossal behind the altar of blue-gold brocade from the Coronation hangings of Westminster Abbey (1937), and the artistically arranged flowers that harmonised with it.

After an interval for lunch, the drive was resumed by Farmcote and King's Nordley Manor House, once the home of the Lee family, to Alveley, another beautiful church, where they were met by the Vicar, who delegated the account of his church to Dr. Watkins-Pitchford. Like Claverley, Alveley shows work of many periods, and, like it also, was held by the Church of Bridgnorth Castle. It possesses some good glass, and an interesting 15th century silk altar frontal, which has been copied for festival use. The Vicar pointed out that its original colouring had been pale blue and cerise pink, though now it is beige and brown ! One of the few Shropshire monumental brasses is in Alveley Church, to the memory of John Grove (1616) who endowed a school here. He made his money in London, but his family came from Alveley, and Pool Hall, a 17th century house with a front added in the 18th century, was their home.

The next halting place was Quatt Church, where Dr. Pitchford pointed out a Georgian nave and a tower of 1763 built on to a 13th century chancel and north chapel with a characteristic arcade. The Wolryche family of Dudmaston are buried there, and there is a tomb with effigies to Sir Francis Wolryche and his wife (1689). Opposite to the church is a well-designed 18th century house.

From Quatt, the party drove back to Quatford to see the earthworks of the "motte and bailey" fortress of Roger de Montgomery, overlooking the Severn, which Dr. Pitchford described. Probably the "town" of Earl Roger's foundation was built under the protecting enclosure of the bailey. The church, founded and richly endowed by him has no work left

of his time, but there is Norman work of somewhat later date, and a Transitional Norman font. The chancel is of the 14th century, and is causing anxiety at the present time by developing trouble from the death watch beetle in the roof. Much of the nave and part of the tower date from 1714, and the south aisle was built in 1857. The churchyard is most picturesquely situated with a wide view towards Bridgnorth, to which Earl Roger's foundation was transferred about 1101, by his son, Robert de Belesme.

The party then turned on their homeward way to Bridgnorth, where Dr. and Mrs. Watkins-Pitchford entertained them to a very enjoyable and welcome tea at the Crown Hotel, thus putting a final touch to their kindness during the whole day, and it was with very hearty thanks that the party said good-bye to them and Mrs. Clarke (who had acted as her father's lieutenant throughout the excursion), and started on their homeward ways.

MINUTES OF THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETINGS.

15th September, 1936. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

Arrangements for the Annual General Meeting were discussed, and the Draft Report approved.

The Secretary reported that he had received from Sir Charles Marston a further sum of £100 for the excavations at Wroxeter.

Major W. E. Gatacre, Dunstone, Dorrington and Mr. M. S. Stobbs, 12 Oak Street, Shrewsbury were elected members of the Society.

20th October, 1936. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

It was resolved that the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin be elected a Vice-President of the Society, subject to his consent.

It was resolved to convey a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Mortimer Wheeler and to Miss Kenyon for their addresses at the General Meeting.

It was decided to hold meetings of the Council in future on the 3rd Wednesday in each month at 2-45 p.m.

The following were elected members of the Society :—
Miss E. D. Bartlett, Scotsman's Field, Church Stretton,
Mr. J. Blanchard, Belle Vue Road, Shrewsbury,
Miss Gladys I. Hudson, 26 Crescent Place, Shrewsbury,
Mr. J. M. Street, Shrewsbury School,
Mrs. J. W. Lee, Northville, Church Stretton,
Mr. Bernard P. Wilders, Coulsden, Surrey.

18th November, 1936. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

A letter was read from the Hon. Sec. of the Shrewsbury (Talbot) Collection saying that all subscribers to the Fund would receive a copy of the Calendar.

The resignation of Mr. W. J. Hemp was received with regret.

A letter was read from the County Surveyor to Mr. Forrest promising that he would advise the Society of anything of interest found in the course of work on the By-Pass Road about to be constructed at Church Stretton.

16th December, 1936. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

Mr. W. J. Hemp, of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

A sub-committee consisting of Mr. Forrest, Mr. Morris and Mr. Hobson was appointed to communicate with Prof. Atkinson and make arrangements, on behalf of the Council, for the articles which may be loaned to the proposed Exhibition in Liverpool.

It was reported that the Shrewsbury Town Council proposed to use Rowley's House in the Car-Park for housing the Roman Antiquities now in the Shrewsbury Museum, subject to the consent of Lord Barnard and the approval of Prof Atkinson.

20th January, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

It was reported that the proposed Exhibition in Liverpool had been postponed to the Autumn.

The following were elected members of the Society :—
Miss P. E. Price, Oak Tree Farm, Cressage,
Rev. W. Grenville W. Lee, Hadnall Hall.

17th February, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

A letter having been read from Sir Charles Marston, enclosing a cheque for £25, the following resolution was unanimously passed :— " The Council of the Shropshire Archæological Society wish to put on record their appreciation of the generosity of Sir Charles Marston in financing the excavations at Uriconium of September 1936. All archæologists interested in Roman remains owe him a debt of gratitude for his unfailing help in the past, as in the present, in elucidating the story of the Roman occupation of Shropshire."

Mrs. M. Malcolm, The Slip, Ironbridge, was elected a member of the Society.

17th March, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

The following were appointed to form a General Purposes and Finance Committee :— Mr. Morris, Mr. Hobson, Mr. Forrest, Mr. Lloyd, and the Chairman (ex officio).

It was considered advisable to form and maintain a Wroxeter Endowment Fund for subscriptions and donations with the object of an annual expenditure on excavations.

Mr. James, the Rev. R. C. Purton, Mr. Hobson and Mr. Lloyd were asked to go through the list of Societies with whom Transactions were exchanged and report.

21st April, 1937. *Dr. Watkins-Pitchford in the Chair.*

A letter was read from Sir Charles Marston enclosing a copy of a letter from the Society of Antiquaries, granting a sum of £30 towards the excavations at Wroxeter.

Mr. Hobson offered to provide a new Visitors' Book for Wroxeter, and was thanked by the Council for his generous gift.

19th May, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

A letter was read from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, asking for information as to The Crutches, Bishop's Castle. Mr. Morris and Dr. Gepp were asked to visit and report.

Mr. Lloyd read a report of the first two meetings of the General Purposes and Finance Committee, which was considered in detail.

15th June, 1937. *Mr. Morris in the Chair.*

The chairman made a report on the opening of Wilderhope manor-house, and also on "The Crutches" at Bishop's Castle.

The Report of the General Purposes Committee was read, and it was decided to elect Sir Charles Marston a member of that Committee, and also to nominate the Rev. J. E. Gordon Cartlidge for a seat on the Council.

In connection with the recent elevation of Mr. Stanley Baldwin to the Peerage, the following resolution was passed unanimously:— "The Shropshire Archæological Society respectfully offer their sincere congratulations to Earl Baldwin upon the honours conferred upon him by the King. As Shropshire folk it has given them special pleasure to know that his name as Viscount Corvedale will be linked with the County in which so many of his ancestors have resided for centuries."

It was agreed to hold the Excursion in the Oswestry district.

21st July, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

A letter was read from the Solicitors stating that the late Mr. C. S. Betton had by Will bequeathed to the Shropshire Parish Register Society £60 for printing the Register of Norbury parish; and that the residue of his estate, subject to certain life-interests, was given in trust for the same Society for printing any remaining Registers of Shropshire, and for assisting the printing of such of the Registers of counties adjacent to Shropshire as the said Society shall decide.

Wilderhope. The Council places on record its appreciation of the efforts of Dr. Gepp and Mr. J. A. Morris, which, after many years of patient negotiations, resulted in the purchase and restoration of Wilderhope by the Cadbury Trust. They also wish to express their gratitude to Mr. Allan G. Hughes, the Solicitor who acted for the Vendor and carried out the difficult and complicated negotiations with marked skill and energy. It was due to his sympathetic interest in the preservation of the old mansion that many difficulties were overcome and the negotiations brought to a successful issue.

The appeal for Funds to continue excavations at Wroxeter was approved, and permission given for the printing and issuing of the appeal.

15th September, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

It was reported that Mr. S. T. Medlicott had promised to attend the Congress of Archæological Societies as a representative of the Society, and Dr. Watkins-Pitchford also promised to attend if in London at the time.

A letter was read from the Vicar of the Abbey, asking for a subscription towards the cost of the upkeep of the Abbey Pulpit.

In answer to this, the Society, while unable to help financially, offered certain suggestions which might meet the situation.

20th October, 1937. *Mr. Morris in the Chair.*

Mr. Mabbott, Belle Vue, Shrewsbury, was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Lloyd submitted a Report of the General Purposes Committee, which was discussed.

It was reported that the Catalogue of the books, papers etc. stored in the small room at the Castle, prepared by Mr. Lloyd, and fastened by a cord in the room, had been cut down and taken away by some person unknown.

17th November, 1937. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

It was reported that further subscriptions had been received from the Society of Antiquaries and the Haverfield Trust for the Wroxeter excavations.

Mr. Woollam and the Rev. J. E. G. Cartlidge were requested to bring unofficially to the notice of County Authorities the

desirability of urging the local Councils in the County to provide for the safe keeping of all Records now under their control.

Miss Fox-Davies, Coalbrookdale, and Mr. J. R. W. Whitfield, the Park, Tilstock, were elected members of the Society.

15*th December*, 1937. *Dr. Watkins-Pitchford in the Chair.*

A letter was read from the Society of Antiquaries as to the preparation of Lists of Antiquities and other historical monuments in the district. It was decided to reply asking for any pamphlets, schemes etc., and to state that this had been attempted in the past but had met with little response; and also that Miss Chitty has completed a record of objects and monuments in the County which it is hoped to publish at a later date.

Wing-Commander G. E. Livock, Tern Hill, was elected a member of the Society.

19*th January*, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

Mr. Medlicott's Report on the Congress of Archæological Societies, which he attended, was read. The chief points were :— 1) The subscription from affiliated societies was to be raised from £1 to £1-10-0. 2) With regard to ancient houses and monuments it was suggested that Counties be divided up into sections, that correspondents be appointed whose duty would be to report to County Councils regarding any such properties within their area, with a view to preservation, and that County Surveyors be asked to notify the County Archæological Societies of any planning or road-making schemes in contemplation, in order that arrangements might be made to avoid damage to archæological interests.

A letter was read from Mr. Whitfield calling attention to a cable being laid along the Wem-Whitchurch road, and suggesting that an old bridle-way at Dearnford Hall may have Roman associations. He was asked to keep an eye on the work.

The chairman, Mr. Morris, Mr. Forrest, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Peele and Mr. Cooper were appointed a sub-committee to arrange, if possible, for removing the Parish Registers from their present storage to some permanent resting-place.

Mr. H. Beaumont, Wellingborough, and Mr. W. J. Slack, Cound Leasowes, were elected members of the Society.

16*th February*, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

The resignation of Preb. J. R. Burton, a member of the Council was received with regret.

Mr. R. B. Taylor, Royal Salop Infirmary, was elected a member of the Society.

A letter was read from Mr. Oldham saying that Shrewsbury School had started an archæological section of a new organization called the Darwin Society, and that any interest taken by the Society would be much appreciated.

16th March, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

The chairman reported that Miss Chitty had left the County, and it was unanimously resolved that a letter be sent to her conveying the Council's warm apreciation of the valuable work she had done for the Society and for archæology in general.

Mr. Lloyd consented to take over the secretaryship of the Parish Register Section.

Mr. Morris reported that the Roman Museum would be opened at Rowley's House on April 7th, and that all members of the Society would be invited to the opening ceremony.

20th April, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

The death was reported of Mr. W. D. Dovaston, who had been a member of the Society for over 40 years.

Mr. Morris mentioned that he knew of a small Collection of Roman coins for sale, and suggested that they might be purchased for the Shrewsbury Museum. He had arranged for Mr. Platt Hall to inspect them. It was agreed that, if Mr. Hall recommended, Mr. Morris be asked to negotiate.

Mr. E. C. Morris, the Mile House, Ellesmere Road, was elected a member of the Society.

18th May, 1938. *Mr. Morris in the Chair.*

It was agreed to purchase four Ordnance Survey sheets for Mr. Taylor's use in tracing water-supply and reservoir at Wroxeter.

Mr. Morris reported that he had purchased the coins mentioned at the last meeting.

Mr. J. Beard, Kingsbury, London, was elected a member of the Society.

22nd June, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

Mr. Morris reported on the visit of the Birmingham Archæological Society to Shrewsbury on 18th June.

It was agreed to re-hang the Brass in Munslow Church which commemorates Richard Baldwin, who died in 1689 and

was a member of the family from whom Earl Baldwin is descended, subject to approval being obtained.

Arrangements for the Annual Excursion were approved.

20*th July*, 1938. *Miss Auden in the Chair.*

A report was given on the purchases made by the Town and County of some of the Phillipps MSS. offered for sale at Sotheby's.

The Baldwin Brass, cleaned and with the frame made secure, was shewn to the Meeting.

Mr. Hennessey Cooke, Corve Street, Ludlow, was elected a member of the Society.

RULES.

1. The Society shall be called the "Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society (with which is incorporated the Shropshire Parish Register Society)."

2. The Council shall consist of the following persons in whom the management of the Society shall be vested, that is to say :— The President, Vice-Presidents, the Editorial Committee, Hon. Treasurer, Secretary, and other officers, and not less than twelve other members. Any vacancy which may occur in the Council, or in the office of Secretary or Treasurer shall be provisionally filled by the Council.

3. A General Meeting of the Members shall be held annually at such place as the Council shall appoint. The President, or in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall have power to call an extraordinary General Meeting on giving through the Secretary, a fortnight's notice to the Members.

4. The Subscription of each member shall be paid in advance to the Secretary or Treasurer, and shall be the annual sum of One Guinea. If any Member's subscription shall be in arrears for two years, and he shall neglect to pay his subscription after being reminded by the Secretary, he shall be regarded as having ceased to be a Member of the Society.

5. Persons under 21 years may join the Society as Associated Members on payment of an annual subscription of 5s., which will entitle them to all the privileges of membership, except that of voting.

6. The objects of the Society shall be carried out with the honorary assistance of the Members, and the funds of the Society shall be disbursed in printing and illustrating such information as shall be contributed by the Members searching for and transcribing public records, and other objects approved of by the Council, and for the necessary expenses of the Society, including the care of the Excavations at Uriconium.

7. Contributors of papers shall be entitled to twelve copies of such articles as they may contribute.

8. Every Member not in arrear of his annual subscription will be entitled to one copy of every publication of the Society.

9. The Council shall determine what number of each publication shall be printed.

10. No alteration shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at the Annual Meeting, or a General Meeting called for the purpose.

SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1938.

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

with which is amalgamated Shropshire Parish Register Society.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEARS 1936 AND 1937

RECEIPTS.	1936. £ s. d.	1937. £ s. d.
To Balance in hand 1st January ...	72 9 9	58 9 7
,, Subscriptions	150 14 6	157 8 6
,, Sale of Publications	9 18 6	9 8 6
,, Bank Interest	1 6 0	1 10 4
,, Collection at Annual Meeting ...	8 13 9	——
,, Transcription Fees	——	1 0 0
,, Donation Mr. G. Cadbury ...	——	5 0 0
,, Transfer from Sir C. Marston's Fund	——	8 15 7
,, Legacy from Mr. C. S. Belton towards cost of printing Norbury Registers	——	60 0 0
	£243 2 6	£301 12 6

PAYMENTS.	1936. £ s. d.	1937. £ s. d.
By Printing Transactions	76 0 10	55 8 8
,, Printing Registers and Indexing	70 4 4	92 3 6
,, Assistant Secretary, Salary ...	12 0 0	12 0 0
,, Printing and Postages	9 10 6	5 16 4
,, Expenses of General Meeting ...	10 15 0	3 10 0
,, Subscription—Congress of Archæological Societies (2 years) ...	2 0 0	——
,, Gratuity to Caretaker of Castle	0 10 0	——
,, Sundries	3 12 3	2 12 6
,, Balance in hand 31st Dec. 1937	58 9 7	130 1 6
	£243 2 6	£301 12 6

URICONIUM EXCAVATIONS FUND

	1936.	1937.
To Balance in hand 1st January ...	83 6 3	52 8 3
,, Sale of Guides	6 5 0	18 13 0
,, Bank Interest	2 2 5	1 1 3
,, Mr. Jackson, proportion of exps.	——	15 0 0
,, Donations	0 11 0	——
	£92 4 8	£87 2 6

	1936.	1937.
By Rent, Rates, Tithes & Ins., etc.	8 6 5	15 8 5
,, Wages and Apparatus	3 10 0	——
,, Printing "Guides"	28 0 0	——
,, Balance at Bank 31st Dec. ...	52 8 3	71 14 1
	£92 4 8	£87 2 6

Audited and found correct

A. T. MARSTON, Hon. Auditor. 17th Sept., 1938.

PAPER-MAKING IN SHROPSHIRE, 1656—1912: SOME RECORDS OF A BYEGONE INDUSTRY.

BY L. C. LLOYD.

I prayse the man that first did Paper make,
The only thing that sets all virtues forth;
It shooes new bookes, and keepes old workes awake,
Much more of price than all the world is worth.
It witnesse bears of friendship, time and troth,
And is the tromp of vice and virtue both;
Without whose help, no hap nor wealth is won,
And by whose ayde great workes and deedes are done.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD, *A Description and playne Discourse of Paper* (1588).

Despite old Churchyard's quaintly-worded tribute (of which these lines are but a small part), the paper-maker has not in general been treated kindly by posterity. And yet he has played a not unimportant part on the stage of history. Indeed, it would not be difficult to make out a case for paper as the foundation of modern civilisation. It is to paper that we owe the preservation and dissemination of much that is precious in literature, much that is valuable or curious in history, and much that is of fundamental importance in philosophy and science. At the same time, this flimsy material supports an immense and complex structure of communications, industry and trade, none of which could have reached its present stage of development without the help of paper.

In spite of all this, the paper-maker's claims to remembrance have been sadly neglected. Historians have paid a good deal of attention to the producers of books. The lives of authors and scholars—even those of printers and booksellers—have been meticulously probed by inquisitive searchers into the past; but the paper-maker, who has no less claim to be considered an auxiliary of literature and learning than the printer, the publisher, or the book-binder, has received small notice. Apart from Mr. Rhys Jenkins's admirable papers,[1] little attempt

1. Rhys Jenkins, *Collected Papers* (Newcomen Society, 1936), pp. 155—192.

has been made to trace the history of paper-making in England; the only evidences of local research on the subject which I have found in a fairly wide search are a paper on early paper-mills in Buckinghamshire by the Rev. W. H. Summers,[2] and various short articles in the *Victoria County Histories*. So far as Shropshire is concerned, practically the only notice paper-making has received is contained in two sentences in John Randall's article on "Industries" in the *Victoria County History* (p. 419). Even Archdeacon Plymley, who notices briefly most of the manufactures of the county in his *General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire* (1803), makes no mention of paper-making, although eight or nine Shropshire mills were at work when he wrote, including one within a mile of the gates of his home at Longnor Hall.

In this paper an attempt is made to collect and collate such records of Shropshire paper-making as have come to the notice of the writer, with supplementary information gained by visits to most of the known centres of the industry within the county. Material is both scanty and scattered, and in many instances the information which has been gathered concerning individual mills is merely fragmentary. Local research into old rate-books, parish accounts, and similar repositories of the raw material of history, would no doubt bring to light much additional information concerning the paper-mills which are mentioned in the following pages, and not improbably might result in the discovery of others. In the meantime, perhaps this imperfect attempt to tell something of the story of a bye-gone Shropshire industry may lead other workers to undertake a more thorough investigation into other branches of the industrial history of the county.

The preparation of this paper has been made pleasant by the generous and willing help which has been extended to the writer. Mr. W. J. Mitchenall, of Shrewsbury, has visited several sites and has not only taken photographs but has supplied interesting notes on the existing remains of old mills. Alderman T. J. Bradshaw, of Oswestry, has given much help in connection with the Oswestry district, and has gone to a great deal of trouble in interviewing old inhabitants, etc. Dr. W. Watkins-Pitchford

2. *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. viii, pp. 202—214.

has kindly visited and described the sites of mills at Alveley and Chesterton, and Mr. H. Beaumont, M.A., has supplied a valuable transcript relating to the Ellerton mill. Miss R. Donaldson-Hudson has kindly supplied a number of records concerning the Ellerton mill, and Mr. A. Stanley Davies, of Welshpool, has pointed out several useful references. Mr. E. J. James, A.L.A., and his staff at the Shrewsbury Free Library have given ungrudging help in many ways. Grateful acknowledgment must also be made of the valuable assistance received from many others, in all parts of the county, whose help is acknowledged in the relevant places in the pages which follow; if, by some mischance, any have been omitted, I hope they will accept this assurance that the omission is inadvertent and that their assistance is by no means unappreciated.

I.

The Background.

In order that the Shropshire paper-making industry may be seen in its proper perspective, it will be necessary briefly to sketch the general development of paper-making up to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the craft seems to have first entered this county. Like so many of the inventions which we are apt to regard as part of the peculiar fabric of Western civilisation, paper-making originated in China. In the year 100 A.D. paper made from silk-pulp was in use in that country, and five years later Tsai-Lun—a court official who is usually credited with having invented paper-making as we know it—submitted to the Emperor a report in which he described the manufacture of paper from rags, waste hemp, old fishing-nets, and the bark of certain trees.[3] For some six centuries China seems to have remained the only paper-making country in the world, but when the Arabs captured Samarkand about 751 A.D. they discovered the secrets of the art and began to practise it themselves. Slowly the knowledge filtered across Asia and northern Africa, finally entering Europe by way of Spain some time in the twelfth century.

3. R. H. Clapperton, *Paper: an Historical Account of its making by hand from the earliest times down to the present day*, 1935, p. 1.

The Moors of southern Spain were the first European paper-makers, and the first great centre of manufacture was Xativa (now known as San Felipe, Valencia), where well-established paper-mills were at work in 1150. Italy was probably the second paper-making country in Europe; paper-mills which were at work at Fabriano in 1276 had certainly been established some years before that date.[4] France was another early centre of the manufacture. It is said by some that there were paper-mills at Hérault in 1189,[5] but later research has shown that this is a mistake; the earliest recorded paper-mill in France is that of 1348, which was situated in the Saint Julien region, near Troyes.[6] Germany followed France as a paper-making country, but there is some disagreement among the authorities as to the date of the introduction of the manufacture. Major Clapperton, the most recent writer on the subject, inclines to the view that Augsberg was the earliest centre of paper-making in Germany, and thinks that the industry began to be practised there about 1388.[7]

Just over a century later England began to produce her own paper. It was John Tate, a citizen and mercer of London, who set up the first English paper-mill at Hertford about 1495. Tate's paper was used by the celebrated printer Wynkyn de Worde for his English edition of *Bartholomaeus*: *De proprietatibus rerum* (undated but almost certainly published in 1496), the colophon of which contains the following lines:

> And John Tate the yonger, Joye mote he broke
> Whiche late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne,
> That now in our englyssh this boke is prynted inne.

As Jenkins has pointed out,[8] there can be little doubt that Tate's mill was in operation for only a few years. We know from his will that it was standing in 1507, when he died, and that it contained a stock of paper, but Jenkins argues with some force that it was probably lying idle. In all probability it had been compelled to close down by the same agency which succeeded in stifling nearly all the early attempts to establish paper-making

4. Clapperton, p. 74.
5. Clapperton, p. 83.
6. A. Blum, *On the Origin of Paper* (New York, 1934), p. 32.
7. Clapperton, p. 94.
8. Jenkins, p. 157.

in England—foreign competition, and in particular the jealousy of the French makers.

So far as is known, no further attempt to establish the manufacture was made until the middle of the sixteenth century, when Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely from 1554 to 1559, set up a paper-mill at Fenditton, near Cambridge[9]; but this soon fell into disuse. About the same time, or a little later, a mill was established at Bemerton, Wiltshire, and between 1574 and 1576 Sir Thomas Gresham set up a mill on his estate at Osterley in Middlesex.[10]

In 1585 Richard Tottyl, a prominent London stationer, petitioned for a patent for the sole right of manufacturing white paper in England, and in his petition refers to an attempt which had been made by himself and his partners "almost twelve yeres past" to establish a paper-mill. Evidently the venture had been unsuccessful, and Tottyl ascribes its failure to the machinations of the French makers. "The Ffrenchmen," he says, "did by all meanes possible labour to destroye theire [i.e., Tottyl's and his partners'] worke begonne, and were ever castinge blockes in the waie for the overthrowe thereof, as by procuringe all our ragges (being the chief substance that paper is made of) to be brought over to them, by bringinge in great aboundance of paper at that tyme and sellinge it (although to losse) better chepe than they [Tottyl and his friends] were hable to do, thereby to bringe the doers thereof in this Realme out of credit, and so to beggerye, and lastlye by practisinge the destrucction of the workmen and by writing and callinge them Traytours to their Contrey, and sending men of purpose to slaye them, as it hath byn credeably declared vnto me."[11]

No more is heard of Tottyl as a paper-maker, but his petition throws a good deal of light on the condition of the industry in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is clear that as early as this paper-makers found difficulty in maintaining supplies of raw materials (i.e., linen rags)—a difficulty which loomed increasingly large to the manufacturers who came after them. It is also evident that French

9. Ibid., p. 159.
10. Ibid., p. 160.
11. Quoted by Jenkins, p. 161.

workmen were imported to carry on the manufacture, and it is abundantly clear that the French makers had no intention of giving up one of their best markets without a keen struggle. How successful they were may be judged from the fact that a considerable proportion of the better sorts of paper used in England continued to be imported from France until the second half of the eighteenth century. Then, at long last, the English makers found themselves able to cope with the demand and to compete successfully with their French rivals in both quality and price.

In 1588 John Spilman, a native of Lindau on Lake Constance, and one of Queen Elizabeth's jewellers, established a paper-mill at Dartford in Kent, and in the following year obtained a ten years patent for the sole manufacture of paper and the collection of rags and other paper-making materials within the kingdom. In 1597 he was granted a new patent for fourteen years, under which a year or two later he took proceedings against three men who, he alleged, had invaded his monopoly by setting up a paper-mill in Buckinghamshire. It was Spilman's mill which formed the subject of Thomas Churchyard's poem quoted at the beginning of this paper. The poem is too long for quotation in full, but Churchyard's description of the mill itself is worth reprinting, not only because it is the work of a Salopian but also because it is the earliest account of the process of paper-making in English :

The mill itself is sure right rare to see,
The framing is so queint and finely done,
Built all of wood and hollowe trunkes of tree,
That makes the streames at point device to runne,
Nowe up, nowe downe, now sideward to a sleight,
Nowe forward fast, then spouting up on height,
As conduits colde could force so great a heate,
That fire should flame where thumping hammers beate.

The hammers thump, and make as lowde a noyse,
As fuller doth that beats his wollen cloth,
In open shewe, then sundry secrete toyes,
Makes rotten ragges to yeelde a thickned froth :
Then it is stampt, and washed as white as snowe,
Then flong on frame, and hang'd to dry, I trow :
Thus paper streight it is, to write upon,
As it were rubde and smoothde with slicking-stone.

Sir John Spilman—he was knighted in 1605—died in 1626, but

his paper-mill continued in operation until 1739, although its connection with the Spilman family seems to have ceased in 1641.[12]

So far as present knowledge goes, these half-dozen attempts to establish paper-making in England are all that were made before 1600. During the first half of the seventeenth century the industry seems to have developed rather more freely. There was a mill at Cannock Chase—almost on the borders of Shropshire—in 1612,[13] and by 1636 manufactories appear to have been distributed fairly generally in certain parts of the country—there were fifteen in Buckinghamshire alone[14]—although all the best writing and printing-papers were still imported.[15] Soon afterwards the industry seems to have reached Shropshire, and we can now turn to our own county after what, I fear, may have seemed to the reader a tediously protracted approach.

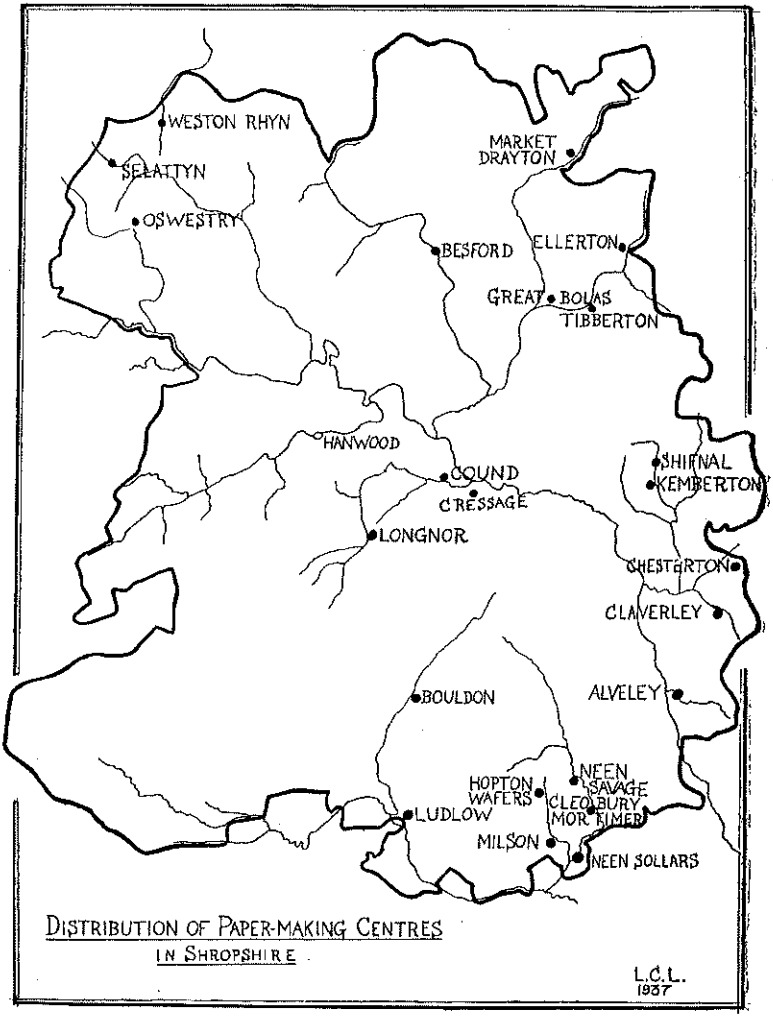
II.

Geographical Distribution.

In the map on the next page, centres of paper-making in Shropshire are seen to be scattered about the county, at first sight without any apparent "rhyme or reason." Can we account for this distribution? Can we point to any geographical conditions which explain why a paper-mill should have been set up here rather than there? No doubt some of the factors which determined the establishment of paper-mills were accidental or capricious—individual enterprise, vested property interests, family connexions, and the like. Of these we know nothing. It seems worth while, however, to examine the distribution of the Shropshire paper-making centres in the light of geographical conditions. We may not be able to find a completely satisfactory explanation by this means, but the attempt will be at least interesting and perhaps not entirely unprofitable.

Geographically, the chief condition necessary for the establishment of a paper-mill seems to have been the presence

12. Jenkins, pp. 165-6.
13. Ibid., p. 167.
14. W. H. Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
15. "A virtual monopoly of the English market was maintained by France during much of the seventeenth century" (Edward Heawood, "Papers used in England after 1600," in *The Library*, March, 1931, p. 492).


WESTON RHYN
SELATTYN
OSWESTRY
MARKET DRAYTON
BESFORD
ELLERTON
GREAT BOLAS
TIBBERTON
HANWOOD
COUND
CRESSAGE
LONGNOR
SHIFNAL
KEMBERTON
CHESTERTON
CLAVERLEY
BOULDON
ALVELEY
NEEN SAVAGE
HOPTON WAFERS
CLEOBURY MORTIMER
LUDLOW
MILSON
NEEN SOLLARS
DISTRIBUTION OF PAPER-MAKING CENTRES
IN SHROPSHIRE
L.C.L.
1937

of a plentiful and reliable supply of water. This was required, first of all, to provide motive power. Such a condition, of course, applied to water-mills of all kinds, but paper-mills also used—and still use—large quantities of water in the preparation of the pulp. They therefore needed a much more copious water-supply than corn-mills or cloth-mills, and a stream which might afford a sufficient flow for the grinding of corn or the weaving of cloth would not serve for paper-making. Even, to-day, when paper-making is a highly scientific industry, some 40,000 gallons of water are used in making one ton of paper similar to that on which these words are printed.[16] In the less economically organised industry of the eighteenth century probably more would be required.

To the eighteenth-century paper-maker, then, while speed of flow was desirable, the volume of water available was of even greater importance. Quantity was essential; sluggishness of flow could be corrected by gathering the water into elevated ponds—the process is usually called impounding—which gave a sufficient "head" of water to drive the mill-wheel. This device was in common use among the Shropshire mills, and the elevated ponds—or their remains—may be still seen, for example, at Weston Rhyn and Hopton Wafers.

Another important requirement of paper-making is that the water-supply should be clean, as soft as possible, and of the utmost purity, in order that the paper may be of a good colour. Modern paper-making practice lays great stress on this point, and many large mills are situated in what appear to be inconvenient sites solely on account of the presence of a suitable water. Probably the older manufacturers were not quite so particular as their successors in this respect, but it is a point which must be taken seriously into account in our consideration of the factors which determined the distribution of the Shropshire mills.[17]

16. R. W. Sindall, *The Manufacture of Paper*, 2nd ed., 1919.

17. Cf. Rees, *Cyclopædia* (1819), vol. xxvi, art. Paper-making: "The fairest water is the best for paper-making, on account of the clear and white quality so desirable in the manufacture. The water that dissolves soap best, is also the fittest for taking the grease out of rags..... Water subject to be mudded by rain, and that which runs through marshy grounds, ought to be avoided. In like manner, a paper-mill ought not to be placed below other manufactories or machinery which, by using the same water, might communicate to it a bad quality."

The above are some of the general principles which governed the establishment of paper-mills. Keeping them in mind, let us examine the distribution of the Shropshire centres.

Physically, Shropshire may be roughly divided into three main divisions: (1) The Northern Plain, comprising that part of the county lying north of the Severn and west of the Coalbrookdale coalfield; (2) the Upland, lying south of the Severn as it flows from west to east and west of the river after its great curve southwards at Coalport, and outcropping in the north-west corner of the county around Oswestry; and (3) the Eastern Plain, lying east of the coalfield and of the southward-flowing Severn, and extending from Shifnal in the north to the boundaries of the county near Bewdley in the south.[18] Professor Watts has pointedly defined the varying character of the rivers and streams in these three divisions. (1) Those of the Northern Plain are "slack, sluggish, and serpentine.....bounded by alluvial meadows, easily flooded, often passing through low-lying and swampy land"; (2) those of the Eastern Plain have a greater fall, which gives them "much greater speed, and in consequence they have cut out deep, steep-sided valleys, which contrast strongly with the open 'straths' of the north"; (3) those of the Upland are "straight, swift, strenuous, with well-marked valley-walls."

Bearing in mind the principles enunciated above, it is evident at once that the streams of the Eastern Plain and the Upland were better adapted for paper making than those of the Northern Plain; and a glance at the distribution map shows that it is in these areas that most of the centres of paper-making are found. In the Eastern Plain we have Claverley, Kemberton, Shifnal, Chesterton and Alveley. In the Southern Uplands we find Cleobury Mortimer, Hopton Wafers, Milson, Neen Savage, Neen Sollars, Bouldon, and Ludlow, all situated upon streams tributary to the Teme or (in the case of Ludlow) on the Teme itself; these form one group. Another group of Upland centres comprises Cound, Cressage, Longnor, and Hanwood (if Hanwood really was a paper-making centre), situated upon tributaries of the Severn. In the extreme north west of the county there is

18. W. W. Watts, *Shropshire: The Geography of the County*, 1919, Chap. ii.

a third small group of Upland centres comprising Oswestry, Selattyn, and Weston Rhyn.

We are left with five centres—Ellerton, Great Bolas, Besford, Market Drayton, and Tibberton—all of which are situated in the Northern Plain. Besford is the only one of these centres actually in the midst of the plain, and its position is subject to special conditions. Here the Roden cuts through the sandstone ridge which extends from Nesscliff to Grinshill and on towards Hawkstone, and it thus happens that at this spot—and at this spot alone—the river assumes something of the character of the Upland streams. As for the remaining centres, Ellerton, Great Bolas, and Tibberton mills were served by the River Mees (or its tributaries) which partakes of the character of the streams of the Northern Plain in its sluggish and meandering habits, but which carried a good deal of water—enough, at all events, for the needs of these small mills. The three mills at Market Drayton all stood on the River Tern, which has also acquired a large volume of water by the time it reaches that town. The paper-makers who set up their mills in these centres denied themselves the advantages of a swift flow and the cleanliness and purity which characterise the mountain streams of the Upland. Presumably they considered that the presence of a sufficient volume of water, supported perhaps by special reasons of which we are ignorant, compensated them for the loss of these advantages.

The preceding paragraphs will have made it clear, I hope, that water-supply was the dominant factor in the determination of the sites of the Shropshire paper-mills. An American authority, Mr. Nathan Reich, has laid it down that "The industry in its early stages tended to be located in or near large population centres, which constituted the main source of supply of rags and provided an outlet for the finished product."[19] This is, indeed, what one would expect, but it does not seem to have been the case in Shropshire. Transport facilities, which to-day would be of at least equal importance with water-supply, seem to have been looked upon with indifference, and we find mills established in places which are, to say at least, not remarkable

19. *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, art. Pulp and Paper Industry, vol. xii.

for their accessibility. By American standards of distance, of course, nowhere in Shropshire can be considered remote from the great centres of population. In any case, it is probable that the output of these mills was so limited that it could be disposed of at no great distance, so that difficulties of transport would not be a great handicap. On the other hand, proximity to the larger centres of population in Staffordshire and Worcestershire probably had something to do with the establishment of the mills in the Eastern Plain and those lying in the south-eastern corner of the county around Cleobury Mortimer.

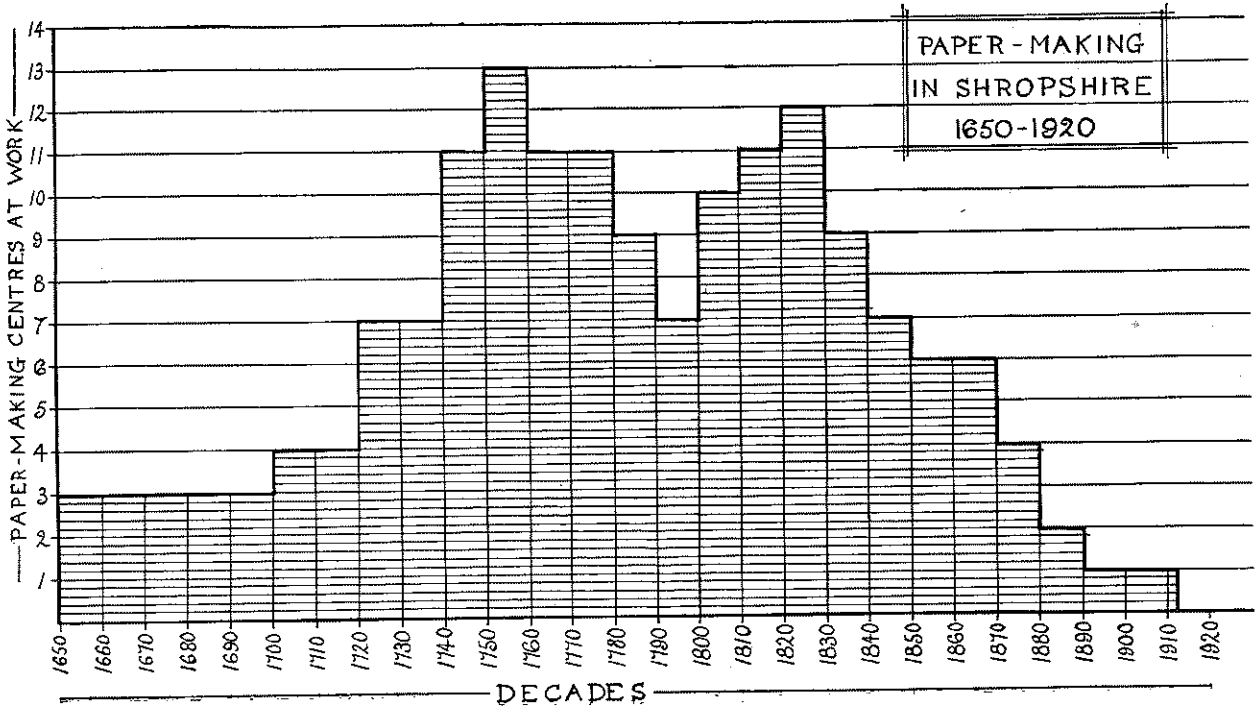
III.

Rise and Fall.

The varying fortunes of the paper-making industry in Shropshire are clearly displayed in the diagram printed opposite, which shows the number of paper-making centres at work in the county at different periods. The decade has been chosen as a convenient interval of time. As for the figures given on the vertical axis ("Paper-making centres at work"), it must be pointed out that these are not necessarily exact, since in most instances it is impossible to date accurately the setting-up or closing-down of a mill. The figures given are, however, sufficiently near the truth to display the general course of the industry's "ups and downs" during the two and a half centuries with which we are concerned.

From this diagram, it will be seen that at least three paper-mills were at work in Shropshire during the latter half of the seventeenth century: Cound (first recorded in 1656), Milson (established before 1659), and Great Bolas (working in 1659). The existence of these mills raises an interesting possibility. In 1686 a number of paper-makers (including several Huguenot refugees), calling themselves the Governor and Company of White Paper-makers in England, were granted a charter which gave them the sole right of making all kinds of writing- and printing-paper in England. This charter was confirmed and prolonged by Act of Parliament in 1690.[20] At this date the Company appears to have had five mills, the situations of which

20. Jenkins, pp. 174—177.


PAPER-MAKING
IN SHROPSHIRE
1650-1920
PAPER-MAKING CENTRES AT WORK
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
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13
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1650
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1890
1900
1910
1920
DECADES

are unknown. It is possible that one or more of these seventeenth-century Shropshire mills was under the control of the Company, although there is no evidence to this effect. On the other hand, the paper-makers outside the Company claimed to possess over a hundred mills—probably an exaggerated figure—and it may be that the Shropshire mills were among these.[21]

Soon after 1700 we find other Shropshire centres in operation: Alveley in 1705 and Oswestry in 1712; and for the next thirty or forty years there was a steady increase, until in 1750 there were paper-mills at work in no fewer than eleven centres. Cound is not heard of between 1740 and 1797, but all the rest of those mentioned above were still active, and had been joined by Claverley, Ellerton, Hopton Wafers, Weston Rhyn, Market Drayton, Chesterton and Selattyn.

Between 1750 and 1760 the number of centres increased to thirteen; this period marks the peak of activity in paper-making so far as Shropshire is concerned. During the thirty years following, although new centres of paper-making came into the picture, more of the older centres disappeared, and the nett result was a decline to only seven centres in the last decade of the century. Then came a rapid increase which in the course of a decade brought the number up to ten again, and in the period 1820-30 there were no fewer than twelve paper-making centres in the county. And then came the final decline. It was slower than the remarkable rise at the beginning of the century, but none the less sure. By 1890 only one mill was left—Tibberton—which continued in operation until 1912, when the last of the Shropshire paper-mills closed its doors.

So much for the facts. What about the causes behind the facts? In attempting an explanation of the vicissitudes just described, one cannot be definite or dogmatic. It seems likely, however, that the great increase in the Shropshire paper-making industry during the first half of the eighteenth century was merely a local manifestation of an increase which was general throughout the country. This general increase was due to a combination of causes, which it may be interesting to examine.

21. Jenkins, pp. 177, 192; Hist. MSS. Comm., 13th Report, Appendix, Part V (MSS. of the House of Lords, 1690-91), pp. 74-6.

In the first place, the population of the country was increasing—a fact which in itself led to a growing demand for paper. At the same time the people were becoming more literate; more books were issuing from the presses, and enterprising publishers were busily establishing newspapers in all parts of the kingdom. All this literary activity was naturally a powerful stimulus to the growing demand for paper. Another factor which operated in the same direction was the very large increase in trade and commerce generally during the eighteenth century; between 1702 and 1792 the trade of the country quadrupled in value and British merchant shipping quintupled in tonnage.[22] This intensified the increasing demand for paper both directly and indirectly—directly through the need for more and more paper for commercial purposes (correspondence, accounts, packing, and so on), and indirectly by bringing wealth into the country which was spent partly on books, newspapers, and other commodities in which paper was a constituent.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English paper-makers could supply only a small part of the home demand, especially in the region of good quality writing- and printing-papers. Most of these papers were imported from France, with Holland and Italy as smaller suppliers. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, however, trade with France was either prohibited altogether or subject to heavy customs duties. This led to a great deal of smuggling, especially in such commodities as wines, spirits, and tea; but the profits to be obtained on paper, which was bulky in relation to its value, were not worth the trouble and danger which smuggling entailed. The result was that during the periods when trade with France was permitted, paper was imported through the legitimate channels and by the time it had paid duty was exceedingly expensive. During the periods when trade with France was prohibited, the country was dependent upon Holland and Italy for its paper supplies, and the increased demand on those countries naturally sent up the price of their paper.

The nett result of the interaction of all these factors may be summed up in two propositions: (1) There was a large and increasing demand for paper of all kinds in Great Britain;

22. L. C. A. Knowles, *The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1933), p. 30.

(2) foreign paper was exceedingly expensive. The circumstances could not have been more favourable for the expansion of the English paper-making industry. Assured of a waiting market at their doors, with no effective competition from abroad, the English makers set about increasing their production. Many new mills were established, the output from existing mills was multiplied, and by the end of the century Great Britain was something like self-sufficient so far as paper was concerned.[23]

In bringing about this result the English paper-makers had already received a stimulus from the immigration of French Protestant paper-makers who had fled their own country on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Bringing with them their skill and a certain amount of capital, these French makers were a powerful stimulus to the expansion of British paper-making, and some of the mills which they established are still working to-day.[24] Another factor which helped the English makers to adjust their output to the ever-increasing demand was the introduction of the Hollander beating-engine. As its name implies, the Hollander was a Dutch invention, which both improved and speeded up the reduction of rags to pulp for paper-making. It seems to have been invented towards the end of the seventeenth century and to have been introduced into this country in the early 1700's, but it does not appear to have come into general use until about 1750.[25] From then onwards it

23. "We now scarcely take any paper from France; yet we formerly paid to that kingdom annually a hundred thousand pounds for that article alone" (T. Pennant, *A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight* (London, 1801), vol. i, p. 46). Compare the statements quoted in Rees's *Cyclopædia* (1819), vol. xxvi, art. Paper-making: (1) "In our own time we import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper, which bears but a very small proportion to all the paper used in the British dominions"; (2) "The English manufacturers now provide above seven-eighths of the whole quantity of paper consumed in Great Britain."

24. The only scrap of evidence I have found which suggests that any French paper-makers may have found their way into Shropshire is the occurrence of the name Millingchamp in connection with the Chesterton mill in 1747 (see p. 150). The Rev. R. C. Purton, however, writes: "The name Millingchamp is, I am sure, a variant of a name very common in Shropshire, Millichamp, Millichap, Millichope, Millinchap, etc. (spelt in a variety of ways) and has, I think, no connection with France, but is derived from Millichope in Corvedale."

25. Jenkins, p. 174. Spicer (*The Paper Trade*, p. 54) dates its introduction only from 1770, but gives no authority for his statement.

steadily replaced the old stamping-engines, with beneficial effect on the growth of the industry.[26]

The last few paragraphs have led us beyond the narrower limits of our subject—paper-making in Shropshire—but it is impossible to separate the regional history of an industry from its national history. In attempting to account for the growth of English paper-making during the first half of the eighteenth century we have at the same time provided an explanation of the growth of Shropshire paper-making during the same period.

When we turn to consider the partial decline of paper-making in Shropshire between 1760 and the end of the century, we again find it necessary to take into account the agencies which affected the industry nationally. Of these, two seem to have been of predominant importance: the shortage of raw material and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution; a contributory factor may have been the heavy taxes which were levied upon paper-makers during this period. In the later years of the eighteenth century short supplies of rags were a severe handicap to English paper-makers, and a number of mills had to close down because they were unable to obtain adequate supplies. The Industrial Revolution was, of course, marked by the gradual elimination of village industries (in which category all the Shropshire paper-mills must be included) and the establishment of factory towns. In the Shropshire paper-making industry, the combined effect of these factors seems to have been the elimination of a number of the weaker mills.

The increase of paper-making in Shropshire—and in Great Britain generally—between 1800 and 1820 is at first sight remarkable, in view of the fact that this was a period of great difficulty in the economic life of the country. The long war against France had weakened the resources of the country, and this, combined with other causes which are detailed in any textbook of economic history, made the early years of the nineteenth century a period of depression and distress almost unexampled in English history. In addition to the difficulties due to general conditions, paper-makers also had troubles of

26. By the early nineteenth century the old stamping-mills had entirely disappeared from this country; see Rees's *Cyclopædia* (1819), vol. xxvi, art. Paper-making.

their own. A shortage of rags continued to embarrass them,[27] and they were subject to even heavier taxes than those which had been imposed upon them during the eighteenth century. Paper rose steeply in price, but the paper-making industry continued to expand; the output of the English mills increased from 14,151 tons in 1803 to 21,520 tons in 1821, and the number of licensed makers increased from 413 in 1801 to 564 in 1821.[28] This increase is attributable to the constantly growing demand for home-produced paper, which would be intensified by the failure of foreign supplies due to the disorganisation of commerce caused by the war and the operation of the Continental System. British paper-makers had to increase their output in an effort to keep pace with the demand—an effort which, as we have seen, was not entirely successful in the early years of the century. They were assisted in their endeavours by the introduction of the Fourdrinier paper-making machine about 1803. Here, for the first time, was a practicable means of making paper other than by the slow, laborious and expensive method of forming each sheet separately by hand. The first machines were not wholly satisfactory, but from about 1810 onwards the Fourdrinier was a force of major importance in the paper-making industry. Between 1803 and 1851, one hundred and ninety machines are said to have been set to work in England.[29]

While the Fourdrinier machine helped the paper-making industry as a whole, its coming spelled extermination for the small, isolated, water-driven mills such as those in Shropshire. They had, indeed, been doomed ever since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The development of cheap steam power and the economies in production-costs which were effected by the concentration of industries in factory towns, meant the steady and certain elimination of village industries. As a great

27. See, for instance, an editorial note in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii (1808), p. 968: "It is requested that Ladies, Shopkeepers, etc. will be careful not to burn or destroy any Rags whatever, which are now 7d. a pound. Envelopes of Letters, also, and waste Paper of all descriptions, printed or written, however small, may be *re-manufactured*; and are well worth preserving, in the present very alarming scarcity and high price of Paper, which threatens destruction to literary ingenuity."

28. Porter and Hirst, *The Progress of the Nation* (1912), pp. 405-6.

29. R. W. Sindall, *The Manufacture of Paper*, Second edition (London, 1919), p. 19.

authority has pointed out, the full effect of the introduction of cheap steam power into industry was not felt all at once:

> .....water continued to be economically the better agent during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; but eventually, as a consequence of Watt's invention, waterfalls became of less value. Instead of carrying the people to the power, employers found it preferable to place the power among the people at the most convenient trading centres. The factory system is older than the application of steam to the textile trades; but the introduction of the new mechanical power tended to destroy the advantage of factory villages on streams, and rendered possible the gradual concentration of the population in factory towns.[30]

In this passage Dr. Cunningham refers principally to the woollen and cotton industries, but his words apply with equal force to paper-making. So far as this industry is concerned, the invention of the Fourdrinier machine hastened the completion of the process. During the next few decades we find the same thing happening all over England: many small mills closing down, their trade being transferred to fewer large mills, and the total output of the industry always increasing. Between the years 1821 and 1841, although the production of paper increased from 21,520 tons to 43,350 tons a year, the number of licensed paper-makers (i.e., paper-mills) declined from 564 to 370.[31] In Shropshire, during the same period, the number of paper-making centres at work fell from twelve to seven.

The small Shropshire paper-mills were not long in finding out that they could not by any means withstand the competition of the larger, better-equipped, and more conveniently situated factories in other parts of the country. One by one they fell victims to that tremendous change in the whole economic and social fabric of the nation which we call the Industrial Revolution. Its results can be seen in the steady closing-down of one mill after another between 1830 and 1890. In the decade 1820-30 there were twelve paper-making centres at work in Shropshire; by 1890 there was only one left. This gallant survivor struggled on for another twenty years, but the forces

30. W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. ii (part 2), p. 627.

31. Porter and Hirst, *The Progress of the Nation* (1912), pp. 405-6. For more detailed statistics see Spicer, *The Paper Trade* (1907), especially the appendices.

of economic circumstance were too strong, and in 1912 it too closed its doors. And with its closing the Shropshire paper-making industry came to an end.

So far as we can judge from the somewhat meagre evidence available, paper-making was at no time an important industry in Shropshire, and the Shropshire paper-mills seem never to have formed an element of much importance in the paper-making industry of the country at large. All the indications are that the Shropshire mills were small, employing few hands, and producing only small quantities of their various manufactures. We have no means of estimating the number of persons employed during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, but from 1851 onwards the official *Population Returns*, based upon the censuses, provide accurate and interesting figures. This is the period of the decline and ultimate extinction of paper-making in Shropshire, as is clearly shown in the following table:

TABLE I.

Persons employed in Paper-making in Shropshire,

1851—1911.

Year.	Number of Mills at work.	Persons employed.		
		Males.	Females.	Total.
1851	6	—	—	66
1861	6	42	27	69
1871	4	34	11	45
1881	3	16	9	25
1891	1	14	8	22
1901	1	13	2	15
1911	1	8	2	10

The way in which the Shropshire industry declined while that of the country in general increased is strikingly shown when the numbers of persons employed as paper-makers in England and Wales and in Shropshire are compared:

TABLE II.

Persons employed as Paper-makers in England and Wales and in Shropshire, 1851—1911.

Year.	Persons employed.		Percentage—Shropshire : England & Wales.
	England & Wales.	Shropshire.	
1851	10,809	66	0.61
1861	13,357	69	0.52
1871	16,772	45	0.27
1881	18,629	25	0.13
1891	20,043	22	0.11
1901	24,210	15	0.06
1911	24,844	10	0.04

In the returns for 1861 the numbers of persons employed in various occupations are classified in districts. This enables us to see how the Shropshire paper-makers were distributed among the six mills which were at work at this date :

TABLE III.

Persons engaged in Paper-making in Shropshire, classified in Districts, 1861.

(Only persons aged 20 years and upwards are included)

District.	Persons employed.			Mills at work.
	Males	Females	Total	
Ludlow	2	1	3	Ludlow
Cleobury Mortimer	8	15	23	Cleobury Mortimer[?], Neen Savage
Oswestry	11	2	13	Oswestry (Morda) Weston Rhyn
Market Drayton	—	2	2	——
Wellington	—	3	3	——
Newport	10	1	11	Tibberton

From this it will be seen that the Ludlow mill was evidently nearing the end of its course; the mills at Cleobury Mortimer (?) and Neen Savage shared 23 workers between them, those at Morda and Weston Rhyn could muster only 13, while Tibberton employed 11. The five women at Market Drayton and Wellington who are returned as engaged in paper-making present something of a puzzle, as no mills were at work in those districts. Possibly they were engaged in some such occupation as paper-bag-making or warehousing.

In 1861 and 1871 the returns classify persons engaged in various occupations according to age. In the table which follows these figures have been abstracted so far as they relate to the Shropshire paper-makers. The predominance of work-people in the prime of life—and beyond—indicates that one of the most objectionable features of the factory system—the employment of children—had no place in the Shropshire paper-making industry. This may be attributed to the fact that most of the operations in paper-making demand a high degree of skill, requiring years of experience before proficiency is attained.

TABLE IV.

Ages of Persons engaged in Paper-making in Shropshire, 1861—71.

Age (years)	1861		1871	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
5—10	—	—	—	—
10—15	1	1	—	1
15—20	10	2	3	5
20—25	1	2	4	2
25—35	5	5	9	2
35—45	6	7	8	—
45—55	5	3	5	1
55—65	8	3	—	—
65—75	5	3	5	—
75—85	1	1	—	—
Total (all ages)	42	27	34	11

IV.

Methods and Materials.

In all its essentials, the process of paper-making changed hardly at all from the time of its invention until the early years of the nineteenth century. It is true that improvements were made in the method of reducing the raw material to fibre, in the construction of the mould, and in methods of sizing and finishing; but for seventeen centuries after its invention each sheet of paper continued to be made separately, and to make it the mould had to be dipped into the vat by hand. The process of manufacture may be conveniently divided into three stages: (1) The preparation of the pulp (or "half-stuff," as it was known technically); (2) the actual making of the sheet of unsized paper (called "waterleaf"); and (3) sizing and finishing.

Until the nineteenth century the raw material used in paper-making consisted almost entirely of linen rags. These were first thoroughly washed, sorted, and then "fermented"—that is, "laid in square heaps, close covered with sacking, till they sweat and rot, which is commonly done in four or five days."[32] As may be imagined, this process resulted in the emanation of odours the reverse of pleasant, which were the cause of frequent complaints from those who lived near the paper-mills. After the rags had sufficiently "fermented," they were cut up into small pieces, again washed, and thrown into the beating-engines. Here they were pounded by heavy hammers until they had disintegrated into fibres forming a smooth paste with the water. "When the rags are beaten to a certain degree, called the first stuff, the pulp is removed into presses where it is left to mellow about a week; then it is put into a clean mortar, pounded afresh, and then removed into presses or boxes as before, in which state it is called the second stuff. The mass being beaten a third time until it resembles flour and water without lumps, it is thereby fitted for the pit-mortar, where it is perfectly dissolved, and is then carried to the vat to be formed into paper." As was pointed out above (p. 136), during the first

32. This quotation, and other unacknowledged quotations which occur in this section, are taken from an anonymous eighteenth-century account of the process of paper-making quoted by Clapperton, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—120.

half of the eighteenth century the old beating-engine began to be replaced by an improved machine called the Hollander. This substituted a grinding action for the pounding of its predecessor, and was in principle exactly similar to the machines used to-day for the preparation of the pulp.

The pulp having been thus prepared, the second stage in the manufacture—the actual formation of the sheet—is proceeded with. The vatman takes the mould—a shallow tray, with detachable wooden sides called the "deckle" and a bottom formed of closely-set brass wires—of the size of the sheet he wishes to make, and dips it into the vat. As he lifts it out a thin layer of pulp covers the bottom of the mould; the vatman gives it a peculiar series of shakes which not only drain away the surplus water but also cause the fibres to interlock, so that the finished sheet of paper will not tear easily. The vatman hands the mould to another workman, called the "coucher," who takes off the "deckle," inverts the mould over a piece of felt, and allows the wet sheet of paper to fall off. "He returns the mould to the maker, who by this time has prepared a second sheet in another mould, and thus they proceed, laying alternately a sheet and a felt, till they have made six quires of paper, which is called a post." This quantity is put under a press and the surplus water squeezed out, after which the sheets of paper are separated from the felts, again pressed, and then hung up to dry. When dry the paper is known as "waterleaf"; it is soft and absorbent, somewhat resembling blotting-paper.[33]

The final processes are necessary to convert the "waterleaf" into a smooth-surfaced, ink-bearing paper. In very early times a variety of substances such as gypsum, starch, and a kind of gelatine made from lichens, were used for sizing; but the knowledge of starch-sizing seems to have been lost some time in the fourteenth century,[34] and animal gelatine was used from then until the early nineteenth century, when starch-sizing was rediscovered. In the eighteenth century the size was prepared from parchment or vellum shavings, mixed with white vitriol

33. It is interesting to notice that felts made from Shropshire wool are particularly esteemed in those paper-mills which still produce hand-made paper.

34. Sindall, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

and rock alum, and was made "as hot as the hand can well bear it." The "waterleaf" was picked up in convenient handfuls and dipped into the size, and after being drained, pressed, and dried, was packed up into quires ready for sale.

The above description of the process of paper-making by hand is, of course, a very condensed summary. For different kinds of paper variations of method were used, and in some instances the operations described (particularly pressing and parting) were repeated several times. Generally, however, the process outlined in the preceding paragraphs was common to paper-makers throughout Europe until the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Fourdrinier paper-making machine was introduced. This machine produced a continuous roll of paper, of any convenient length and up to about six feet wide. The increased output made possible by this process, as compared with the slow, sheet-by-sheet method of making paper by hand, revolutionised the industry, and, as has been already pointed out (p. 138), presaged the extinction of many of the smaller mills. Since, however, there is no evidence that the Fourdrinier was used to any extent in Shropshire, it does not seem necessary to enter into a description of its manner of working.

Linen rags were probably the chief raw material employed by the Shropshire paper-makers. No doubt they also made use of old ropes and other waste materials containing flax and hemp fibres for the manufacture of coarse wrapping papers. The parish registers afford ample evidence of the existence of rag-collectors in all parts of the county. It is probable, however, that the results of their efforts were not enough to keep the mills sufficiently supplied. The Rev. James Payton,[35] speaking of Hopton Wafers, refers to "the wagons laden with paper for London, returning with loads of rags" in the early nineteenth century, and Alderman F. P. J. Childs tells me of a Cleobury Mortimer resident whose grandfather used to take paper by road to Birmingham and return laden with rags.[36]

What kinds of paper were made at the Shropshire mills? To this interesting question it is, unfortunately, impossible to

35. *Trans.* S.A.S., 3, ix, p. 274.

36. Letter dated 18 August 1936.

return a wholly satisfactory answer. Bearing in mind the fact that until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, much of the white writing- and printing-paper used in this country had to be imported, one would say on general principles that in all probability the Shropshire mills established before this time were engaged mainly in the manufacture of the coarser grades of paper. And without additional evidence this is the best answer that can be given to the question posed above, so far as it relates to the earlier mills.

With regard to the nineteenth-century mills, we are fortunate in the possession of a certain amount of definite evidence concerning their products. We know that coarse brown wrapping-paper was made at Hopton Wafers, Neen Sollars, and Morda (Oswestry), while at Tibberton all kinds of wrapping and sugar papers were made. At the Tyrley Mill (Market Drayton) pasteboards were the chief product.

The only Shropshire mills in connection with which I have found any indication of white writing- or printing-papers having been made are Claverley, Ludlow, and Hopton Wafers. Account-book papers are said to have been made at Claverley, and on the evidence of watermarks—which by themselves however, are not conclusive—it seems likely that a certain amount of good quality white paper was made at Hopton Wafers and Ludlow.[37]

V.

Mills and Makers.

In the following pages I have brought together such information as I have been able to collect concerning individual paper-mills in Shropshire. To facilitate reference, the various centres are dealt with in alphabetical order, and the plan generally adopted is to give some account of the history of the mill, followed where possible by some notes on its situation and the remains visible on the site.

37. For details see below, under the headings of the various centres.

ALVELEY.

Alveley was one of the earlier centres of paper-making in Shropshire. Evidence to this effect is afforded by an entry in the parish registers on 6 March 1704/5, which records the baptism of a son (unnamed) of "Richard and Mary Fosbrook, paperman." The same man is referred to in entries of 1706 and 1708, but the registers contain no further mention of paper-making until 23 April 1770, when John Shallard, paper-maker, and Jemima Reynolds, widow, were married. On 28 April 1788 the Chelmarsh parish registers record the marriage of Richard Thatcher, of Alveley, paper-maker, and Ann Elcock; while on 6 November 1788 the Alveley registers provide a final record in the burial of John Williams, paper-maker.

There is no evidence that the Alveley mill was used for paper-making after this date, but a memory of its employment is preserved in the name of the Paper-mill Garage which marks its site, on the western side of the Bridgnorth-Kidderminster road, 6½ miles from Bridgnorth and 7½ miles from Kidderminster. Dr. W. Watkins-Pitchford, who kindly visited the site on my behalf on 20 November 1936, writes as follows:

"Bowhills Dingle, with a small stream in it, runs right down to the Severn at Hampton Loade. The water-wheel of the paper-mill was turned, not by this stream, but by water from the pool; the used water was discharged into the dingle. The dam and overshot pipe are still there. A man working on the road (Tomkins) told me that, about forty years ago, he helped to demolish the old water-wheel; the paper-mill had then been long disused—'perhaps one hundred years.' He also said there used to be two other mills down the dingle, between the main road and Hampton Loade; he was quite certain, however, that they were not paper-mills and that one was a corn-mill." Dr. Watkins-Pitchford adds that a cottage standing behind the garage is evidently part of the old mill.

In a map of Shropshire, "from an actual survey made in the years 1826 and 1827," by C. and J. Greenwood, a paper-mill is marked in the Bowhills Dingle, but it is placed much nearer the Severn than the site described above. Probably it is one of the mills mentioned by Dr. Watkins-Pitchford's informant,

confused by the map-makers with the site of the paper-mill further east. In Robert Baugh's map of Shropshire (*c.*1808) a forge is marked at this spot.

ASTON BOTTERELL.

An inquest on a "man working in paper-mill, jammed between wheel and post, Aston Botterell," was reported to Shropshire Quarter Sessions in May, 1791[37A]. This would appear to indicate the existence of a paper-mill at Aston Botterell at this period, but despite careful enquiry I have been unable to find any further evidence to this effect. The original Quarter Sessions rolls give no further particulars, and the Rev. A. E. C. Adams, rector of Aston Botterell, who has kindly made local enquiries on my behalf, has failed to find any memory, or even tradition, of a paper-mill in the parish. It may be that the man who was the subject of the inquest lived at Aston Botterell but worked at a paper-mill elsewhere; then, if he were injured while at work, he might have been taken home, where he died, and the inquest would be held in the parish where death took place.

BESFORD (LEE BROCKHURST).[37B]

Garbet, describing the course of the River Roden,[38] tells how it "passes under a stone bridge for carts, consisting of two arches, at Thistleford, and another of three arches at Lee Brockhurst, next it visits the paper-mills, now in ruins, near Besford." As Garbet wrote in the 1750's and the paper-mill was then in ruins, it must have been set up considerably before this date—possibly in the seventeenth century—but in the absence of further evidence we have no means of fixing upon even an approximate date for its establishment.

The Lee Brockhurst parish registers begin in 1566, but there is no mention of the paper-mill until 1797, when the baptism is recorded on 7 November of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Martha Spencer, "of the Paper Mill,"[39] In 1800

37A. L. J. Lee, *Full List and Partial Abstract of the Contents of the Quarter Sessions Rolls*, 1696—1800 (Shropshire County Records, No. 6). For this reference I am indebted to Mr. A. Stanley Davies.

37B. Besford is actually in Shawbury parish, but the apparent site of the paper-mill is just over the boundary of Lee Brockhurst parish.

38. *History of Wem* (1818), p. 6.

39. Printed copy, p. 73.

there are two mentions—the baptism of Thomas, son of Thomas and Martha Spenser, "of the Paper Mills," on 9 March,[40] and the burial of Martha Hall, "of the Paper Mill," on 16 March.[41] At this date, of course, the paper-mill was not in operation; what seems to have happened is that the name was retained in connection with a house (or houses) built on or near the site of the ruined mill referred to by Garbet.

To this day the name survives in Paper Mill Bridge and Paper Mill Bank, both situated in the lane leading from Moston to Besford, three-quarters of a mile S.E. of Lee Brockhurst. A half-timbered cottage stands near the bridge and may be the building referred to in the parish register entries.

In C. and J. Greenwoods' map of Shropshire (1827) the mill-leat is clearly marked, but I have failed to trace it on the ground.

BOULDON (HOLGATE).

Peter Medlicott, paper-maker, "of Bouldon, in the parish of Holgate," is mentioned in a deed dated 1803.[42] He also occurs in Pigot and Co.'s *Directory of Shropshire* for 1829. A paper-mill at Bouldon is marked on Baugh's map of Shropshire (1808) and in the map of Shropshire, "from an actual survey in 1827," by C. and J. Greenwood.

CHESTERTON (WORFIELD).

The earliest evidence of paper-making at Chesterton is an entry in the Worfield parish registers recording the baptism on 9 March 1728/9 of John, "son of Richard Adams, of Chesterton, paper-maker, and Elizabeth." Between this date and 1 November 1753 the registers contain eight more entries referring to Richard Adams. In one dated 28 October 1750 he is described as a labourer, but in all the others he is styled "paper-maker"; in most of the entries his residence is given as Chesterton, but in two it is given as Kinslow (Kingslow) and in two as Worfield.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
42. *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, 23 December 1904.

Another paper-maker makes his appearance on 26 December 1747, when Richard Cowell and Hester Millingchamp, "both living at ye paper-mill at Chesterton," were married. Entries relating to their children occur on 30 June 1748, 28 July 1748, and 26 December 1752, while on 24 January 1753 the burial is recorded of Thomas Phillips, "apprentice to Richard Cowel, of Chesterton, paper-maker."

After 1753 there are no entries mentioning the paper-mill or paper-makers in the registers, and there is no further reference to either Adams or Cowell. The fact that the paper-making references end abruptly in 1753 suggests that perhaps the mill closed down about this time and that the paper-makers left the district.

Before it was employed in paper-making the Chesterton mill was used for cloth-finishing. From 1562, when they begin, the Worfield parish registers contain numerous references to shearman and clothworkers, nearly all of whom are described as "of the Walk-mill" at either Chesterton or Kingslow. Soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, however, these references cease to occur, and it would seem that the cloth-working industry was dying out. Evidently it was of long standing in the district, for in 1369 Julia, late Countess of Huntingdon, who held the manor of Worfield as her dower, "demised to Roger de Kyngslowe one place of waste to erect a fulling-mill."[43] "This fulling-mill," adds Randall, "appears to have been converted into a paper-mill, for in October, 1734, there is an entry of Thomas Bache surrendering a fulling-mill, then a paper-mill."

I am indebted to Dr. W. Watkins-Pitchford for having brought this mill to my notice, and he has added to my indebtedness by visiting the site on my behalf. He contributes the following account of its present condition:

"The site is now known as Mill Farm, and the tenant is Mr. T. F. J. Parton. Interviewed on 4 January 1937, the tenant, a farmer, said he had lived on the farm for fourteen years. He has always understood that the mill was originally a paper-mill, but that it was afterwards converted into a corn-mill.

43. John Randall, *Worfield and its Townships*, 1887, p. 73.

He does not know when this conversion took place, but 'it was a long time ago.' The mill could not have ceased to grind corn much longer than fourteen years ago, since the disused machinery of the corn-mill was still in position when he came to the farm. A bricklayer's labourer in Bridgnorth (H. Cook) tells me (W. W.-P.) that he well remembers the mill grinding corn when he was a boy, 'about fifty years ago.'

"The ruined buildings of the mill stand some way below the present farm-house, athwart the Nun Brook; this comes down from the Great Pool of Patshull, and joins the Worfe between Hilton and Worfield. The buildings are small and almost entirely of brick. The bricks do not seem very old. The overshot wheel is of iron, small in diameter but elongated into a cylinder. There is a plentiful and constant supply of water. The machinery formerly turned by the wheel has been removed, but parts of it—including large iron cogged wheels and a massive wooden spindle—are lying among the nearby weeds and bushes. The appearances *suggest* that the mill was rebuilt some hundred years ago—perhaps when it was converted into a corn-mill. Just east of the mill, on the north side of the brook, are one or more old cave-dwellings excavated into a low sandstone cliff. The face of the adjacent cliff to the east is cut vertically and shows signs of having formed the back wall of some sheds."

CLAVERLEY.

Writing to *Shropshire Notes and Queries* (7 October 1904), a correspondent signing himself "Lawley" stated that "John Falkner, paper-maker, Claverley, died in 1761, aged 43." He gave no authority for this statement and I have been unable to verify it. One may, perhaps, surmise that the information was obtained from a tombstone; the Claverley parish registers[44] record the burial of a John Faulkner on 30 March 1761 but say nothing of his trade or age.

The Rev. James Payton[45] remarks on a curious association between the widely-separated parishes of Claverley and Hopton Wafers, in which the connecting link is paper-making. "There

44. Printed copy, p. 295.

45. *Trans. S.A.S.*, 3, ix, 285.

is land in Hopton Wafers," he writes, "belonging to the poor of Claverley. It was purchased out of a bequest, 1734, of Thomas Acton, of Gatacre. It is a far cry to Claverley, but I find that paper-mills existed there, and there was an interchange of paper-makers between the two places; hence, I suppose, the connection by which land here, $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres, was purchased by Claverley trustees."

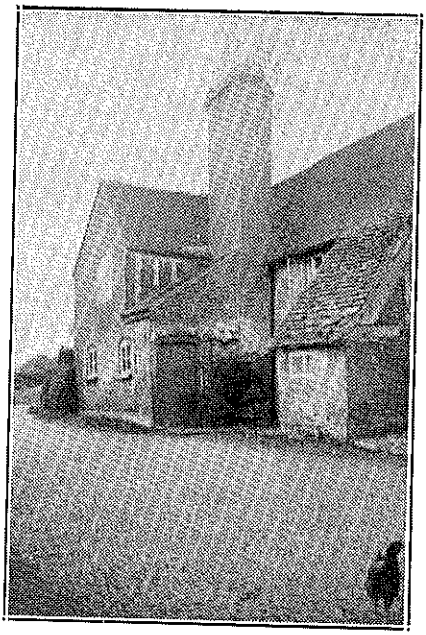
Mr. Payton unfortunately omitted to state on what evidence he founded his statements about paper-making at Claverley and the interchange of paper-makers between that parish and Hopton Wafers. The charity to which he refers is evidently that known as Acton's Dole, of which the following official account is given in the *Reports of the Commissioners on Charities*:[46] "Thomas Acton of Gatacre, in the parish of Claverley, by his will dated the 18th of July 1734, gave the sum of £100 to trustees, to be laid out in the purchase of lands in fee simple, the interest till laid out, and the rent and profits, to be yearly, on St. Thomas's-day, paid by the churchwardens for the time being, to five decayed labourers and five poor widows belonging to the parish of Claverley. This legacy was laid out on the 24th of October 1741, in the purchase of about seven acres of meadow land in the parish of Hopton Wafers."[47]

If Mr. Payton is correct in his suggestion that Thomas Acton's bequest was laid out at Hopton Wafers on account of the paper-making connection between the two places, it is evident that the industry was being carried on at Claverley in 1741. There is, however, no other evidence pointing in this direction.

In Bacon's map of Shropshire (*c.*1900) a paper-mill is marked about a mile north of the village of Claverley; it is not marked on the one-inch Ordnance Survey map, but Hopstone Mill on the latter seems to occupy approximately the same position. The situation of the paper-mill at Hopstone is confirmed by the Rev. R. P. Guy, vicar of Claverley, who in reply

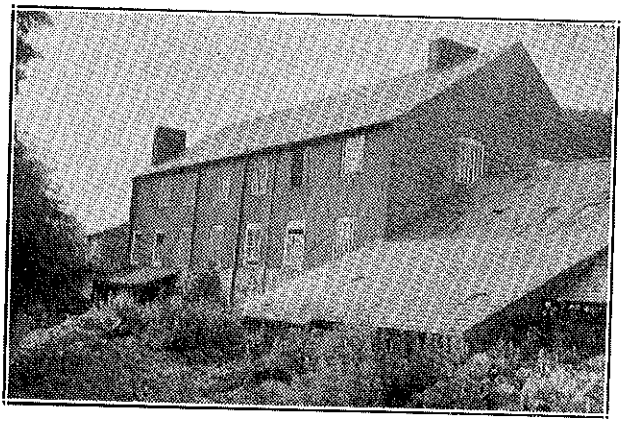
46. Salop, p. 100.

47. The Rev. R. P. Guy, the present vicar of Claverley, makes the following comment on this paragraph: "We still own the land at Hopton Wafers, but whatever we bought it for I cannot understand."



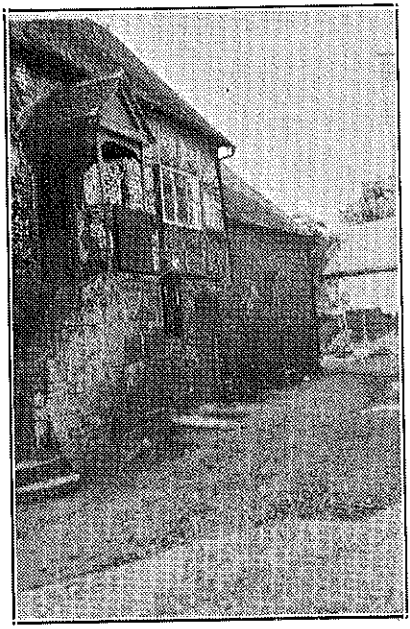
LONGNOR: OLD PAPER-MILL.

Photograph by L. C. Lloyd.

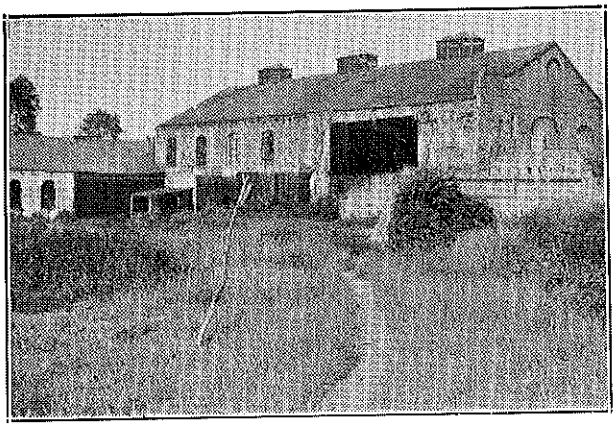


OSWESTRY: MORDA MILL.

Photograph by W. J. Mitchenall.



GREAT BOLAS : PART OF BOLAS MILL.



TIBBERTON : PAPER-MILL.

Photographs by W. J. Mitchenall.

to my enquiry kindly writes as follows :[48]

"There were two mills at Hopstone, one known as Hopstone Mill, and the other known as the Paper Mill. When the latter ceased to be worked as a paper-mill it was turned into a milling and malting house. The original paper-mill did a very flourishing business in the days when paper was made from rags. Its output was mainly confined to paper used in accountancy. The mills were driven by water power, and to secure night and day production the Daneford and Sandford brooks were channeled, which must have cost the proprietors a very substantial sum. The aqueduct is nearly three-quarters of a mile long, and in places is fifteen feet above water-bed level. Even to-day the mill pond is a fairly extensive sheet of water, and the natural flow is continuous and strong. The mill buildings, I imagine, are pretty much as the paper-makers left them, except, of course, that the milling and malting machinery displaced that of the paper-makers. The mill itself has three floors, and there still exist evidences of its original purpose."

Mr. Guy adds the interesting remark : "I wish your query had reached me some six years ago, as I could then have put you in touch with an actual worker at the paper-mills." From this it would appear that the Hopstone paper-mill was in operation up to past the middle of the nineteenth century ; no further evidence to this effect has been found, and there is no reference to paper-making here at such a late date in any of the directories and other sources which have been consulted.

CLEOBURY MORTIMER.

See under Neen Savage.

COUND.

We first hear of the Cound paper-mill in 1655/6, when the parish registers record on 2 March the baptism of "William, son of Anthony Jones, of the Paper Milles, and Anne" (p. 23). On 12 October of the same year we find recorded the baptism of "Anne, daughter of Edward Williams, of the paper Milles" (p. 24), and on 9 December the baptism of "John, son of Thomas Price, of paper Milles, and Frances," is entered (p. 24).

48. Letter dated 23 March 1937.

With the next record—thirty-six years later—we first encounter the Phipps family, members of which seem to have occupied the paper-mill for some fifty years. They were a numerous family in the parish, and the registers contain many references to them from 1615 to the end of the eighteenth century. It is possible that the family had some connection with Edmund Phipps, "gentleman and high constable of the Hundred of Stoke," who in 1635-6 operated a paper-mill at Horton in Buckinghamshire;[49] and there can be little doubt that it provided the first Oswestry paper-maker in the person of Vincent Phipps.[50]

The first mention of the Phippses of Cound in connection with the paper-mill occurs on 15 December 1692, when Elizabeth, "wife of Francis Phipps ye younger, of the Paper Mills," was buried (p. 43). This Francis Phipps seems to have been born in 1656, the son of Francis Phipps the elder and his wife Mary (p. 24), and is perhaps identical with the Francis Phipps, of Lower Cound, who was buried on 19 February 1702/3 (p. 50). By his first wife, Elizabeth, he had a family of eight children, and in the year following her death married Joan Harper (p. 44), by whom he had two daughters, baptised in 1695 and 1697 respectively (pp. 45-6). The next mention of the paper-mill occurs on 31 October 1739, when Margaret Phips, "of the Paper Mills," was buried (p. 71); six months later we find recorded the burial of Samuel Phips, "of the Paper Mill," on 23 April 1740 (p. 72). Samuel Phipps was probably the son of Francis Phipps the younger and was baptised either in 1679 or in 1680—the entry appears twice in the registers (p. 34). Margaret Phipps seems to have been the daughter of Francis Phipps the third, a brother of Samuel, and was baptised in 1701 (p. 49).

After 1740 we hear no more of the Cound paper-mill until January, 1797, when an inquest on a man "working in paper-mill, crushed by wheel, Cound," was reported to Quarter Sessions.[50A]

49. W. H. Summers in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. viii (1897), p. 207.

50. See p. 173, below.

50A. L. J. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 126. I have to thank Mr. A. Stanley Davies for this reference.

The site of the mill is marked by an isolated house known as Paper-mill Cottage which stands on the left bank of the Cound Brook, near the footbridge at the back of Upper Cound Farm. The house is evidently more recent than the mill, and there do not appear to be any remains of the latter, unless a number of holes and ledges cut into the exposed face of the hillside at the rear of the house have any connection with it. The course of the mill-leat, however, can be followed upstream in the ditch at the foot of the hill. By means of a culvert now blocked up, it passed beneath the road near Cound Stank Bridge (about a quarter of a mile upstream), and a short distance above the bridge there are traces of a dam and slight remains of the masonry of a spillway.[51] "Stank" is a word of many meanings in Shropshire, but one of the commonest is that of "dam."[52] It is not improbable that the dam constructed to supply the mill-leat gave its name to the bridge nearby.

CRESSAGE.

A short distance up the road leading from Cressage to Kenley, in a field on the right-hand side, are the foundations of a mill now overgrown and half-obliterated. According to local tradition, this mill was at one time a paper-mill. When I visited the site on 9 January 1938, in company with Mr. W. J. Slack, the spot where the stream was dammed to supply the mill with water was clearly to be seen, but the mill-leat seems to have been obliterated by road widening.

Mr. Slack, to whom I am indebted for having brought this mill to my notice, tells me that an old man resident in Cressage remembers the remains of the mill being carted away in his youth, some fifty or sixty years ago. It had an overshot wheel, which was fed from the mill-pond by a channel now lying partly under the roadway and leading from the dam higher up. Mr. Slack's informant remembered playing, as a boy, with a large, rusty chain which had been used to drop the bolt at the dam, and which led to the mill itself some 200 yards away. "As for

51. I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Slack, of Cound Leasowes, for information as to the site of this mill and for drawing my attention to the existing remains.

52. G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word-Book*, *s.v.* Stank.

paper-making," adds Mr. Slack, "that was before his time. 'Some sayn it usen to be a paper-mill,' is what he says."

No documentary evidence has been found concerning a paper-mill at Cressage, and the parish registers contain no reference to the industry. The claim of Cressage to be considered a paper-making centre therefore rests upon local tradition alone.

ELLERTON (CHESWARDINE).

That a paper-mill was at work in Cheswardine parish during the first half of the eighteenth century is made clear by the following entry in the parish registers, under date 17 January 1740: "Thomas Davies, an apprentice at ye paper mill, buried."[53] In all probability this refers to the Ellerton mill; there is no evidence of a paper-mill anywhere else in the parish.

The earlier history of the mill is somewhat obscure, but a certain amount of light is thrown upon it by a number of references to which Miss R. Donaldson-Hudson has kindly directed my attention. In a volume of Cheswardine churchwardens' accounts relating to "An Old Church Lewn" levied in 1698, "The Mills" are set down under Ellerton Township, but nothing was levied upon them; presumably at this date they were untenanted. In a "New Lewn" of 1722, however, Ellerton Mills are charged 9½d. Evidently they were now at work, but there is nothing to show who worked them or for what purpose they were used. As Miss Donaldson-Hudson says, "Presumably Ellerton Mill was originally a corn-mill, the property of the lord of the manor. The fact of its not being rated in 1698 rather points to its having fallen into disuse during the seventeenth century (possibly even earlier)." Its restarting some time between 1698 and 1722 may possibly have been consequent upon its conversion to a paper-mill.

In a "Church Lewn" of 1738, Thomas Jones paid 8d. in respect of Ellerton Mill. Since we know from the parish-register entry quoted above that it was employed as a paper-mill in 1740, it seems probable that paper was being made there in 1738, during Thomas Jones's occupation. In this connection,

53. For this reference I am indebted to Miss R. Donaldson-Hudson, of Cheswardine Hall.

another reference has some relevance. In one of the cash books of the Coalbrookdale Iron Company (now preserved in the Shrewsbury Free Library), under the year 1738, the following record appears: "Received of Thomas Jones for 2 Paper Mill Plates, 2cwt. 3qr. 5lb., £1 19s."[53A] I know of no other paper-maker of this name at work at the time, and it looks very much as though the Coalbrookdale Company's customer were the Ellerton man.

Ellerton Mill seems to have been connected with the Jones family throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century. This is evident from further entries in the Cheswardine parish registers for which I am indebted to Miss Donaldson-Hudson. On 30 December 1753 the burial is recorded of "John Jones from Ellerton Mill," and on 1 May 1758, Theodore Jones, "paper-maker, of this parish," was married to Martha Chaloner, of Hinstock parish. Sarah Jones, widow, who was buried on 10 May 1781, was perhaps John Jones's widow, but she is not definitely connected with Ellerton in the register. What the relationships may have been among Thomas, John, Theodore, and Peter Jones is uncertain; in all probability further information about the Jones family is obtainable from the registers of the neighbouring parish of Hinstock, but these unfortunately remain unpublished and untranscribed and it has not been possible to consult them.

The last record of the Ellerton mill relates to its destruction by fire on the night of 13 April 1789. The owner, Peter Jones, applied to the Lord Chancellor for a brief for £1,000 to make good his loss. His application was approved by Quarter Sessions in July, 1789[54] and was granted, but the result was disappointing. Jones accordingly made application for a second brief, which was approved by Quarter Sessions in January 1793.[55] Again his application was granted, and it is from this second brief that we obtain much of the information we have

53A. For this reference I have to thank Mr. A. Stanley Davies.

54. Sir Offley Wakeman, Bt., *Abstracts of Orders made by the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire*, Part 9 (1783—1796), p. 33.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 60. By the kindness of Mr. W. Hewin, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original petition, which is preserved at the Shirehall, Shrewsbury. It is couched in the shortest terms and adds nothing to the information given in the brief.

concerning the Ellerton mill.[56] From it we learn how "there happened a sudden and terrible fire to break out" at the mill, which "by the violence thereof in a short space of time burnt down and destroyed the said mill, with a certain piece of building adjoining thereto called a drying house, and a large stock of paper, with the engine and all the other implements and materials commonly used in the making of paper." The total loss is said to amount to £1,000. It is recalled that as a result of the first brief an amount of £320 9s. had been collected and paid over to Jones. But this amount was "very inadequate to the loss sustained by the said sufferer, who is also burdened with a numerous family," and he therefore seeks authority to make a second collection. His application is granted, and he is authorised "to ask, collect and receive the alms, benevolence and charitable contributions of all our loving subjects throughout England, our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and our counties of Flint, Denbigh and Radnor in Wales, and from house to house throughout our counties of Salop, Lancaster, Chester, York, Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester."

What was the result of the second brief does not appear. Probably it was no more successful than the first; at any rate, there is no evidence that the mill was rebuilt for paper-making.

"Peter Jones, of Ellerton Mill," was buried on 18 October 1800.[56A]

GREAT BOLAS.

Paper-making was being carried on at Great Bolas soon after the middle of the seventeenth century. The burial of Richard Walker, "paperman," is recorded in the parish registers on 29 December 1684 (p. 57, printed copy). This man is first mentioned in the registers on 14 April 1659, when Mary, "ye daughter of Richard and Mary Walker," was born (p. 37), only to die six weeks later. Other references to Walker's children occur in 1660, when a son, Richard, was baptised (p. 38); in 1665, when Margaret Walker was baptised (p. 41); in 1668, when Elizabeth, "daughter of Richard and Mary Walker, of the

56. British Museum, Church Briefs, B.xxxiii.5. For a transcript of this brief I am indebted to Mr. H. Beaumont, M.A.

56A. Cheswardine parish registers, per Miss Donaldson-Hudson.

Mill," was baptised (p. 44); in 1674, when John Walker was baptised and died four days later (p. 47); and in 1684, when the daughter Margaret, whose baptism is recorded above, was buried (p. 57). Some further indication of paper-making in the neighbourhood at this time is afforded by the records of the burial of Thomas Crosse, "an old ragg-man," in 1665 (p. 41), and of "Francis, the son of a ragg-man," in 1667 (p. 43).

In 1665 there were two paper-mills in Great Bolas parish. This is made clear by a deed of settlement dated 7 February of that year, made subsequent to the marriage of Thomas Hill, son and heir-apparent of Roland Hill, of Soulton, to Sara, second daughter of Elizabeth Eyton, of Watstay, Denbighshire.[57] Among the properties enumerated in this deed are included: "..... those two water paper mylnes with the profits, commodities, advantages and hereditaments to the same belonging or in any wise apperteyning, scituate, lying and being with in the township and parish of Great Bolas or one of them in..... Salop; and now or late in the tenure or occupacon of Roland Hill the father, his assignes or under-tenants....."

The next reference to a paper-mill at Great Bolas occurs on 1 March 1714, when Richard Smith, an infant, was buried, "being drowned at ye Paper Mill."[58] For nearly fifty years nothing more is heard of it, and then, on 28 July 1762, comes the record of the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Eleanor Brindley, "of ye Paper Mill."[59] The only other reference to the Brindley family which occurs in the parish registers is that of 17 February 1760, recording the baptism of their son John;[60] in this entry, it may be noted, the surname is spelt Brinley.

At the present time only one mill is traceable in Great Bolas parish—that marked "Bolas Mill (disused)" on Sheet XXX.NW. of the six-inch Ordnance Survey Map, 1928 edition. This mill, which was perhaps the scene of paper manufacture

57. For this information I am indebted to Mr. John R. W. Whitfield, LL.B., of Whitchurch. In quoting from the deed contractions have been extended and punctuation has been supplied.

58. Great Bolas parish registers (printed), p. 82.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was visited on 11 June 1936 by Mr. Mitchenall, who writes: "The only mill near the village appears to be one situated about 100 yards above the road bridge over the River Mees. The mill proper consists only of a single sandstone building, with an extension covering the mill-race. It is impossible to see whether the wheel is still in position inside the extension, but this is probably the case, as the sluices, etc., are in good order. Across the yard from the mill building are the main buildings of the farm. That nearest to the mill has a sandstone base and half-timbered upper storey, approached by an external stairway. There is a good deal of modern work added to this, with the result that it is almost impossible to find any trace of its former use."

HANWOOD.

There is (or was) a Paper Mill Coppice at Hanwood, on the bank of the Rea, almost in the middle of the village. This would seem to indicate that at one time Hanwood was a centre of paper-making, but I have found no other evidence to this effect.

HOPTON WAFERS.

Paper-making seems to have been carried on at Hopton Wafers early in the eighteenth century. According to local tradition, Sarah Hyde, the wife of Richard Hyde, lord of the manor of Hopton Wafers, was accidentally killed in a paper-mill there,[61] and was buried on 24 December 1723.[62]

We next hear of paper-making at Hopton Wafers in 1756, when Joseph Oldham, of Bewdley, hop merchant, leased from Mary Hyde, of Worcester, spinster, "the last of the ancient family of that name seated at Hopton Wafre" and daughter of the Sarah Hyde mentioned above, "a set of paper-mills and other premises there, where he carried on a paper manufactory with great success in conjunction with Thomas Compson (Sheriff in 1792), whose sister he married."[63] According to Blakeway,

61. Beriah Botfield, *Stemmata Botevilliana: Memorials of the Families of De Boteville, Thynne, and Botfield*, 1858, p. ccxxxi; the Rev. James Payton in *Trans.*, 3, ix, p. 274.

62. Hopton Wafers P.R., p. 28.

63. J. B. Blakeway, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire*, 1825, p. 225.

Oldham is believed to have been a native of Nottinghamshire, born before 1739. He settled at an early age in Bewdley, where his uncle, William Carter, had an extensive business as a hop merchant, which Oldham continued. On leasing the paper-mills at Hopton Wafers he settled there and built himself a house, which he afterwards sold—in 1779, according to the Rev. James Payton[64]—to John Hale, a Bewdley grocer. He then purchased the manor of Cainham, and in 1789 served as Sheriff of Shropshire. Afterwards he disposed of Cainham and settled in Somerset, dying in 1809.

Thomas Compson, Oldham's brother-in-law and partner in the Hopton Wafers paper-making industry, was of a Bewdley family, but had connections with Shropshire through his mother, Elizabeth, the daughter of William Bradley, of Brook Row, Shropshire, by Anne, the daughter of Thomas Pennall, lord of the manor of Stottesdon. He was born in April 1727, was lord of the manor of Stottesdon, married Isabel, the daughter of George Pardoe, of Cleaton, in 1753, built the Manor House at Cleobury Mortimer, served as Sheriff of Shropshire in 1792, and was buried at Cleobury Mortimer on 16 December 1808, aged 82 years.[65]

Whether Oldham and Compson were practical paper-makers is uncertain. Oldham, at any rate, seems to have been brought up to another trade. It may be conjectured that they delegated the actual processes of manufacture to a subordinate, such as William Nichols, "of Hopton, paper-maker," whose marriage to Elizabeth Gittins is recorded on 4 August 1759.[66] Nearly thirteen years later—on 5 March 1772—we find the record of the marriage of Charles Perkins, "of Hopton, paper-maker," to Anne Breakwell.[67] Perkins afterwards served as parish clerk at Hopton Wafers from 1785 until 1800, when he was buried on 18 December.[68]

64. *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

65. Blakeway, *op. cit.*, p. 227; the Rev. R. C. Purton in *Trans.*, XLVII, p. 145; Payton, *op. cit.*, p. 274; Cleobury Mortimer P.R., p. 321. In *Trans.*, I, ii, p. 68, it is stated that Compson died on 12 December 1808, in his 83rd year.

66. Cleobury Mortimer P.R., p. 325.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

68. Hopton Wafers P.R., p. 93.

What happened to the paper-mills after Oldham's disposal of the estate in 1779 is not quite clear. Curteis Hale, son of the John Hale mentioned above, was the owner of the property until 1798, but there is no record of his having engaged in paper-making. Possibly he leased the mills to Compson, who lived in the neighbourhood up to his death in 1808. In 1798,[69] however, Hopton Court and estate were purchased by Thomas Botfield (1762-1843), who had made a fortune in coal-mining and who continued the manufacture of paper.[70] Thomas Botfield was an able and versatile man. The son of Thomas Botfield, of Dawley, he succeeded his father in the management of the Clee Hill collieries, took out patents for inventions in iron-work, partnered his brother in a banking business at Shifnal, manufactured paper, and earned distinction as a geologist and horticulturist.[71]

From information kindly given me by Mr. Edwin Caldwell, the 91-years-old postmaster of Hopton Wafers, who has an apparently inexhaustible fund of knowledge concerning the history of the whole district, it appears that Botfield carried on the paper-mills until 1824, when they were taken over by three brothers, Richard, William, and Henry Nichols—descendants, possibly, of the William Nichols mentioned in 1759. William Nichols lived at the Red House (also known as the Manor House), opposite the church, and Henry Nichols lived at Twin Oak Cottage (now the Post Office). Richard Nichols took no part in the management of the mills, and Mr. Caldwell thinks he did not even live in the neighbourhood; perhaps he was engaged in selling the products of the mills, or in similar work, in Birmingham or London. At this time there were three paper-mills in the village, all within the space of a few hundred yards. The Lower Mill stood just above the bridge which carries the main

69. There is some uncertainty about the date of Botfield's purchase. The Rev. James Payton (*loc. cit.*) states that he bought the Court and estate in 1798 and the manor and advowson in 1812; an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (quoted by Botfield, *op. cit.*, p. ccxv) gives the date as 1803; while Beriah Botfield, Thomas Botfield's nephew, who succeeded to the estate on his uncle's death, merely says vaguely that he purchased the estate after his marriage in 1800 (Botfield, *op. cit.*, p. 80). I have adopted Mr. Payton's date.

70. Payton, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-5.

71. Botfield, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

road between Ludlow and Cleobury Mortimer over the Mill Stream; the Middle Mill stood at the other end of the same large field, close beside the road leading to Hopton Court; while the Upper Mill stood higher up the stream, in the second field from the road to Hopton Court. The Upper Mill was burnt down in 1826 and never rebuilt.

In 1835 Pigot gives the names of the three Nichols brothers as carrying on paper-making at Hopton Wafers, and two years later Hulbert[72] refers to the "flourishing paper-mill, or manufactory, belonging to Messrs. Nichols." But the Hopton paper-making industry was not quite as flourishing as Hulbert imagined. Transport difficulties—both in importing raw materials and in exporting the finished product—made it impossible for the Nichols to compete successfully with mills more favourably situated in relation to large centres of population. The result was that in 1840 they closed down the mills and left the neighbourhood. Mr. Caldwell has in his possession an auctioneer's bill, issued by John Yates, of Ludlow, announcing a sale of furniture, etc., "the property of Mr. Nichols, who is leaving the neighbourhood," to be held at the Red House on 21-22 September 1840. Mr. Caldwell tells me that the three mills provided employment for a large number of persons—men and women—from the surrounding district, to whom their closing down was a severe blow.

Local tradition, as reported by Mr. Caldwell, speaks only of coarse wrapping paper having been made at the Hopton Wafers mills. I have been fortunate enough, however, to find two specimens of good-quality writing-paper which appear to have been made there. The earlier bears the watermark:

T. W. & B.
BOTFIELD
1824

while the later sheet has the watermark:

R. W. & H.
NICHOLS
1835.

72. *History and Description of the County of Salop*, 1837, p. 327.

The agreement between these names (especially the initials) with those of paper-makers who, as we have seen, operated the Hopton Wafers mills at these times, renders it, I think, a legitimate deduction that the paper bearing these watermarks was made at Hopton Wafers.[73] It may be, as tradition avers, that wrapping papers were the chief product of these mills, but it seems likely that a certain amount of writing-paper was also made.

When I visited Hopton Wafers on 19 July 1936, in company with Mr. Mitchenall, little was to be seen on the sites of the paper-mills, and but for the precise directions given us by Mr. Caldwell we should certainly not have found them. The Upper Mill had left the most extensive remains. Here could be seen the raised pond which drove the overshot mill-wheel, together with what appeared to be sites of two more ponds, and a few mounds—apparently the foundations, now overgrown and completely obscured. Of the other two mills hardly a trace remains. On the site of the Middle Mill the positions of two ponds are traceable, but nothing whatever is left to mark the site of the Lower Mill except possibly the small stone footbridge over the Mill Stream. From the character of the remains it is clear that none of the mills was of any considerable extent, but the almost total obliteration of all trace of their presence is remarkable in view of the fact that less than a hundred years ago they were busily at work. Probably their demolition was deliberate. Beriah Botfield, indeed, gives a hint to this effect. Writing in 1858—less than twenty years after their abandonment—he refers to them as "having now fallen into disuse, or have [*sic*] been entirely removed."[74]

73. The paper watermarked 1824 is contained in a MS. notebook which formerly belonged to the Rev. W. A. Leighton, the well-known Shrewsbury antiquary; it is now the property of Mr. G. H. Smallwood, of Shrewsbury, who kindly lent it to me for examination. The paper bearing the Nichols watermark of 1835 was found among a number of old documents placed at my disposal through the kindness of Mr. W. J. Slack, of Cressage. I have found paper similarly watermarked, and also marked "T.W. & B.B." and "R.W. & H.N.," among documents in the possession of Mr. George Potts, of Broseley. For the opportunity of examining these I am indebted to Mr. Potts and to Dr. M. Gepp.

74. Botfield, *op. cit.*, p. ccxxxi.

KEMBERTON.

See Shifnal and Kemberton.

LONGNOR.

The earliest explicit reference to the Longnor paper-mill occurs in 1804, but it was evidently at work at least a year previously. This is made clear by the fact that persons later described as paper-makers or "of the Paper-Mill" occur in the parish registers from 1803. On 14 October 1803 (p. 44 of the printed registers) we find recorded the marriages of James Dickson and Abraham Baker, both of whom are described as "of the Paper Mill" in 1804 (p. 38). Dickson is again referred to in 1806, when the same description is appended to his name (p. 39). Richard Nottingham, "of the Paper Mill," occurs on 2 September 1804 (p. 38), while in 1806 there are references to John and Susannah Brown, paper-makers, and to Thomas Sanders, "of the Paper Mill" (p. 39). On 20 March 1806 the marriage is recorded of William Cummings, of Longnor, paper-maker, to Elizabeth Smith, of "Cundover" (p. 45), and on 31 March 1811 they are referred to as "of the Paper Mill" (p. 40). Finally, there is a reference on 21 October 1812 to Thomas and Elizabeth Hill, "of the Paper Mill" (p. 40). Here the published registers come to an end; there may be further paper-making references in succeeding years, but no mention of the mill occurs in other sources, and it probably ceased paper-making before many more years had passed.

The mill premises still remain, having been converted into four cottages known as Paper-mill Cottages. They stand on the east bank of the Rea brook, in the lane leading from the main Shrewsbury-Ludlow road to the road between Longnor and Ryton. When I visited the site on 13 September 1937 a resident in one of the cottages told me that when the conversion to cottages took place additions were made to the old mill, which now forms that part of the block of buildings farthest from the stream. A ditch called the Amber Ditch runs from this end of the cottages, discharging into the stream lower down, and I was told that this was originally constructed to carry away the waste water from the paper-mill; more probably it is a remnant of the mill-leat.

Apart from this, nothing seems to be remembered of the paper-mill but the name. Mrs. Corbett, of Longnor Hall, has kindly made some local enquiries on my behalf and has consulted family documents, but is unable to add to the particulars given above.

LUDLOW.

Ludlow paper-mill stood on the Herefordshire bank of the Teme, and was in Ludford rather than Ludlow. It seems, however, generally to have been referred to as the Ludlow mill. There is some indication that it was in operation in 1800 (see the last two paragraphs of these notes), but the first definite mention of it which I have found occurs in *S. J.* of 17 January 1810, recording the death "on Wednesday last, at the great age of 92," of "Mrs. Mary Holland, mother of Mr. Holland, of the paper mills, Ludlow." Two years later, on 4 March 1812, *S. J.* records the marriage at Ludlow of "Mr. John Harris, of the Paper Mills, to Miss Martha Griffiths, of Ludlow." In 1822 the anonymous *History and Antiquities of Ludlow* (published by Procter and Jones) refers to glove-making as Ludlow's principal industry, but adds: "Besides this, there is considerable business done in the paper-making, tanning, timber trade, and cabinet-making" (p. 192).

In 1828 (Tibnam) the paper-mill was being carried on by Messrs. Adams, Colerick and Henley. *S. C.* of 4 June 1830 records the death on 23 May of "Mr. Thomas Colerick, paper-maker," who died at the age of 66, "awfully sudden, at his house, Huxburrow, near Ludlow." Less than a year later, on 4 March 1831, the same newspaper records the death "lately" at the age of 67, of "Mr. John Henley, partner in the firm of Messrs. Adams and Co., paper-makers, Ludlow." By 1835 (Pigot) the mill was in the hands of John and Thomas Wade, but by 1850 (Slater, Bagshaw), John Wade had become the sole proprietor. The marriage of a Thomas Wade, paper-maker, of Birmingham, is recorded in *S. C.* of 29 November 1837; perhaps this was the Ludlow man removed to Birmingham. According to the census returns for 1861, there were at that time only three persons—two men and a woman—employed in paper-making in the Ludlow district. By this time the mill was

evidently nearing the end of its career, and in Partridge's *Handbook to Ludlow* (1878) we learn its ultimate fate: "There are good corn-mills situated on the river.....and now a mill established on the site of the old paper mill" (p. 96).

Ludlow is one of the few Shropshire mills in connection with which I have found any indication of the manufacture of white printing- or writing-paper. In the hope of finding samples of Shropshire-made paper I have examined the watermarks appearing in some hundreds of Shropshire-printed books, and among them have found two which I believe come from Ludlow. The earlier appears in Charles A. Allnutt's *Poverty: A Poem. With several others, on Various Subjects, chiefly Religious and Moral* (Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddowes, 1801). This little book, of sixty octavo pages, is printed on a wove paper of good bulk and substance, but with a somewhat rough surface, and bears the watermark:

HOLLAND & CO
1800

As is stated above, a Mr. Holland appears to have been the proprietor of the Ludlow mill in 1810, and I have been unable to find that any other paper-maker of the same name was at work anywhere in England and Wales at this time.[75]

The second watermark which I ascribe to Ludlow appears in Charles Augustus Hulbert's sixteen-page pamphlet, *Bodhilin. .....A Descriptive Sketch* (Shrewsbury: Charles Hulbert, 1827). This is printed on a wove paper of very good quality bearing the watermark:

ADAMS & CO
1821

It has been noted above that in 1828 the proprietors of the Ludlow mill were Messrs. Adams, Colerick and Henley, while in 1831 *S.C.* refers to "Messrs. Adams and Co., paper-makers, Ludlow." Here again, I have found no other firm of the same name carrying on paper-making at this time,[76] and I suggest

75. I have found paper similarly watermarked among documents in the possession of Mr. George Potts, of Broseley.

76. On 29 April 1835, however, *S.C.* refers to "the late Mr. Adams, paper-maker, Hanmer" (Flintshire).

that it is at least probable that Ludlow-made paper was used for these two books.

Mr. A. Stanley Davies, of Welshpool, has drawn my attention to the existence of a paper-mill at Lower Mellington, in the parish of Churchstoke—just over the Montgomeryshire border—in 1841;[77] he suggests that this may have been an offshoot of the Ludlow mill.

MARKET DRAYTON.

Garbet,[78] describing the course of the River Tern, tells how it runs "by the side of Drayton, and has there a wooden cart-bridge over it, and a little horse-bridge of stone, at a place called the Walkmill, because there formerly was one. Next it turns a paper-mill, newly erected, then a corn-mill at Buntingsdale, having first passed under a cart-bridge." Since this paper-mill was "newly erected" when Garbet wrote (about 1755), probably we shall not be far wrong if we fix the beginnings of paper-making in this district at about the middle of the eighteenth century. I have found no further evidence of the industry having been carried on here during this century. The parish registers unfortunately remain unpublished and untranscribed, so I have been unable to make use of any information which they may contain.

Gregory's *Shropshire Gazetteer* (1824) states that "There is a manufactory of paper" at Market Drayton, and from Tibnam's *Salop Directory*, published four years later, it appears that there were then two paper-mills in the district—the Old Mill, owned by Elizabeth Charles, and the Walk Mill, owned by John Charles. Seven years later, according to Pigot and Co.'s *Directory* of 1835, the number of paper-mills at Market Drayton had increased to three—Drayton Mill (apparently identical with what Tibnam called the Walk Mill), still in the hands of John Charles; the Old Mill, the owner of which is now said to be Thomas Slaney; and Tyrley Mill, owned by Alexander Thompson. At about the same time, Charles Hulbert visited the district,

77. G. Mountford, "Churchstoke and its Townships," in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. xl (1928), p. 216.

78. *History of Wem* (1818), p. 4.

collecting material for his *History and Description of the County of Salop* (1837), and he also found three paper-mills at work. He gives the owners' names as "Mr. John Charles, Mrs. Charles, and Mr. Thompson"—differing from Pigot's list by naming Mrs. Charles in place of Thomas Slaney. Hulbert does not mention the names of the mills, but provides us with a further scrap of information by stating that Thompson's mill was devoted chiefly to the production of pasteboards.

Paper-making came to an end in this district about 1846. This is made clear by a note referring to Market Drayton in Bagshaw's *Gazetteer* of 1851 (p. 262): "The manufacture of paper was formerly carried on to some extent, but was discontinued about five years ago."

MILSON.

Milson paper-mill—one of the earliest of the Shropshire mills—seems to have been set up by Richard Shepheard, of Bitterley, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Mr. H. E. Forrest, who has dealt at length with the Shepheard family,[79] tells how Richard Shepheard inherited from his father, John Shepheard (born about 1560, died 1631), property at Nash and Middleton, and "seems to have erected a paper-mill at Milson," where his widow lived up to the time of her death in 1672. Mr. Forrest goes on to suggest that the founder of the paper-mill was probably the Richard Shepheard buried at Bitterley in 1659. There is unfortunately no precise evidence as to the date when the paper-mill was set up; we must be content to say that it was probably established about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Richard Shepheard's son, John, succeeded to his father's estates, including the paper-mill, and when he died in 1714, followed by his widow in 1728, the property appears to have been divided among three daughters, one of whom, Mary (baptised in 1667), had married in 1701 Richard Browne. The paper-mill went to the Brownes.

In 1733 we find an assignment dated 27 June by John Wastall, of Milson, paper-maker, and John Nash, of Milson,

79. *Trans. S.A.S.*, 4, xi, 88-93.

yeoman, to Richard "Sheppard," of Middleton, gentleman, of lands in Coreley and Milson, formerly mortgaged to John Wastall, for securing to the said Richard Sheppard the sum of £75 and interest.[80] The Wastalls were a numerous family in Milson, and it is a matter of some difficulty to identify the paper-maker among the many members of the family who figure in the parish registers. It seems probable, however, that the person concerned was the John Wastall who frequently filled the office of churchwarden between 1699 and 1730, and who died in 1735.[81]

Two more entries in the parish registers carry on the history of the Milson paper-making industry some thirty years further—the burial of Charles Nash, "paperman," on 5 July 1760,[82] and that of John Nash, senior, "formerly a paper-maker" on 10 February 1774.[83] This is the last we hear of paper-making at Milson.

On the one-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1835 the site of a paper-mill is marked at Langley, in the parish of Milson; in all probability this was the spot where the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manufacture was carried on. The Rev. J. Henson, rector of Neen Sollars with Milson, informs me that there were apparently two mills on the Mill Brook at Langley. "The upper mill," he says, "seems to have been rather higher up the brook than a point immediately opposite Upper Langley farm. It was approached from near the farm called Leafields; the lane leading to it is now closed by a field-gate, but can be traced across two fields, and a piece of land nearby is still known as Mill Hill. The lower mill was situated immediately below Lower Langley farm; the mill-leat and the roadway are traceable, and the site is (I think) unmistakably marked by grassy mounds and by the course of the mill-tail."[84] There is apparently no evidence to show which of these mills was the paper-mill.

80. W. G. D. Fletcher, MS. Calendar of Deeds and Charters in Shrewsbury Free Library, vol. i, no. 661.

81. Milson parish registers (printed), p. 26.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

84. Letters dated 26 and 29 October 1937.

NEEN SAVAGE.

In directories and other records of the last century, the Neen Savage paper-mills are frequently referred to as though they were situated at Cleobury Mortimer. There is some excuse for this, as they stood on the River Rea, between the two townships, and one of them stood almost on the borders of Cleobury Mortimer; actually, however, they were both in Neen Savage parish. It is possible, also, that there was another paper-mill in Cleobury Mortimer itself, although no definite evidence to this effect has been obtained. The confusion of records, together with the possible existence of a mill at Cleobury Mortimer, has made it difficult to disentangle the evidence concerning paper-making in this district, and it has been found best to treat the Neen Savage and Cleobury Mortimer records together.

The owner of the mills was Thomas Lambert Hall. The Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher[85] states that the manor, hall and estate of Stepple (Neen Savage) were purchased by Hall in 1816, and adds that "Mr. Hall had two paper-mills at Stepple, which were destroyed by fire." This statement appears to be incorrect. The Rev. D. Ll. Jones, vicar of Neen Savage, who has been good enough to make some local inquiries on my behalf, tells me that there were no paper-mills at Stepple. "Mr. Hall lived there," says Mr. Jones, "but the two mills stood between Cleobury Mortimer and Neen Savage, worked by the waters of the Rea. One of the mills was burned down in the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee and the other fell into decay."[86] The Rev. S. F. F. Auchmuty, a former vicar of Cleobury Mortimer, refers to these mills, and says that "for some years after I came here in 1897 [they] existed in ruins. Eventually they were pulled down and the materials, as I understand, were largely used in the restoration of Bayton Church."[87]

We have no evidence as to when the paper-mills in this district were established. They are first recorded in Tibnams' *Salop Directory* of 1828, but in all probability the industry had been established some time before this. Mr. Payton[88] gives a

85. Neen Savage parish registers (printed), Preface, pp. iv-v.

86. Letter dated 9 January 1938.

87. *History of the Parish of Cleobury Mortimer* (Hereford, 1911), p. 72.

88. *Trans.* S.A.S., 3, ix, p. 274.

hint to this effect; writing of Thomas Compson (1727-1808), who is mentioned above under the heading of Hopton Wafers, Mr. Payton tells how he "built the Manor House at Cleobury Mortimer, where also were paper-mills." *The Salopian Journal* of 22 July 1835 records the death on 4 July, at the age of 29, of William, "son of Mr. Hall, paper manufacturer, Cleobury Mortimer," and two years later Hulbert[89] refers to the "flourishing Paper Mills of Mr. Hall." In 1850 (Slaters' directory) the industry was being carried on by "Thomas Lambert Hall and Son," and in 1851 Bagshaw's *Gazetteer* tells us that "There are two paper-mills in the parish [of Neen Savage], in the occupancy of Mr. Thomas Lambert Hall." Five years later Hall appears in Kelly's directory as "paper-maker and farmer."

By 1868 (Slaters' directory) the mills had been taken over by John Billing—a brother of the Martin Billing who carried on paper-making at Tibberton.[90] The last mention of the industry in this district occurs in Kelly's directory of 1885, where "Browne and Cranston, Neen Savage" are listed as paper-makers. The Rev. D. Ll. Jones, however, informs me that Browne and Cranston were simply the managers of the mills and not the owners.

When Mr. Mitchenall and I visited the district on 19 July 1936 we were able to trace the scanty remains of only one of the mills. This stood on the Rea, close beside the footbridge in the lane leading from Cleobury Mortimer to Neen Savage. The channel of the mill-leat, the pit in which the wheel worked, and a few fragments of masonry, were all that remained to mark the site of a once flourishing centre of industry.

NEEN SOLLARS

The only evidence of paper-making at Neen Sollars which I have found is the following advertisement:[91]

> Eligible Farm and Paper Mill, at Neen Sollars, Shropshire. To be let..... A Desirable Farm and Paper Mill, called *The Sturts and Bradley*.....
>
> The mill is situate on a never-failing stream, and comprises a powerful overshoot wheel, a capable engine, with stuff chests, vats, pots, two drying rooms, store

89. *History and Description of the County of Salop* (1837), p. 325.
90. Ex inf. the late Mrs. Billing, of Edgbaston. See p. 180, below.
91. *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 24 December 1830.

rooms, and all other requisites for carrying on a large and lucrative brown paper trade.

.....

Mr. Dallow, of the Sturts farm, will show the premises; and further particulars may be had.....[of] Mr. John Orme Brettell, Land Agent, Dudley.

The Rev. J. Henson, rector of Neen Sollars with Milson, tells me that the Sturts Mill "is situated near the confluence of the Mill Brook and the Rea. The mill building is still there, but was used for milling corn till about the end of the last century, I am told. It is approached either from Neen Sollars (near Hill Top farm) or from Milson, opposite Leafields. This latter approach was frequently so bad that horses jibbed at hauling loads through the deep ruts and mud, and within my informant's time bulls were used instead."[92]

OSWESTRY.

We first hear of paper-making in the Oswestry district on 5 November 1712, when the Oswestry parish registers (vol. ii, p. 300) record the baptism of "Jane, daughter of Vincent Phips, of Weston, paperman." No other reference to this man occurs. Probably he was one of the extensive Cound family of Phipps—also paper-makers—most likely the Vincent Phipps, son of William Phipps, who was baptised on 15 April 1683 (Cound parish registers, p. 36); this is the only Vincent Phipps mentioned in the Cound registers. Although the Oswestry registers afford no proof of it, he was in all probability the progenitor of the Phipps family of Oswestry—the father of Vincent Phipps, grocer, of Cross Street (afterwards of Bailey Street), who was mayor in 1748 and who died in 1753, and the grandfather of Thomas Phipps, attorney, of Llwynymapsis, who, with his son Thomas, was executed at the Old Heath in 1789 for forgery.

A little over thirty years after this first evidence of paper-making at Oswestry, we find other paper-makers living in the same neighbourhood. On 19 August 1744 the marriage is recorded of William "Jucks" (Jukes), paper-maker, and Elizabeth

92. Letter dated 26 October 1937. Mr. Henson's informant was an old resident in the parish named Jenkins, who died in 1936, aged 88. He could tell Mr. Henson nothing about the working of the paper-mills either here or at Milson; he had been a collier in his younger days, and "all this happened before his time."

Williams (Oswestry parish registers, vol. iii, p. 136), and entries relating to their children occur on 25 April 1745 (vol. iii, p. 142) 16 July 1745 (vol. iii, p. 647) and 23 June 1746 (vol. iii, p. 151). In two of these entries Jukes is described as of Maesbury.

Contemporary with these records we find entries relating to another paper-maker, Edward Thomas, who is described as of Maesbury in 1744 and of Sweeney from 1745 to 1747, when he was buried. His marriage to Jane Williams, of Llansilin, is recorded on 30 November 1744 (Oswestry parish registers, vol. iii, p. 139); entries relating to their children occur on 30 September 1745 (vol. iii, p. 145), 10 March 1746/7 (vol. iii, p. 157), 25 July and 5 August 1747 (vol. iii, p. 655); while Thomas's burial is entered on 30 December 1747 (vol. iii, p. 656).

It is noteworthy that these three early paper-makers all lived in the same neighbourhood—Phipps at Weston, Jukes at Maesbury, and Thomas at Maesbury and Sweeney; it seems fairly safe to conjecture that all three were employed at the same manufactory. As to where that may have been, we have no evidence on which to found an opinion.

From 1747 to 1835 we hear no more of paper-making at Oswestry, but in the latter year we find the industry being carried on at the Morda Mill. The earliest reference to this mill which I have found occurs in the Oswestry parish registers of 1733 (vol. ii, p. 603). From then onwards to the end of the century there are scattered references to the mill, but without any indication of the nature of the work which was carried on there. Probably it was a corn-mill. About 1790 the mill was taken over by Messrs. Warren and Peel, a firm of Lancashire cotton manufacturers, who made the cloth in Lancashire and sent it to Morda to be printed. This continued until about 1820, when the mill was converted into a flannel manufactory by Messrs. Hughes and Roberts. They, however, soon found that the water supply was unsuitable for their purpose, and removed to Llangollen. The next stage in the history of the mill seems to have been its division into two portions, one part being used as a corn-mill and the other as a paper-mill.[93]

93. *Trans.*, I, iv, 182-8; *Bye-Gones*, 12 October 1872, 30 November 1872, 7 April 1880. A series of tan-pits on the site indicate that it was also the scene of a tannery at some time in the past.

In 1835 Thomas Jones was manufacturing paper at the Morda Mill (Pigot).[94] *S. J.* of 5 May 1847 records the death on 30 April, at the age of 59 years, of "Mary, wife of Thomas Jones, paper-manufacturer, Morda Mills, Oswestry." From Bagshaw's *Gazetteer* of 1851 we learn that Jones was still the occupant of the mill (which Bagshaw places at Weston Cotton), and from this source we also get the name of John Hughes, who is described as a "paper-mills agent." In Kelly's 1856 directory we find Thomas Jones still at Morda, with an address also at Cross Street, Oswestry—doubtless that of his house and/or office.

This is the last we hear of Jones. From enquiries which Alderman T. J. Bradshaw has kindly made on my behalf, it would seem that the mill was taken over by the firm of Whitridge and Company about 1863 or 1864. They were certainly in possession in 1868 (Slater), and remained there until 1872 at least (Cassey; *Bye-Gones*, 30 November 1872). Soon afterwards, however, they gave up paper-making, and about the period 1875-1880 the mill was occupied by Messrs. Charles and Henry Williams, woolstaplers.

The firm of Whitridge and Company seems to have comprised Isaac Fletcher Whitridge and his son John. The former, who was born at Carlisle on 26 September 1817 and died at Oswestry on 1 March, 1894, was a son of the Rev. John Whitridge, who was the minister of the Old Chapel, Oswestry, having been previously assistant minister to his uncle, the Rev. John Whitridge, senior. The latter, who was minister of the Old Chapel from 1792 until his death in 1826, was a notable leader in the Nonconformist life of the district,[95] and his grandson, I. F. Whitridge, was also largely engaged in religious and philanthropic activities. The "Company" of "Whitridge and Company" seems to have been I. F. Whitridge's son, John Whitridge, who in 1877—probably on the closing-down of the paper-mill—opened business as a printer and stationer in Leg Street, Oswestry (now Oxford House).

The paper made at the Morda Mill was of a coarse wrapping

94. This man may, perhaps, be identified with the Thomas Jones who lived at the Selattyn paper-mill in 1822; in both cases the wife's name is Mary, and there are no discrepancies in dates and ages.

95. See *Trans.*, I, iv, 182-8.

type, and the power was in all probability derived from the water-wheel, although a steam-engine may have been added.

The mill consists of extensive three-storey premises, with single-storey buildings adjacent, and is situated a short distance down a lane on the Oswestry side of the Morda bridge. It is at present occupied by Mr. David Rogers as a woollen manufactory.[96]

SELATTYN.

The existence of a paper-mill at Selattyn is first indicated on 17 January 1741/2, when the parish registers record the baptism of "Mary, daughter of Humphrey Smith, papermaker" (Printed registers, p. 272). On 27 May 1743 we read of the burial of Thomas Baxter, paper-maker (p. 275), while an earlier entry records the burial of "Alexander, an old Ragman," on 5 December 1740 (p. 271).

Nearly fifty years elapse before we come across the next mention of the Selattyn mill. This occurs on 24 February 1788, when "Martha, daughter of Edward and Mary Clarke, paper-maker, Nant," was baptised (p. 341). (This entry is quoted by Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen,[97] but she misreads the name as Charles). The same man is again mentioned on 11 April 1790, when "Edward, son of Edward and Mary Clarke, papermaker," was baptised (p. 343). On 21 November 1796 the baptism is recorded of "Charlotte, daughter of James and Sarah Browne, paper-maker" (p. 351), and the same people seem to be meant in the entry on 27 January 1811 of the baptism of "Sarah, daughter of James and Sarah [blank], paper-maker" (p. 373). Finally, we have the record quoted by Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen (*loc. cit.*) of the baptism in 1822 of "John, son of Thos. and Mary Jones, of Papermills," to which she appends the note, "The Paper Mills do not now exist."

SHIFNAL AND KEMBERTON.

Paper was being made in the Shifnal district at least as early as 1759, for on 1 January 1760 we find recorded the baptism

96. The latter part of this account of Morda Mill is largely based upon information collected and placed at my disposal by Alderman T. J. Bradshaw, of Oswestry.

97. *Trans.*, S.A.S., 2, ix, 250.

of "Mary, daughter of John and Mary Bartlem, papermaker."[98] From this time onwards to the end of the century a score or more references to paper-makers occur in the parish registers. William Lee, who is first mentioned on 14 May 1764, is referred to in four entries previous to that of 30 June 1796, which records his burial at the age of 66. Thomas Pooler—of Cordwainers' Lane in 1779 and of the Hem afterwards—is mentioned in eight entries between 28 March 1779 and 31 January 1797. John Scudamore ("of Brimstree Hill" in 1781) is referred to three times between 1779 and 1786, and Francis Buckley, "of Brimstree Hill," is mentioned in 1781 and 1782. There are single references to Robert Ward, of Hinnington, and William Hill, in 1787 and 1791 respectively.

All this is clear evidence that paper-making was being actively carried on in the Shifnal district during the second half of the eighteenth century. There is only one indication as to the possible identity of the mill. In the parish registers an entry dated 28 August 1768 mentions William Lee, the paper-maker already referred to, as of "Patcher's Mill," while on 9 September 1770 he is described as of "Patcher's, alias Pattey's Mill." I have found no evidence to indicate whereabouts in the parish this mill may have been. It does not appear to be identifiable with the Manor Mill (afterwards used for paper-making), for in an entry of 31 January 1770, "John Farrell, of the Manor Mills, miller" (i.e., corn-miller) is mentioned. The name "Patcher's Mill" is interesting. At first sight it looks like a personal name, but it may be a variant of "Poacher" or "Potcher." If it is, we have at once a direct link with paper-making. Of the word "Poacher" (with its variant "Potcher"), the *Oxford Dictionary* gives the following definition: "*Paper-making.* One of the series of engines by which rags, etc., are comminuted, washed, bleached, and reduced to pulp; a poaching-engine." By a process of extension, familiar to students of etymology, the term was sometimes applied to the whole paper-mill, and the occurrence of "Patcher's Mill" at Shifnal may be an instance of this.

The owner of this eighteenth-century paper manufactory was, no doubt, the "Mr. Robert Hurd, papermaker," whose

98. Shifnal parish registers (MS. transcript in Shrewsbury Free Library).

burial is recorded in the Shifnal parish registers on 29 August 1787; it is evident from the prefixed "Mr." that he was not merely an artisan. The Kemberton parish registers[99] contain a number of references to Robert Hurd, from which it would seem that he resided in that parish rather than in Shifnal. The earliest reference occurs in 1750, when the baptism of George Willdey Hurd, son of Robert and Mary Hurd, is recorded. A daughter, Mary, was baptised on 6 October 1752, and on 28 November 1753, Mary, Robert Hurd's wife, was buried. Two years later, on 2 October 1755, the widower married Sarah Hodson, of Newport (Salop), and on 21 September 1756 their daughter Sarah was baptised, only to be buried on 3 October.

As a paper-maker Robert Hurd seems to have been followed by his son, George Willdey Hurd, who, as we have seen, was baptised in 1750. The marriage of "Mr. George Hurd, of Kemberton, paper-maker," to Elizabeth Pooler, of Shifnal, took place on 2 March 1801,[100] and the parish register record places his identity beyond doubt by giving his full name; it also describes him as a widower.[101] The lady he married was, perhaps, a daughter of the paper-maker named Thomas Pooler who has been mentioned above. Hurd's first wife, Mary, had been buried on 13 May 1797, and he himself was buried on 14 March 1807.[102]

For the next twenty years we hear nothing of paper-making in the Shifnal district. During the interval the industry seems to have expanded to some extent; at any rate, in Pigots' directory of 1829, Peter Harding and Co., Church Street, and Thomas Picken, Evelith, are listed as paper-makers. Still another paper-mill makes its appearance in an advertisement of 1832 which offers "all that well-established Water Paper-mill, now in full work, with the vat houses, warehouses, and drying rooms.....called the Lower Paper Mill, situate in the Parish of Kemberton."[103] In Pigots' directory of 1835 the paper-makers mentioned are Peter Harding of the Manor Mill, and

99. MS. transcript in Shrewsbury Free Library.
100. *Salopian Journal*, 11 March 1801.
101. Shifnal parish registers (MS. transcript).
102. Kemberton parish registers (MS. transcript).
103. *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 11 May 1832.

William Picken, of the Lower Mill. Hulbert, in 1837, tells us that "There are two paper-mills in the neighbourhood,"[104] and in 1839 the Shifnal tithe book lists properties called the Hem Paper-mill, Mill Baitch, and Paper-mill Fold; on these three properties tithes were paid on behalf of the Duke of Sutherland.[105] This is the last mention of paper-mills in either Shifnal or Kemberton; presumably the industry came to an end in this district soon afterwards.

The situations of the Shifnal and Kemberton mills in the first half of the nineteenth century are shown in the one-inch Ordnance Survey map (Sheet LXI), dated 1 January 1833.[105A] Both were on the same stream, that nearer to Shifnal standing a little under half a mile south of the Manor; the Kemberton mill stood about the same distance south of Evelith mill and just under a mile to the east of Kemberton Church.

SHREWSBURY (THE ISLE).

Correspondents of *Salopian Shreds and Patches* (1879, p. 180) and *Shropshire Notes and Queries* (7 October 1904), signing themselves "G.H." and "Lawley" respectively, state that they had "heard of" paper-mills at the Isle, near Shrewsbury, and at Upton Magna. I have been unable to find any evidence of the existence of such mills, although a woollen factory was established at the Isle in 1793,[106] and there was a celebrated iron-forge at Upton Magna during the eighteenth century.[107]

TIBBERTON.

The Tibberton mill had the double distinction of being the last to be established in the county and the last to continue in operation; it was, indeed, the only one which survived into the present century. It is first mentioned in Bagshaw's *Gazetteer*

104. *History and Description of the County of Salop* (1837), p. 172.

105. For this information I am indebted to the Rev. J. E. Gordon Cartlidge, F.R.Hist.S., vicar of Oakengates.

105A. For the opportunity of seeing this map I have to thank Mr. A. Stanley Davies.

106. Arthur Aikin, *Journal of a Tour through North Wales and Part of Shropshire*, 1797, p. 77.

107. Upton Magna parish registers, *passim*.

of 1851, which tells us that "The paper-mill of Mr. [John] Brittain is situated near the Church." Evidently Brittain did not confine his activities to paper-making, for in Kelly's directory of 1856 he is described as "paper-manufacturer and bone-crusher," while the paper-mill is described as "small."

About 1860 the mill was taken over by Martin Billing, the founder and proprietor of a large printing business in Livery Street, Birmingham.[108] At the same time he bought Meeson Hall, where he lived until his death at the age of 70 on 17 July 1883. He was the builder of the greater part of the mill now standing, but the original mill may still be seen in the stone building at the back of the weir. Among the buildings which Billing added was the chimney stack, 154 feet high, which was erected in 1874 and which remained a striking landmark until its demolition in 1931. He also introduced machinery; the mill is said to have been previously devoted to the production of hand-made paper only. At first the beaters were driven by a breast water-wheel, but this was afterwards superseded by a turbine; the paper-making machine was driven by a steam-engine. All classes of brown and sugar papers were made.

From the census returns, we find that in 1861 eleven persons—ten men and a woman—were employed in paper-making at Tibberton. In 1891 the workpeople numbered 22—14 men and eight women; in 1901 the number is returned as 15—13 men and two women; and in 1911 the figure is ten—eight men and two women. These figures agree fairly well with those given me by Messrs. Martin Billing, Son and Co., who state that from 18 to 25 workpeople were employed, except for some years before the closing of the mill, when 24-hour shifts were worked and considerably more workers were engaged. Transport difficulties combined with other causes to bring about the closing of the mill in 1912, and with its closing the story of paper-making in Shropshire comes to an end.[109]

108. *The Lady of Warkworth, a metrical Romance of the Battle of Shrewsbury*, by David Simons, of Shrewsbury, was printed at Birmingham in 1860 by "M. Billing, Steam-Printing Offices, Livery Street." The business is now carried on at Hospital Street by Messrs. Martin Billing, Son and Co.

109. This account of Tibberton mill is largely based upon information kindly given me by the late Mrs. Billing, of Edgbaston, and by Messrs. Martin Billing, Son and Co.

It is worth putting on record that the Tibberton mill was Mill No. 346. This numbering of paper-mills is a relic of the days when an excise duty was imposed on all paper manufactured, and each mill had its number. The duty has, of course, long vanished,[110] but old-established paper-mills generally retain their numbers, which serve as a short and convenient means of identifying their special products.

The remains of Tibberton mill were visited by Mr Mitchenall on 11 June 1936, and he contributes the following account of their present condition: "The old paper-mill is situated on the River Mees, on the road from Tibberton to Howle, and opposite the church. It appears to have been very extensive, but the only buildings standing to-day are a large one occupying one side of the grounds adjacent to the road, and one or two small outbuildings; but the foundations of several other buildings and of a large chimney-stack are visible. The main building is a typical Victorian mill, having iron-framed windows with small panes, while on the roof are a number of ventilating cowls (drying-loft ?). There is no machinery inside, as this was sold when the mill was abandoned. The part adjoining the road not occupied by the main building has a high brick wall with two gates, over one of which is the date 1860. The whole is in a very dilapidated condition. Across the road near the sluices is an area which was formerly a large pool connected with the mill; it is still marked on the one-inch Ordnance Survey map, but has silted up (16 feet of mud), except for the bed of the stream, and is covered with grass and willows. There are also a number of cottages which were evidently built with the mill."

UPTON MAGNA.

See under Shrewsbury (The Isle).

WESTON RHYN.

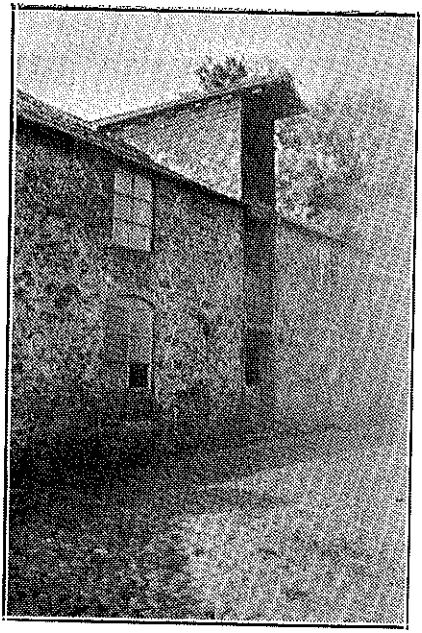
The earliest mention of the Weston Rhyn paper-mill occurs on 8 January 1747/8, when the baptism is recorded of "Thomas, son of Thomas Peach, of Paper Mill in Weston" (Selattyn P.R., p. 282). Weston Rhyn is, of course, in St. Martin's parish, and

110. It was abolished in 1861.

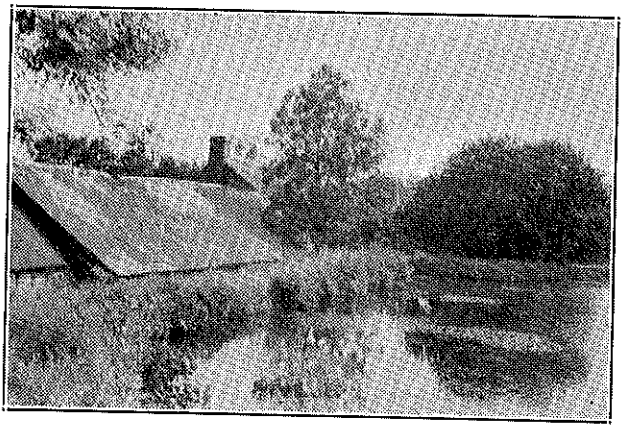
it is curious that many of the paper-makers who worked there seem to have lived in the neighbouring parish of Selattyn. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, numerous records of paper-makers from St. Martin's occur in the Selattyn registers, and these records are the main source of information concerning the Weston Rhyn paper manufactory during that period. The fact that there was also a paper-mill at Selattyn makes it difficult to disentangle these records.

On 23 June 1756 we read of the burial of "Mary Wynne, of the paper mills" (St. Martin's P.R., p. 192), and in 1767 Roger and Margaret Davies, both described as "of the Paper Mill," were buried on 4 and 21 September respectively (St. Martin's P.R., p. 237). Twenty years later, on 18 November 1787, the baptism is recorded of Mary, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Wynne, "paper-maker, St. Martyns" (Selattyn P.R., p. 241), and in 1788, 1790, 1792 and 1797, there are references to Samuel Weedon, paper-maker, St. Martin's, in the same registers (pp. 342-3, 347, 352). On 10 March 1793 the burial is recorded of "John Luke, paper-maker, St. Martyns, age 40," and on 25 November 1794 that of "Thomas Thomas, paper-maker, St. Martin's, age 57," is entered (Selattyn P.R., pp. 388-9). In 1807 we find references to William Mather, Samuel Portman, and Benjamin Pierce as paper-makers from St. Martin's (Selattyn P.R., p. 367), while Portman is referred to again in 1809 (p. 370) and Pierce recurs in 1810 and 1812 (pp. 372, 376). In 1810, too, we find a mention of Hugh Jones, "paper-maker, St. Martin's" (p. 371). No doubt paper-makers continue to occur in the registers after 1812, but those after that date remain unpublished and could not be consulted conveniently.

Who first owned the Weston Rhyn paper-mill I have been unable to discover, but it may have been the "Mr. Green, paper-maker, of Weston Rhyn, near Oswestry," whose death ("much regretted") on 2 September 1797 is recorded in *S. J.* of 18 September. "Eleanor Green, Paper Mills, Weston Rhyn," whose burial is recorded on 17 January 1802 (St. Martin's P.R., p. 312), was perhaps his widow. His successor was probably Thomas Duckett, of Ruyton parish, who had married Tamar Green (in all probability Green's daughter) on 6 January 1 95



WESTON RHYN: OLD PAPER-MILL.



WESTON RHYN: ELEVATED POND BEHIND PAPER-MILL
(The roof of the mill can be seen on the left).

Photographs by W. J. Mitchenall.

(St. Martin's P.R., p. 322). For the next fifteen years there are numerous references to the Duckett family in the parish register but they present some little difficulty, as the head of the family is referred to sometimes as Thomas and sometimes as John. He is never given both names in the same entry. But the wife's name is always the uncommon one of Tamar; the address is always the Paper-Mills, Weston Rhyn; and there is a regular and natural sequence in the dates of the children's baptisms and burials. Taking these factors into consideration, it seems probable that John Duckett and Thomas Duckett were identical. Whether he was actually John Thomas or Thomas John, or whether the vicissitudes of his name are due to the aberrations of the parish clerk, are problems into which I do not feel called upon to enquire.

Briefly to summarise the Duckett entries in the parish registers, a daughter, Tamar, was baptised on 29 November 1795 (p. 266), and two sons, John and Thomas, were baptised in 1796 and 1798 respectively (pp. 268, 272). Thomas was buried when only ten days old (p. 310). In 1799 triplets—two boys and a girl—were born to the Ducketts, but were buried ten days later (pp. 274-5). Other children whose baptisms are recorded are Elizabeth in 1801 (p. 277); Thomas Godfrey in 1802 (p. 280); Martha in 1804 (p. 283); Richard in 1806 (p. 288); and Mary in 1808 (p. 294). On 11 January 1811 Thomas Duckett was buried at the age of 51 years (p. 316). I have been unable to discover who was his immediate successor at the paper-mill, but twenty years later the owner was his son, Thomas Godfrey Duckett, who was baptised on 7 November 1802 and who married Mary Roberts on 29 October 1827 (pp. 280, 335). This is made clear by the 1831 poll-book for the County of Salop, which gives the name of "Thomas Godfrey Duckett, Weston Rhyn, paper-maker."

The next reference to the Weston Rhyn paper-mill occurs in Slater's directory of 1850, which gives the name of "John Gittins Hughes, Weston Rhynn Mills." Bagshaw's gazetteer of 1851 and Kelly's directory of 1856 are of little assistance, as they seem to have confused the Morda and Weston Rhyn paper-mills. Bagshaw gives "Thomas Jones, Morda," under both Weston Rhyn and Weston Cotton, and under the latter heading

gives also "John Hughes, paper-mills agent." Kelly, in 1856, gives "T. Jones, Morda Mills, Weston, Oswestry," "J. Hughes, Morda, Weston Rhyn," and "Mrs. Mary Duckett, miller, Weston Rhyn." The only possibilities suggested by these confused entries are (1) that perhaps Hughes was not the owner of the Weston Rhyn mill—as was suggested by the entry in Slater's directory of 1850—but an agent or manager; and, if (1) be accepted, (2) that the ownership of the mill may have remained in the Duckett family. This latter suggestion is supported by the fact that in Cassey's directory of 1871, and in Kelly's directories of 1870 and 1879, the owner of the mill is stated to be Thomas Duckett—perhaps a son of Thomas Godfrey. The entry in Kelly's 1879 directory is the last mention of the mill which occurs; presumably it closed down soon after that date.

The buildings of the Weston Rhyn paper-mill still remain, lying a little way up a short lane on the right of the road between Oswestry and Weston Rhyn, just before the brook is crossed. Mr. Mitchenall visited the site on 25 June 1936, and describes its present condition thus: "The mill consists of a long, two-storey building, with small outbuildings adjoining. At the further end is the house, which appears to be independent of the mill premises. The whole is now used as a farm, and does not seem to contain any of the original machinery. A flight of small stone steps just inside the entrance gate leads to a large pool which is on a level with the eaves of the mill and which allowed a plentiful supply of water to flow direct into the building."

WHITTINGTON.

There is no evidence of the existence of a paper-mill at Whittington, but according to the Selattyn parish registers there were paper-makers living here in the early years of the nineteenth century. On 11 November 1810 the baptism is recorded of "Mary, daughter of John and Ellin Brown, paper-maker, Whittington" (p. 373), and on 13 September 1812 the baptism occurs of "John, son of William and Mary Sherrard, paper-maker, Whittington" (p. 376). Probably these paper-

makers worked at either Selattyn or Weston Rhyn, but in the absence of any indication of the place of their employment it has been thought best to mention them under a separate heading.

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Abstracts from Shropshire Assize Rolls etc., 1180-1292 (in the autograph of Rev. R. W. Eyton).

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Survey and Valuation, with plan, of the Manor and Township of Berrington, 1776.

Survey of the Estates of Richard Hopton in Leebotwood etc. 1597.

Work-book of John Nelson, sculptor, of Shrewsbury (d. 1812).

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J.B.O.

COLLECTIONS FOR A HISTORY OF BRIDGNORTH, SALOP:

a MS. by WILLIAM HARDWICKE;

annotated by W. WATKINS-PITCHFORD, M.D.

William Hardwicke (1772-1843) was the second son of William and Mary Hardwicke, *nee* Perton, of Allscote, Worfield. He was a solicitor of Bridgnorth, practising at first in partnership with Thomas Devey, who died in 1822, and afterwards independently. Soon after he had started in Bridgnorth, and shortly before his marriage to Charlotte Beamond in 1803, he purchased Diamond Hall, in St. John's Street, and here he lived, becoming the father of thirteen children, until he finally left the town in 1837. Besides being in private practice, he was agent for the estates of Thomas Whitmore, of Apley Park. Mr. Whitmore was lay Dean of the Royal Peculiar of St. Mary Magdalene, and in 1821 he appointed William Hardwicke to be Registrar of the Court of the Royal Peculiar. He held this office until July, 1837, when, in consequence as it is said of some political difference with Mr. Whitmore, he resigned all connection with Bridgnorth and retired into Wales. He died at Barmouth on the 18th of February, 1843, and was buried in the neighbouring churchyard of Llanaber. He was a freemason, and entered the *Lodge of Industry*, Bridgnorth, as a "joining member", in 1812; he was "exalted" in the *Agenorian Chapter* in the same town in 1815.

During his life in Bridgnorth he spent nearly all his leisure in deciphering, transcribing, and translating old documents, and he thus accumulated a mass of genealogical, topographical, and historical material. According to Hubert Smith*, none of this was published by the author, excepting for a few articles which he contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. At the time of his death, he had arranged his MSS., though roughly and not in condition for final publication, under three main headings:—

* *A short Memoir of William Hardwicke*; Hubert Smith; 1879; pub. by J. Randall, Madeley. This somewhat meagre and discursive account is the only biography of Hardwicke known to me.

Pedigrees of Shropshire Families, Collections for a History of Shropshire, and *Collections for a History of Bridgnorth.* The MS. of his *Shropshire Families,* in three folio volumes, passed into the possession of Sydney Stedman Smith, and is now the property of Mr. R. J. R. Haslewood, of Bridgnorth. The MSS. relating mainly to a *History of Shropshire* and to a *History of Bridgnorth* became included in the Mytton Collection, which was sold at Sotheby's in 1877. These two sets of MS. appear to have become somewhat intermingled, and some of the material passed into private hands whilst some was purchased for Heralds' College and for the British Museum. Among that at the British Museum—bound up with fragmentary genealogies of the families of Gatacre, Perton, Pitchford, and Southern—is the portion of his *Collections for a History of Bridgnorth* which is reproduced in the following pages; it is identified as "Addl. MS. 30345," and has been transcribed for us by Miss A. C. Watkins-Pitchford. It is written in ink on the back of advertisements and letters, and carries many corrections and interpolations in pencil; it ends abruptly, and is evidently incomplete. It consists mainly of a topographical survey of the town, and we may therefore assume that it would have formed one of the earlier sections of the *History of Bridgnorth*; it is possible that the material for the other sections will eventually come to light.

It appears from internal evidence that the notes from which the MS. was compiled were made at different times between the years 1812 and 1825; the fact that the observations are not contemporaneous explains to some extent the disjointed character of the whole.

Hardwicke often uses the word "avenue" when we should say "street"; this use is still current in the U.S.A., as in "5th Avenue". Some sentences in the MS. are ungrammatical or incomplete, and have been shown in the copy with editorial amendments in curved brackets. The spelling, except in unimportant words, has been left as in the original. Lawyer-like, punctuation is almost non-existent in the MS.; it has been introduced in the copy whenever required for intelligibility. Capitals, or small letters, at the beginning of words have been interchanged in the copy to accord with modern usage. When brackets occur in the original, they have been reproduced as

square brackets in the copy; editorial insertions, and missing headings and sub-headings, are placed between curved brackets. Foot-notes are entirely absent from the MS., all those in the copy being due to the annotator.

W. WATKINS-PITCHFORD.

Bridgnorth,
14 March, 1938.

(THE LOW TOWN.)

The Low Town, or Suburbs, an appellation derived from the "Bassa Villa", as it was frequently written in very old documents, consists of five distinct avenues:—(*Bridge Street*)—The one leading from the foot of the Bridge in an easterly direction to the next street takes its name from the Bridge, but in very early times was called Milk Street; (*St. John's Street*)—a continuation of this line eastwardly to the buildings at the foot of the Morfe has been long known by the name of St. John's, from the priory of St. John which anciently stood there. From this last avenue, proceeding southwardly, is the entrance into this town from Kidderminster and Worcester, which branches in two directions, the one leading over an eminence and the other along the flat; the latter is known by the name of *Spital Street*, from the very ancient hospital, or lazaret, standing near the south extremity and dedicated to St. James. The former is called the *Upper Road*, under Barnet's Hill, corruptly so named from Mount Barnard, which was the hill's appellation in the reign of Edward III.; on or near this eminence in that reign was a spot of land called Barrow, probably a military place of interment for such who had fallen in some great battle; and within the last 50 years human skeletons and bones have been dug up near to the summit and almost at the south-east extremity. (*Mill Street*)—Another, more spacious, avenue proceeds from St. John's and Bridge Streets northernly towards the Town's Mills, from whence its name is derived, being anciently written "Mulne" Street, and is a continuation of the road from Shiffnall; it is spacious and well-paved and surrounded with respectable-looking houses. On the east side of this street, towards the northern point, is the entrance into this town from Wolverhampton. The deep ravine above this entrance is called the

Sandy Way,[1] which previous to the reign of Edward III. was written "Sondy Wey".

At the west end of the Bridge is *Underhill Street*, so called from its lying under the Castle Hill. This avenue runs parallel with the river, and from it the *Cartway* proceeds in a zigzag or winding direction for the easier ascent to the summit of the hill on which the Upper Town is elevated.

From this very steep ascent proceed two others:—

One, a gloomy pass in a north-east direction, which leads down to the Severn and is commonly called the *Friars'*, or *Hangman's, Lane*; the former name is deduced from the religious house of the Friars Minor, a part of which is yet standing on the banks of the river.[2] This disagreeable narrow passage is bounded on the west side by perpendicular rocks with dwellings, more properly denominated caves, and thereout cellars are hewn which are a great convenience to these pitiful habitations; on their roofs are gardens, formed with little expense and trouble, and pathways over them which are perfectly secure and free from danger to the passenger. (The words which follow, between square brackets, are lightly crossed out in the MS.) [About the midway, proceeds out of this lane an avenue consisting of many steps, leading to St. Leonard's Churchyard,[3] and at the upper extremity of this lane (i.e. Friar Street) a small entry opens into another narrow pass[4] which leads to the same cemetery.]

The other avenue leading out of the Cartway proceeds to the High Street and was in early times known by the name of Kougate Street.[5] This appellation was derived from Kou, the name of a family who resided here in very early times and (who also gave their name to) the gate of defence erected across this avenue, as will most evidently appear from the following transactions now upon record written about (the) 40th year of (the) reign of Henry III. (1255-'6), viz.—Christiana and Isabella, the

1. This is the rocky cutting on the lower part of the Hermitage Hill.
2. This was the refectory. It was being used as a storeroom for Southwell's Carpet Factory as late as 1863, but was demolished soon after.
3. Granary Steps.
4. St. Leonard's Steps.
5. Now called Upper Cartway.

daughters of William le Kou, sold and quitclaimed to Walter le Palmer, Burgess of Brugia, out of which the said Walter paid a rent of 2/- yearly, which said house was in Kougate between the land of Henry Russi on the one side and the lands of Hugh Nigri, John Seli and Henry de Arnleg on the other side, and extending itself from the highway as far as to the land which was Walter de Orto's etc.; sealed in the presence of Wm. Palmer and Wm. Lambert, then Bailiffs[6] of Brugia, Hamon Palmer, Henry Coynt(er)el, Wm. Wondoc, Philip de Rock, Robert Dyer, Richard the Clerk etc. Sibil, the daughter of Wm. le Kou of Brug, in her youth gave (? gives) grants etc. to Walter Palmer of Brug a messuage with the appurts. which Wm. her father once held in Brug and lies in Kougate Strete between the land of Henry Russi and the land of Hugh de Nigri; sealed in the presence of Wm. Palmer and Wm. Lambert, then Bailiffs of Brug, Harmon Palmer, Philip de Rock, Wm. Bonamy, Hugh de Eudon, Roger de la More, Hugh le Nigri.

(THE HIGH TOWN.)

The Upper Town consists of fourteen avenues, viz.—

The High Street, a name which it partook even prior to the reign of Henry III. [though in very early times it was called "Burg", and the "Great Street"]. It is spacious, regular and well-paved, being about 320 yards long, running nearly from south-east to north-west, and 26 yards in width; having formerly had the convenience of piazzas or cloisters, which the inhabitants called "stalls", on each side, in front of the shops, under which people passed very conveniently in tempestuous weather. Those nearest to the Castle were probably destroyed in the conflagration of 1646, and those that remained, within the last 60 years. The part in front of Mr. Pierpoint's, Mr. Minton's, Charles Morris' and Jas. Longmore's being taken in to enlarge the houses, not a vestige of them outwardly remains. In taking down the front of a public house in this street called "The Duke" [originally intended for the great Duke of Cumberland but latterly for the Duke of Wellington] in September, 1810, a very complete stone arch at the north end appeared which had originally

6. Eyton (I, 315) suggests that these men were Bailiffs in 1258 and 1259.

formed a part of the ancient piazza. This is considered by far the most commodious street in this place, and would be much more so if the Town Hall which stands in the midst [though a most convenient public structure] were removed elsewhere. In this street, on the western side, stand the two principal posting-houses, viz., the "Crown" Inn [or "Royal" Hotel] and "Castle"; on the opposite side is the "Swan". In this street the Earls of Stafford had a mansion house, which is noticed in 22 Ric. II. (1392), and afterwards descended to the Dukes of Buckingham. The "Swan" was an inn known under this appellation as early as 17 Edward IV. (1477).

Out of this street, nearly in a westerly direction, proceed three others, viz., those of Listley, St. Mary's or Hungary, and Whitburn or Raven, Streets:—

(*Listley Street*)—The appellation of "Listley" is a corruption of modern times through a variety of gradations, being in 27 Edw. I. (1299) written "Lisselene Stret": in that of Edw. II., "Leslynstret": in those of Richard II. and Henry IV., "Lisseley" Street: in the reign of Henry VI., "Listeleye"; from this latter its present name closely approaches. It runs nearly from the south-west corner of the High Street, directly opposite to the upper part of the Cartway, around the south-west skirts of the town and unites with the Hungary Street at its entrance or portal.

St. Mary's (*Street*) was so named from a religious house, part of which is yet standing there, having been a chantry dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[7] This street is now more generally called Hungary Street, and was written in the reigns of Henry III., Edw. I., II., and III., and Richard II. "Hungereye" or "Hongrey". The appellations of Hungry and Listley were without doubt derived at an early period from the fairs kept here for

7. The "Site of St. Mary's Chantry" is marked on the 1/500 Ordnance Map (1884) as being behind St. Leonard's Schools, occupying the gardens of Nos. 43-46 St. Mary's Street; no remains of mediaeval masonry are now visible. I do not know of any contemporary reference to this alleged chapel, or to its officials. It seems probable that certain messuages here belonged to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Leonard's Church, and that they were so marked on old maps, thus giving rise to an erroneous tradition that there had been a chantry chapel here. The question, however, is not finally decided.

the sale of cattle, those standing in this latter street (i.e. St. Mary's) were the store, or "hungry", cattle, and those in the Listley Street were the fat, or "less lean". The Hungary Street proceeds from the south end of the Town Hall, about the middle of the High Street, to the Western, or St. Mary's, Gate.

Whitburn, or *Raven, Street* opens out of the High Street nearer to the north end, and proceeds to a narrow spot where lately stood Whitburn Gate, nearly adjoining to Whitburne House (38, Whitburn Street). This street in 43 Henry III. was written "Wytebourne", and afterwards, for ages, "Whiteborne"; the "Raven" Inn, on the south side, hath given it the latter distinction. At the lower extremity of this street issues another called the *Town's End*, which leads to Ludlow, Wenlock, Shrewsbury etc.

On the south side of the last avenue is situated that ancient bailiwicke which in the reign of Henry I., and even down to 27 Edward III., was distinguished by the name of the *Little Brugg*, afterwards *Little Bridge Street*, and at the present day the *Pound Street*—this latter name arises from the parish pound of St. Leonard standing therein.

This last street branches off in two directions, the one approaching west (should be "east") leads to St. Mary's, or the West, Gate, and the other proceeding down the declivity of a rock is called *Hollybush Lane*, once a great thoroughfare and lately a narrow filthy and disagreeable road [but now very much improved and rendered a convenient path] winding round the foot of the *Tainter*[8] *Hill* till it meets the street known by the name of the "New Town", or, as it was in early times written, "Novum Burgum", and "Villa Paupera".

The New Town[9] opens out of the middle of Listley Street on the south side, is of deep descent and proceeds around the ancient walls, or Castle Hill, till it falls in with the New Road on the east side of the town, continuing the course to the Bridge.

8. A name almost forgotten. The gardens which slope down between Listley Street and Squirrel Bank ("Hollybush Lane") are marked "Tenter Yard" in an estate-map of 1777.

9. Now Railway Street.

Opposite to Whitburn Street is the *Church Lane*, in 16 Edward III. (1342) written "Chirch" Lane, which leads eastwardly out of the High Street to the cemetery of St. Leonard, whose majestic tower, standing at a short distance, presents the passenger with the appearance of a very antique structure.[10] On the north side of the cemetery runs the *Back Lane*,[11] a very confined thoroughfare which leads into another on the north side[12], (which latter) in the reign of Edward III. was written "*Straunge Lane*".

The south extremity of this High Street leads into a narrow passage, in the reign of Henry VIII. called the *Postern*, which opens into three other avenues called the Back Lane (and) East and West Castle Streets (respectively). The *Back Lane*[13] leads into the beautiful promenade called the *Castle Hill Walk*.

The East Castle Street is broad and spacious, approaching the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene,[14] whose campaniforme appearance is a handsome appendage to this avenue, which it commands by its bold conspicuous front. On the east side are many modern-built houses, whose gardens, extending to a considerable distance, reach to the burial ground, having the remains of the ancient fortified walls of the Castle Ward for their eastern boundary, and overlooking a most beautiful prospect.

The West Castle Street is situated on the western part and leads to the greatest improvement of highways in this town which has taken place in modern times, viz.—

The New Road, the most convenient and easy ascent into the High Town from the Severn. In 1782 this was first in contemplation, and on the 19th of December in that year the first general meeting of subscribers was held, when they entered into a subscription for its formation, which was soon obtained and the road completed as it now appears, winding and forming

10. The tower referred to was built 1466-1477. It was rebuilt, "after the exact model of the original", 1870-1872.

11. Now Moat Street.

12. Now Cliff Road.

13. Now Bank Street.

14. This had been rebuilt, by Thomas Telford, in 1793; in order that it might form a more "handsome appendage" to East Castle Street he erected the church with its axis north and south.

an excellent approach to the Upper Town. It winds round the (west), south and east side(s) of the Castle Hill falling into another which leads to Underhill Street and the Bridge. On the 24 July in the year 1789 a leave was granted by the Bailiffs and Burgesses of this town to the individuals of the garden land through which this road passes for 1,000 years.[15]

(*Stone Way*)—There is a singularly curious dreary thoroughfare for the accommodation of foot people cut deep in the rock, in some places 20 feet, known by the name of the "Stone Way",[16] about 160 yards in length, ascending with convenient flights of steps from the Underhill Street to the High Town—much resembling, as travellers have observed, the ascent of Mount Calvary in Jerusalem. On the south side of this passage are caves or cellars hewn in the rock, famous in former times on account of their being stored with vast quantities of potent liquor called "Eve's Beer", which was brewed in this town and so well known by the ancient inhabitants, and (was) very much esteemed, as well in London and other considerable places in this Kingdom as in foreign countries, prior to the introduction of porter, which hath altogether superseded it for years. This liquor, more than a century ago, was generally introduced as the common beverage of social life, though pregnant with baleful effects, and at length proved to be the sure forerunner of the gout, that obstinate disease which afterwards pervaded almost every respectable house in this place and singly attacked each principal of a family, confining itself to the male sex. One of the cellars or caves[17] was 33 feet in length and 27 feet in breadth; the vessel, or tun, placed therein contained 5 hogsheads, or 320 gallons, (and was) bestrid by a small figure of the vinous god; and at the entrance stood a lion rampant carved in stone—since totally destroyed.

(*Churchway*)—Out of the Underhill Street opens another avenue leading to the Castle Hill called the "Churchway",[18]

15. Tolls were exacted from users of the New Road until 1852. It was completed and opened for traffic in 1786, and was widened and improved in 1876.

16. Now Stoneway Steps.

17. This cave was cut into (1891-'2) by the excavations for the lower station of the Castle Hill Railway. A portion of it remains, shut off by brick walling and difficult of access.

18. Now St. Mary's Steps.

formed by irregular flights of steps. The uppermost structure[19] on the east side was the residence, in his captivity, of Prosper Lewis [Louis Prosper, Duc d'Arenberg, Colonel of the 27th Chasseurs—came here 13th August, 1812.] He was surrounded and taken prisoner by Lord Hill, the Shropshire hero, at the battle of Merida, a town between Patagos (? for "Badajos") and Salamanca in Spain. He took up his residence in this house on 13 August, 1812, and left it on 16 May, 1814, when the war with France ceased.

(*Library Steps*)—Still nearer to the New Road, proceeding out of Underhill Street, is another narrow pass[20] leading to several small houses under the Castle Hill which have in recent times been converted out of the large caves once stored with Eave's beer, and from thence this pass proceeds and terminates with the Castle Hill (i.e. the Castle Walk).

The pathways, or pavements, of the respective streets, but more particularly those leading into the country, from early times till the late improvements took place, indicated more the irregular and uncertain work of Deucalion and Pyrrha.[21] Pilgrims travelling through the country when approaching the gates of Bruges might fairly be justified in removing the peas from their shoes, owing to the impression, acting in a twofold degree on their lower extremities and on their minds, that some shrine or religious relique was near. True it is that the infatuated zeal of Romish priestcraft too frequently immortalised the names of the greatest knaves and most worthless of men; among the many instances of this kind we find the shrine or altar (which was) here to immortalise the saintship of that proud, selfsufficient and ungovernable English prelate Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. How he was connected with this

19. A private residence now known as "Hillside", but prior to 1872 as "d'Arenberg House", a name which might well be restored to it.

20. Now Library Steps.

21. Probably alluding to the fact that all the footpaths of the town had, until a short time previously, been paved with cobbles; brick pavements were introduced for the central parts of the town about 1820.

neighbourhood, or the cause of the erection of his altar,[22] we are uninformed—unless his successors thought by this means to obtain some advantages over this place which had so long been divested of their power and control.

FORTIFIED ENTRANCES.

There were seven portals, or confined gateways, constructed for the better security and defence of the town, and existing in this place during the period of its being fortified:—

(*Bridge Gatehouse*)—The old Gatehouse on the Bridge, which was erected at the east end, extended from the one pier to that on the opposite side, having had a draw portcullis, with a prison above for the confinement of debtors connected with the Chapel of St. Syth—all which have been long ago demolished, the old doors of this gatehouse having been taken down about 40 years. A part of this gatehouse was very properly removed owing to the great flood, which happened in the month of February 1795, having injured the arch on which it stood. The other part was standing and (was) inhabited by the gate-keeper from the period the toll was fixed on the Bridge[23] [by an Act of Parliament after this flood had committed such ravages] till it was taken down in the spring of the year 1812.

(*Cowgate*)—Nearly at the top of the street called the Cartway stood Cowgate, the immediate entrance leading into the High Street, long since levelled to the ground.

(*Cripple Gate*)—At the lower extremity of the Friars' Lane, at no great distance from the river, stood Cripple Gate, a name which is said always to import something of beggary; accordingly this entrance received its appellation from the great number of cripples and beggars with whom it was so perpetually frequented, and which hath been taken away beyond the memory of man.

22. Of the several chantries founded in St. Leonard's Church in the 14th century that of St. Thomas the Martyr was deemed the most important. The coincidence that Henry II., during the second siege of Bridgnorth Castle (1155), had been accompanied by Thomas a Becket (Eyton, I, 250), then Chancellor, may possibly have been the reason for this special local appreciation of a nationally popular saint.

23. Bridge-toll was imposed in 1796, and was not abolished until 1852.

(*Barrier Gate*)—Almost at the east extremity of Listley Street, and on the south side, formerly stood the Barrier Gate, through which was the entrance from the town to the Castle Ward. It adjoined the house now belonging to Francis Moore, gent. This gateway opened into a broad pass which led to the Castle Gate.[24] The archway of this latter portal is still to be observed over the door leading into the kitchen of a public house called the *Hole-in-the-Wall*, and was fifteen feet high and thirteen feet wide (by internal measurements), being part of the original erection by Earl Robert de Belesme.[25] On the eastern side (of this gateway), in an upper room, was a small square compartment sufficient to hold seven or eight persons, but was latterly bricked up. The foundation of the walls of the Castle Gateway was laid about a foot thick with small pebbles in rough mortar, at the depth of about 7 feet and a half below the street, and upon these pebbles the walls were carried up with small scraps of stone had from Cantern Bank and Dunvall in the parish of Astley Abbot. These gateways were disused in the reign of Henry VIII., the last avenue (i.e. the direct entrance) from the town to the Castle having been traversed by the inhabitants ever since that reign in consequence of the breach at that time made through the wall of the Castle Ward, from whence the former entrances are said to have been discontinued. These gates appear to have been standing in 13 Henry VIII. (1521-'2) from the following circumstance at that period :— Richard More, Chaplain of the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin of Quat, relinquished all his right and interest in a tenement with a garden and their appurtenances lying in a corner between Listley Street and the Castle Gate for the term of his life, in the presence of Thos. Horde, Wm. Gatacre, Esq., and others.

The rude remains of a part of the old wall are yet extremely

24. This seems to imply that the Barrier Gate was distinct from the Castle Gate, but I think they were one and the same structure (cf. Gregory's *Shropshire Gazetteer*, 1824, p. 62). The Castle Gate was a massive gatehouse, or barbican, the arched passage through which was used as the kitchen of the adjoining *Hole-in-the-Wall* public-house until about 1820.

25. The gatehouse, or barbican, of Bridgnorth Castle was probably not Belesme's work; it was erected, I think, in 1212 (cf. Eyton, I, 255).

visible[26] on the west side of a spot where lately stood the *Hole-in-the-Wall* public house—so called from the circumstance of the breach anciently made there. This house took up the whole of this prodigious fortified entrance till its walls were taken down in May and June, 1821, when the original arch presented itself to public notice of most extraordinary strength, forming a semi-circle.[27] In order to make the avenue out of the West Castle Ward into the High Street more convenient for the public it was deemed necessary to take down the curious old structure, which was accordingly blown up about half past ten o'clock in the morning of Monday, 25 June, 1821, when it presented a most terrific ruin, having stood upwards of 721 (? 609) years.

(*Listley Gate*)—At the entrance from the New Town into Listley Street was another defended pass called "Listley Gate", which hath long since been taken away and every remembrance of it for ever destroyed.

(*Tainter Wall*)—Proceeding along Listley Street, on the south-west side of the lower part, opposite to Messrs. Macmichael's late carpet factory, was lately to be traced an ancient fortified wall, erected chiefly of white stone, for the greater protection of this defenceless part of the town; it was scarcely fenced sufficiently to keep cattle from committing depredations on the grounds beneath.[28] It hath lately been taken down [Oct., 1821] and a new brick wall erected in its place.[29]

(*West, or Hungary, Gate*)—After passing by a few small tenements to the lower extremity of St. Mary's, or Hungary, Street, stood another very ancient portal or gateway, originally

26. A long stretch of the Castle wall, extending westward from the site of the gatehouse, was in existence as late as 1901, when it was demolished during the building of the Post Office.

27. For a sketch of this arch see Bellett's *Antiquities of Bridgnorth*, 1856, p. 25.

28. These sloping grounds were formerly called "Tenter Yard", a name doubtless due to their being used for the "tentering", i.e. stretching, of freshly-woven woollen fabric.

29. This "new brick wall" still stands; it is directly opposite St. Leonard's Schools, and is called "Tainter Wall" by old residents. For some distance at its western end the footing consists of old stonework, evidently the base of the "ancient fortified wall". St. Leonard's Schools were opened in 1820, and I imagine that they at first occupied the premises of the "late carpet factory", the factory having been moved to Hospital Street about that time. The existing school buildings were erected on the old site in 1856.

built of stone, though it lately appeared in some parts of brick, with a pointed arch, which on the east side, to the top thereof, was 15 feet 5 inches, and on the west side its height was 18 ft. 10 ins., and its width 10 ft. 1 in.[30] In this entrance, large doors were loosed down from the upper part of the structure in the niches of the stonework, lately to be seen, which appeared to have been extremely massy from the width of these niches. This was the only building of the kind that had withstood every rude shock and the devastating hands of modern despoilers, but the ravages of time were very discernible on its neglected walls till, being considered extremely dangerous, it was, by its proprietor, Thomas Whitmore, Esq., ordered to be taken down, which took place on or about 12 July, 1821.

(*Half-moon Battery*)—At a short distance from the last-mentioned entrance, to the north, are the very perfect remains of an old stone castellated structure called the Half-moon Battery[31]; (it is) in a line (with), and nearly at an equal distance between, St. Mary's and Whitburn Gates, and at the back of a small house called "Hell", though not adjoining to it. This battery is in an octagon shape (and) of considerable strength; (it was) probably a watch-tower and of great importance to the protection of these least defensive skirts of the town—a spot which in ancient days was known by the appellation of "Little Brug". The whole of the barns and other buildings in Little Brug which were on the outside of this fortification were, together with the other defended (? undefended) parts of the town, during the later period of the Civil War, levelled to the ground to prevent the Parliamentarians making use of them. On the north side of this tower another part of the old fortified wall is still perceptible,[32] on a rise of ground, which originally connected this tower with Whitburn Gate.

30. A good view of this gatehouse is given in a so-called "etching" by Miss Hawkesworth, published in 1810, from a drawing by J. Thompson.

31. Much of this is still plainly visible from Pound Street. This, the sole surviving bastion on the town wall, is a unique relic of mediaeval Bridgnorth and urgently calls for preservation; it belongs to the Corporation.

32. The old stone footing of a considerable length of this part of the town wall is still visible in the builder's-yard lately vacated by Messrs. Horne and Meredith; a low modern brick wall has been erected upon it.

(*Whitburn Gate and Town Ditch*)—At a short distance, in a narrow part of Whitburn, or the Raven, Street, near to Whitburn House and almost at the western extremity of that street, stood the ancient stone portal, or gatehouse, erected across the avenue,[33] similar to St. Mary's (Gate), with a large pointed arch, which was taken down about the year 1761, in the Chamberlainship of Wm. Corser, gent., father of the late Rev. Wm. Corser,[34] rector of Leighton, co. Salop, so that not a trace of it now remains. The street at this place was then lowered about three feet. From this entrance, on the north-east, proceeding nearly in a straight line along the north side of the gardens at the back of the Raven Street to that adjoining to and occupied with the Poor House,[35] across the south side thereof, to the old Jail[36] near to the North Gate, is still to be traced the ancient Town Ditch, formerly fortified with a stone embankment.

The North Gate stands at the upper extremity of the High Street. (It) is a modern building and (was) erected about the year 1740, at the expense of the Corporation, in the place of the former structure (which was) probably very ancient and which had undergone a good deal of repair in 1608, when a levy was laid upon the inhabitants after the rate of what was then called a "double task". The former building was converted into a prison in 1638, when it was agreed at a Common Hall that the town should be assessed at 40 marks, and the liberties at 20 marks, towards making this prison strong and convenient and repairing the towers of this gateway. In 1672 it was ordered

33. If the line of the wall referred to in the preceding note be continued across Whitburn Street it meets the middle of a house which comprises Nos. 35 and 34 in that street. There is a "straight joint" between this house and those on either side, and its front wall has obviously been built upon an old stone footing; this latter must be, I think, an actual part of the north side of the old Whitburn Gate.

34. Died 1814.

35. The buildings of the old Poor House still remain; they are let as a private tenement. In 1850, what was then termed the "Union House" was built in Innage Lane; it is now known as the "Public Assistance Institution".

36. The Gaol, excepting the warder's house and two of the six cells, was demolished in 1923. The Town Ditch, of which no trace now remains, formerly passed between the Gaol, on the south, and the Poor House, on the north; the line of the Ditch, if continued across the roadway in front of the North Gate, passes up Moat Street.

to be again repaired (and) made clean and fit for the accommodation of prisoners, after it had received so much injury during the late wars. Previous to or about the year 1719, the principal or large room was fitted up and its occupation changed for that of a charity school for the Blue Coat boys, and as such has been continued to the present day.[37]

(Now follows what is probably the most valuable item in the *Collections*, viz., a detailed history of the Bridge. No other account is so comprehensive or so authoritative, and it is evident from the writings of subsequent authors that this unique document has been overlooked. The Bridge must have been an object of special interest to Hardwicke, since he crossed it daily in going to and from his office—"on Castle Hill"—, and his parish church—St. Mary Magdalene's. He was a constant eye-witness of the many and great alterations to the Bridge which were made between the years 1801 and 1823.)

THE BRIDGE.

The Bridge is built mostly of stone and has been recently (1812) repaired by the late Mr. Thomas Simpson of Shrewsbury, consisting now of six arches, but lately of seven. It had a fortified gate, or draw portcullis, with other engines of defence. Over the gatehouse was a prison, and on the spaces of the piers stood several houses, some of them very convenient. On 6th January, 1715, Sarah Richards obtained a lease of one of these tenements, then in the possession of Francis Reader and formerly built by her ancestors, from the Bailiffs and Burgesses of this place, for three lives, paying £10 as a fine and 2/6 rent yearly.

Neither the name of the original builder (of the Bridge), nor the time it was first erected, appears in any of the muniments of this place nor among the writings of former historians. There is a great reason to presume there was a bridge thrown across

37. The existing North Gate, built in stone in the Tudor style, was completed in 1911 as a memorial to T. Martin Southwell; it encases much of the plain brick structure which dated from about 1740. The Blue Coat School was removed from the North Gate to quarters behind the Foster Institute in 1910, and the new North Gate was used as the office of the Borough Surveyor; it was also intended to use it as a depository for the records of the Corporation, but this was not done.

the Severn not far from this town by Ethelfleda in 912 or 913,[38] and (also) that a bridge was erected here about the time the Castle was built (1101-1102). It is also clear that there was a bridge here in 1313, and probably of stone. [The first bridges in England built with that material are said to be at Stratford le Bow, and over the channel near to that place, called the "Channel Bridge(s)", which were erected in the reign of Henry I.]. It is conjectured that a bridge was at an early period thrown over the Severn below the present, nearly in a straight line with a long narrow strip of land called the "Bridge Acre".[39] This land is not more in width than (is) sufficient for a road and certainly bears a very strong resemblance of an avenue, but from its long cultivated state affords no further traces.

In 1331 and 1335 King Edward III. granted to the inhabitants of this place the privilege of "pontage", or a permission to exact toll for the repairs of this bridge, for a certain period or during the pleasure of the Crown. The large flood of 1338 is said to have done considerable damage to it, in consequence of which a toll was collected. William Botenor (for "Botoner"), commonly called William of Worcester, in his *Itinerary*, written about 1478, notices the bridges on this river and states that there was one of stone at this town in his time. William Boveas, by his will dated on Friday after the feast of the Annunciation, A.D. 1438, gave towards the work of the Bridge of Severn 12d. Gilian Walton, widow, by her last will, 11 Nov., 1501, bequeathed to the repair of this bridge over Severn in the aforesaid town the sum of 5/-. When Leland visited this place in the reign of Henry VIII., for the purpose of antiquarian research, it appears that this bridge was of still greater extent, containing then eight arches, and is said to have been a handsome structure whereon stood the religious house of St. Syth, long since demolished. On 4 February, 14 Elizabeth (1572), it was argued (? for "agreed") by the Bailiffs and Aldermen that all strangers should pay 3d.

38. That this was so is suggested by the fact that Ethelfleda erected her fortress on the *west* bank of the river; she would hardly have done this unless there was a neighbouring bridge across the Severn.

39. This lies immediately to the south of the Textile Print Works, in Hospital Street. If the line of this strip be continued it crosses the lower end of the Bylet and cuts the Castle Hill near the Old Tower.

per ton for passing over the Bridge, but that the Burgesses and Freemen should be discharged thereof. On 26 Nov., 36 Elizabeth, 1594 (should be 1593), the pontage of this bridge was let for six years at £4 per annum, payable at Christmas, so it is probable some accident had happened to it from floods a short time before. Jorwin de Rocheford, a French tourist who took his route through this Kingdom in 1672, describes it to be a great stone bridge, over which he passed on his way to Morville etc. It having, in 1670, undergone considerable repair—two arches being that year rebuilt by Edward Paget,[40] which are probably the two oldest now standing at the west end thereof—an order of the town was made on 12 February, 1685, stating that in future, if any misfortune happened to this bridge, it should not be repaired with "spice", i.e. red stone, but with as good a hard, or free, stone as it was possible to get. It was originally erected with the common red stone of the neighbourhood, but owing to the great damage it has received at different period from the immense floods (it) is of confused and various workmanship, and (is) composed of white and red stone, (facts) which I think have contributed to disorganize the whole of its antiquity and ancient beauty—if it ever was entitled to that appellation—a circumstance which hath not been passed over unnoticed by several authors, though it is far from participating in any beauty or exterior grandeur at the present day.

About 1757 two small arches at the east end, being much decayed, were cased with brick and sprung underneath by George Head, mason. The next, or (former) third, arch was rebuilt with stone in the time of Joseph Corbet and William Bates, Bridgemasters,[41] in 1754, to which the late Earl of Stamford contributed £100 guineas (*sic*); this arch, in consequence of the foundations being laid on piles in the loose gravel and not in the solid rock, was much shaken and damaged by the floods of 1795, (and) its foundations were afterwards, in 1801, very properly carried down into the rock. Upon the pier between this arch and the two small ones stood the old gatehouse with

40. "Edward Paget, Freemason" was admitted a member of the trades-guild of Bridgnorth in 1671.

41. Two Bridgemasters, formerly known as "Bridge Custodians", were elected annually. To have filled this office was a prerequisite to election as Bailiff.

its draw portcullis, the greater part of which was taken down[42] (in 1801); the old building lately standing was all that was left to survive the shock of the flood in the month of February, 1795. These three arches together with the large pier (i.e. the pier between the former second and third arches) and two small ones (probably a mistake for "and the small one", i.e. the pier between the old first and second arches) were taken down in the summer of 1812 by Thomas Simpson, architect of Shrewsbury, and the space over which the exterior small arch had been sprung was filled up level with the surface of the street, to afford greater space to the public. Whilst the workmen were attempting to underbuild the pier on which the east end of the (former) fourth arch rested the front of this pier gave way, which caused much delay in the work; however, they cleared it from the stone sand and rubbish and carried up the centre and front of the other two (existing) piers from the rock, and sprung the two handsome stone arches,[43] about eight feet wider than the old ones, which were made passable by 29 October in the same year and completed in the following month, at the expense of several thousand pounds, leaving the centre of the structure in the former state.

The next, or present third, arch was put up by John Head and William Phillips, stone-mason(s), many years ago. The pier between this last and the former third arch was by far the largest and (was) unhappily cased with brick, which has contributed greatly to spoil the uniformity of the whole building. On this pier formerly stood two dwelling houses, occupied at the

42. Two well-known engravings, depicting the gatehouse in its entirety and after its partial demolition, are reproduced in Vol. IX. (4th Series), 1923-'4, of these Transactions.

43. These are the first two arches of the present bridge, counting from the east. Hardwicke lived in St. John's Street, on the east side of the river, and he therefore enumerated the arches from east to west. The 1/500 Ordnance Map marks the present second pier as the site of the Gatehouse; this is not borne out by Hardwicke's statements. The Gatehouse stood on the *old* second pier which occupied, approximately, the position of the present first pier. The Chapel probably stood on the present second pier (once the third pier) which was and still is the largest pier of the Bridge. The Ordnance Map (again, I think, erroneously) marks the Chapel on the present fourth pier.

period they were taken down[44] by William Prene and others.

The next, or (present) fourth, arch with its corresponding piers were rebuilt in 1773 by George Perry of Bewdley, architect, at the expense of £1,300, at the time when Richard Goolden and Benjamin Haslewood were Bailiffs, in consequence of the former piers and arch being destroyed by the immense flood of 1770. The crash happened between twelve and one o'clock at noon on Sunday 18th November in that year, when Thomas Gitton and Richard Goolden were Bridgemasters. The last person who passed over before the arch gave way was James Walker, of Ferngate, Worfield. The late George lord Pigot and Thomas Whitmore, Esq., the Members for this borough, contributed handsomely towards its re-erection by a present of £350 apiece.

The present fifth and sixth adjoining arches at the west end are probably very ancient[45] and have withstood many weighty floods without damage, whilst the other parts of the building have suffered so much; considerable devastation was committed thereon in the summer of 1774. The western arch hath been widened also with stone to the same extent as the other new ones, and the two houses on the southern side,[46] occupied by James Collins Jones and the widow Rhodes, were taken down to improve the avenue at the west end. This great accommodation to the public was completed by John Simpson previous to October, 1811.

The whole of the piers are said to be laid with their foundation on the solid rock, so that it was expected that this old bridge—which had incurred a wag's appellation of "linsey", from the various coloured materials with which it had been repaired—would withstand the shocks and storms of centuries to come.

44. They were demolished at some time between 1732 and 1776, probably in 1754, when the arch immediately to the east of them was rebuilt. The house on the south side of the pier was almost certainly the old Chapel of St. Syth.

45. The soffit of the old 6th arch, and the early 19th century additions to its breadth, are clearly visible from the Old Quay. Observation from the same place, however, shows that none of the old 5th arch remains; the whole arch has been rebuilt, probably in 1823, although Hardwicke makes no specific mention of the rebuilding.

46. These are shown in considerable detail in P. Sandby's pictures of 1776 and 1778.

Each extremity having been rebuilt, and rendered wide and commodious for the public, left the centre in its old narrow and confined state extremely disagreeable and inconvenient, when the Commissioners determined upon a general extension and reparation of the narrow part, and accordingly directed Mr. John Smalman, of Quatford, to deliver in a plan and estimate of the intended alterations, to which he assented, and upon his own plan he commenced (1823) the grand work which through his great skill and abilities has rendered it the handsomest structure upon the Severn.[47]

(Bequests for maintaining the Bridge :—)

By an inquisition on 2nd September, 6 Charles I., 1631 (should be 1630), before Sir William Whitmore, Knt., Edward Littleton, Esq., Thomas Wolrych, Esq., Edward Cupit, Esq., Francis Lokier, Charles Baldwyn, and Edward Smallman, General Commissioners by virtue of a Commission under the great seal of England directed unto them and the Bishop and Chancellor of the diocese to enquire according to the statutes made in 43 Eliz. concerning lands and worldly goods and stocks of money given to charitable uses within the town and liberties of Bridgnorth, it appears that various lands and tenements were given towards repairing this bridge. It was presented—

That Eleanor Perce, widow, held under lease granted by Rowland Hynes and John Piers, gents., sometime Bailiffs of Bridgnorth, unto one John Prene, two houses of office which were then dwelling houses and situated upon the Bridge, and which had been anciently given and used towards repairing of the Bridge, and as land given for that purpose had from time to time been drawn into the Bridgemasters' account, and the rents received by them for the houses [*inter alia*] truly accounted for yearly in and about the repairs of the Bridge.

47. One of the principal items in John Smalman's work was the widening of the roadway over the two central arches (the 3rd and 4th); this he accomplished by fixing very flat arches of iron at the sides of the stone arches, and by substituting open ironwork parapets for those of stone. The tradition now prevalent that "John Smalman rebuilt the Bridge" is certainly wrong, although it is probable that, besides widening the roadway over the central arches, he rebuilt the 5th arch. This latter is of the same breadth and of exactly the same style as the 1st and 2nd arches, which had been built in 1812.

That the Bridgemasters anciently joined with the Bailiffs and Burgesses in making the leases of the Bridgeland.

That Joseph Sadler, gent., by assignment from William Horton, gent., held a tenement in Whitburne Street, then in the tenure of John Harris, under a lease made to William Horton by the Bailiffs and Burgesses for three lives, towards the repairing of the Bridge, which had been anciently given for that express purpose.

That John Excellent held by lease from the Bailiffs and Burgesses a tenement at the east end of the Bridge, with a parcel of void ground containing six yards in length which was accounted parcel of the Bridgeland, and that he paid the rent to the Bridgemasters.

That Richard Singe, gent., held of the Bridgeland a tenement in Bridge Street, then in the tenure of John Casey, by lease from the Bailiffs and Burgesses for 78 years: that he paid the rent to the Bridgemasters, who had not ratified the lease by their seal of office as they had been accustomed.

That Robert Richards, administrator of Bryan Richards his late father, deceased, held of Bridgelands a messuage house or tenement and a parcel of waste ground lying in the Low Town at the west end of the Bridge there, containing in length 16 feet and in breadth 18 feet, then in the tenure of one John Lecock, and lying between a house of this Robert Richards at (? for "and") the west end of the Bridge, under a lease made to Brian Richards by the Bailiffs and Burgesses for 99 years, paying his rent towards the repairs of the Bridge.

That Sir William Whitmore, Knt., held of the Bridgeland a tenement or shop in the Low Town at the east end of the Bridge, then in the tenure of John Leighton, by deed made by the Bailiffs and Burgesses unto this Sir William Whitmore his heirs and assigns for ever in fee farm, who paid the rent to the Bridgemasters.

That Edward Tench held a tenement with a cave in Underhill Street, then in the tenure of William Wynn, under a lease granted by the Bailiffs and Burgesses unto one Francis Prene for 60 years: that the rent was paid to the Bridgemasters for the repairs of the Bridge.

That the tenement which William King, long since deceased, sometime of Bridgnorth, by his will dated 26th July, 1522, gave towards the repairing of the Chapel of the Bridge, was the same tenement, by the butting and bounding thereof, which Edward Tench above named then held, being in the tenure of William Wynne, by lease made by the Bailiffs and Burgesses dated 16th September, 22 Eliz. (1580) at the rent of 10s.

That Eleanor Piers held a parcel of land of the Bridgeland, as it was and had been anciently taken, called the Great Gravel, under a lease made unto James Piers by the Bailiffs and Burgesses for 70 years, which was then in the tenure of Robert Lee, gent.

That Dorothy Hynes, widow, an executrix unto Rowland Hynes her late husband, deceased, held a room or place in the Low Town and leading from Francis Prene's house to the river, which was held and taken to be part of the Bridgeland, under a lease made unto her late husband by the Bailiffs and Burgesses, which was then in the possession of Thomas Pennington, for 60 years, paying 4d. to the Bridgemasters towards the repairs of the Bridge.

That Humfry Singe,[48] gent., held of the Bridgeland, as it was and had been commonly taken, the Chapel upon the Bridge, then made a tenement in the tenure of William Richards, and another tenement on the north side of the same Bridge[49] then in the tenure of Thomas Broughton, and the half of a tenement in the tenure of John Wilde, and half an acre called Bridge Acre, by lease made unto him[50] by the Bailiffs and Burgesses for 60 years, if this Humfry Singe, Dorothy his wife, and Thomas Singe son of Richard Singe, gent., did so long live, paying 37s. and 7d., which is stated to have been always paid to the Bridgemasters toward the repairs of the Bridge.

That two Bylets and parcel of the Bridgeland was [26th October, 27 Eliz. (1585)] dismissed (? "demised") by the Bailiffs

48. Bailiff in 1613, 1618, 1627, and 1635, in which last year he died.

49. It seems probable that these two buildings are those shown in Buck's panoramic print of Bridgnorth (1732) on the south and north sides, respectively, of the old third pier of the Bridge (the gate-house being on the old second pier). The exact situation of the Chapel of St. Syth has hitherto been a matter of speculation.

50. This lease was granted 22, October, 1599.

and Burgesses, with a parcel of waste ground now used for a garden in a place called the Stoneland, unto Francis Prene for 60 years, paying 4d, which rent had been paid to the Bridgemasters towards the repairs of the Bridge.

That a tenement in St. Mary's Street, alias Hungary Street, which was then in the tenure of William Pratt, was parcel also of the Bridgeland under the yearly rent of 20d. which was paid by Robert Reynolds to the Bridgemasters, as appears by their accounts.

OTHER PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

(*Town Hall*)—That most worthy of notice is the Gild, or Cross, commonly called the Town Hall, or Market House, which stands nearly in the centre of the High Street. It does not appear when the first building of this kind was erected, nor the spot on which it stood,[51] though probably it was built to the south of the present Market House and nearly opposite to the Hungary Street, immediately after the inhabitants were empowered to have a mercantile gild, with a house of their own, by the charter of Henry III., granted 20th June in (the) 11th year of his reign, A.D. 1227. It was no doubt originally raised at the expense of the Freemen of the town, but whether by voluntary contribution or levy is uncertain. The Town Hall was most of it taken down by the inhabitants at the instigation of the Royalists about the year 1644, to prevent the Parliamentarians getting possession of it to make a magasin for their stores. In the following year the remaining part left standing was taken down to the ground.

The present is a large, useful structure, being 105 feet by 24. Its erection was begun, and the stone arches completed, in the summer of 1650, after the violence of the Civil War had

51. According to Bellett's *Antiquities of Bridgnorth*, p. 147, the old Town Hall stood outside the North Gate, on the site of the old Poor House. There was, however, another public building in High Street known as the "New House" and this is sometimes referred to as the "Town Hall"; it stood on "propps and standardes" near the High Cross and close to the site of the present Town Hall. High Street was then at least half as wide again as it is now. A large public room above the North Gate, known as the "Burgesses' Hall", was also sometimes called the "Town Hall".

abated. The timber framing and other work above the arches was set up and completed in July and August, 1652.[52] The upper part of this edifice is divided into three rooms, the one spacious, being 80 feet by 23, in which the Bailiffs are chosen, where they sit upon the election of Members to be returned for this borough in Parliament, as also upon all public occasions, and the Assizes for this County have been frequently held therein. The other two are small rooms: the one is used on Court days and on less important matters, being generally called the "Council Chamber", and the other occasionally for stores of provision at the feasts and other times.

In 1680 the corporate body set up a new clock in this Hall with a dial-plate at each end, which was made by Joseph Higgons at a charge of £8. About the year 1725 they were at the expense of setting up in the large room the Sovereign's arms,[53] drawn by Thomas Barney, limner, when the Bailiffs presented him with the freedom of the Borough.

In 5 Henry V., 1418, the King's Justices held the Assizes in this place (i.e., of course, in a former building near this site) and tried a "suit outlaw" regarding lands in the township of Asterhill (?), parish of Worfield, over which they had no jurisdiction but by consent of parties.

In 8 Henry VI., 1430, the Assizes were again held here, when one Galfry Bendy was condemned and hanged, and divers of his goods, being waived, were possessed by one Thomas Joukes.

One of the Assizes was removed to this place, and held in this Hall, in 1667, and again in 1674. In 1727, the Judges of Assize being refused the usual compliments from the Mayor and Corporation of Shrewsbury—or rather the innkeepers and others objected to furnish the accustomed contribution towards the entertainment of the Judges—the following Assizes were removed here, Sir Whitmore Acton, of Aldenham, being the High Sheriff. The Summer Assizes of 1729 were again held here

52. Outside the Town Hall, above the central window of the south end, is the contemporary inscription :— "THOMAS BURNE / ROGER TAYLOR / ANo DOM. 1652". These were the Bailiffs, 1651-'2.

53. These arms of George I., framed and painted on a large canvas, still hang upon the north wall, above the dais. The design is hardly discernible, having become blackened by age.

before Judges Probyn and Pryce, the commission-day being 31 July when the Judges arrived—the Bailiffs having been at considerable expense in erecting the *Crown* and *Nisi Prius* courts, and for ceiling and whitewashing this Hall and making other conveniences for the reception of the Judges, and in putting up the cupola and clock. At these Assizes Mr. Justice Pryce condemned three criminals, two of the name of Davies and a soldier, for breaking into a house at Upper Arceley (? Alveley), and (they) were executed upon a gallows erected in a dingle upon the late Common of Morfe to the north-east of St. James', which to this day goes by the name of the "Gallows Dingle", being enclosed in 1808.[54] Eight other prisoners were condemned but reprieved, five of whom were ordered for transportation by Thomas Whitmore, Esq., to whom it (i.e. the dingle) belongs and is occupied by his tenant, William Pratt. Their being held here was due to a difference between the Judges and the Corporation of Shrewsbury as to the maintenance of their lordships' horses, altho' they had then an additional salary of £500 *per annum*, each, to prevent their being burdensome to the inhabitants of the several places where they held the Assizes.

The Lent Assizes were held here before Judges Denton and Reynolds and ended 29 March, when two were burned in the hand,[55] the one for stealing coal. The Assizes were removed to Shrewsbury in March, 1730. The Summer Assizes were removed to this place in 1732, Sir Rowland Hill, of Hawkestone, Bart., being then Sheriff. The Summer Assizes were also held here in 1733, 1735, 1736, 1738 and 1739. The commission-day for the latter (Assizes, i.e. those of 1738) being held on Monday 24 July, Adam Ottley, Esq., of Pitchford, then Sheriff, and Daniel Seeley and Edmund Joy of this town being then Bailiffs. This was in the time of Sir Wm. Lee, Chief Justice of the court

54. The Act for inclosing the lands comprising the Common of Morfe received the Royal Assent 5, May, 1806.

55. The records of the town show that, in the 16th century, among the articles which were formally handed over every year to the incoming Bailiffs, was "a markyng yron for to brand a Convict Clerke". Any person convicted of a felony could claim exemption from punishment if he or she could read aloud the first verse of the fifty-first Psalm. If successful in doing this, they were branded on the ball of the right thumb, and released as "Convict Clerks". This "Benefit of Clergy" was abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1827.

of King's Bench, and it should seem that a cause was then depending between Henry Sprott, Esq., ptf., and Henry Rainsford, attorney-at-law, deft. The following are the names of gentlemen in this neighbourhood inserted in the *distringas juratorum* in the same cause, viz., John Yates of Ludstone, Wm. Sansiom of Astley, Jos. Yates of Shipley, Edwd. Stedman of Aston, Jn. Oldbury of Erdington, Humphrey Jasper of Oldbury, etc.

This being (almost) the last time the Assizes were removed to this town, an anecdote is handed down commemorating the event, and thus related:— One of the Judges arriving here on Saturday, when the market for this town is invariably held, and previous to the commission-day, taking his walk in the evening and coming up to a butcher's stall [now an heel-maker's shop in the High Street, late held by Ann Foxall, widow, and used to keep the weights for the weighing-machine] was introduced to the gentleman of the cleaver himself [Mr. Joy, then Low Bailiff, a plain honest home-bred man, little acquainted with letters, much less of politeness and the general way of expression attendant in the higher circles of life] when the Judge addressed him under the appellation of his office, and asked if he had had a good market. The Bailiff answered in the affirmative, and that so good (had it been that) he had not kept a joint for his Sunday's dinner, when his lordship very politely requested he would dine with him on that day at the Crown Inn. He accepted the invitation, considering very properly that he was highly honoured by so much respect being paid him. He accordingly went and took his dinner with the Judge—not in the same dilemma as the farmer who went to London to pay the esquire his rent! The pleasant hour of dinner passed over agreeably. Among the various articles was an excellent salad; he, having supplied his plate pretty freely, turned round to the waiter calling—"Sirry, bring me some souring to my worts." The novelty of the expression could not but appear ludicrous to the Judge, who laughed heartily.[56]

56. It is remarkable that so trivial an anecdote should have survived for nearly a century, and also that Hardwicke should have thought it worth recounting.

On 21 April, 1767, John Scott Haines was hung in chains upon the level of the coppy-foot on Morfe, between St. James' and Daneford,[57] for attempting to take away the life of Joseph Boat, a taylor who resided in West Castle Street, by cutting his throat nearly from ear to ear, leaving him apparently dying. But the man's wound being sowed up he soon recovered and lived many years after.

(The notes end abruptly here.)

57. This was, I believe, the last execution in Bridgnorth. As sentence of death can be passed only by a Judge of Assize, and as the last Assizes to be held in Bridgnorth were in 1739, this man was probably tried and convicted at Shrewsbury. The site of the gallows for his execution was doubtless the second field on the right, after leaving the Stourbridge Road, on the Old Quatford Road: it is marked "Gallows Field" in the Ordnance Survey Maps. Executions in public were abolished in 1868.

LUDFORD.

BY HENRY T. WEYMAN, F.S.A.

Ludford has escaped the notice of many of those who have written on the topography of the neighbourhood, because it was, until recent times, partly in Shropshire and partly in Herefordshire, the two parts being divided by the River Teme. Thus the Dean of Norwich, when he wrote his great book on the Churches of Shropshire, omitted Ludford, because it was then in the County of Hereford, while the Royal Commission brought out their Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire in 1934, they left out any reference to Ludford, because it had then ceased to be in the County of Hereford. Ludford owes its name "Leode Ford" the ford of the people, to the old ford at the bottom of Holdgate Fee which afforded, in very old days, the only access from one part of the parish to the other part, but long ago this was found to be inconvenient, and at times impassable and dangerous, and so long ago as the beginning of the 13th century, before 1220, Ludford Bridge was built. There is no doubt that the bridge which was built in those early days still survives and is, in its foundations and core, the same bridge as we see to-day. The bridge is first mentioned in the Charter of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity St. Mary and St. John, which formerly stood on the east side of Lower Broad Street, Ludlow, and of which an old arch, exactly opposite to the old bridge, is the sole remains of a once very flourishing religious house. That Charter describes the Hospital as standing close to the Bridge of Temede as the old bridge was then called. The Hospital is not the subject of this paper, but it was, in old days, so intimately associated with the history of Ludford, that some account of it necessarily appears in this account of the Parish across the river. A confirmation of the Hospital was found in the wall of an old house in Ludlow, and is now in the possession of the writer.

Ludford, at the beginning of things, which may be taken for the purposes of this paper as Domesday Book, was in the Honour of Richards Castle, which was then held by Osborne fitz Richard whose father, Richard Scrob, was the builder of

that Castle in about 1050, which gives its name to Richards Castle. Osborne fitz Richard's son, Hugh fitz Osborne, transmitted it to his son, who married a de Say. Enough has been said about the Chief Lords of the Honour, but it is of interest to note that Ludford, so close to Ludlow and its great Castle, never became part of the Manor of Ludlow, nor belonged to the owners of Ludlow and its Castle, the de Lacys, the Verdons, the Genevilles, or the Mortimers. That is a curious fact.

It is perhaps more interesting to deal with Ludford itself, and we find that this was, in very early days, held by a family who took its name from the place, the de Ludfords. The first of the family of whom we have a record, was Pagan de Ludford who was, in 1220, a witness to the Foundation Charter[1] of St. John's Hospital with Lord Walter de Lacy, Sir John de Monemue and others, so that he must even then have been a man of considerable importance. Much of the land with which the Hospital was endowed was situate in Ludford.

The next of the family was a better known man, Jordan de Ludford, who was probably the son of Pagan. In 1243 he was found to have been enfeoffed of a hide of land under a feoffment made by Robert de Mortimer, and therefore before 1220, as Mortimer died in that year. As the quantity represented by a hide of land varied very greatly, it is not possible to say, accurately, how much land Jordan had, but it may be averaged as about 200 acres. For this his service was a fourth of a Knight's fee, again an indefinite amount, but the service was a military service in time of war, and the relief for a Knight's fee in time of peace was round about £5. Ludlow owes a deep debt of gratitude to Jordan de Ludford, for it is from him that Ludlow received the inestimable benefit of the common of Whitcliffe so far as it lies in the parish of Ludford, and quite probably it was at his instigation that the Abbot of Gloucester granted that part of Whitcliffe which lies in the parish of Bromfield. Whitcliffe affords one of the finest open spaces, with most gorgeous views, in the whole Kingdom, and it is to be hoped that future generations will prize it even more than do the people of to-day, and will take care that their rights to Whitcliffe, which they owe to Jordan of Ludford, shall never be parted with or curtailed.

1 Bishop Bothe Register 185 Eyton v. 297

It is so valuable a gift that the writer thinks that it would be wrong if a translation of it were not given in any paper, however scanty and insufficient, relating to Ludford.
Here it is—

> Be it known unto the present and to come that I Jordan of Ludford have given and granted, and by this present writing have confirmed unto Lord Walter Lacy and to all the Burgesses and men of Ludlow, my Common of Pasture upon Whitcliffe, that is to say, as the Dingle stretcheth from the Town of Ludlow unto the Woods as much as I have and so far as it consisteth as well in rough as in smooth. I have also granted unto them free ingress and regress through the same pastures unto other lands where they please so that all the said lands be to them Common in pasture between the said dingle unto the waters of Tenide To have and to hold to them and their heirs of me and my heirs frankly and freely as their predecessors had and more liberally and more freely than at any time they have had for which grant and pasture the aforesaid Walter Lacy and the Burgesses of Ludlow have granted unto me and my heirs and to all the men of my household freely to buy and sell in the Town of Ludlow in fairs and out of fairs without any custom given. They have also given me one hundred shillings for the same grant to be confirmed And I the aforesaid Jordan and my heirs to them and their heirs against all men do warrant and defend the same gift for ever and confirm it with my seal these being witnesses Lord Roger Mortimer, Thomas Salaway, Henry Mortimer, Sampson le Prior, Peter Gross and others.

There is a similar grant of that part of the Common of Whitcliffe which lies in the parish of Bromfield. It is from "Henry by the "Grace of God Abbot and the Convent of St. Peter's Gloucester" and the description of the Common so given is as follows:—

"Common in our pastures of Whitcliffe which appertaineth to "our Priory of Bromfield for their proper Cattle from the ditch "of Jordan of Ludford unto the arable land of Halton and from "the wood of the same Priory unto the water called Temede for "4 pounds of wax yearly at the vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed "Mary at Bromfield for all services to be paid saving to the Prior

"and Monks of Bromfield their stone quarries in the aforesaid "pastures". The owners of Bromfield still exercise their rights in these quarries. One of the witnesses to this grant was Jordan de Ludford himself.

It will be noticed that neither of these grants bears any date but it is fairly easy to date them approximately. The Bromfield grant was by Henry Abbot of Gloucester. This was Henry Folliot, who was Prior of Bromfield and was only appointed Abbot of Gloucester in 1228 and held the office until 1243. If we surmise, as was probably the case, that the latter grant was made soon after that of Jordan of Ludford, it will be seen that his grant was to Lord Walter de Lacy and the men of Ludlow. Walter de Lacy, the last and possibly the greatest of that noble family, died blind in Ireland in 1241, so that we may fairly assume that both grants were made between 1228 and 1241. It is impossible to over estimate the value of these grants to the Town of Ludlow.

Two other grants are extant of property in Ludford to the Hospital of St. John. They are by one William Falconer (Add. MSS 41296 and 41297 British Museum). They are interesting in many respects, as not only do they include considerable property, but they allude to Brother Adam of St. Giles Ludford and to the Mill way leading to the Mill at Ludford (the Mill on the Ludford side of the River known as Bragg's Mill) to a field opposite to the house of Jordan de Ludford, thus proving that he lived at what is now Ludford House and gives various names such as Ernesway and Boreswaye, not otherwise known. Amongst the witnesses of one of the deeds is Jordan de Ludford himself. Another witness is "William Parson of Ludlow" and as William de Rumilly was Rector of Ludlow in 1224, this enables us to date in that year the deed which is otherwise undated, and this agrees with the approximate date of Jordan de Ludford's own grant. Both these deeds have perfect seals. They are too long to be given in full.

We do not know the date of the death of Jordan de Ludford, as no inquisition after his death as to his property survives.

He was succeeded by John Lord of Ludford (probably his son) who lived in the reign of King Henry III (1216-1272). This

Lord of Ludford, by a grant which is still extant but undated, gave to "God and the blessed Mary and the brethren of the Hospital of Ludlow by the bridge of Teme for the souls of his ancestors and successors all the lands and woods which William son of Nicholas son of Andrew granted to them in alms and all the lands which Roger Yonge and Nicholas son of Roger granted to the same." Again there is no date, but some of the witnesses such as Nicholas son of Andrew, Richard Lord of Overton were alive in the last half of the 13th century. There was another grant by John Lord of Ludford, also in the reign of Henry III, when he granted to Richard del Boyes Lord of Sheet part of the water of Teme.

The last of the male members of the family appears to have been Thomas of Ludford, probably the son of John, who was dead in 1324 when there was official confirmation of various grants to St. John's Hospital, among which was one by Juliana, late wife of Thomas of Ludford.

Thomas de Ludford was, in 1307, one of an important Jury empanelled to enquire into the responsibility of Bishop Swinfield for a murder which took place in his road at Brenkesty in 1294. The jury found that the road in question was wide enough to satisfy and consequently the charge against the Bishop was dismissed.

The Patent Rolls of 18 Edward II (1324) contain the confirmation to St. John's Hospital of a license by Juliana late wife of Thomas de Ludford to make and extend their gorce (i.e. weir) in the water of Temede above the bridge.

Thomas de Ludford appears to have left two daughters, one was Johanna, the wife of Howell Vachan (Vaughan) and the other Alice wife of Nicholas de Rowton, and the manor of Ludford and the property there were divided between the two ladies.

In 1330 Howell Vaughan and Johanna his wife granted and confirmed to the Prior and Brethren of St. John the Baptists Hospital in Ludlow All their lands tenements and rents mills and pools in Ludford to the intent that the Hospital should possess and enjoy them.

In the next year Howell Vaughan and his wife described as Lord of half of the whole Lordship of the Manor of Ludford,

granted and confirmed to John de Orleton Burgess of Ludlow and Agnes his wife half of the whole Lordship and Manor of Ludford and half of the whole Wood of Ludford and half of the whole Mill of Ludford, and the reversion of half the whole land which Alice who was the wife of Nicholas de Rowton holds in Ludford by name of dowry together with a pound of cummin and half a pound of pepper together with certain rents which were named. There were the usual witnesses to this deed, which was dated at Ludford on the Monday after the Feast of St. Peter ad vincula in the 5th year of Edward III. The writer cannot explain this grant, which seems to conflict with the grant to the Hospital before mentioned.

In the same year Howell Vaughan and his wife made a further grant of the half of the Manor of Ludford and other properties to John de Orleton and his wife of the other moiety of the Manor, to which Alice de Rowton was entitled, to take effect after the latter's death, so that (subject to Alice de Rowton's life interest) the whole Manor of Ludford became vested in John de Orleton and his wife, though the actual properties of Howell Vaughan and wife had passed to the Hospital of St. John.

To further complicate the matter, there was in 29 Edward III (1356) a grant by Thomas Thorlenynd and Joan his wife of half the Manor to three Chaplains, for which the latter paid 20 marks. Possibly these Chaplains were nominees of the Hospital.

Four years later, in 1360, three other Chaplains bought for 40 marks from Roger son of Simon de Sheet and Agnes his wife a house and 40 acres of land in Ludford, but there is no explanation of this deed given. It is quite possible that these two purchases were made on behalf of St. John's Hospital.

However this may be, it is quite certain that about this time the Hospital of St. John obtained the whole of the Manor of Ludford. Much land there, including the Mill, passed into the possession of the Hospital of St. John and remained there in their dead hand until the middle of the 16th century, when at the suppression of the Religious Houses, they once again passed into lay hands. It may be mentioned here that in old days and down to comparatively modern times, the Mill of the

Lord of the Manor was a valuable concern, as all the tenants of the Manor (practically all the inhabitants) were bound to have their corn ground in the Lord's Mill, a very paying proposition. Such was Bragg's Mill in Ludford.

As the Manor and lands were for 200 years or thereabouts the possession of the Hospital of St. John, it will be well to say a few words about that Hospital.

The Hospital of St. John St. Mary and the Holy Trinity (to give it its full title) was founded by Peter Undergod in the year 1220, and the Founder also became the first Warden or Custos. It was situate on the east side of Lower Broad Street, Ludlow, on the field which still goes by the name of St. John's Close. It was opposite the north end of Ludford Bridge, then generally called Teme Bridge, and the one arch still standing opposite the Bridge is the only relic now left of what was a flourishing and wealthy Religious House in the 14th and 15th centuries. It was not a Hospital in the modern sense of that word, namely a house in which the sick and suffering were treated, but a house where the religious brethren received the poor and infirm and travellers, and ministered to their necessities. Not only was there a house for the Brethren and for those whom they received, but there was a Church of considerable size and importance, which survived not only to the Suppression, but until the first quarter of the 17th century. There are many records of gifts to the Hospital, such as by Henry de Dorelkeye in 1330, a gift by William de Pyrefield in 1348 "to the work of "the Church of the Hospital of St. John" by Piers Beampie (M.P. for Ludlow and Recorder of the Borough in 1480) "to the "fabric of the Church of St. John" Amicia Ferror in 1413, by William Russell in 1519, and by William Foxe in 1564. In 1461 on the accession of Edward IV to the throne there was a grant to the Prior and Brethren "in consideration of depredations "suffered from certain rebels in the company of Henry VI and for "relief to the Hospital of free tenure of all their possessions in "the Manors of Ludlow Ludford Sheet Hawkebatch and Overton". As this is not a history of the Hospital, but an attempt to deal with Ludford, probably enough has been said of the former, though very much more might be said, but it is hoped that this

will be dealt with shortly by a more expert writer in the Victoria History of Shropshire.

In 1536 upon the suppression of Religious Houses generally, the then Warden and Brethren of the Hospital, in view of worse happenings granted "in consideration of a certain sum of money" the House and Hospital and all its possessions to William Foxe and his eldest son Edmund Foxe, and this grant was confirmed in the next year, 1537. Certain pensions were to be paid to the dispossessed brethren during their lives, and there is evidence that these were duly paid. It is stated that the Hospital was granted to the Earl of Warwick, and by him sold to the Foxes, and this may be so, but the grant by the Prior and Brethren is unquestionable, and it was duly confirmed.

Mr. Thomas Wright, in his History of Ludlow (1852) says that the Hospital was served by Friars of the Order of St. Augustine, but the better opinion seems to be that though the Brethren followed the Augustinian Order, they were non-members of the Order. It must not be forgotten that at a somewhat later date the Austen Friars built their House Church etc. in the old Smithfield, not many yards away.

There is, in the Register of Bishop Stanbury in 1458, a very interesting entry which is as follows—"Richard Duke of "York as Patron of the Free Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene "within Ludlow Castle considering the poverty of St. John's "Hospital Ludlow unites the Chapel to the Hospital, one of the "Chaplains to say Mass in the Chapel on Sunday Monday Tuesday "Thursday and Saturday and to say Mass on Wednesday and "Friday in St. Peter's Chapel in the outer ward for his soul and " the soul of Cecily his wife" etc. The latter part of this quotation is borne out by a statement in the Chantry Certificate of 1536, which, speaking of St. John's Hospital, says—

The said Hospital is no Parish Church neither founded within any Parish Church, but the Master or Warden and Brethren ought it is said to discharge the Cure and say Divine service of and in the King's Chapel of St. Peter within the Castle of Ludlow. It must be remembered that the Chapel of St. Peter is not the round Church in the Inner Green (that is St. Mary Magdalene) but was a Chapel in the Outer Green opposite to the present entrance to the Inner Green.

The Chantry Certificate tells us that the Hospital comprised a Master and two Brethren, and divers poor people, the yearly salary of the Warden being £6, the stipends of two Priests £9.19.8. there were Alms to poor people, and that the whole revenue was £63 besides the Hospital itself. It is an interesting certificate.

There appears to have been a question whether the Hospital was a purely religious house, or a Hospital alone, in which curious statements were made. Sir Edward Croft of Croft, testified that he had known it as a Hospital for over 50 years. He said that the habit of the Brethren was a cape of sad colour with a hood down the back with a cross upon the breast, and that the colour of the habit was murrey (dark red) and blue—not very sad colours, but the colours may refer to the cross, and not to the clothes.

The ownership of Ludford and of St. John's Hospital opens out a new Chapter in the history of Ludford, and brings us on to safer ground. The Foxes were a family who acquired great possessions through the suppression of the Monastic House, and by holding great offices in the Court of the Marches of Wales. William Foxe himself was the grandson of Roger Foxe, the first Recorder of Ludlow in 1461, and married a Ludlow heiress Jane, daughter of Richard Downe. He lived at St. John's Hospital, which he evidently turned into a private residence, and in the Shropshire Visitation he is described as of St. John's, Ludlow. Ludford House was the residence of his son Edmund, who predeceased his father, and after his son's death of his grandson Edward, who lived to a good old age, and died about 1630.

William Foxe, who acquired a good deal of other property after the Dissolution, evidently felt the calls of Charity pressing upon him, as he rebuilt the Ludford Almshouses, which shall be dealt with later. He also added the North transept to Ludford Church to form a burial place for his family. William Foxe, who was M.P. for Ludlow in at least three Parliaments 1523-1524 was an Alderman of the Borough and Bailiff for two years. He was buried in Ludford Church, where there is a fine Brass to his memory and that of his wife. She founded an Obit in Ludlow Church, and was very careful of the interests of Ludford and its

Almshouses, of which she made in her Will this declaration—

> "Where by virtue of the purchase of the late house and "hospital of St. John's and the lands thereto belonging "pretence hath been made to the Lazar house of St. Giles "in Ludford and to the lands thereunto belonging I do "testify and declare as far as my knowledge extendeth "that the same is not any part of the same purchase nor "meant to have been within the same but that the said "lazar house and the lands belonging thereto ought to be "and to remain to the poor people therein being and to "their successors".

It is fairly safe to assume that the Lazar house of Ludford, "the leper house" is represented by the Ludford Almshouse, though of course it may have been in a portion of Ludford House (St. Giles's House) itself. Leprosy had practically disappeared in England long before Mrs. Foxe's day, probably a century earlier. It may be convenient to deal with the Almshouses now. They were rebuilt by Sir Job Charlton during his ownership of Ludford (1650-1690 approximately) and fortunately still remain. The inmates were at one time a Corporation by the name of "The Warden and Poor of the Corporation of Ludford" and are so described by Sir Job Charlton in his Will. The Warden has disappeared, and so has the Corporation, but the property still remains, and the Inmates still continue to receive benefactions therefrom.

In still dealing with Ludford Almshouses, it is necessary to note several benefits conferred on them by William Foxe and his wife, principally the latter. In 1554 she gave a house etc. worth 23/4d a year to the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Ludlow, on condition of their having certain masses said for the souls of her father and mother, her husband and herself, and to making certain payments for the poor in St. Giles' Almshouse, and she added this wise provision that if in the future the masses should be made illegal, then the whole to go to the Almspersons. In 1558/9 she made another gift to the Bailiffs of Ludlow to provide an obit for her husband and herself and her parents, and she added this further clause:— "The Bailiffs to retain 12 pence of the gift and to bestow the same in a drinking with such of the

Brethren at an anniversary and if same not kept the aforesaid sums to be distributed on the even of the feast of the Nativity between the poor men and women in the Almshouse of St. Giles".

It was no doubt in connection with William Foxe's earlier gifts that we find in the Palmers' Gild accounts for 4 Edward VI (1550/1) the following entries.—

Payments for Holy Loaves with Charity money for this quarter :—

To the Priest in bread for 2 Holy Loaves half for the Poor.	20d.
To the Poor People of St. Jelyes (St. Giles) for 2½ loaves 2d per loaf	5d
Paid Mr. Parson for 4 Holy loaves due to him	2/8d
To St. Giles poor people for 4 Holy Loaves	8d
To Mr. Parson for 2 Holy Loaves due on Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday	16d
To St. Giles' people for charity	4d
For one Holy Loaf due on 27th April to the Parson and St. Jelyes people	10d
To 2 Holy Loaves due on 26th July on Harpers House	10
For Jeffrey's House	10
For Pooles House	10
For Richard Walker's house	10
For Lewis Capper's house	10

(so that there were then five Almshouses.)

1. Edward VI Paid to the Poor People of St. Jelyes for 24 Holy loaves 2d a piece	4/-
To Mr. Parson for his due	4/-
1557. Paid to Ludford for Mr. Foxe's obit on the Annunciation day of our Lady	3/4d
Paid for obit of Mrs. Foxe and Mrs. Downe at St. John's tide	10/6d

In the Bailiffs of Ludlow account for 1631 and 1633 (It must be noted that the Palmers Gild property had been granted to the Baillifs of Ludlow)

Paid Almshouse of Ludford Mrs. Jane Downe's gift	9/4

and there are similar entries in 1674 and 1696.

One other bequest by Mrs. Jane Foxe's Will dated January 1564 must be noted in connection with Ludford. She directed that her son Edward Foxe "any time he shall inhabit at St. John's "and after him my said husband's heirs then inhabiting shall "have the use and custody of my Chalice ornaments and Chapel "Staff now used in the Chapel of St. John's for divine service "there to remain in their hands during divine service there and "if the administration of Sacraments shall be there decayed the "said Chalice and ornaments to go for the Chapel of Ludford". What became, we wonder, of the Chalice? If it had survived for Ludford to-day what would it have been worth? There are not a great many pre-reformation Chalices extant in England to-day.

There is one distinguished member of the Foxe family whom it is difficult to leave out of any mention of the family, though he has not much to do with Ludford. This was Charles Foxe, the second son of William Foxe, the founder of the family. Charles Foxe was the well known Secretary of the Court of the Marches, a by no means unremunerative office in those days. He was also a member of the Court, a member of the Inner Temple, M.P. for Ludlow in five Parliaments, and for Much Wenlock from 1547 to 1553. Charles Foxe profited, like his father, from the suppression of the Religious Houses, and obtained a grant of the Priory of Bromfield (of which the Church of Ludford was a Chapel) and its great possessions. Mr. Foxe took up his residence in Bromfield Priory, only a few walls of which, contiguous to the Church, remain. Ludlow owes to Charles Foxe the foundation of the Foxe Almshouses in Corve Street, Ludlow, which are still the home of four poor married couples, and which is probably founded because he obtained a grant of the White Friars House closely adjoining, and the Chapel of St. Leonard there. He died in 1590.

We have seen that Ludford passed to Edward Foxe, grandson of William Foxe, and it was sold by him, but the date of the sale is a little uncertain. In some of the printed accounts of Ludford, Edward Foxe is said to have sold Ludford in 1607 to Bonham Norton and his brother John. The Close roll of that year gives an interesting statement as to what the Ludford estate then consisted of. It is there described as "The Manor

"of Ludford with St. Giles's House, the Manor of Rock, the "Common called Whitcliffe in Ludford, the Common called the "Rocks Green, a messuage of the sign of The Crown in Ludlow "and other property". This deed was probably not a grant, but a mortgage to the Nortons, as they were wealthy people. Bonham Norton was King's Printer and Edward Foxe was quite certainly in serious financial difficulties, possibly owing to the claims of a large family of over 20 children. Mr. Foxe was in possession of Ludford for some years after 1607.

There are, in the writer's possession, chirographs of fines in the 13th year of Charles I (c.1638) of an evident sale by Edward Foxe the son of the then deceased Edward Foxe and John Popham and Mary his wife (probably the then Mortgagees) to Robert Charlton and Job Charlton of the Manor of Ludford for £500, so that here, at all events, ends the Foxe ownership of Ludford, and a new chapter in its History begins. The property was never again sold until it was sold by Captain Reginald Parkinson to Mr. Henry Ernest Whitaker, the present owner, in 1920.

Robert Charlton and his son Job (afterwards Sir Job Charlton Bart.) bought Whitton Court about the same time as Ludford, and upon that purchase Robert Charlton elected to reside at Whitton Court, leaving Ludford for his son Job, who lived there until his death in 1697.

Robert Charlton took the cause of the King in the Civil Wars, and suffered in consequence, but as he never lived at Ludford, his career does not enter into the history of Ludford.

The Ludford estate was settled upon his son Job on the marriage of the latter with Dorothy Blunden at Ludlow Parish Church on the 31st March 1646. The bride was the only child and heiress of William Blunden of Blunden Hall, Bishops Castle, who was M.P. for that Borough in the Parliament of 1625-6. Job Charlton was one of the most distinguished men of his time, but as his career is a matter of history, a very brief summary of it will suffice. He was born in 1614, took his degree of B.A. at Oxford in 1632, went to the Bar, and succeeded so well in his profession that he attained the degree of Sergeant at law in 1660, and was appointed Chief Justice of Chester in 1662. This

latter appointment, which made him the head of the Judicial Bench in the Marches of Wales and a very important member of the Council of the Marches, would be very acceptable to Sir Job (he was knighted upon his appointment) as the chief seat of the Court was at Ludlow. Not only was he close to his own home, but his importance would be brought home to his neighbours in a Country to which he had come as a stranger only a few years before. Sir Job retained this office until 1680, when he found it politic to retire in favour of the notorious Judge Jeffreys, who coveted the position. The retiring Judge was compensated by being appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, a post which he held until 1686, when he was dismissed by the King, James II, for giving judgment against his Majesty's dispensing power. Sir Job is said to have entertained his Sovereign at Ludford in this same year, 1686, when the King visited Ludlow, but not only do the circumstances in which he was dismissed make this very unlikely, but it is open to question on other grounds, as it is practically certain that the King took up his quarters in Ludlow Castle, which had been recently put in order for the Duke of Beaufort on his progress through the Welsh Marches as Lord President of the Council of the Marches. Sir Job, however, was made a Baronet, and regained the Chief Justiceship of Chester, and held it for some years. Sir Job's career was not confined to the law, as he was M.P. for the Borough of Ludlow from 1659 to 1678 and during the time he represented the Borough was, for a short time (in 1673) Speaker of the House of Commons, receiving a pension of £1000 a year upon his retirement. He was closely associated with the municipal life of Ludlow, being an Alderman for many years, and Recorder from 1659 to 1678. Sir Job Charlton died on the 24th May 1697 aged 83, and was buried in the Charlton Chapel in Ludford Church, where there is a fine monument to his memory.

Upon his death, the Ludford estate devolved upon his eldest son, Sir Francis who had, up to this time, made his home at Whitton Court, but now came to live at Ludford

Sir Job Charlton, following the example of William Foxe, not only rebuilt the Ludford Almshouses, leaving them very much as we find them to-day, but he also established strict

ordinances for the future management of the establishment. He directed that there should be six Almspersons who had laboured for their living as long as they were able to do so, of good reputation, one of whom should be the Warden, to whom an extra sixth of the income available should be paid, and that they should have a corporate name and seal. This latter provision as to the Warden, name, and seal, had ceased to exist when the report of the Royal Commission was made a century ago. He further confided the welfare of the Almshouses to his son, Sir Francis, and directed that the appointment of the inmates should rest with his heirs so long as there were any, and after that, with the Parson and Churchwardens of Ludford, the Bailiffs of Ludlow and their successors, with the advice of the Parson of Ludlow. Ludford owes much to Sir Job. The property consisted of lands at Ludford and Overton (some of which have been exchanged) and a farm at Colebatch in the parish of Bishops Castle with an allotment of common land to it.

Sir Francis Charlton, who was born in 1651 and, like his Father, went to the Bar, was also intimately connected with the Borough of Ludlow. He was M.P. for the Borough in three Parliaments from 1679-1685, and was Mayor of the Borough in 1689. He was resident at Ludford after his father's death. He was Sheriff of Shropshire in 1699, and of Herefordshire in 1708, and represented Bishops Castle in Parliament from 1685 to 1687. Sir Francis died on 2nd April 1729, and was buried at Ludford, being succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir Blunden Charlton.

Upon the death of Sir Blunden Charlton in 1742 December, the Ludford estate passed to his son and successor, Sir Francis, the last Baronet, who held it until his death at the age of 83 on the 3rd December 1784. Sir Francis died a Bachelor, and by the family settlement (as well as under his Will) his estates (including Ludford) devolved on his nephew Nicholas Lechmere, the eldest son of his sister Elizabeth Charlton, his other brother and sister, Robert Job and Emma, having died without issue. In accordance with a direction in Sir Francis Charlton's Will, Nicholas Lechmere, who was the eldest son of Edmund Lechmere of Hanley Castle and Severn End, Worcestershire, and who also succeeded to his father's estates, took the name of Charlton,

and was thereafter known as Colonel Lechmere Charlton. Col. Lechmere Charlton died on 20th March 1807, and was succeeded in the family estates by his eldest son, Edmund Lechmere Charlton.

A century ago, Mr. Edmund Lechmere Charlton was the most picturesque figure in the neighbourhood of Ludlow. He was the stormy petrel of politics, at one time an ardent supporter of the Clives in the representation of the old Parliamentary Borough, at another time their bitter opponent, now an ardent Tory, then an equally strong supporter of a Radical, all things at some time, but nothing long. He was called to the Bar, was High Bailiff of Ludlow in 1833, and was M.P. for the Borough from 1835 to 1837, having been defeated in the election of 1826, and having withdrawn his candidature in 1830. He again came forward as a Tory in 1837, but retired at the last moment under circumstances which excited strong resentment in his party, but in 1839 he supported the Radical candidate, who is said to have paid off the mortgages on the Ludford Estate. Mr. Lechmere Charlton was a patron of the prize ring, and is said to have fought one of the last duels in England. He was a strong supporter of the Turf, owned some very good horses, and won races not only at local meetings, but on some of the principal race courses in the Country. Probably the most notable event in Edmund Lechmere Charlton's life occurred in 1837 when, being M.P. for Ludlow, he was Counsel in an application to the Court of Chancery for the appointment of Trustees of the Ludlow Municipal Charities. In the course of these proceedings, he was so injudicious as to write a threatening letter to Master Brougham, before whom the case was being brought, and subsequently, to use very insulting language to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cottenham, who was not the man to stand Mr. Charlton's insolence. Disregarding a summons to appear before the Lord Chancellor to answer for his contempt he was, in 1836, November, committed to the Fleet Prison. Mr. Charlton escaped arrest until February 1837, and is said to have hid himself meanwhile in Whitcliffe Woods. After his arrest, he complained that it was a breach of his privilege as a Member of the House of Commons. The matter was referred by the House to a Committee, who reported that no privilege attached to imprisonment for contempt of Court, thus establishing a precedent which has been

acted on, it is believed, ever since. Mr. Charlton remained in prison for three weeks, and was only released after two Petitions to the Lord Chancellor. Mr. Lechmere Charlton, who ran through most of his property, died on the 17th April 1846, and was buried at Ludford.

Upon Edmund Lechmere Charlton's death, the Ludford estates, or what was left of them, devolved on his brother, Francis Charlton, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, who resided at Ludford House. He died a Bachelor on 2nd May 1857, and was buried at Ludford. The estates then passed under the old Settlement to John Lechmere, who cut off the old entail. He, by his Will, left the estate to his sister Elizabeth Munro for her life, and after her death to his nephew John Lechmere Merrick Parkinson and his issue, but failing issue, to the latter's brothers Leonard Parkinson and Reginald James Beresford Parkinson in succession.

John Lechmere died in 1867, and Mrs. Munro in the same year, when John Lechmere Merrick Parkinson came into the ownership of the estate. It was during his ownership that the Ludford Riot occurred. In 1879 Mr. Parkinson, who was in residence at Ludford House, put up a fence which shut off the path leading across Hackluit's Close (the plot of ground opposite Ludford House) which, it was alleged, was part of Whitcliffe Common. This gave great umbrage to the people of Ludlow, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants gathered there on a night in July of that year, pulled down the fence, and burnt the fence surrounding the Close. Some twelve of those assembled were charged with riot and unlawful assembly, and were tried before Mr. Justice Hawkins at the next Hereford Assizes on those charges. The case was fully tried, and was not finished (except the Judge's summing up) until nearly midnight on a Saturday night. The Judge made strong comment on bail not being forthcoming for the prisoners, their friends having gone home by the last available train. Mr. Parkinson retrieved the situation by himself undertaking for their appearance on the Monday. Ten of them were found guilty of unlawful assembly and were, on Mr. Parkinson pleading for leniency, bound over to appear at the next Assizes for sentence, which they did. They were then bound over to keep the peace, and the matter ended.

Mr. J. L. M. Parkinson died in 1889 and was succeeded by his brother Leonard, who did not live long to enjoy the estates, (he died in 1890) which devolved on his Brother Captain Reginald James Beresford Parkinson, who sold the estates to Mr. Henry Ernest Whitaker, the present owner, in 1920.

The one great historical event with which the name of Ludford is associated, the Rout of Ludford, took place in 1459 October, and was one which involved the destiny of this Kingdom. Richard Duke of York, the then owner of Ludlow Castle, had claimed the Crown of England, and was in arms against his Sovereign, Henry VI. He was in residence at Ludlow Castle with the Duchess and his whole family, and with him were the Earl of Salisbury, and the latter's son, the Earl of Warwick (Warwick the King maker). He had only a comparatively small force then, it is said not more than 5,000 men. Henry VI was at Worcester, where he had mustered a large army, it is said 30,000 men. Shewing for once in his reign great energy and determination, the King advanced to Ludlow, disregarding the overtures made to him by the Duke, and on October 12th he arrived at Ludford. At nightfall, only the River Teme, which was in flood, separated the rival armies, and a battle on the morrow seemed to be inevitable, and considering the great disproportion of the armies, the result could hardly be in doubt. Night fell, and during the night Sir Andrew Trollope, one of Warwick's trusted soldiers who had accompanied the Earl from Calais, deserted to the enemy with about 600 men, probably induced to do so by the scattering amongst the Yorkists of the King's proclamation offering pardon to all who surrendered. This defection made the cause of the Yorkists hopeless, and they accepted the position. They scattered, and the great leaders sought refuge in flight. The Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Duke of York, and his eldest son Edward Earl of March, and his second son, accompanied only by Sir John Dynham and two retainers, went off in a party, but they found pursuit so close that they had to separate, the Duke of York and his younger son making their escape through Wales to the coast, where they found a boat, and arrived safely at the Duke's Government in Ireland.

The other party had a very adventurous journey. They

had a long ride through Herefordshire and Gloucestershire to Somersetshire, where they reached the Bristol Channel. There they bought a boat for two hundred marks, the full amount of their combined resources, and this principally found by Sir John Dynham. There (probably at or near Barnstaple) the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and the young Earl of March, hired some sailors, not disclosing their destination, which was Calais. When the party went down the Severn to the sea, the Master Mariner either would not or could not sail the boat to Calais, saying that he had never been round the Land's End. This was a blow, but the difficulty was solved by Warwick the Kingmaker, who had not sailed the seas before for nothing, and who now took the tiller, and himself brought the boat safely to Guernsey, and thence to Calais, which was held for Warwick by Lord Fauconberg. That boat carried England and its fortunes indeed, for before two years had elapsed Edward, the young Earl of March, York's eldest son, ascended the throne of England as its King as Edward IV, and ruled over the Kingdom (except for a brief interval) for 22 years. He was only 19 at the rout of Ludford, and only 21 when he led his army from Wigmore Castle to fight and win the Battle of Mortimers Cross. As a result of the Rout of Ludford, Ludlow fell into the hands of the King, the Town was sacked, the North wall of the Castle keep was pulled down, and a bad day for Ludlow was experienced.

LUDFORD CHURCH.

Ludford Church was, up to the Dissolution of the Monastic Houses, a mere Chapelry of Bromfield, and was served by a Chaplain, and not as an independent Vicarage. It remained in that condition after the dissolution, and when an incumbent was appointed, it was to a perpetual curacy, and so it has remained almost to the present day. The Church itself was almost certainly a Norman foundation, but very little of the original Church survives to-day in situ. The West wall of the Church, with its one original window, is probably part of the original Church, but against this a tower was built in the 15th or 16th century, possibly as a buttress to support the wall, and perhaps the Church itself. The South wall of the Nave has evidently been rebuilt, and the North wall was reconstructed when William Foxe added the

North chapel partly as a burial place for himself and his family, as the very fine memorial brass testifies. He and his wife Jane were buried there, and so were his son Edmund and his Wife, in an altar tomb which gives their names, but not the date of the death of either, so that probably the tomb was erected in their lifetime, and no one troubled, after their deaths, to add the dates.

The Chancel has been so much repaired and altered that it is very difficult to fix any date for it, but it is certainly not part of the original Church. It contains a 14th century window, and a piscina which now forms the sill of the window, but may be of any date.

There is a Holy Water stoup in the internal wall of the South side of the Nave which, it has been suggested, marks the position of the original South door. This may be so, but its present position is otherwise meaningless. It is probably the original Holy Water stoup, but is not in its original position.

The first actual mention of the Church which the writer has been able to find is in 1274, though the Church, no doubt, dates back at least another century. The mention is in a deed of William, son of Nicholas Andrew and grandson of Geoffrey Andrew, one of the founders of the powerful Palmers Gild of Ludlow, in which William Andrew founds an Obit or Mass for the dead, for his own soul, that of his Father Nicholas, his Mother Agnes, and for the souls of his friends benefactors and all faithful dead, to be said yearly in the Church of St. Lawrence Ludlow. William Andrew provided for the stipend of a Chaplain who was to perform the service by charges of small amounts on various properties belonging to him in and near Ludlow, and among those charges was one on his Grange near the Chapel of Ludford. This may have been a house which then stood on the site of the Bell House, or in the adjoining Ludford Orchard.

In 1424 Bishop Spofford, in deciding a case between Richard Horton, Prior of Bromfield, Rector of Bromfield and the Vicar of Bromfield, held that the Vicar was bound to find a Chaplain to perform divine service in Ludford Church, and he was ordered to do so.

In the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII no return is made of any Tithe or other charge received from Ludford, but it

is stated that a payment of £2 a year was paid to the Chaplain performing divine service in Ludford Church.

The names and dates of the various Clergy who have served the Church of Ludford are, so far as the writer has ascertained, as follows, but the Parochial Registers may supply other names:—

1475 Thomas Smyth. Chaplain in the Church of Ludford.

		Patron.	*Cause.*
1752 July.	Edward Poole, M.A.	Job Charlton of Park.	
1769 Dec.	Charles Bate	John Sinclair of Park.	Cession of Poole.
1770 Dec.	James Vashon Vashon M.A.	James Kinchant	do. Bate.
1776	Francis Kinchant	Sir Francis Charlton	do. Vashon.
1812	Edward Mackenzie Reid Tarpley M.A.	E. L. Charlton	do. Kinchant
1825	John Hind M.A.	do.	do. Tarpley.
1858	Charles Kent B.C.L.	do.	Death of Hind.
1886	Van Tromp Tyrrell Orgill M.A.	J.L.M.Parkinson	do. Kent.
1903	Richard D. Machen, M.A.	R. J. B. Parkinson.	
1908	Bryan Molineux	do.	Cession of Machen.
1924	Leslie V. Morton M.A.		Death of Molineux.
1928	Edward H. Dunkley M.A.		Death of Morton.
1932	George Carver M.A.		Cession of Dunkley.

There is a singular entry in the list of ordinations by Bishop William de Courtenay in 1371 that John Taphole *Rector of Ludford* was ordained a sub Deacon and in the following year a Deacon. So far as the writer has been able to ascertain there never was a Rector of Ludford.

LUDFORD HOUSE.

The wonderful pile of building which constitutes Ludford House rather defies description. It is a very picturesque house seen from anywhere except the main road, which passes it, but looked at from this it is gloomy beyond description.

There is no doubt that there was a Mansion House here when the de Ludfords were Lords of Ludford in the 12th and 13th centuries, but little or nothing remains to-day of the Norman building. It is probable that the foundations of the old house remain, but little, if anything, now exists above ground to tell us that a Norman house ever existed there. It may well be that a little of the lower part of the wall of the ground floor of the part opposite the Church Tower is 12th century work.

Ludford House includes St. Giles's House, and Mr. Thomas Wright, in his History of Ludlow in 1826, says that vestiges of cells in the recollection of old people then alive, with certain mural decorations, warranted the belief that that part of the house adjoining the road was coeval with the building of Ludlow Castle. He says (as is certainly the case) that a religious establishment in old days existed here. These cells have now disappeared, but the cellars of the House point to a very early existence of the religious history of St. Giles's House. Ludford House is now a house of the 15th and 16th centuries with later additions and was, no doubt, in its essential features the house reconstructed by the Foxe family, with additions by the Charltons. The hall still remains, and this we owe to the Foxes, but it was then open to the roof, the upper rooms being added by the Charltons, and it may have been, in its original construction, the hall of William Foxe or his son Edmund. It is a house of great interest, but in many respects a very puzzling one to understand. The rectangle in which the house is built, with its Courtyard, assuredly goes back to William Foxe's days, if not earlier.

There is a very interesting plan of the house by Mr. Baker in the issue of the Builder of 21st June 1902 and he also gives some illustrations of the house as he believed it to have been at the commencement and end of the Foxe era, but these are merely conjectural, and are not easy to fit in with the Mansion as it exists.

to-day. The part adjoining the Churchyard, with its Oratory, is clearly Tudor, but built on masonry (a very thick wall) which is probably much older.

The Charltons undoubtedly made many alterations to the old house to conform to the fashion of their day, and they probably added the rooms which cut off the Hall, and prevented it from being open to the roof, as it was aforetime. Later owners have also made additions to add to their comfort and convenience, and in doing so have hidden or destroyed many of the old features.

STEVENTON.

Steventon is now an inconsiderable township in the parish of Ludford, but at the Domesday Survey it was a separate manor. Mr. Eyton, in his invaluable History of Shropshire, says (Vol. V, page 69) that "Helgot held it of the Earl and is a Freeman. "There is one hide geldable. The lands are sufficient for 4 ox "teams. In demesne there are 4 male and 2 female serfs and "3 Villeins with 2 Teams". It was held by a family named Christian in the 12th century under the Lord of Holdgate. At an Inquisition in 1255 it was held in two moieties by William de Aldenham and Nicholas fitz Andrew. The Andrews were a powerful family in Ludlow at this period, Geoffrey fitz Andrew, a brother of Nicholas, being at the Head of the Palmers' Gild and being mentioned in almost all the Gild records of that time as Gild Alderman. The whole Manor seems to have passed to William Andrew and Nicholas Eylrich, another member of a Ludlow family.

Steventon appears again when in 1462 John Brown conveyed it to Eliza Foxe, the widow of Roger Foxe (the first Recorder of Ludlow) and her son Edmund. The latter died in 1487, and this property passed to his son William Foxe, then a boy of seven years old. This is our friend William Foxe who owned Ludford. He, in 1544, granted Steventon to his son Edmund (M.P. for Ludlow 1541-4) in tail. Edmund died in the lifetime of his father William, leaving a son Edward, born about 1546. This Edward lived to about 1630. His eldest son Edmund died without issue, and Steventon passed to another Edward Foxe, son of William 2nd son of Edward. This Edward married

Ann, daughter of Edward Waties of Burway, who was Recorder of Ludlow, and whose monument still remains in Ludlow Church. Steventon was settled on Edward Foxe and Ann Waties on their marriage. In 1647 Job Charlton (afterwards Sir Job) acquired Steventon and added it to his Ludford estate.

The tithes of Steventon appertained to Bromfield Priory, Ludford Church being only a Chapelry subject to that Priory. Charles Foxe, the Secretary of the Court of the Marches, obtained a grant of them in 1557. Charles Foxe by his Will gave the Steventon Tithes to his son Sir Edward Foxe of Bromfield. The tithes of Steventon, Sheet, and Ledwych passed to his son Somerset, and then to the latter's son, another Somerset Foxe, Col. Somerset Foxe, who had an eventful history, for he was found guilty of participating in a plot to assassinate Oliver Cromwell when Lord Protector but confessing, he escaped the actual execution which befel most of his colleagues. He was transported to the Barbadoes, and is said to have been sold into slavery, but again escaping and returning to England, was elected M.P. for Ludlow in the Parliament of 1669-70. Col. Foxe left the Tithes to his sister Olive Kerry for her life, and then to her son Robert Kerry in tail. The writer can carry it no further.

It was impressed upon the writer very many years ago that the Steventon Manor House was not the fine Steventon farm house, the residence of Mr. John Sanders, but a cottage, or rather, the small part remaining of a house on the opposite side of the road leading to the farmhouse and to the river which has, or had, internal evidence of antiquity, but however this may be, Mr. Sanders may well be proud of a wonderfully fine specimen of a Jacobean house.

ST. MARY'S MANOR.

This Manor, now called Lower Ledwich, was another Domesday Manor in the parish of Ludford, though originally it was in the parish of Bromfield, as indeed was all Ludford for Ecclesiastical purposes. The Manor had existed in Saxon times, and doubtless took its name of St. Mary's from the Mother Church of Bromfield, but at Domesday it had no name. It first had the name of Priest Ledwich, to distinguish it from

Upper Ledwich, which was in the parish of Bitterley, and was called Sheriff's Ledwich. Little history attaches to this Manor.

SHEET.

Ludford contains one other Domesday Manor, namely that of Sheet, though little exists to tell the story of the Manor which, however, goes back to Saxon times.

In the reign of Henry III John Lord of Ludford granted to Richard del Boyes Lord of Sheet part of Water of Teme. In Henry VII's reign (10th year) Margaret Gryme of Sheet demised to Ralph Ashton of Ludlow Milward her Corn or grist Mill called The Sheet Mill on the River of Teme just by the Weeping Cross of Ludlow. This points to the Mill called Day's Mill, the old Paper Mills.

In I Henry IV (1399) William de la Sheet Lord of The Sheet had a special license to assign to Hugh Prior of the Hospital of St. John and the Brethren of the Hospital lands within his Lordship of Sheet extending from via ecclesiastica to Williams' land. No explanation of the situation can be given beyond suggesting that it was the way from the Sheet to Ludford Church.

LUDFORD COURT HOUSE.

In 1541 the commission to deliver the Gaol for the County of Hereford directed that the Assizes for that County (and apparently also for the Counties of Worcester and Gloucester) should be held at Ludford, a singular place for the holding a Court of Assizes which involved the attendance of a large concourse of people, Judges, Counsel, Solicitors, Police, Warders, Prisoners, witnesses etc. and would require a large Court House. Where at Ludford could such a building be found? The old Bell House, which probably was then in existence, would be far too small. Was there sufficient space in Ludford House? The only part of Ludford House which can be suggested is that part with a prison appearance which abuts on the main road, but if that was the Court House, all traces of it have disappeared. It is true there would be the old Monastic cells which would be available for prisoners. No reason is assigned for holding the Assizes at a Village like Ludford, but there may have been some

epidemic disease such as the old sweating sickness rife at Hereford and the larger Towns in the County. This does not appear to have been the only occasion on which a Court House was required here. In 1586 Edward Foxe the grandson of William Foxe, who obtained the grant of the Ludford estate, and was the then owner of it by its name of St. Giles's House, received from the Ludlow Bailiffs a sum for the reparation of the house in Ludford at the gaol delivery—but what house this was is not specified. It rather points to a part of Ludford House, but it is not clear. In the Ludlow Bailiffs' accounts for 1559 there is a charge for cleaning the house at Ludford for the last gaol delivery, and in 1577 another charge for "winding and daubing the Court House at Ludford"—so that clearly there was a Court House, but where? So far as the writer knows there are no foundations of any large building in the Hereford part of the parish, and the only other possible site for the Court House which he can suggest is the present site of the Charlton Arms Inn, of the history of which nothing is known to the writer but there are also the farm buildings on Whitcliffe, just above Ludford. These may have had more important uses in the 16th century.

ST. CATHERINE'S CHAPEL.

The Chapel of St. Catherine stood on Ludford Bridge, being placed on the pier on the West side of the Bridge nearest to Ludlow, and remained there until about 1770. The bridge itself has been ascribed to the time of King John, or even to Norman builders, and it certainly is a very old bridge. The first reliable mention of the bridge which the writer has actually found is, as we have seen, in the foundation deed of the Hospital of St. John in 1220. Great damage was done to the old bridge by the floods of May 1886, and very extensive repairs had necessarily then to be carried out, but those who saw the under side of the bridge before and during such repairs can have little doubt that the core of the bridge is truly Norman. In the Will of one Richard Tensdon in 1342, he gave a small sum to "the work of the bridge of Teme" so that it was certainly either in process of building or of renovation at that time, and in all probability the Chapel of St. Catherine also then stood on the

bridge. This is reasonably clear, as in 1407 Robert Mascall Bishop of Hereford (who was himself a Ludlow man and was afterwards buried here in the Carmelite Church of the White Friars), granted 40 days indulgence "to all who assisted in the "*repair* of the bridge over Teme at Ludlow and the Chapel of "the blessed Catherine Virgin and Martyr upon the same bridge". This was in 1407. Curiously enough, we find a mention only three years later, of the same Chapel, from which it would appear that it was then an Anchorite's cell. In the Patent Rolls of 1410 a pardon was granted to "Thomas Shelve hermit of St. "Catherine Ludlow alias Thomas the hermit dwelling on Teme "Bridge in Ludlow alias Thomas Shelve late hermit of Leint- "wardine for all felonies etc. committed by him".

The next mention is one by Leland, whose itinerary took place about 1540 and who, in the course of his journey, visited Ludlow. He mentions Teme Bridge leading from Ludford "with a pretty Chapel upon it of St. Catherine".

In 1546, 1557, and many other years, the Bailiffs' accounts contain entries of rents received, 13/4d, from Julian Vaughan, widow, for the Chapel on the bridge, and in 1559 there is a mention of lime which was then lying in that Chapel, while the Bailiffs themselves were fined for not repairing the bridge. The building ceased, apparently, in the 17th century, to be used as a Chapel, and became a small house, of which there are many mentions, and it is so styled in the Corporation Estate book of 1650.

The last entry found is one in 1740 of the "little house "on the West side of Ludford Bridge".

There were, in old days, frequently wayside Chapels upon bridges for the convenience of pilgrims, who were the principal travellers in those times, in fact, the bridges were favourite places for those Chapels.[2] Here in Ludlow, Barnaby House was a resting place for pilgrims, as it is supposed, on their way to Holy Well in North Wales, and it would be quite natural to find such a chapel on the bridge by which they would approach the town from the South. Probably the Chapel was afterwards used as a Toll house.

2 Turner's Domestic Architecture, vol. iii, 45

THE BELL.

This beautiful old Tudor House cannot escape notice in any account, however imperfect, of Ludford. It is its greatest ornament, a wonderful specimen of black and white work. This house was described in a deed of 1706 as the Three Crowns, but in 1720 an amended description was given as "that tenement formerly called the Three Crowns but now called the Bell". It seems, from various leases, to have then belonged to the Authorities of Ludlow. It must not be forgotten that the main road to Worcester formerly passed by this house.

ST. JULIAN'S WELL.

There are two other interesting old features of Ludford, which must not be omitted—one is St. Julian's Well, which, according to Mr. Wright's History of Ludlow 1826 before quoted, stood under the garden wall near to the Almshouses. It is said to have had a wide spread reputation for miraculous cures, and to have been much resorted to. It has been forgotten.

SALTMORE SPRING.

According to the same authority, the Spring at Saltmoor, in the parish of Ludford but near to Ashford, had a considerable reputation. He says that the water of this Spring consisted of a small quantity of iron, a little sulphate of magnesia, and a considerable quantity of nitrate of soda. Baths were then available, but in recent years nothing has been heard of it. If the miraculous reputation of St. Julian's well be revived and the waters of Saltmore Spring be carried to Ludford or Ludlow, who knows but one of those places may yet be another Lourdes or Bath, a Droitwich, or even a Harrogate.

No one knows better than the writer how very imperfect this paper is, but more than all, he realises how much too great a task the history of such a parish must be for a man of great age as he is. He only hopes that the materials provided may help a more competent historian of the future to write an account of a Parish of great interest such as Ludford deserves.

THE CASTLE AT BISHOP'S CASTLE.

BY F. LAVENDER.

The site of the first Castle is now a matter of conjecture, though a farmhouse which is moated round in Lydbury North village was once thought to be the spot. It is natural to suppose that Lydbury Castle, as it was then called, would have been somewhere in the vicinity of Lydbury North Church. No trace of it, however, is now to be found there, and recently experts have formed the opinion that the mound of the motte and bailey type now known as Bishop's Moat (about two miles to the West of the town) is the site of the original Castle. One authority states that the Castle (probably the original one) was built before 1078.

The Castle Hotel and other gardens lying around and below the Bowling Green, on which is the site of the later and better known Castle, seem, at any rate not to have been the original one, for in a survey of the Manor in 1281 it appears that it was then called "the new Castle".

Though it is not known for certain where the original Castle was built, the Castle at Bishop's Castle dates from 1087 (Lay Subsidy Rolls), or from before 1127, (according to Eyton). After this Castle was built, it was referred to either as "Lydbury Castle" (being in the Manor of Lydbury, and Bishop's Castle not having then been so christened), or as "the new Castle". It was called the New Castle in a survey of 1281, but not as the Bishop's Castle until 1285. The Welsh call it "Trefesgob",—the town of the Bishops.

Old views of the Castle represent it to have been built on the summit of a hill, and of strong character—"Bishop's Castle, "well maintained, is set on a strong rock, but not very high, "also that the Keep is a bowling green"—Gough's Camden, vij., 33. The site of the Bowling Green would be the Castle Keep or interior within the stronghold; and it is current report that a well now exists under the Green, but it has never been discovered. It is extremely likely that the report is correct, as the supply of water to a besieged garrison would be one of

the builders first considerations. The outer walls, which contained small buildings, stables, etc., and formed an outer yard or bailey, would extend down Castle Street, along Welsh Street, Market Square, Bull Street, and so on over the Castle Green, as these streets now stand; the front thus placed towards the lower ground, making the back the strongest and least vulnerable point. If the present formation of these streets named is considered, a pretty correct estimate of the size and form of the Castle can be arrived at. There also appear to be an inner ring and two curtain walls about 50 feet inside the outer walls. Many pieces of these walls can be traced, and probably by excavation a great deal more could be found. During the last twelve months (1937/8) excavation of the walls has been carried on. Some or all of the walls are 14th Century work. If the usual custom of using little, if any, stone for the first 100 years was followed in this case, then this 14th Century work would tally with the original date of construction, i.e. before 1200 A.D.

In a Survey of the Castle of Bishop's Castle in the time of Elizabeth, it was said that there were thirteen rooms covered with lead, a tower on the outer wall on the eastern side containing a stable, and two rooms covered with tiles. There were two other rooms called "le new buyldinge" situate on the outer wall between the building over the gate and the tower called "le prison tower". There was also said to be a dovecote, a garden, a forest, and a park.

It must be remembered that the Bishops in those times were not the peaceable men as we now know them. They were then men of great authority and power, and had a feudal seignory. Not only was the spiritual care of the people committed to their charge, but they were under obligation to the Crown to defend their dioceses from the incursions of the Welsh, preserve internal peace, protect their own property from the lawless characters of that day, and collect their own dues, and it is reported that one Bishop, even under his sacerdotal garments, wore at times an iron surcoat. For these purposes, Bishops had to maintain almost a standing army. They distributed their lands to fighting men, who held them on conditions of military service at Bishop's Castle in time of war, and on this condition, Lea Castle was also held. Amongst other services

rendered by these men, was one of 40 days Castle Guard, with a guard fully equipped, and 20/- a year rent. The families of Walcot, Plowden, and Oakley had in turn to keep watch on certain days at the Castle. Several other Castles in this neighbourhood were probably held under the same or similar services.

In 1167, the sum of 20 marks was paid for the fortification of the Castle.

In 1220, an action as to Haghmond Abbey, and in 1221 to 1230, one as to Linley Villa, were held at the Castle.

A Writ of 1223 allowed Hugh Foliott, the Bishop, to summon all Knights and Tenants of the fee to Lydbury to defend the Castle against the King's enemies.

In 1263, 'the Prince' asked the King to command Bishop Agneblaine to abide in the Castle, but as he was not there the following year, the King rebuked him, and he took up his abode there to defend the March against the Welsh. Three months later, it was stormed by Sir John Fitzalan Lord of Arundel and Baron of Clun, and he held it for sixteen weeks (one authority says for several years), killed the Constable, and did great damage. Some of the captured material from it was afterwards found at "The Grange" (? the present house of that name). The armoury of the Castle then (1263) consisted of six haulberks, six chapels de fer (iron helmets), and six Balistae (Catapults), so that it would seem that the garrison consisted only of six fighting men. It is probable that the two halberds now used by the Corporation are two of these six haulberks.

The Castle seems to have been used partly as a residence, and partly as a Court, or as a Centre: the garrison was, as stated, small and impotent for attack or much defence, though easily swelled with reinforcements, as above mentioned. To show it was capable of hospitality, Bishop Swinfield, passing through on his way to Chirbury in 1290, was entertained there. The bill of fare for four days, was wheaten bread, beer, beef, roedeer, kids, pork, veal, geese, fowls, capons, venison, codfish, salmon, and plaice, and the cost of feeding him and his suite came to £5-11-8 of then money.

As previously noted, Manor Courts, or Courts Leet, were at one time held in the Castle, and so were often called Courts

of the Castle. They were so called in Henry III's time. In 1292, the Bishop held two great Courts at the Castle.

There is a record of its capture by Edward II in 1322, in the Temple Library, London.[1]

In 25th Edward III (1362) John Attwode was constituted Constable of the Castle by the King—vacante sede—and had the following fees and perquisites specified as appurtenant to his office, viz., An annual fee of £10 in money, with a robe such as Esquires of a Lord wore, or 20d. instead, also for every brewing of ale for sale 4d., for keeping a brace of horses at livery 6d. a day[2]—and to keep a porter at 2d. a day.

In 1449, Walter Walcot was made Constable of the Castle, and "Receiver General" of Bishop's Castle, a high sounding title.

Other Constables of the Castle were:

1170 Geoffrey de Vere (was Custos)
1270 and 1278 John de Salisbury
1322 Thomas de Hastang
1344 and 1347 John de Pencoyt (also Bailiff of land)
1346 Thomas de Paunteley
,, William Hoggeshawe
1347 John de Kingstone (and Janitor at 2d. per day)
1362 John Attwode
1367 Griffith de Fortone was Seneschal
1370 Thomas Spigornel
1405 John Burley
1408 John Colbache (Receiver)
1412 Walter Brown (Seneschal)
1415 Daniel Holbach
1415 John Milewater and John Talbot (Seneschal)
1418 John Skydemore of Hom Lacy (with Madoc Lloyd subseneschal)
1424 John Brugge
1425 John Colbatch

1. He took possession of it unopposed, but later ordered Thomas de Hastings to restore it to the Bishop.

2. This custom was continued by the Castle Hotel for the benefit of Lord Powis until he sold the Hotel.

1432 John Stanton
1444 and 1449 Walter Walcot
1470 Sir Richard Corbet
1484 Reg. Vaughan
1509 Edward Croft was Seneschal
1517 William Croft
1521 R. David Lloyd (and Receiver)
1534 ,, and Lewis ap Jenkyn
1610 Lewis Jones

There is no record of its demolition or destruction, but in 1530 Leland said it was habitable. It is possible that as the Bishops' civil power decreased, they allowed it to fall into decay, and the Civil war and the inhabitants helped to do the rest.

In 1603, the Castle was granted by James I to the Howards, who held it for 40 years.

In 1610, however, the King granted the Manor and (?) the Castle to A. Ingram and T. Willowes, who transferred them to H. Earl of Arundel 8 years later, and about this time it is said to have been allowed to fall into ruin.

Certain rents now paid to the Council are supposed to be an acknowledgement for the stone stolen from the Castle by the inhabitants to build their houses.

BOUNDS OF CHURCH STRETTON

"A true note of the bownds and meares of the Lordship and parish of Stretton in le dale, 1600."

"Imprimis from Hopes yate to Benleyes greene and so following the borders of the Coomes to the end of the whoopie waye over against Combatch crosse and from thence crossing to the Coomes head beyond the crest of the furbanke etc. Thence following woosons field hedg to Bechcotts yate, and so following Bechcotts gate and then following the way to Drench Lane head and from thence following the Sheppen field hedge to Cothercots field hedge, and so to the point of Heseler, and then compassing Gwyne [and ?] Langley, the grounds called the new lesowes, and then following the stitfield hedge etc. 1609 [*sic*]."

Jur. Ric'us Leighton ar., Johes Powell gen., Edw. Brooke gen., Ric'dus Hayle, Thomas Mason, Johes Harrington, Ric'us Wilding, Will'us Wilks, Ric'us Higgons sen., Ric'us Higgons jun., Thomas Okes, Will's Harris p'son, Tho. Mason, Edw. Littleton, Ric'us Hayle, Will'us Cowper.

Bounds between Hope Bowdler and Church Stretton, 1622. (Latin) John Phillipps, aged 74, said that the bounds were reputed to extend from a place called le Whoppie waye through "canalem ante alonge the gutter" as far as the lower end of le Coomes, where before this a cross stood, and thence by the side of Elmith as far as a place called le Coomes lane, and hence by a certain skyrr to the ditch standing on the summit of Hasler, and so by the summit of Hasler as far as the close or pasture of Mr. [Thomas] Chelmick called Hasler Leasow.

[Found among Papers at the Free Library. R.C.P.]

THE STANLEY MONUMENT AS IT IS TO-DAY.

SHAKESPEARE'S VERSES IN TONG CHURCH.

(Based by permission on an article in *The Times* of April 22nd, 1929).

By Mrs. Esdaile.

I. The Monument.

In the year 1827 the publication of Dugdale's Diary added a valuable fact, that Shakespeare's monument was the work of Gerard Johnson, to our Shakespearean knowledge. It is Dugdale again who, in a serious official work, stated that the Stanley epitaph at Tong is Shakespeare's. Subsequent research into the history and the art of the Johnson family has proved that Dugdale was right in the one case; much light has recently been thrown upon the close relationship existing between the College of Arms and the makers of monuments during the 17th century, and it is now possible to state that Dugdale, Chester Herald in 1644, Garter King of Arms in 1677, was most certainly right in the other.

In the year 1757 the Stanley monument was described by Horace Walpole's friend the antiquary Cole as "a monstrous large canopy tomb jostling the altar and before it", and in 1763 a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* more specifically notes that it stood on the north side of the choir, that one of the pyramids at the head was thrown down, "and the little figures at the top all broke". It was not until Malone was collecting the material for the great third Variorum Edition of Shakespeare that he received from his friend Joseph Harker, Garter Principal King at Arms, a transcript of the epitaph in modernized spelling, with the information that it was "preserved in a collection of epitaphs at the end of the Visitation of Shropshire, taken by Sir William Dugdale in 1664". Malone saw at once that the fact proved the authenticity of the epitaph, and perceived that "the last line, though the worst, bears very strong marks of the hand of Shakespeare". Others, as we shall see, were not so wise.

As Malone only knew the Visitation of Shropshire at second hand, and no one had apparently verified the statement from the original, it seemed worth while to examine the MS. itself, which proved to contain two transcripts of the prose and verse

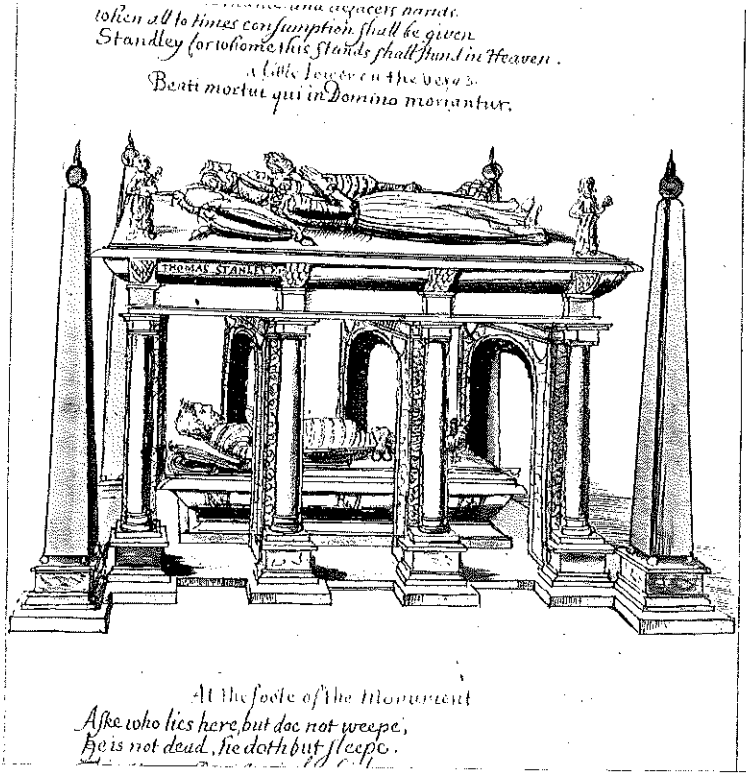
epitaphs, and an admirable drawing of the monument in its original condition. We quote the prose epitaph and description first, as given by Sandford on f.40, then Dugdale's on f.20:

"This epitaph is upon a very faire Tombe in the middle of the Chancell.

Thomas Stanley Knight second sonne of Edward Earle of Derbie Lo: Stanley & Strange descended from the Family of the Stanleyes, married Margaret Vernon one of the daughters and coheires of S^{r} George Vernon of Nether-Haddon in the County of Derbie Knight, by whom he had issue 2 sonnes Henry and Edward, Henry dyed an Infant Edward suruived to whom those Lordshipps descended, and married the Lady Lucie Percie second daughter to Thomas Earle of Northumberland, by her he had issue seaven daughters, and one sonne, Shee and her 4 daughters Arabella Marie Alis and Priscilla, are interred under a monument in the Church of Waltham in Essex, Thomas his sonne died in his infancie, and is buried in y^{e} Parish Church of Winwicke in the countie of Lancaster the other three Petronella, Frances, and Venesie, are yet liuinge".

Sandford omits the ages of the daughters, 18, 16, 15, 13; quotes the first verse of the epitaph; draws the monument with touches of gilt on the balls, scale pattern bands on the sarcophagus and the armour, and washes of colour for the black and red marble of pyramids and columns, and adds:

Not Monumentall Stone preserues our fame
No sky aspiring Piramids our name
The Memory of him for whom this stands
Shall out liue Marble, and defacers hands.
When all to times consumption shall be given
Standley, for whome this stands shall stand in Heaven.
a little Lower on the verge
Beati mortui qui in Domino moriantur.
At the foote of the Monument
Aske who lies here, but doe not weepe,
He is not dead, he doth but sleepe.
This stonye Register is for his bones
His fame is more perpetuall than these stones
And his owne goodness with himselfe being gone
Shall liue when earthly Monument is none.



SANDFORD'S DRAWING OF THE STANLEY MONUMENT IN DUGDALE'S MS. VISITATION OF SHROPSHIRE, 1664

Now for Dugdale on f.20, and his variants, showing how the transcriptions of two trained observers may differ: "On the North side of the Chancell stands a very stately Tombe supported with corinthian columnes. It hath two figures of men in armour thereon lying; the one below the Arches and columnes and the other thereon, and this Epitaph upon it.

Thomas Stanley Knight, second son of Edward Earle of Derby, Lord Stanley & Strange, descended from the familie of the Stanleys married Margaret Vernon, one of the daughters and coheires of S^{r}. George Vernon of Nether-Haddon in the County of Derby Knight by whome he had issue two sons, Henry and Edward, Henry died an infant; Edward survived; to whome those Lordships descended, & married the Lady Lucie Percie, second daughter to the Earle of Northumberland, by her he had issue seven daughters [omission]. She and her foure daughters, Arabella, Marie, Alice & Priscilla, are interred under a monument in the church of Waltham in the County of Essex. Thomas his son died in infancy & is buried in the parish churche of Winwick in the county of Lancaster. The other three, Petronella, Frances and Venesia are yet living".

Dugdale's MS continues:

"Shakespeare. These following Verses were made by William Shakespeare, the late famous Tragedian.

Written upon the East end of this Tombe:

Aske who lyes here but do not weepe
He is not dead, he doth but sleepe
This stonye Register is for his bones
His Fame is more perpetuall than these stones.
And his own goodnesse wth himself being gone
Shall live when earthly Monument is none.

Written upon the West end thereof:

Not monumentall stone preserves our fame.
Nor skye aspiring Piramids our name
The memory of him for whom this stands
Shall out live marble and defacers hands.
When all to times consumption shall be given
Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in Heaven".

Dugdale was a Warwickshire man, so much interested in Shakespeare that his pages on the subject in his *Warwickshire* are a *locus classicus*, and he took the trouble to note in his *Diary* the authorship of his monument and that of John à Combe, for whom Shakespeare wrote a sportive doggerel epitaph of which more presently. Moreover, it was an important part of a Herald's duties to check the designs, heraldry and inscriptions of all monuments. That the duty of sending in designs to be so checked was widely evaded is proved by a Proclamation of the Earl Marshal in November, 1618, that in consequence of the "sinister" activities of pretenders to the science of heraldry, all Carvers, Masons and Tomb-Makers were commanded henceforth to send in copies of all their monumental designs to the College of Arms, there to have the arms and epitaphs checked by the Heralds. This Proclamation brought an immediate response in the shape of "The Booke of Monuments, 1619", a vellum-bound folio marked I.I. of the Earl Marshal's Books, with eight coloured drawings of the monuments which Maximilian Colt, Carver to the King, then had in hand. The head of his profession was especially bound to set an example of prompt obedience to the legitimate demands of the College, and the discovery of the volume by Portcullis Pursuivant was one of the antiquarian sensations of 1934; the present writer was fortunate enough to identify the sculptor from the first drawing, that of the Funeral Hearse and effigy of Anne of Denmark, for which Colt is known to have been paid £20.

Dugdale therefore as a Herald would be officially cognisant of the authorship of the Stanley epitaph; that he took his duties seriously is proved by his note on the MS. title-page prefixed to the series of drawings of Shropshire antiquities by Francis Sandford, subsequently himself a Herald, attached to the Visitation itself:

Haec etiam sequentia propria manu dicti Francisci Sandfordi exararata, delineata, et depicta, ego Willelmus Dugdale itidem addenda curavi. Among them is the drawing here reproduced, which shows us the Stanley monument as the 17th century knew it.

But we have not yet finished with our evidence as to the connection of the Herald with monuments in general; here is

a letter showing Dugdale himself correcting an inscription:

"My Lord," writes William Stanton the sculptor to Lord Hatton, for whom he was doing a monument, on June 17, 1684, "I have sent your Lordshipe y^e^ Draufte drawing with y^e^ Inscription alter'd by Sir William Duddal." Lord Huntingdon again, fourteen years later, (B.M.Add MSS. 29560, 275 quoted in Esdaile, *The Stantons of Holborn, Archæological Journal*, 1928) writes from Donington to "Mr. Crump at the Heralds Office" about a monument which he had commissioned from Grinling Gibbons of Bow Street, specifically asking him "to transcribe in capitall letters the epitaph in the same manner that you did one, which I designed for my father"."

Now that we have established that Dugdale, Warwickshire interests apart, was in a position to be certain of the authorship of an epitaph, we may return to the history of the monument itself.

As we have seen, Cole and the *Gentleman's Magazine* took but a tepid interest in the work; once the authorship of the inscription was stated by Malone, it could no longer be ignored. The Rev. R. W. Eyton in his monumental *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1841) mentions the epitaph, but states that the first stanza—that against which the name of Shakespeare actually stands in Dugdale's MS.—is "by an inferior hand" and "not worth transcribing", and reaches further depths of absurdity in his comment that, when Sir Thomas Stanley, to whom the monument is erected, died in 1576, "Shakespeare was not yet thirteen years of age"; that Sir Thomas's son Sir Edward is shown as a man of mature age and the father of a family which includes a daughter born in 1600, and that Sir Edward was only knighted in 1603, went for nothing, apparently. The same year 1841 also saw the publication of Every's *Etchings of Tong Church*, where the monument is shown without the allegorical figures but with the pyramids in their original position at the four corners of the base; in the List of Plates he gives the year 1612 as the date of its erection. In 1885 Griffith's *History of Tong* shows that the monument had been moved, and that the "four square tapering columns of black marble, all damaged and standing apart," were each surmounted by a white marble figure; the original balls and spikes of the pyramids, that is,

had gone, and the allegorical figures had been put in their place. The author makes the unfortunate suggestion that Sir Edward Stanley's son-in-law Sir Kenelm Digby, husband of the Venesie (Venetia) of the inscription, had a hand in the design; seeing that Sir Edward sold the Tong estates in 1623, two years before the Digby marriage, the theory can be dismissed without further consideration. In 1892 a pamphlet dealing with the restoration of the church states that the monument had been repaired and re-erected parallel with the other tombs in the Vernon chapel, the pyramids being taken from floor level and placed at the corners of the upper slab where the allegorical figures once stood. Two years later a new edition states that these figures were all damaged and lying about the tomb, and that the 32 rosettes were missing from the canopy; it was after this, clearly, that they were set in spaces on the arch dividing the Vernon Chapel from the S. aisle. But it is here for the first time that we find an appreciation of the beauty of the low-relief decorations on the inner columns, the Antiques, as the 17th century called such arabesques, with their "Compasses, Spears, Greaves, books, censers, torches, drums, lances, body armour, helmets", and, we may add, their skulls, crossbones, and mattocks, emblems of death, flowers and fruit, emblems of Resurrection. Next comes Lady Victoria Manners' finely illustrated study of the Tong monuments in the *Art Journal* for March and September 1926, which deserves careful study: the disadvantages of the removal of the monument to its present position is forcibly seen in the fact that it is photographed from the end only, though a glimpse across its neighbours can be seen in another photograph. The fine prints specially taken by the kindness of Mr. Gerald Mander are a *tour de force* considering the conditions under which a photographer has to work.

Finally, the literature of the monument concludes with an article published in *The Times* of April 22, 1929, in which the statement as to Shakespeare's authorship given by Joseph Harker to Malone was traced to its source in the actual MS. of Dugdale's *Visitation of Shropshire* at the College of Arms, and attention was drawn to the contemporary drawing in the same volume ignored by Malone, whose concern was with the text of Shakespeare, but executed under Dugdale's supervision.

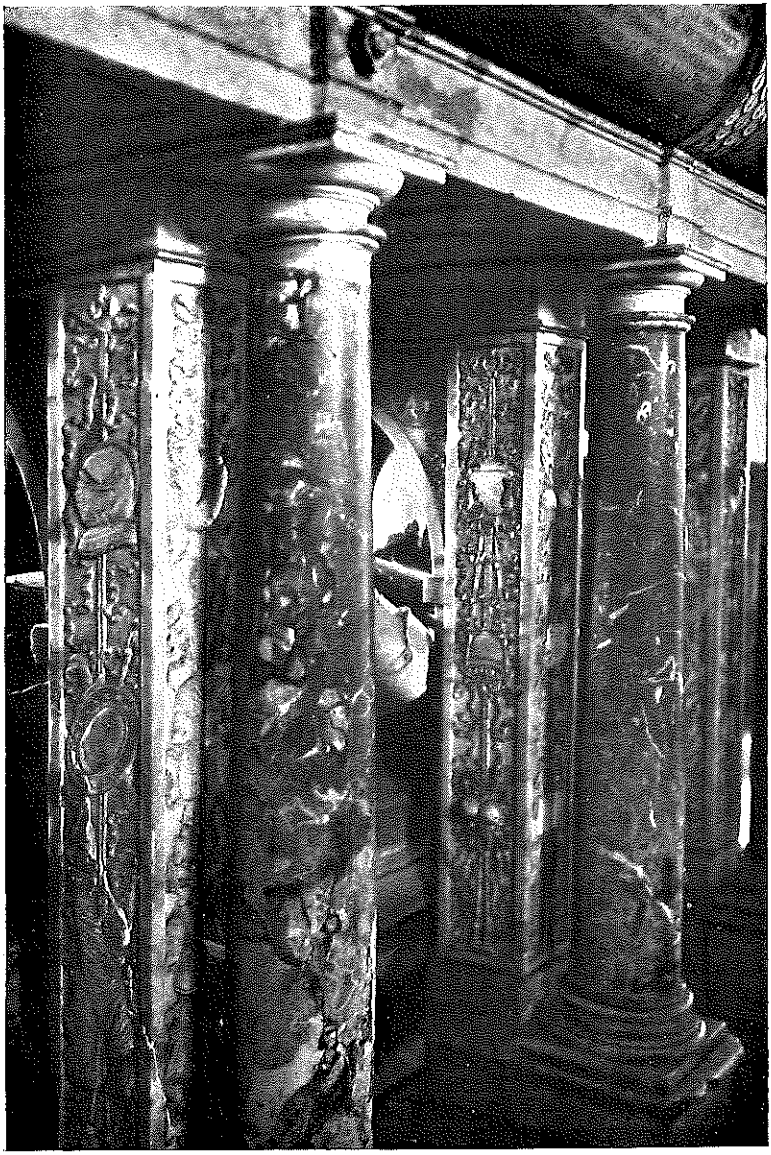
Subsequent correspondence in the columns of *The Times* elicited further evidence: it could no longer be doubted that the Stanley epitaph is in fact, as Malone stated on the strength of evidence which he had not seen, by Shakespeare.

II. The Monument as a Work of Art.

Under four arches supported on the outside by eight columns, four of touch or black marble, four of rance or red, with eight internal square pillars covered with the arabesques already noticed, the effigy of Sir Edward Stanley in light armour lies on a low sarcophagus; above, on a great banded ledger, lie the parents, Sir Thomas Vernon and his wife, he in heavy plate armour with his head on a plumed helmet, she in black gown, cap and plaited ruff. At the corners, shorn of their spiked and gilded balls, are crowded the great pyramids, the little allegorical figures which once stood there, one holding a child, as the drawing clearly shows and therefore representing Charity, another with a skull, therefore Mortality, standing in the recesses of the arcade above; the two other figures are now so damaged that identification is difficult, but Immortality with a Crown of Life is likely to have been one. In the spandrels are armorial shields, and almost the whole surface of the arches inside the columns alluded to is covered with the arabesques already described. Sir Thomas's sword is missing and the ends of his feet and his hands are broken off.

To what school does this fine work belong? When the original article upon which this pamphlet is based came out in 1929, the only London studio with which important 16th and 17th monuments in alabaster could be connected was that founded in Southwark by Gerard Johnson in 1567 and carried on by his sons Nicholas and the younger Gerard, the author of Shakespeare's monument at Stratford, after his death in 1612. Since then, however, the work of two other Southwark studios has been fast coming to light, that founded by Richard Stevens, the master of Epiphanius Evesham and Isaac James (master in his turn of Nicholas Stone) in 1567 and that founded by William Cure I (d. 1579) in 1541 and carried on by his English-born son Cornelius, Master Mason to the Crown (d. 1606) and by his grandson and successor in office William

Cure II (d. 1632). Now Stevens died in 1592, and there is little in the Stanley monument to suggest the style in which he himself worked and handed down to his pupil Isaac James; there is real reason, on the other hand, historical as well as artistic, to associate the Stanley monument with the studio of the last of the Cures. William Cure I, was careful, as his will shows, to keep his designs in the family: he bequeathes them and his tools, books and drawings to his son Cornelius, joint author with his son of the monument of Mary, Queen of Scots; that son's independent work is well shown in his documented monuments of Sir Roger Aston (1613) at Cranford and his Bishop Montague (1618) at Bath, in which latter work Nicholas Johnson was associated with him. Now when Royal monuments were wanted, it was to the Crown Officials, the Master Mason and the Master Carver (the latter a later office first held, apparently, by Maximilian Colt) that application for designs was made, as we know from the history of the Royal monuments and funeral effigies of the 16th and 17th centuries; thus James I commissioned his mother's monument from his Master Mason, Cornelius Cure, who had held the same office under Queen Elizabeth, his predecessor's from his Master Carver Colt, who also executed Anne of Denmark's funeral effigy. It is historically probable, therefore, that the monument of Queen Elizabeth's cousin Lord Hunsdon would come from a Court official, and as detail after detail of this colossal work—the tallest in the Abbey—can be paralleled at Nonsuch, the palace which Cornelius Cure's father, William Cure I, was, as the State Papers of 1541 tell us, summoned from Holland to adorn, and as William bequeathed his designs to his son, stylistic evidence points to Cure as strongly as historical probabilities. If we examine the Hunsdon monument—and it is easier to do it with a photograph or with Plate 61 of Dart's *Westminster* before us than in the Abbey—we shall notice certain instructive points of detail. The two scrolled bands which lie across the slab bearing the effigies of Sir Thomas and Lady Stanley exactly resemble those lying across the heavy curved moulding above the architrave of the Hunsdon wings, the scrolls ending under the moulding above, not cutting into it as on several other monuments in the Abbey; the lines of the low sarcophagus on which Sir Edward lies below resemble those of the urns in the little temples that flank the great Hunsdon



THE STANLEY MONUMENT: DETAILS OF THE LOW-RELIEF CARVINGS ON THE LOWER STOREY

escutcheon of arms; the odd claws on which this sarcophagus rests are identical with those on the ornate sarcophagus of Lord Hunsdon; the mouldings of the bases of the columns are identical. There are no effigies on the Hunsdon monument for comparison, but the lettering is very similar, and there are four (ornamented) pyramids at the four corners of the sarcophagus, not to speak of the two colossal ones in front of the wings. Now if we compare in detail the arabesques on the inner columns of the Stanley monument with those on the Hunsdon pyramids, the likeness is very strong; it is not only that so many of the subjects—arms, kettledrums, flags—are the same, but that the treatment is so similar, even to that of the ribbons and the tassels of the cords down the centre; how profoundly these details can vary, how differently they are treated by different artists, only minute inspection of many examples can show. Some of the details again are found on the Russell monuments at Chenies, which are documented works of "Mr. Cure", and arabesques of the same type—totally different in carving though not in subject from those e.g. of Maximilian Colt and Epiphanius Evesham—are found on a documented work of William Cure II, Cornelius's son and successor, the Aston tomb at Cranford (1613). These arabesques are largely derived from the pattern books of Low Country artists like Ditterling, issued during the 1560's; and as William Cure expressly left his books to Cornelius, whose son William Cure II was both partner and assistant, a similar use of the same ornaments is to be expected in the works of the three generations.

The two-storey type of monument is well attested. Colt's Lord Salisbury at Hatfield has an effigy on the upper ledger, a skeleton below: his Sir Francis Vere in Westminster Abbey has an effigy below a ledger on which the arms of the dead man are laid; the exquisite Dormer monument at Milton, Oxon., has an arched structure of very similar type covered with arabesques, but all three effigies, father, mother and son, lie under the canopy, that in the middle raised on a high base, with four allegorical figures, as at Tong, at the four corners of the upper ledger. As for the pyramids at the corners of the base, they may be seen on the tomb of Margaret, Countess of Lennox in Westminster

Abbey—almost certainly by Cornelius Cure; the Baron Thornhaugh at Thornhaugh, Northants is a good example of a similar arrangement by another hand. All these works show permutations and combinations of the same elements, effigies, architectural setting and decorative motives, but the form taken by these varies; mere repetition was not a characteristic of English art of the period. There is no exact evidence on the monument itself to show the date of its erection. The mention of Venetia, afterwards Lady Digby, who was born in 1600, gives us one date, the sale of the Tong estates by Sir Edward in 1623 gives us another; it is hardly rash to say that the work is considerably earlier than 1623, since Sir Edward is unlikely to have had a sale in mind when erecting a monument so elaborate to his parents and himself; Every's specific date of 1612 may well be accurate, and is probably based on evidence which I have failed to trace. Before going on to the epitaph itself, we may note the extraordinary ignorance of monumental imagery displayed by the historian of Tong in 1885. One would have thought that the "skye aspiring pyramids" of Shakespeare's lines—which certainly suggest that the poet may have seen a sketch of the design—and the "star-ypointing pyramids" of Milton's epitaph on Shakespeare would have occurred to anyone examining a work with which Shakespeare's name is connected; Griffith's phrase "square tapering columns" is only less surprising than the description of allegorical figures of Time with an hourglass and Justice with her scales on Evesham's Reynell tomb at Newton Abbot as Pluto and Proserpine in the year of grace 1908 (*Country Life*, Mar. 15, 1908).

III. The Epitaph.

But, after all, it is the epitaph which is the glory of the Stanley tomb, and it is time to turn to what is known of Shakespeare's work in this field.

Of the doggerel rhymes on his own grave we can only say that Shakespeare may well have written them, as William Hall said in 1694 he did, "to suit the capacity of clerks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people": the activities of the First Grave Digger are only too true a picture of what

was going on all over England. They were engraved, says Dugdale, "Neare the wall where [the] monument is erected on a plaine knee stone, underneath w^{ch} his body is buried", and they served their purpose: Shakespeare's grave is still inviolate. He, like Sir Thomas Browne, clearly had a horror, in Browne's words, of being "knav'd out of his grave", and it is a remarkable fact that the lines do not seem to occur anywhere else in England before Shakespeare's death:

"Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust inclosed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

That he was asked at dinner to produce an epitaph on his neighbour John à Combe who later left him £5, is a tradition, but it seems based on fact, since as early as 1618 it is quoted in Richard Braithwaite's *Remains* as follows:

Ten-in-the-hundred must lie in his grave,
But a hundred to ten whether God will him have.
Who then must be interr'd in this tombe?
Oh, saith the Divill, my John a Combe.

Variant readings may be found in Aubrey and in Rowe, and the lines must have achieved at least local celebrity, since in 1634 "A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties, by a Captaine, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient" mentions not Combe's monument only, but its epitaph, "some witty and facetious verses, w^{ch} time would not giue us leave to sacke up". But by 1673 the verses, which were "fastened on the tomb," had disappeared; "since my being at Stratford" says one Robert Dobyns in that year, "the heires of Mr. Combe have caused these verses to be razed so y^{t} they are not legible." The story went that Shakespeare "afterwards wrote another for *Thomas. Combe* alias *Thin-Beard*, brother of the said *John*, and that it was never yet printed. It is as follows:

Thin in *beard*, and thick in purse;
Never man beloved worse;
He went to th' grave with many a curse;
The Devil and he had both one nurse.

So says the Rev. Francis Peck in 1740, adding, not unjustly, "This is very sour"; no wonder Malone, after quoting the lines, calls the Stanley verses "better beer". A "Shakespearian" epitaph in a Caroline Anthology at the Bodleian beginning

> When God was pleas'd, the world unwilling yet,
> Elias James to nature payd his debt,

can be dismissed at once, since the anthologist fearlessly assigns *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* to Shakespeare on another page.

Shakespeare then wrote his own epitaph and John à Combe's, and the next generation was ready to ascribe others to him; there is nothing surprising therefore in finding him writing a serious epitaph for a great man—his last recorded act was to design an Impresa for the Earl of Rutland to use at a Tournament at Whitehall—any more than in Donne writing one on Elizabeth Drury, daughter of his patron, still to be seen on her tomb at Hawstead, Suffolk. What is surprising is to find Eyton, the historian of Shropshire, quoting Dugdale as the authority for Shakespeare's authorship of one stanza, and suppressing the other, which has precisely the same authority, as "not worth transcribing". He could not know that it is against this stanza that Dugdale has written Shakespeare's name; he should have known that it was all or nothing. Either Shakespeare wrote both verses or neither; and one would think that he might have perceived, with Malone, that the last line "bears very strong marks" of Shakespeare's hand.

IV. Shakespeare and the Stanleys.

The Stanley monument was erected during the last year of Shakespeare's life, and commemorated members of a family with whom his relations from the first had been unusually close. He had been connected, both as actor and dramatist, with the players patronised by two successive Earls of Derby; it was perfectly natural for him to have been called upon to write an epitaph for the uncle of his earliest patron.

Sir Edward Stanley's father, Edward 3rd Earl of Derby, died in 1572; Sir Edward's elder brother Henry, fourth Earl, died in 1593; his nephew Ferdinando the fifth Earl succeeding

him only to die in 1594 ; his brother the sixth Earl died in 1642. It was Spenser's Amyntas, Ferdinando, fifth Earl, himself a playwright, who took over the patronage of Shakespeare's company of actors in 1588 ; the sixth Earl's marriage in 1594-5 is one of two candidates for the honour of having suggested the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was written for a wedding ; and so closely was the poet connected with the family that attempts —scholarly and well documented, even if ludicrous—have recently been made to show that Shakespeare was the pen-name of Lord Derby.

If Lady Lucy Stanley and her daughters had, as the epitaph states, a monument at Waltham Abbey it is no longer there, and the Vernon family of Margaret, Lady Stanley's generation patronized Derbyshire artists, as their monuments at Bakewell show ; Ferdinando's son, another Sir Edward (d. 1632) lies buried in Chelsea Old Church under a superb monument by Edward Marshall ; Lady Digby's tomb with its bronze bust vanished from Christ Church, Newgate, at the Fire, though the bust, now lost, appears to have been long preserved. There is therefore no other monument to the Stanley family which can be quoted as a parallel or in any way associated with Shakespeare. For, when all is said, it is the connection of the Stanleys with the poet which has made them immortal, and the connection is most personally shown in the Tong epitaph. How does it compare with Shakespeare's poems ?

"This stony register is for his bones" : "His fame is more perpetuall than these stones" : the rhyme "stones" and "bones" occurs as we have seen in Shakespeare's epitaph upon himself. "His owne goodness, with himself being gone, Shall live when earthly Monument is none" : here is an obvious comparison with Sonnet LV :

> When wasteful wars shall statues overturn,
> And birds root out the work of masonry,
> Nor Man his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
> The living record of your memory.

The second stanza of our epitaph, with its play upon the name of Stanley, is far out-done by Sonnet XXXV, in which the word *Will* occurs in various senses in eleven lines of the

fourteen. And Sonnet LXXXI :

> Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
> Or you survive when I in earth am rotten,

with its prophetic words, is as true of Stanley's epitaph as of the hero of the Sonnets :

> "Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
> Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read
> And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
> When all the breathers of this world are dead ;
> You still shall live, such virtue hath my pen
> Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of men.

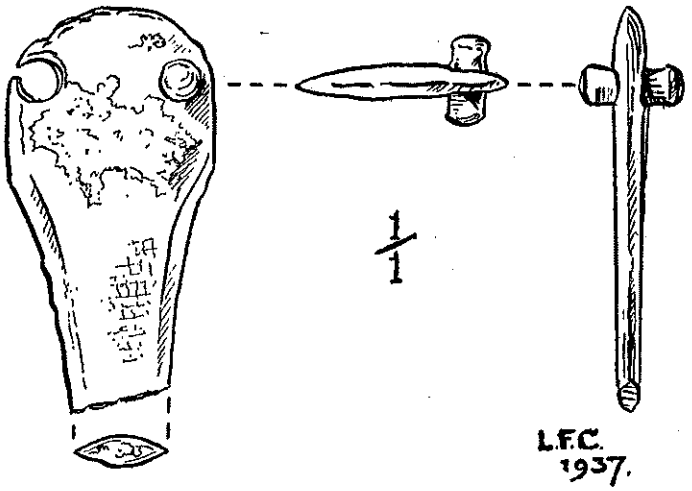
Not that the Stanley epitaph is of Sonnet quality ; passion spoke in the one case, a commission or request inspired the other. But had we ever doubted of the power of literature, the history of the Stanley monument would dispel these doubts once for all. To the admirable William Cole, the friend of Horace Walpole and perhaps the best antiquary of his day, the Stanley monument was "a monstrous large canopy tomb jostling the altar" ; once Dugdale's words, "These following verses were made by William Shakespeare, the late famous Tragedian", reached Malone's ears, it became, it has remained, famous.

BRONZE DAGGER FOUND ON CARADOC, ALL STRETTON.

An interesting recent accession to the Bronze Age Collection in Shrewsbury Museum is the upper half of a small bronze dagger presented by Mr. William Scotson, of Nant Valley, Wall, near Church Stretton. This was found by him, in 1936, on Caradoc Hill, in the parish of All Stretton, Shropshire, about 200 yards W.S.W. of the entrance to the great hill-fort in a rock crevice; the object was sticking up partly on the surface near the rock. Mrs. L. H. Hayward has visited the site with Mr. Scotson and I am indebted to her for marking its precise location on the 6-inch O.S. Sheet Shropshire LVI N.W. (Lat. 52° 33′ 3″; Long. 2° 46′ 27″). A preliminary note of the discovery was given in the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club's *Record of Bare Facts*, No. 46 (1936), p. 3.

The weapon has lost its point; all that remains is the butt end and part of the blade of a small round-heeled ogival dagger, the hilt tending towards a spatulate form: one of its two rivets survives, the ends slightly spread by hammering; the other has broken away, but the mark of its head is traceable. The edges of the blade are blunt and narrowly bevelled; the centre is thickened (4 mm.); the section is a pointed oval. The total length remaining is just over 2 inches (53 mm.), the width of the hilt 1 inch (27.5 mm.), the length of the rivet ½ an inch (12 mm.): the weight is just over ¾ oz. The patination is grey-green and partly worn through on the face drawn, dark olive-green on the reverse. The surface is worn but lustrous and appears to have been crazed by burning. There is nothing to show what was the form of the haft. The fracture of the blade looks ancient.

The type is one that might be expected with a cremated burial, but Mr. Scotson saw no evidence of bones or burning. This is the first dagger of its kind to be recorded from Shropshire. The hilt form with almost straight sides is reminiscent of the rapier series of an advanced phase of the Middle Bronze Age in Britain: a date about 1200 B.C. or later may be suggested for it. A broken bronze knife-dagger, very similar in form and



size but with a thinner blade, was associated with an anomalous Late Bronze Age urn in the Southern Barrow, near Oliver's Camp, Bromham, Wiltshire (*Devizes Museum Catalogue*, Part II (1934), p. 51, No. X 140a, Plate XIV. Cf. also Part I, Stourhead Coll., No. 319, Fig.)

Other objects, of Roman date, found by Mr. Scotson will be described in a future paper.

LILY F. CHITTY.

PAPER-MAKING IN SHROPSHIRE: SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Since this paper (pp. 121-187 of the present volume) was printed, some additional information has been received.

BESFORD (p. 148) and GREAT BOLAS (p. 158). Additional particulars relating to these mills are contained in a marriage settlement dated 19 May 1719, on the marriage of Andrew Corbet and Frances Prynce, for an abstract of which I am indebted to Mr. J. R. W. Whitfield. The deed refers to "Two paper mills under one roofe in Besford in the occupation of John Jones, as mentioned in the two schedules to the marriage settlement of Richard Corbet and Judith (Bridgeman) in 1692"; and also to

"All those two water Paper Mills with their appurtenances situate in the Parish of Great Bolas, now or late in the tenure of one Rowland Smith, and all the Lands, Medowes and Pastures thereunto belonging or therewith used.....which Richard Corbet purchased from Thomas Hill Esq." These extracts are valuable for providing the names of two paper-makers hitherto unrecorded, and for their evidence that the Besford mill was in existence, and apparently at work, in 1692 and in 1719.

BOULDON (p. 149). Mr. V. A. Bayley, who has kindly made some local inquiries concerning this mill, tells me that he has discovered its site. No further particulars, however, are available at the time of writing.

"HOPTON MAGNA." Mr. Rhys Jenkins has kindly sent me a note from the Shaw Collections (William Salt Library, Stafford, Bdle. 28, Pt. 2, No. 1), which refers to "Paper manufactured by Mr. Crompton, of Great Barr, at Hopton Magna, co. Salop." The date of this memorandum is put by Mr. Jenkins at *c.* 1790-1800. I am unable to explain this note satisfactorily. At first sight "Hopton Magna" looks like a mistake for Upton Magna, but I have been unable to find any evidence of paper-making having been carried on there. It is possible, but I do not put forward the suggestion with any great confidence, that "Hopton Magna" means Hopton Wafers, and that "Mr. Crompton" refers to Thomas Compson, who was part-owner of the paper-mills there at the period in question (see p. 161 *antea*). There is, however, no record of any connection between Compson and Great Barr, which is situated near Birmingham. There were paper-makers named Crompton in Lancashire throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but I cannot find that any of them were associated with Shropshire.

LONGNOR (p. 165). This mill stood beside the Cound (not Rea) brook. I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Slack for pointing out this slip.

LUDLOW (p. 166). Mr. Rhys Jenkins informs me that this mill is marked on Taylor's map of Herefordshire, dated 1754. This information extends the known length of the Ludlow mill's career by some fifty years.

L. C. LLOYD.

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(COMPILED BY R.C.P.)

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